

**DOCUMENTATION OF PHILIPPINE TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE AND PRACTICES IN HEALTH:
THE AGTA PEOPLE OF SITIO DIPONTIAN, BARANGAY COZO, CASIGURAN, AURORA**

A collaborative project of

The Agta community of Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora

Philippine Institute of Traditional and Alternative Health Care - Department of Health (PITAHC-DOH)

Institute of Herbal Medicine - National Institutes of Health - University of the Philippines Manila

National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP)

Aurora State College of Technology (ASCOT)

2011

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	
Reminder	Page i
Executive summary	Page iii
Abstract	Page 1
Scope and limitation	Page 3
Methodology	Page 5
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION	
I. The Agta People of Casiguran	Page 15
Identifying the Agta and non-Agta	Page 19
II. The language of the Casiguran Agta	Page 19
The richness of the language	Page 20
An endangered language	Page 20
III. The land of the Casiguran Agta People	Page 23
IV. The livelihood of the people	Page 25
V. Access to Sitio Dipontian	Page 29
VI. Community facilities within and near Sitio Dipontian	Page 32
VII. Interaction among the Agta and religious groups	Page 33
VIII. Experiences in education	Page 34
THE <i>BUNOGEN, ALBULARYO, OR THE DOKTOR?</i>	Page 39
The Agta People of Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora: Their present views on health and well-being	
<u>Cosmology</u>	Page 42
Concept of God	Page 42
Types of spirits	Page 43
The <i>Bélet</i> (spirit of the deceased)	Page 44
The many spirits residing on land	Page 48
Types of interactions between humans and spirits	Page 50
Supernatural creatures residing on land	Page 52
<u>Notions of well-being</u>	Page 55
A healthy person	Page 57
Healthy food	Page 58
Clean and unclean food	Page 60
<i>Éman</i> (Betel quid)	Page 61
<u>Notions of suffering</u>	Page 63
<u>Healing methods</u>	Page 64
The use of medicinal plants	Page 64
The duphak method	Page 67
<i>Atang</i> : giving offerings	Page 69

<u>Harm-reduction strategies</u>	Page 70
<i>Tabi</i> : Polite requests	Page 70
Introducing a new person	Page 70
Knowledge of harmful plants, animals, and humans	Page 71
Dealing with natural elements	Page 73
<u>Healing methods adapted from the non-Agta</u>	Page 74
<u>The healing practitioners</u>	Page 75
The <i>bunogen</i> (The Agta shaman)	Page 75
<i>Talibéng</i> : The <i>bunogen</i> ritual	Page 77
Becoming a <i>bunogen</i> : Noel Tanyet	Page 79
Becoming a <i>bunogen</i> : Dolsing Lisiday	Page 80
Becoming a <i>bunogen</i> : Loyda Moral	Page 81
Becoming a <i>bunogen</i> : Tetet and Nateng Prado	Page 83
Erning Moral	Page 84
The non- <i>bunogen</i> Agta healer: Neneng dela Cruz	Page 86
The non-Agta healers	
The <i>albularyo</i>	Page 88
Healers with immunity against harm	Page 89
The <i>mégtetéðak</i> (mangkukulam)	Page 90
<u>Agta health practices and Christianity</u>	Page 92
<u>The Agta and mainstream medicine</u>	Page 98
Alcoholism among the Agta	Page 101
A discussion with a health worker	Page 101
Conclusion	Page 105
Tables of ethnopharmacological uses of natural materials among the Agta People of Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora	Page 107
Appendices	Page 189
Appendix A. Indications recognized and corresponding plants used	Page 189
Appendix B. List of medicinal plants used by the Agta of Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora	Page 205
Appendix C. Bibliography	Page 207
Appendix D. Bibliography of Philippine ethnobotanical, ethnopharmacological, and ethnomedical studies	Page 209
Appendix E. Negrito languages spoken in the Philippines (Headland 2003)	Page 211
Appendix F. Agta cultural consultants/informants	Page 212

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS



We thank all the Agta families and community members
in Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora
who gave their time and energy to the project

REMINDER

The indigenous knowledge and practices written in this report were obtained with full consent from cultural consultants belonging to the Agta community in Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora. Any information from this study to be used for further academic research or commercial purposes should have the free and prior informed consent of the knowledge-owners. The knowledge-owners and this study should be properly acknowledged and cited if information in this report will be used. Any commercial benefits which may arise from the utilization of the community's indigenous knowledge should be shared with the Agta community of Casiguran, Aurora or the respective Agta knowledge-owner(s).¹

¹ Based on Elisabetsky and Posey 1994. From Posey and Dutfield 1996. *Beyond Intellectual Property: Toward Traditional Resource Rights for Indigenous Peoples and Local Communities*. p.48.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

PROJECT TITLE:	DOCUMENTATION OF PHILIPPINE TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE AND PRACTICES IN HEALTH: THE AGTA PEOPLE OF CASIGURAN, AURORA AND THE DUMAGAT PEOPLE OF SAN LUIS, AURORA
PROJECT LEADER:	DR. ISIDRO C SIA
IMPLEMENTING AGENCY:	Institute of Herbal Medicine, National Institutes of Health University of the Philippines Manila
COOPERATING AGENCIES:	The Agta Community of Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora The Dumagat Community of Barangay Dibut, San Luis, Aurora National Commission on Indigenous Peoples Aurora State College of Technology
DURATION:	15 MONTHS

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The Philippines is one of the richest countries in terms of cultural diversity, as well as of biodiversity. There are 110 indigenous communities and 175 ethnolinguistic groups in the country. The indigenous peoples, characteristically living in the mountains or their fringes, have depended mostly on plants and other natural products from the forest to prevent or treat sickness. But environmental degradation and the onslaught of lowland mainstream cultures now threaten their healing traditions. Lifestyle change as a result of displacement from their ancestral domains and lack of supportive mechanisms to pass on knowledge are also leading to the discontinuation of their traditional healing practices.

Few studies have been conducted to document the ethnopharmacological knowledge and healing practices of our indigenous peoples. Madulid of the National Museum documented the medicinal plants used by the Ati people in Nagpana, Iloilo, Panay. He has also compiled a bibliography of almost 1,000 references on Philippine ethnobotanical and ethnopharmacological studies.

The Complementary and Traditional Medicine Study Group of the National Institutes of Health, University of the Philippines Manila (NIH – UPM) and the Philippine Institute of Traditional and Alternative Health Care (PITAHC) documented the ethnopharmacological knowledge and healing practices of the following ethnolinguistic groups: the Isnag, Kalinga, Ifugao, Kankana-ey, and Ibaloi peoples of the Cordillera; the Bugkalot people of Dupax del Sur, Nueva Vizcaya; the Kabulowan, Tagibulos, and Idimala Agtas of Sierra Madre; the Ayta people of Morong, Bataan; the Tadyawan, and Alangan Mangyans of Mindoro; the Pala'wan, Batak, and Tagbanua peoples of Palawan; and the Ata Manobo, Bagobo, Mansaka, Mandaya, and Dibabaon peoples of Mindanao.

Maramba in "Medicinal plants: their role in health and biodiversity," reported that in 1978 to 1983, Quintana conducted a nationwide documentation of traditional healers and medicinal plants used. Maramba and Dayrit reported that out of this survey, 120 medicinal plants were chosen for priority studies by the National Integrated Research Program on Medicinal Plants.

Landa Jocano did his seminal work on the healing traditions of Bay, Laguna from 1968 to 1973. Documentation of healing traditions has likewise been done by Filipino anthropologists Abaya, Estacio, Padilla, Tan, and the Community Medicine Foundation.

The documentation previously done, though seemingly numerous, is not enough to cover the breadth and depth of the immense body of traditional knowledge held by our indigenous peoples. For one, the more than 20 Negrito (Ayta/Agta/Alta/Ata) groups have been represented in only 3 studies listed in this review. As a group of peoples, they are the most vulnerable to losing their oral traditions because of the harsh conditions they are living in, the onslaught of mainstream cultures to the detriment of the local culture, and the lack of supportive mechanisms to pass on their traditions to the younger generations. Four Negrito languages are now considered extinct; with the loss of the language of a people, the people's traditional knowledge is also lost.

The ethnographic and ethnopharmacological study of the Agta people of Casiguran, Aurora and the Dumagat people of San Luis, Aurora, is a component of the Documentation of Philippine Traditional Knowledge and Practices in Health Program. This project aims to conserve both the biodiversity and cultural heritage of the indigenous communities and ethnolinguistic groups in the country.

Documenting with the indigenous communities their health traditions may contribute in upholding their knowledge and practices. It is a way to transfer the healing traditions to succeeding generations. Indigenous elders may pass away but the community can still refer to the documentation for their ancestors' health practices.

The project recognizes that the ancestral domain of our indigenous peoples is a rich source of potentially useful pharmacologic agents. The documentation may be used by communities/community members as evidence of particular health knowledge and practices which they possess and have rights to. Knowledge gathered may also help in providing the indigenous communities with culturally acceptable health care services, including health education materials.

The documentation may aid in spreading awareness that the cultural wealth of indigenous communities is inextricably tied to the richness of biodiversity of their ancestral domain. It may contribute in promoting the protection of communities' ancestral land which they rely on not only for health but is the primary basis of life for the indigenous peoples.

(See Appendix for bibliography of mentioned ethnographic and ethnopharmacological studies)

Objectives of the project

1. To identify and select ethnolinguistic groups and study communities
2. To identify and link up with research partners in Aurora
3. To organize, orient, and train local research assistants in facilitating participatory research
4. To conduct consultation meetings with communities and integrate their recommendations regarding the project
5. To discuss and form with the community the code of ethics in doing research
6. To prepare the academic research agreement and obtain the Free and Prior Informed Consent
7. To facilitate in building the communities' capacity for research
8. To document with the communities their traditional knowledge and practices in health
9. To assist in developing mechanisms for protection of the community's traditional knowledge, practices and related biological resources

10. To prepare a hard copy and electronic copy of the documentation and herbarium with and for the communities, and if applicable, to the partner institution in the region
11. To develop culture-sensitive health education materials with and for the communities
12. To evaluate the project with the community
13. To centralize data for the digital library
14. To ensure appropriate access to traditional knowledge and equitable sharing of benefits arising from the utilization of the said knowledge
15. To promote the use of relevant information to the indigenous communities, local health NGOs, local environment advocates, local cultural workers, the scientific community, and policy makers.

METHODOLOGY

Identification of indigenous groups

The Agta community of Casiguran, Aurora, and the Dumagat community of San Luis, Aurora were selected based on the following criteria:

- 1) reputed richness of indigenous healing traditions (presence of traditional healers and community members knowledgeable of indigenous healing practices),
- 2) the richness of the biodiversity of the ancestral domain of the people,
- 3) the expressed willingness and capacity of the community to participate, and
- 4) there is peace and order in the area/community.

On March 15, 2010, a meeting was held in the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP) Central Office in Quezon City, to discuss the project. The project leader, consultant, and research assistants met with NCIP executive director, Masli Quilaman, Carlos Buasen, Jr., director of the Office of Education Culture and Health, and Melita Mercado, legal officer of NCIP Aurora.

Ms. Mercado recommended the Negrito communities in Barangay Dibut, San Luis, and in Casiguran as possible research sites because numerous elders could be found in the two coastal areas. The objectives and methodology of the project were also discussed. The NCIP explained their protocol in obtaining free and prior informed consent (FPIC) from the communities before a project may be undertaken. The meeting also defined the role of NCIP in assisting the research team by linking them up with the indigenous communities and helping facilitate in the FPIC process.

Identification and linking up with research partners

Representatives from the Institute of Herbal Medicine of the National Institutes of Health, University of the Philippines Manila (UPM), visited the Aurora State College of Technology (ASCOT) to discuss the possibility of working together to document the traditional health knowledge and practices of indigenous communities in Aurora. The meeting was attended by the college president, Eusebio Angara, the vice-president for academic affairs, Oscar Vallejo and other professors. The prospective project would also be an opportunity to build the capacity of regional academic institutions and individuals in conducting ethnopharmacological and ethnographic research.

The office of the NCIP in Aurora was also visited to inquire about which communities still possess rich healing traditions. The initial suggestion of NCIP staff was the Agta in the municipality of Casiguran and Alta in the municipality of San Luis. The NCIP was again contacted to follow up establishing partnership with the recommended indigenous communities.

Conducting consultation meetings with the community and integrating their recommendations

As defined in the Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act (IPRA), Free and Prior Informed Consent shall mean “the consensus of all members of the ICCs/IPs to be determined in accordance with their respective customary laws and practices, free from any external manipulation, interference and coercion, and obtained after fully disclosing the intent and scope of an activity, in a language and process understandable to the community.” (Rule II. Section 1.k., IPRA 1997)

A letter was sent to the NCIP Central Office requesting for assistance in linking up with the communities. The said letter was forwarded to their Region 3 Office and Aurora Provincial Office. Through NCIP field officers, a letter was sent to the communities requesting for a community consultation regarding the documentation of their knowledge and practices in health.

The Agta People of Casiguran

On May 6, 2010, a meeting with the Agta community was held in the Dipontian Christian Fellowship Church, in Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora. Twenty two community members were present including Chieftain Regina Eneria. Engineer Mark Basilio, the NCIP Officer assigned in Casiguran, facilitated the consultation which was part of obtaining the free and prior informed consent of the community. The project leader explained the project rationale, objectives, and methodology to the community. The community then raised questions, comments and shared past experiences regarding research conducted in their area.

In the consultation, the community members confirmed that they still practiced traditional healing methods and *bunogen* (healers) have been part of their way of life. However, aspects of their culture, including their language, are slowly disappearing. Some said that many of them have not been able to pass on their knowledge: “*Darating yung panahon na malilimutan na ng mga kabataan.*” (Time will come when the next generation of Agta will forget our traditions.)

The community asked regarding the arrangement of the researchers' daily meals. They said that previous individuals who immersed there were fed by the families whom they lived with. The project leader informed them that with their approval the researchers would eat what the family will provide but they shall also give daily food contribution so that they would not burden the households.

A community member reminded the researchers that if they would really be immersing in the community then they should not pass judgment on their practices. One also said to be prepared if some would be shy/apprehensive (*nahihiya*) to talk to them. Some would also be apprehensive to take them in because they may only provide food such as *kamote*. They were concerned that the researchers would not be comfortable with their food. The research team told the community that part of the immersion is experiencing how the Agta live, including what they eat. The community should not adjust to the researchers, the researchers will adapt to their lifestyle. The team assured the community that they and their way of life would be given respect during the research.

The community wanted clarification regarding the daily activities of the researchers and how it would affect them. It was explained that the research would not disturb their work. If they would allow it, the researchers would help in their daily activities, such as their livelihood. If possible, the researchers would live with a healer and observe their practices. It was also emphasized that the healers would not be forced to disclose their knowledge. They have the freedom to share only what they want to share. (*Yung hanggang kaya niyo lang ibigay na inyong kaalaman.*)

The community shared their difficulty in communicating with past researchers who only spoke in English so they had to make do with gestures and hand signs. The research team informed them

that the researchers assigned to them would try to learn the Agta language in the limited time they are there, to better understand the people.

The community also requested to be the first to view the documentation. The research team assured them that the documentation will be presented to them for data validation. They would be the primary recipient of the documentation (in Filipino language) and only with their consent could other institutions obtain a copy. If they are also willing to assist, the documentation may be translated in the Agta language.

Some community members requested the team to repeat the reason for conducting research among the indigenous peoples. The project leader explained that the Philippines is rich because of its many different indigenous groups and each have their own language and traditions. However, four Negrito languages are already extinct and along with it the traditions may disappear. The team would like to assist communities if they would want their health practices to be documented, since many traditions are disappearing. The elders may not be able to pass on the knowledge to the youth. Through documentation, they would be able to keep a record of their healing traditions, including medicinal plants and description on its preparation and use. Aside from the plants, if they have other healing practices such as *hilot* or *pagsuob*, these may be documented with their consent.

The community members agreed to collaborate on the project and welcome the two researchers who would live in the community.

The Dumagat People of San Luis

Consultation with the Dumagat community in Dibut was held on May 4, 2010 at the barangay hall. Present in the meeting were twenty three representatives from the Dumagat community, including tribal chieftain, Eustaquio Bihasa; Rene Querijero, barangay captain of Dibut; Carlos Buasen, Jr. director, Office of Education, Culture and Health of the NCIP; Napoleon Calderon, provincial officer of NCIP Aurora; two other NCIP staff; Dr. Isidro Sia; and five research assistants. The meeting lasted for two hours. The main goal and rationale of the research was laid out to the community as well as the methodology of research, which is participatory research. The community willingly agreed to the research and verbally agreed to accommodate two research assistants to live with them to document their traditional knowledge and practices in health.

In the first meeting with the Dumagat community in Dibut, the chieftain verbalized his concern regarding the collection of plants, because these samples could possibly be studied by doctors in other countries. If some plants are recognized as effective, they might be commercialized. They asked how this could be avoided. The project leader assured that if the community decides that the documentation shall only be kept in the community, or safeguarded by an institution, then it shall be strictly followed. The medicinal plants will not be commercialized, if UPM is interested in doing this, the consent of the community must first be obtained.

The community wanted clarification regarding who will benefit from the project, specifically the output. The project leader informed the community that they would be the primary recipients. The project shall mainly be for the community to be able to document their traditions. Again, if they decide that the knowledge will be kept in the community, their decision shall be respected because it is their right to manage their knowledge and traditions. The project is for the Filipino people, to support Filipino culture. It is not for the benefit of other countries. The community has the right to their knowledge. They shall be the first to obtain a copy of the documentation which they shall validate for accuracy.

Preparation of the Memorandum of Agreement and obtaining the Free and Prior Informed Consent

“Protection and Promotion of Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Practices:

The following guidelines, inter alia, are hereby adopted to safeguard the rights of IPs, to their indigenous knowledge systems and practices:

- 1) The ICCs/IPs have the right to regulate the entry of researchers into their ancestral domains/land or territories. Researchers, agents or representatives and other like entities shall secure the free and prior informed consent of the ICCs/IPs, before access to indigenous peoples and resources could be allowed;
- 2) A written agreement shall be entered into with the ICCs/IPs concerned regarding the research, including its purpose, design and expected outputs”

(Rule VI. Section 15., IPRA 1997)

“The FPIC is given by the concerned ICCs/IPs upon the signing of the Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) containing the conditions/requirements, benefits as well as penalties of agreeing parties as basis for the consent.”

(NCIP AO No. 01 Series of 2006. Part 1. Section 5.a.)

The Agta People of Casiguran

On June 21, 2010, the Agta community of Sitio Dipontian gathered with the researchers to discuss the Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) for the project. Ten community members were present, among them were two healers. Ms. Willilen Padeo, represented NCIP Aurora in the meeting.

The researcher told the community about the experience of India in successfully defending their rights to their indigenous knowledge and practice of Ayurvedic medicine by presenting ancient Sanskrit texts that documented the century-old use of various medicinal plants. It was explained to them that documentation may be a way to pass on traditions and is also evidence of the indigenous knowledge systems that a community has developed through years of practice. The rights of the community in managing their knowledge as stated in the Republic Act 8371 or Indigenous Peoples Rights Act (IPRA) was also reviewed with the community. Sections of the RA 8371 stating these rights were included in the MOA.

The roles of the community and the researchers were defined. Among these were ensuring that research methods are culturally appropriate for the community and would not interfere with their daily activities. The community members also identified areas where people are prohibited to enter unless permission is obtained. Among these are areas which the Agta mark as *binaset*, these may be hunting grounds, burials sites, and areas which relatives of the deceased forbid people to enter in respect to the recently departed. Individuals may face a heavy fine for entering *binaset* areas and even community members are prohibited to enter certain sites. It would be the researcher’s responsibility to always ask permission from the community.

Data verification was pointed out by the community. Individuals said that the information gathered should be accurate. (*Kailangan sigurado.*) It would be both the researcher and the healer’s responsibility to ensure that the data recorded is correct.

It was emphasized that the institutions with a copy of the documentation must always ask permission from the community if information from the documentation will be used for any purpose.

The community asked permission to gather medicinal plants so that they would be able to identify the scientific name of the collected specimen. Information on the use of medicinal plants would not

be disclosed to those who would identify the specimen unless consent is given by the knowledge owners.

The community members then reiterated the importance of translating the research output in a language which they would understand. They would receive the documentation in book form.

“Maganda, pag ilagay mo nang ganoon. Baka saka-sakali mawala na kami, mga bata na lang ang nandiyan. Mabasa nila.” (It is a good idea to put it [in a book]. Time will come when we will be gone and only the children are left... They will still be able to read it.)

“Talagang maganda kasi kuwan... kung katulad ng sabi mo kanina na ilalagay niyo sa isang halimbawa maliit na aklat. Siyempre, kung sakaling sa tagal ng panahon malilimutan na.. meron mabuklat yung mga bata na dito makikita yung mga gamot na ginagamit ng mga ninuno natin ngayon.”

(It is really good because... like you said earlier, you would be putting [our knowledge] in a small book. The time will come when the people have already forgotten, the children will be able to read something where they will learn of the medicines their ancestors had used.)

During the discussion of the conflict resolution, the community said that they know the research would not have any problems with the community since the researchers would always be consulting the community regarding each activity to be done. But if an arbiter would be needed in case of a breach of contract, the community would choose the NCIP to go between the two parties. They also agreed that the community's customary law and the university's alternative conflict resolution shall be recognized.

The Dumagat People of San Luis

The meeting with the Dumagat community regarding the MOA was held on June 15, 2010 at the “Bahay Pulungan” in Barangay Dibut, San Luis. The community was identified as the first party while UP Manila was identified as the second party. There were thirty six representatives of the Dumagat community in attendance, along with three research assistants from IHM, the legal officer of NCIP Aurora - Melita Mercado and Claire Crosby, NCIP staff.

The following points were discussed:

- Identify the community as Dumagat not Alta, in the MOA. The community call themselves Dumagat because according to them they live near the sea as contrast to the Alta who live in the upland or inland area.
- The rights of the community in managing their knowledge as stated in the Republic Act 8731 or Indigenous Peoples Rights Act (IPRA) was reviewed with the community. Sections of the RA 8731 stating these rights would be included in the MOA.
- The roles of the community and the researchers were defined. Among these were ensuring that research methods are culturally appropriate for the community and will not interfere with their daily activities.
- The community themselves brought up that in case of a breach of contract, they would want the NCIP to act as the arbiter between the two parties. The NCIP is the agency that has long assisted the community in resolving conflicts. They also agreed that the community's customary law and the university's alternative conflict resolution shall be recognized. (*Susundin ang umiiral na patakaran ng katutubong pamayanan at unibersidad sa alternatibong pagsasaayos ng hindi pagkakaunawaan.*)

- Terms of accommodation

The community recommended that the two research assistants who would be documenting the traditional knowledge and practices would stay in one household for a week and move to another family the next week. Selection of households was done by the community, mainly through volunteering and identifying community members knowledgeable in traditional healing. They also said that even though there is no healer in one household, the researchers should still stay with the family to observe how a “non-healer” family would respond to an illness. They said that it would be a good experience for the researchers to observe the varied lifestyle of Dumagat families.

Courtesy call on local government units

The office of Mayor Reynaldo Bitong of Casiguran was visited by the researcher and an NCIP official to formally inform them of the project. Since he was not present, a letter was left in the office. Emelita Curitana, the barangay captain of Cozo, personally received a letter regarding the research endeavor. Agta community members introduced her to the researcher who would be immersing in Sitio Dipontian.

The Dibut research team gave a letter to the office of San Luis Mayor Anabelle Tangson, to inform her of the project and the stay of the two research assistants in Barangay Dibut.

Organization, orientation and training of research assistants in facilitating participatory research

Four individuals were recruited for the position of field research assistant (RA). Two research assistants were vital for each community. A social science researcher would focus on the ethnographic research, understanding the context of the health seeking behaviour of the community. The biomedical researcher would tackle the ethnopharmacological aspect of the research. Dr. Oscar Vallejo of the Aurora State College of Technology assisted in the search for and recruitment of two researchers from the province. One of the objectives of the project is to build the capacity of regional researchers in ethnopharmacological and ethnographic research methods.

1. Project orientation and training on ethnopharmacological research

In the orientation, Dr. Isidro Sia, the project leader, emphasized the need for documentation due the loss of biological and cultural heritage. The Agta people were also prioritized in the research since they are more marginalized and vulnerable to change imposed by major ethnic groups.

Dr. Sia trained the team in ethnopharmacological research and in the use of data-gathering instruments. Each indication that a healer discusses must be probed further to understand the cultural context of an illness, e.g. a community might use the term *malaria* or *binat* but these may have different symptoms and causes from what is commonly known. Respecting the rights of healers to the knowledge they have shared was also emphasized.

Aside from learning the communities’ philosophy behind their healing practices, culture sensitive health education materials would also be developed with them. The project leader directed the researchers in preparing for possible outputs such as accessible and useful materials which inform the community of both indigenous and allopathic treatment.

2. *Training on ethnographic research*

Dr. Eufrazio Abaya discussed doing ethnography. He put emphasis on building rapport with the community. This would not only be done in the initial weeks as the community and the researchers get to know each other. This would permeate the entire research process as the researchers continuously consult the community in each activity, recognizing their ideas and respecting their traditions.

Dr. Abaya also reminded the team to be mindful of the politics between the researcher and the subject of the research. The research team must be aware that they are not imposing on the community. The researchers should adjust to the peoples' time and pace, and what information they may only offer. The team must synchronize the project agenda with the community's interests and also their schedule. A part of the fieldwork and building rapport is understanding their pattern of life; it is knowing the community's sense of time and space, such as areas where people are prohibited to enter and customs in entering houses. Through observation and discussing with the community, the researchers must ensure that they are not being intrusive of the peoples' lives.

The research would also delve with how health and well-being is connected to having material things, security in life, having the freedom of choice and looking well/good. Health connected to sustaining social well-being/relationship with community members would also be discussed. The psycho-spiritual aspect, sustaining good relationship with spirits they believe in, would also be significant to look into.

The research team would not only look at the community members as informants or respondents but consider them cultural consultants or interlocutors.

The researchers also attended a workshop conducted by the Anthropology Watch, Inc., a non-government organization working towards sustainable and self-managed indigenous communities with secure ancestral domains, through facilitative, participatory, gender-fair, and culturally appropriate processes.

The first subject matter discussed was culture sensitivity. Different attitudes on culture were discussed such as ethnocentrism – viewing one's culture as more superior than others. Along with this is the ideology of manifest destiny, the western nations' need to educate and civilize the less civilized peoples. This should be avoided as the researchers work with indigenous communities in the project.

The researchers were reminded to ask themselves, who they are serving in the work they do. What is the ideology that is steering them during the research preparation, actual fieldwork and in writing the report? The researchers must be aware of their actions and who is benefiting from it.

Other discussions were on culture change, which may be brought about by the community themselves or forced by outsiders. Indigenous communities may want to continue their traditions or abandon them and they may also adapt other cultural practices, but it is not for researchers/outsideers to decide. Researchers must respect the right of a group to self-determination and to cultural integrity.

The workshop gave a background and state of the different indigenous peoples in the Philippines. Also discussed was the history of laws, administrative orders and agencies which affect these communities, among these are the Indigenous Peoples Rights Act, land, wildlife, and mining acts. The four core rights of indigenous peoples were explained: the right of the community to their ancestral domain, right to express/practice their culture, right to social justice, and right to self governance.

International policies concerning indigenous peoples were also brought up: the United Nations (UN) Declaration on Human Rights, the International Labor Organization Article 169, stating the importance of consulting indigenous peoples on issues regarding them, their land, and their development, and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. The interconnectedness of development aggression, education, power struggle, and poverty of the indigenous peoples were also tackled.

During a discussion on participatory research, the group defined that research will only be participatory if the instruments were consulted first with the community and the results will also be managed by the people. Through different exercises, the researchers learned how to make methods appropriate, beneficial and provide learning for the communities.

Data-gathering methodology

The following data-gathering methods were utilized by the research assistants. Community members recommended approaches to ensure that the research process would be appropriate and respectful.

Participant observation

The research assistants lived and integrated with the community. The researchers took note of information on health practices which community members mentioned in casual conversations. These were given further inquiry.

Interviews

Interviews were utilized to obtain the life stories of healers. Through this method they were able to share their personal narratives regarding how they became healers, how they acquired healing knowledge, and the different illnesses they have dealt with. Caregivers also recalled of past illnesses of their children or grandchildren and described their health seeking behavior.

The healers informed the researchers of the schedule when they were available for interviews: Discussions were held in the morning before and after breakfast, prior to leaving for work. This would be continued upon arriving from work in the afternoon. Sharing of stories were also done after dinner, before sleeping.

The healers were not forced to disclose their knowledge. They were informed that they have the freedom to share only what they want to share.

Focus group discussion

The researchers discussed healing methods with groups of cultural consultants such as an Agta family. A husband and wife confirmed with each other the knowledge they knew. Aside from the researchers asking questions, the couple's daughter-in-law also asked further questions to learn more practices that she may be able to apply in caring for her children.

Reenactment of healing practices

Healers who brought medicinal plants demonstrated its use through reenactment which was captured in photographs and videos.

Medicinal plant collection and preservation with the youth

The youth were encouraged to accompany the researchers during plant collection so they would be able to learn of the knowledge of elders/healers. Through this they would be able to find out where they may obtain those plants if a family member needs it. They practiced memorizing the names of the plants gathered. They were taught to take photographs of the medicinal plants. The children

also assisted in cleaning the medicinal plants and labelling the specimen prior to spraying denatured alcohol.

Documentation through the use of digital gadgets

The researchers obtained permission from the cultural consultants prior to taking photographs and videos of actual healing process or reenactment, and also when recording interviews. In some forest areas picture taking was prohibited by a healer to respect the spirits residing there.

Verification of gathered information and security

Verification was done after data was written or encoded. The written report was read to the consultants and they were asked for comments afterward. Researchers repeatedly informed the consultants that they have a right to decide what information to disclose.

ETHICAL CLEARANCE

The project followed the protocol of the community and the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples in the proper introduction of projects and in obtaining the Free and Prior Informed Consent of the community prior to conducting research.

The project underwent the National Institutes of Health Ethics Review.

Gratuitous Permit was obtained from the Department of Environment and Natural Resources prior to plant collection. A Transport Permit was also obtained prior to transferring the plant specimen to UP Manila.

ACCOMPLISHED TASKS

The project was able to document the traditional and modern health knowledge and practices of the Agta people of Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora and the Dumagat people of Barangay Dibut, San Luis, Aurora. Seven healers and former healers, 31 caregivers, and 4 youth were the cultural consultants in Casiguran. Twenty six community members in Dibut shared their knowledge, included in this group were 3 individuals with the most knowledge in healing.

121 plants were documented as used by the Agta of Sitio Dipontian for 82 medical indications. Most plants were used for abdominal pain, post-partum illness, and wounds. 68 plants were identified by the Dumagat of Dibut as used for 45 medical indications. Most plants were used for wounds, fever, and diarrhea.

Aside from the technical reports, we were able to produce the said reports in Filipino for the use of the community in the research areas. Culture-sensitive health education materials were created with the community and translated to their language (Casiguran Agta and Filipino).

END-USERS/TARGET BENEFICIARIES:

1. The Agta people of Casiguran, Aurora and the Dumagat people of San Luis, Aurora;
2. The stakeholders involved in supporting our cultural heritage in health and conserving our biodiversity (policy makers, health NGOs, cultural workers, environment advocates);
3. The scientific community;
4. Industries involved in well-being and provision of health services focusing on complementary and alternative medical practices.;
5. The Filipino people.

POLICY ACTION AND PROGRAM INTERVENTION

Participatory research approach

The Documentation of Philippine Traditional Knowledge and Practices in Health Project aimed to follow a guiding principle wherein community members are not merely objects of the research but must be treated as cultural consultants. Being the owners of the said knowledge and practices, the people in the community have a right to manage their knowledge and be consulted in every aspect of the research. The researchers took steps to remind the community of their rights, from the drafting of the Memorandum of Understanding containing sections of the Indigenous People's Rights Act, to obtaining the Free and Prior Informed Consent of each consultant regarding the cultural knowledge they would share. The healers contributed in crafting methods which would help in the data-gathering and in adjusting to the livelihood or schedule of the community. They also specified which knowledge or names may be publicly disclosed. Individuals had the right to decide what matters could be discussed regarding health, religion and the supernatural. The data-gathered was organized into a Tagalog report and was read to the healers and other community members for verification of data.

The youth were encouraged by the adults in the community and the researchers, to be involved in the collection of plants and become familiarized with valuable and useful knowledge. They were taught the names of the plants, its uses, and where it may be obtained in their domain. The Agta and Dumagat youth also contributed in the photo-documentation of plants in the forest and in preserving plant specimen.

The health education materials were created with the community. Mothers and healers suggested which common illnesses should be the focus of the said materials. Community members also illustrated the images in the materials and translated the text in their own language (Agta).

It is crucial for the community and the researchers to be partners in the process. In order to respect the community's culture, including specific and unwritten rules, the researchers continually consulted the community to ensure ethical research procedure while conducting the documentation.

Advocacy

The ethnographic and ethnopharmacological study of the Dumagat people of Dibut will contribute to the body of literature concerning Philippine indigenous groups. The researchers learned that there was no available study yet which accounted the traditions of the said people. This report may greatly contribute in upholding the remaining Dumagat culture in the rapidly changing community.

The documentation done may be a tool to help the Agta community of Casiguran in their efforts to defend their right to their ancestral domain and in conserving their biological and cultural diversity being threatened by development projects. The ethnopharmacological report itself shows that the community greatly depend on their natural environment, which is where they obtain medicinal plants and nutritious food for their health. The Agta have inhabited the area since time immemorial and they depend on their environment for their survival. Their right to manage their traditions and ancestral land must be respected.

Indigenous peoples and health care

According to a report from the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (2009), 'indigenous communities are some of the poorest and most marginalized in the world'. To be able to reach out and give effective health service to more people, especially indigenous people who are among the 'geographically isolated and disadvantaged', we see that it is a crucial step to create a more culturally sensitive health care delivery system.

It would be a positive step toward improving health services if local health workers and health centers are aware of respecting indigenous beliefs and practices when working with the Agta and Dumagat communities. Instead of belittling the communities' health traditions which the people greatly rely on especially when they are financially strife, the health workers may open themselves to integrating the medicinal plants of the community which are safe to use.

Indigenous peoples have a different world view or perspective regarding health and healing. If health workers are able to read documentation of peoples' health knowledge and practices, they may understand communities better and may provide more effective health services. If health workers give time to understand the cultural beliefs and traditions of indigenous communities, they would know what health practices the people would accept. They may also be able to encourage communities to utilize important prevention or treatment therapies (such as vaccines) that the people would otherwise reject due to lack of careful and culture-sensitive explanation.

ABSTRACT

An ethnographic and ethnopharmacological study of the Agta people in Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora was conducted from June 2010 to January 2011. The study covers the documentation of the indigenous health knowledge and practices of the Agta people. The said knowledge was shared by 7 healers and former healers, 31 caregivers, and 4 youth of the community.

The Agta communities reside near the forest and sea which they rely on for food, livelihood, and medicines. They share these natural resources with the non-Agta migrants who now comprise the majority of the population of Casiguran. The Agta people recognize the importance food, which their ancestors taught them to eat, as key to good health. Although they already have access to pharmaceutical drugs from the health center and pharmacy, the Agta still depend on the products from their natural environment especially in financially difficult times. They learned from their ancestors how to utilize available natural resources to maintain health. They have also exchanged healing knowledge with other indigenous and non-indigenous people whom they interact with.

A total of 121 plants, 6 animal products, and 6 natural products were documented to be used for 82 medical indications recognized by the community. Eleven (11) plants were reportedly used for post-partum illness, 11 for wounds, and 10 plants for abdominal pain, among others. Documentation included the local names, therapeutic indications, plant/animal parts or natural product used, method of preparation, direction for use, precautionary measures, source of information, and other significant data. The plants were identified by their scientific names, where applicable.

The Agta also shared their indigenous etiological knowledge and the methods they knew to avoid and cure illnesses apart from and complementary to the use of herbs. A primary example of this is the Agta healer's role in communicating with humans and supernatural beings to heal the sick, if these are identified to have caused the illness.

Despite the changes that have arrived in Casiguran, traditional Agta practices still remain. But as more migrants arrive and expand in population in or near the ancestral lands of the Agta, and as development projects are introduced without consultation with the indigenous communities, changes in the distinct way of life of the Agta will occur more rapidly. Encouraging both the youth and older generation to protect their natural environment and value their knowledge and practices is crucial in upholding the culture and ancestral land of the Casiguran Agta.

SCOPE AND LIMITATION

Data was gathered through intermittent field work from June 2010 to January 2011. Numerous Agta individuals were recognized as healers in the whole San Ildefonso Peninsula, however, the study only focused on six healers residing in or near Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo. Information on the healing practices of the Agta was obtained from stories the cultural consultants shared. Community members identified individuals they recognized as healers. Healers also suggested other Agta whom they know possess healing knowledge and abilities. All healers were knowledgeable of medicinal plants but not all were assisted by a spirit when performing treatments. A number of the recognized healers were already hesitant to share their knowledge and experience due to their conversion to the Christian faith. Elder healers had also forgotten many healing practices that they once carried out.

The researchers' actual observation and experience of healing were limited to remedies for wounds, fever, headache, toothache, and *subi-subu* (stomachache and chills experienced by baby/child). A healer's harm reduction strategy was observed as he communicated with spirits in several instances for the safety of the researchers during the collection of medicinal plants in the forest.

Initially, it was agreed upon that the researchers would live in the six healers' household to maximize time spent with the cultural consultants. However, the researchers were only able to stay in two healers' households due to the unavailability of others. Only one healer was able to bring the researchers to the forest to identify and collect the medicinal plants he was knowledgeable of. Other healers had work or experienced illnesses that hindered them from participating in the collection of plant specimen. Despite this situation, a few healers and community members were able to accompany the researchers in obtaining plants near the vicinity of the community.

Filipino, Kasiguranin, and limited Casiguran Agta key words were used during interviews and discussions. The Agta cultural consultants translated the stories or conversations regarding health into Filipino or Kasiguranin so the researchers would be able to understand. The community encouraged the Filipino speaking research assistant to learn their language to be more effective in data gathering.

METHODOLOGY

Identification of indigenous groups

The Agta community of Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora, was selected based on the following criteria:

- 1) reputed richness of indigenous healing traditions (presence of traditional healers and community members knowledgeable of indigenous healing practices),
- 2) the richness of the biodiversity of the ancestral domain of the people,
- 3) the expressed willingness and capacity of the community to participate, and
- 4) there is peace and order in the area/community.

Conducting consultation meetings with partner community and integrating their recommendations

As defined in the Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act (IPRA), Free and Prior Informed Consent (FPIC) shall mean “the consensus of all members of the ICCs/IPs to be determined in accordance with their respective customary laws and practices, free from any external manipulation, interference and coercion, and obtained after fully disclosing the intent and scope of an activity, in a language and process understandable to the community.” (Rule II. Section 1.k., IPRA 1997)

A letter was sent to the NCIP Central Office requesting for assistance in linking up with the communities. The said letter was forwarded to their Region 3 Office and Aurora Provincial Office. Through NCIP field officers, a letter was sent to the communities requesting for a consultation regarding the documentation of their knowledge and practices in health.

On May 6, 2010, a meeting with the Agta community was held in the Dipontian Christian Fellowship Church, in Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora. Twenty two community members were present including Chieftain Regina Eneria. Engineer Mark Basilio, the NCIP Officer assigned in Casiguran, facilitated the consultation which was part of obtaining the FPIC of the community. The project leader explained the project rationale, objectives, and methodology to the community. The community then raised questions, comments, and shared past experiences regarding research conducted in their area.

In the consultation, the community members confirmed that they still practiced traditional healing methods and also shared about *bunogen* (healers) among them. However, aspects of their culture, including their language, were slowly disappearing. Some verbalized that many of them have not

been able to pass on their knowledge: “*Darating yung panahon na malilimutan na ng mga kabataan.*” (Time will come when the next generation of Agta will forget our traditions.)



The consultation with the Agta community held in the Dipontian Christian Fellowship Church.

The community asked regarding the set-up on the researchers' daily meals. They said that previous individuals who immersed there were fed by the families they lived with. The project leader informed them that with their approval the researchers would eat what the family will provide but they shall also give daily food contribution so that the host families would not be burdened.

A community member reminded the researchers that if they would really be immersing in the community then they should not pass judgment on their practices. One also said to be prepared if some would be shy/apprehensive (*nahihiya*) to talk to them. Some would also be apprehensive to take them in because they may only provide food such as *kamote*. They were concerned that the researchers would not be comfortable with their food. The research team told the community that part of the immersion is experiencing how the Agta live, including what they eat. The community should not adjust to the researchers, the researchers will adapt to their lifestyle. The team assured the community that they and their way of life would be given respect during the research.

Data-gathering methodology

The following data-gathering methods were utilized by the research assistants. Community members recommended approaches to ensure that the research process would be appropriate and respectful. This would be the code-of-ethics that the researchers would follow.

1. Participant observation

Ponciano Bennagen (1985) defined participant observation as “inserting oneself in the flow of everyday events as one joins in the activities while at the same time taking notes (mental and written and, in some cases, taped); judicious loafing in convivial places (inside the house, yard, etc.).”

With the consent of the community, the research assistants integrated with the community by living in 3 Agta households (2 healers and 1 non-healer). The researchers took note of information on health practices which community members spoke of during casual conversations. These were given further inquiry upon availability of the cultural consultants. The researchers were also able to observe actual use of medicinal plants when individuals had wounds, fever, or toothache. Use of synthetic medicine and/or complementary use of herbal and synthetic medicine were also noted. One healer was also accompanied in the forest when he harvested bananas in an upland area. During this livelihood activity, he performed a harm reduction ritual in order for one researcher to avoid illnesses which may be brought about by spirits residing there. The harm reduction ritual was repeated by the healer when he brought two researchers in the forest to collect medicinal plants. Through these rituals the researchers were taught proper conduct within the forest.

After gathering food and while eating together with families, cultural consultants would share the importance and health benefits of the food in front of them. Noel Tanyet, a father and healer, also explained to other community members that the researchers were there to experience life of the Agta and if they had to eat *kamote* then that is what the researchers will eat.

2. Scheduling discussions and interviews

The healers informed the researchers of the schedule when they were available for interviews: Discussions were held in the morning before and after breakfast, prior to leaving for work. This would be continued upon arriving from work in the afternoon. Sharing of stories was also done after dinner, before sleeping. The consultants could also be interviewed if they had no work for the day. They would simply visit the researchers to inform them of their availability.

3. *Interviews*

Interviews were utilized to obtain the life stories of healers. Through this method they shared their personal narratives regarding how they became healers, how they acquired healing knowledge, and the different illnesses they have dealt with. Caregivers also recalled of past illnesses of their children or grandchildren and described their health seeking behavior.

The healers were not forced to disclose their knowledge. They were informed that they have the freedom to share only what they want to share. This was part of the code-of-ethics the researchers followed.

If they would interview other healers from other indigenous communities, they said that the primary question they would ask would be, “*Ano ang kaya mong gawin bilang isang manggagamot?*” (What are your abilities as a traditional healer?)

4. *Jotting down stories*

Dolsing Lisiday, a healer, also recommended that as they narrate their stories on healing, the researchers should write down the stories in one language first, e.g. Agta, and then write it in Tagalog. The healers who do not know how to read requested their story to be read aloud in Tagalog and Agta to confirm the accuracy of the story and the words. The accuracy of spelling or grammar may be checked by the Agta Pastor, Arman dela Cruz.

5. *Focus group discussion*

The researchers discussed healing methods with groups of cultural consultants such as an Agta family. A husband and wife confirmed with each other the knowledge they knew and practiced. Aside from the researchers asking questions, the couple's daughter-in-law also asked further questions to learn more methods that she may be able to apply in caring for her children.

6. *Reenactment of healing practices*

Healers who brought medicinal plants to the researchers demonstrated its use through reenactment which was captured in photographs and videos. Dolsing suggested that he would play the role of the sick child and one of the researchers would act as the father. The “father” would perform *tapal* for headache, placing *puyéng* leaves on the forehead and temples and keeping it in place with a piece of cloth tied around the head. Noel Tanyet, another healer, reenacted how to use the sap and shavings of the butnol vine to heal a deep wound in the leg caused by a *sundang* (bolo).

7. *Establishing rapport*

As said by project consultant, Dr. Abaya, developing a relationship of trust and acceptance between the community and researchers, is not only done in the beginning of the research, but throughout the entire period. Aside from respecting the rights of consultants to share only the information they want to disclose and verifying the said data to ensure accuracy, other approaches in how the team established a good connection with the people included:

The researchers attended three Sunday worship services in Dipontian Christian Fellowship Church, a Protestant (born-again) church of the Agta community. The project leader was also able to attend one of their services. The Agta churchgoers appreciated the gesture of the research team and acknowledged their presence. During the services, the group also prayed for the success of the documentation project.

Pastor Arman dela Cruz and Chieftain Regina Eneria were given copies of the Dumagat (Casiguran) – English Dictionary (with the permission of the authors, Thomas and Janet Headland). Arman informed the researchers of the situation that they, the younger Agta generation, were already unfamiliar with many Agta words. The dictionary would be helpful to them.

One of the researchers, Eric Portera, was a Kasiguranin and his father, Noli, was friends with some Agta individuals and even went hunting with them in the forest during his youth. Informing them of this connection facilitated in some community members' openness to share their knowledge. The said researcher also used Kasiguranin when communicating with the cultural consultants. This was useful since some consultants would have difficulty explaining certain situations using Filipino. The said researcher was also able to understand at a certain extent what the consultants were discussing regarding health using the Agta language.

In their spare time, one researcher read Tagalog children's stories to children and mothers. She also danced with the women in the community when they had spontaneous performances of *sébkal* (chant) with accompanying drum beats using a large empty oil can. A sign of good relationship with the community was when the two researchers were asked to be the godparents of newborn children in the community.

Another sign of the community's acceptance of the researchers was when a supposedly forgetful elder visited the household where researchers were staying so she could share a story she remembered (to enrich the documentation). Healers and other community members also brought plants to the researchers while mothers stopped by to narrate the practices which their mothers

had imparted to them.

8. Medicinal plant collection and preservation with the youth



A researcher measures a plant.



The healer, researchers, and children take a lunch break after half a day of gathering plants.



The researcher and an Agta youth remove the soil from a plant specimen.

The youth were encouraged to accompany the researchers during plant collection in the forest so they would be able to learn of the knowledge of the adults or healers. Through this activity, they could find out where they may obtain those plants if a family member needs it. Two children joined during the first collection. Four children joined in the second plant gathering excursion. They practiced memorizing the names of the plants gathered. They were taught to take photographs of the medicinal plants. The children also assisted in cleaning the medicinal plants and labeling the specimen prior to spraying denatured alcohol.

When in the vicinity of the community, adults instructed their children or grandchildren to be the ones to obtain medicinal plants to be shown to the researcher, reflecting knowledge being passed on to the younger generation.



An Agta child helps label a medicinal plant.



Loyda, an Agta healer, guides the researchers in obtaining medicinal plants on a rainy day.



Agta children enjoying collecting plants and getting their photographs taken.

Upon obtaining consent from the community to gather medicinal plants for plant identification, gratuitous permit was obtained from the Region 3 Office of the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR), following their protocol in gathering specimen. Permit to transport the collected specimen to Manila was also obtained from DENR Casiguran Office after plant inspection was done.

9. Documentation through the use of digital gadgets

The researchers obtained permission from the cultural consultants prior to taking photographs and videos of actual healing process or reenactments, and also before recording interviews. In some forest areas, picture taking was prohibited by a healer to respect the spirits residing there.

10. Verification of gathered information and security

Verification was done after data was written or encoded. The report was written in Filipino and read to the consultants. They were asked for comments afterward. Researchers repeatedly informed the consultants that they have a right to decide what information to disclose to the public.

11. Preparation of health education materials

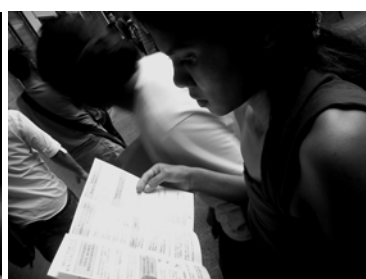
The cultural consultants were consulted regarding what topics to tackle in health education materials to be made with and for the community. Aside from the common illnesses such as cough and flu, the community requested the research team to create with them materials on handling diarrhea. Arman and Noralyn dela Cruz were in charge of translating the materials from Tagalog to the Agta language. The draft of the health booklets were also read to mothers to ensure that the explanations were understandable. Arnold 'Aloy' Kukuan was assigned to illustrate the materials depicting Agta people in the steps to manage diarrhea. Biyong Tanyet helped in translating the revisions when the researcher was already in Manila. During a visit in Manila, other Agta community members also checked the printed drafts of the materials.



Eric, transcribing the Agta translation of the materials.



Arman reads the Tagalog version of the health materials before adapting it for the Agta community.



Chieftain Rehina and other Agta community members reading the draft of the materials during a visit in Manila.



12. Remuneration

Although it was discussed in the community meetings that they would not be bothered during their work, and they would be interviewed only if they were available, the community members requested to be provided food such as coffee, sugar, rice, and bread for the time they gave to the researchers. They informed the research team that this was done by the past researchers who had stayed in the community to recognize the time, knowledge, and musical performances they gave. The researchers gave the remuneration to the cultural consultants during late November, after most of the interviews and discussions were done.

The healer who brought the researchers in the forest to share his knowledge in medicinal plants was also paid by the researchers out of their own pocket as recognition of the time and expertise he shared. The pastor who assisted in translating the health education materials was also provided food as remuneration for the 1-2 hours he spent in adapting the health materials to the context of the Agta.

13. Ensuring respect towards the community

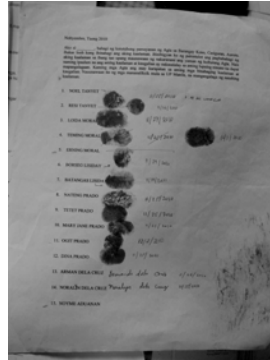
“...the holistic and integrated adherence of IPs to their respective customs, beliefs, traditions, indigenous knowledge systems and practices (IKSP), and the assertion of their character and identity as peoples shall assume an important consideration in the decision-making processes... to ensure that the culture and traditions of the concerned ICC/IPs are recognized and respected in the process and their general well-being promoted.” (NCIP A.O. No. 01 Part I. Section 4.d. Primacy of Cultural Integrity)

Throughout the consultations it was emphasized to the community that they have a right to manage their knowledge and practices. The research process and the researchers conducting it must also be respectful to their culture. In the meeting on the memorandum of agreement and informed consent form, the appropriate/culture-sensitive methodology was discussed to ensure project will be ethical. These were the guidelines followed throughout the research process and were open to be modified by the community, if needed.

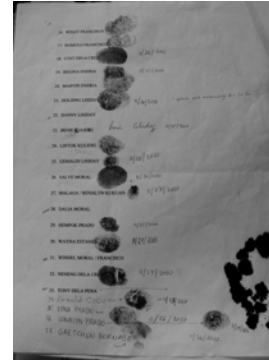
Portions of the Indigenous Peoples Rights Act were reviewed with the community and they themselves recognized their rights to their traditions and their role in managing and protecting it. The indigenous peoples' rights were upheld through the project methodology drafted with the community and by recognizing relevant clauses in the IPRA regarding management of indigenous knowledge and practices.



Mary Grace puts her thumbprint on the document.



The document signifying the community's consent to share data.



Consultants were repeatedly informed of their right to decide what they would want to share. During final verification of data, they were again asked if they would want to include or exclude specific data in the report. After the data-gathering, thumbprints of the cultural consultants were gathered as additional proof of individual consent to share data to the public. As the researchers obtained their thumbprint, consultants such as Tetet Prado instructed them to share the study regarding the Agta so other people may become knowledgeable of their culture.

14. Literature search

The researchers referred to the comprehensive studies of Thomas and Janet Headland, who lived among the Agta of Casiguran from 1962 to 1986. Their published reports greatly assisted in providing a very detailed history of the said indigenous people. They narrated the changes in the way of life of the community from the 1960s as foragers living in the rich biodiversity of the forest until the 1980s when the Agtas became peasants, forced into the market economy for they could no longer be solely sustained by their natural environment. Their data on the Agta language and the changes in the ancestral domain shall be referred to in this report. The Headlands also published a Casiguran (Dumagat) – English Dictionary (Headland and Headland, 1974) which contains data on medicinal plants. The researchers were able to verify a number of plants mentioned in the dictionary still being used by the community up to now although for different indications. The dictionary was used to ensure the correct spelling of medical indications and also plant and animal names in the Agta language.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

I. The Agta People of Casiguran

There are 110 indigenous communities which can be found in the Philippines.¹ The Agta of Casiguran, Aurora are one of the thirty Negrito groups in the country. The Negrito are said to be the earliest inhabitants of the Philippine islands. It has been approximately 20,000 years since their ancestors migrated to the archipelago, while the arrival of the Austronesians, the ancestors of the present majority of Filipinos, has only been 5,000 years ago (Headland 2003).

The term Negrito² refers to a group of people which aside from the Philippines may also be found in peninsular Malaysia, Thailand, and the Andaman Islands. They have distinct physical features such as dark skin color, fuzzy hair, and short stature. Agta females have an average height of 141 cm (4.5 ft) while it is 152 cm (5 ft) for males. (Early and Headland 1998)

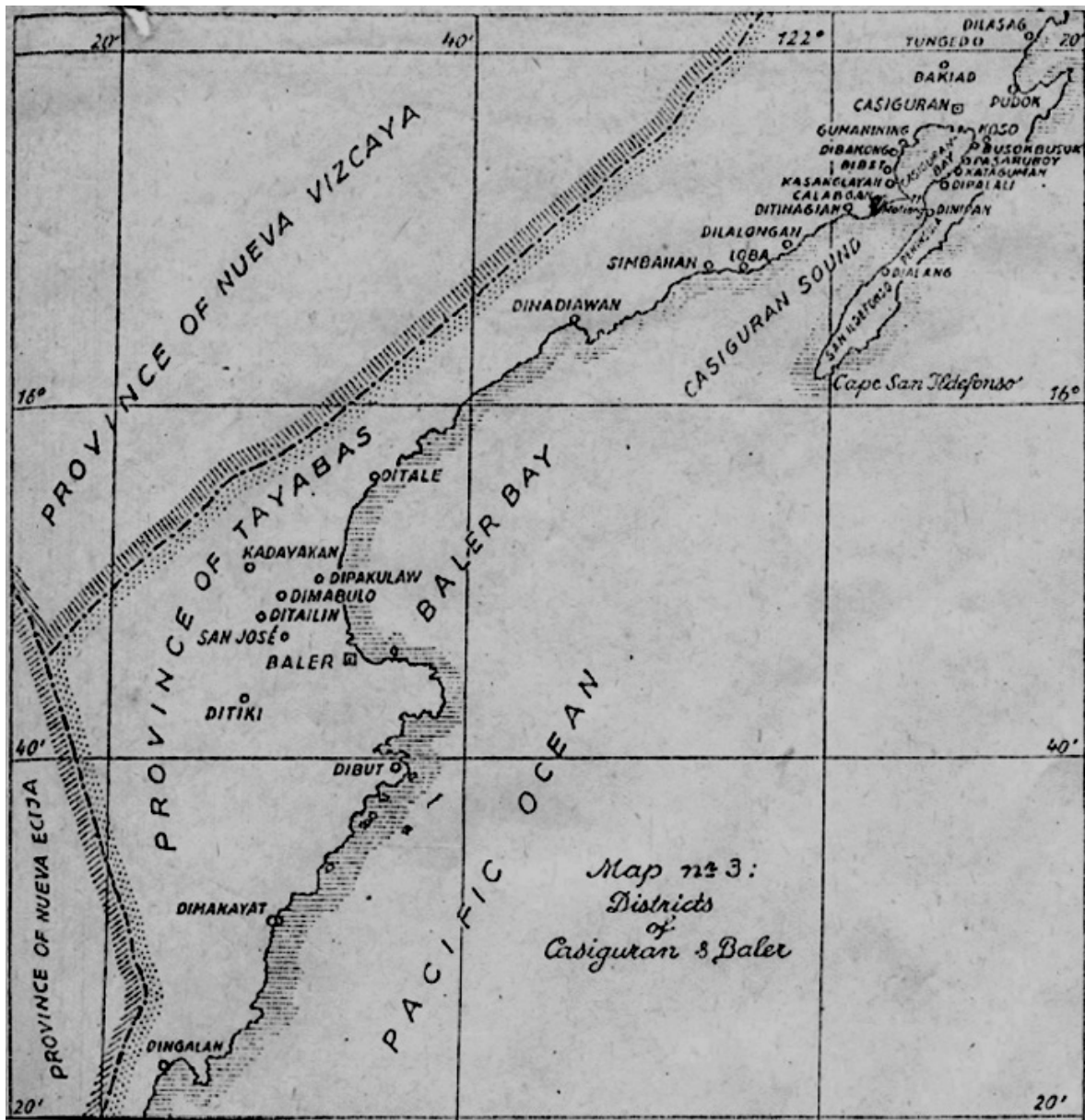
The Agta people of Casiguran reside in the foothills and seaside of Sierra Madre. Their ancestors lived by hunting for meat, gathering edible plants in the forest, and catching fish and other food from the river and ocean. They also traded their forest, marine, and riverine products with non-Agta to obtain valuable food such as rice. They moved from place to place, setting up their camps in areas where food was abundant. (Headland 2003)

The Casiguran municipality is found in the north of Aurora Province, which is located in north-eastern Luzon. It is situated in latitude 16°16'48" N and longitude 122°07'24" E (PAGASA 1971-2000). The elevation of the land ranges from 2 meters to 1,670 meters above sea level (Casiguran-MPDO 2007). To the north of Casiguran is the municipality of Dilasag and in its south lies Dinalungan. The municipality is bounded by the Pacific Ocean in the eastern side while the Sierra Madre mountain range is situated along the western part of Casiguran. The San Ildefonso Peninsula extends to the southwest from the northeastern part of the municipality.

The Casiguran ecosystem was a tropical rainforest with a 700 km² expanse. There were five types of forests which could be found there. In 1983, Headland gathered data on the percentage of the different forest types in Casiguran: the beach forest was at that time 0.3 percent of the total land area, mangrove forest 0.4 percent, mossy oak forest 6 percent, molave forest 7 percent, and the dipterocarp tropical lowland forest was then 58 percent of the Casiguran ecosystem.

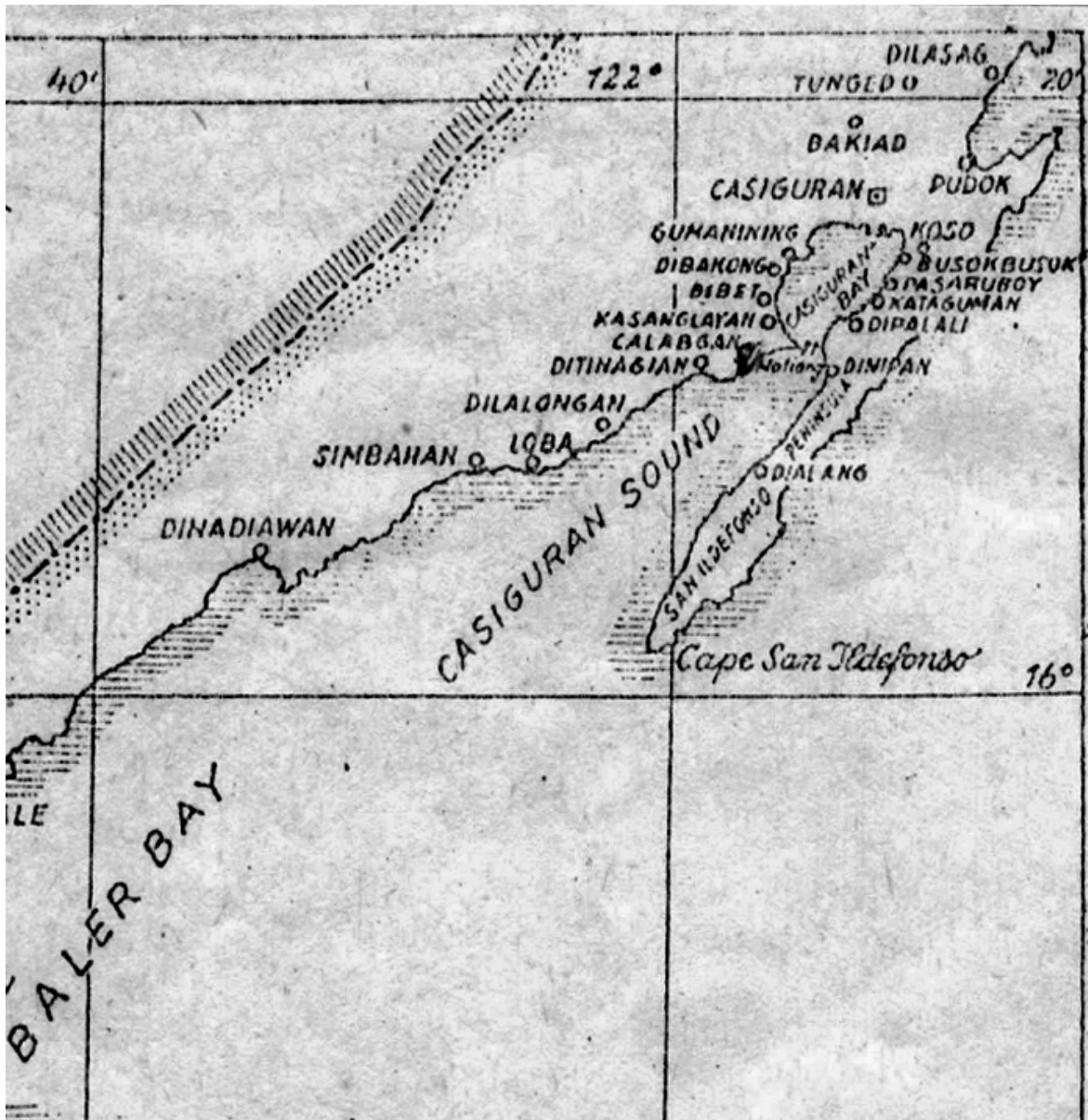
¹ Based on the count of the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP)

² During the 1500s, the Spaniards introduced the term Negrito into the Tagalog language. (Headland 2003)



MAP 1. BALER AND CASIGURAN DISTRICTS

Source: Vanoverbergh, Morice. "The Negritos of Eastern Luzon." *Anthropos* 32: 905-928; 33:119-164. 1937-38. Map 3.



MAP 2. CASIGURAN DISTRICT

Source: Vanoverbergh, Morice. "The Negritos of Eastern Luzon." *Anthropos* 32: 905-928; 33:119-164. 1937-38. Map 3 cropped and zoomed in.

In 1988, 75 percent (300 km²) of the dipterocarp forest was still old growth forest but a large part of it (260 km²) was already partial closure.³

The rest of the said forest (100 km²) was already secondary growth. Among the areas in Casiguran which were transformed by human activity were the anthropogenic grasslands, 7.1 percent of the land area, while 6.6 percent were rice fields, and 9.1 percent were coconut and other fruit farms. (Headland 1988a)

According to PAGASA data on Casiguran from 1971 to 2000, the average temperature of the municipality was 26.4°C. Rainfall in Casiguran reached 190 days per annum. The average rainfall was 3,617.7 mm in a year. Presently, the heaviest rainfall occurs during the month of November which measures 570.9 mm. The southwest monsoon is experienced from July to September, while the northeast monsoon is from November to February. (Casiguran-MPDO 2007)

The population count of Casiguran in 2007 was 25,822 (Casiguran-MPDO 2007). As of 2010, there are 1,084 Agta in the municipality (NCIP 2010) living among non-Agta of the following ethnicities, Ilocano, Bisaya, Bicolano, Kapampangan, Gaddang, Itawes, Ibanag, Tagalog, etc (Casiguran-MPDO 2007).

The Agta of Casiguran are divided into seven communities which may be found in the following political jurisdiction: Sitio Dipontian and Dumagipo in Barangay Cozo, Sitio Dalugan and Disigisaw in Barangay San Ildefonso, Sitio Casapsapan in Barangay Culat, Sitio Mainit in Barangay Tinib, and in Barangay Calabgan. The small number of Agta residing in other sitios which are not mentioned, belong to the larger Agta community near their area. Each community is led by a chieftain, a system which was introduced by government agencies tasked to organize the indigenous peoples. The Agta people have already settled down in specific areas (the sitios mentioned), unless there is a need to leave to work. Many have also intermarried with non-Agta and now reside in communities where the majority are non-Agta.

According to the census conducted by Barangay Cozo officials in 2007, there are 44 Agta households/174 individuals in Sitio Dipontian, Sitio Agues, and Sitio Dupalale. The latest population count of the National Statistic Office for Barangay Cozo in 2007 was 1,517 (NSO 2007).

³ This is compared to a full closure primary forest - a type of forest that has not been logged, where the forest canopy can reach as high as 30 meters or more. (Headland 1988a)

Identifying the Agta and non-Agta

Gapet Lisiday is two years old and can already recognize who is Agta and non-Agta. "Puti!" is how she calls the non-Agta researcher. Matan Lisiday, a four-year-old Agta also points out who are the Agta and non-Agta in book illustrations. In the 1920s, Fr. Morice Vanoverbergh, CICM, visited the Casiguran-Negrato people and learned that their term *agta* meant 'man'. They also used the Tagalog term *puti* to refer to strangers or outsiders (Vanoverbergh, 1937). Aside from using the term *puti*, other community members refer to the non-Agta as *tolay* (in Agta) or *tao* (in Filipino), both meaning 'human' or 'person'.

Vanoverbergh also mentioned that the appellation *Dumagat* was accepted by both Agta and non-Agta. The Agta already use the exonym to refer to themselves. They even call the office of Tribal Center for Development (an organization supporting the Agta) as 'opisina ng Dumagat' (Dumagat office). According to many Agta such as Teming Moral, they recognize themselves as *Agta sa kapatagan* (lowland Agta) who are already 'civilized.' This is in contrast to the Palanan Agta which they refer to as *ebuked*, a derogatory term. Agta and non-Agta alike stereotype the latter as wild people living in the mountains and seldom interacting with other people (Headland 1978).

II. The language of the Casiguran Agta

There are 175 languages in the Philippines, according to the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), this includes thirty Negrito languages (Lewis 2009). Studies of linguists show that the present Negrito population does not speak the early Negrito language. Their vocabulary contains many borrowed Austronesian words. This may have occurred when the early Negrito groups and Austronesians interacted, as they, for example, exchanged goods with each other. (Reid 1987) However, each Negrito group still has a distinct language, which reveals what they value and the depth of their knowledge regarding the land that they live in.

There is only one language spoken by the Agta people of Casiguran. The Agta of Cozo, San Idefonso, Calabgan, and other barangays in Casiguran use the same language when communicating with each other. According to the SIL, the Agta of Casiguran understand 83% of the Paranan⁴ language. There are also Casiguran Dumagat⁵ words similar to the Palanan Agta language. Resi Tanyet says that she speaks Agta when communicating with other Agta from

⁴ The Paranan of Isabela, like the Kasiguranin, are non-Negrato people whose language was influenced by Negrito language.

⁵ The term used by the Summer Institute of Linguistics referring to the language of the Agta people in Casiguran.

Palanan and Quirino. But when she talks to the Dumagat people of Dibut, Aurora or the Agta of Infanta, Quezon, she uses Tagalog.

The majority of the non-Agta people residing in Casiguran are from the Tagalog, Ilocano, Bisaya, Bicolano, and other ethnolinguistic groups. But the language commonly used in Casiguran is Kasiguranin. According to a study of Headland in 1975, the Kasiguranin share 77% of its basic vocabulary with the Casiguran Dumagat, compared to the former sharing only 52% with Tagalog. In 1937, Vanoverbergh commented that ‘...instead of losing the language they [the Negritos] had borrowed from their conquerors, they partly imposed it on their masters and brought into being a Casiguran dialect [Kasiguranin]...’ (Vanoverbergh 1937 from Reid 1987)

The richness of the language

Thomas and Janet Headland arrived in Casiguran in the year 1962, when the way of life of the Agta was still hunting and gathering. The Headlands studied the Casiguran Dumagat language. When they became fluent speakers, they formed an alphabet of the language and published a grammar and dictionary with the help of the Agta. They also translated the New Testament into Agta aided by Benvenido, Pompoek, Eleden, and Pelip. The Headlands learned of the richness of the Agta language when they were able to record 603 names of plants, 127 names for kinds of fish, 44 names of seashells, 14 kinds of snails, 21 names for types of arrows used in hunting, 21 names for rattan types, and 46 words for types of rice or stages of its growth. They also listed 45 verbs which mean ‘to fish’ and 14 verbs for ‘to go hunting.’ (Headland 2003)

An endangered language

In the 175 languages found in the Philippines, four have no known speakers or are already considered extinct. All of these are Negrito languages: the Katabaga of Bondoc Peninsula, Quezon; Ayta Tayabas of Quezon; Agta Villa Viciosa of Abra; and Agta Dicamay of Jones, Isabela. (Lewis 2009)

In an article written by Headland in 2003, he reported that the thirty Negrito languages are at risk of becoming extinct.⁶ Included in this count is the language of the Agta of Casiguran. According to Headland, the language of the Agta is endangered not because it is not being used or there are few speakers left, but because the language is changing rapidly. One sign which shows that a

⁶ See Appendix for the list of endangered Negrito languages in the Philippines from Headland (2003)

language is already endangered is when it becomes moribund or if it is “no longer being learned by children as their mother tongue” (Headland, 2003:3) In the case of the Casiguran Agta language, the children are still speaking it, however, when they reach the age of 12 they are already fluent in Tagalog. (Headland 2003)

For each Agta living in Casiguran, there are 85 non-Agta individuals. We see in this ratio how many non-Agta now reside in the area. The Agta interact with the non-Agta in many aspects of their lives and Tagalog is primarily used to communicate. It is already a common sight to see an Agta and non-Agta living side by side. The Agta children also go to public schools where majority of the students are non-Agta and Tagalog is the language used for teaching. (Headland 2003) Many Agta women have already gone to nearby provinces and even to Manila, to work as house helpers in which the primary language there is Tagalog. Even when they are in Casiguran, they use Tagalog when speaking to the non-Agta whom they work for.

Even though there is no electricity in some sitios where the Agta live, they still watch television or *beta*⁷ in the poblacion or nearby sitios that have a generator. Recently,⁸ an Agta was given a portable DVD player and they have been watching Tagalog action movies frequently. Agta youth who are employed are already able to purchase cellular phones. Aside from calling or texting relatives who live far from their community, the Agta also have friends or “textmate(s)” who are Tagalog. They use a few English words when teasing each other through text messages. Headland (2003) noted that before long, the Agta language will be ‘heavily mixed’ with Tagalog, Ilocano, and English.

Intermarriages have also contributed to the changes in the language. In the same article, Headland (2003) reported that in the middle of the 1980s, intermarriages with non-Agta became common. In the past 17 years, 40% of newlyweds were Agta women who married non-Agta men. These couples started their families in other communities and their children grew up not speaking the Agta language.

When Headland visited Casiguran in the year 2002, not one Agta individual he spoke to noticed that their language was already endangered or changing (Headland 2003). However, in August 2010, Arman, an Agta pastor (whose father is Ilocano), told the researchers that there were many Agta words which they did not know anymore, such as words written in the bible that was translated to their language the 1970s. An example of this is *pésah* which was said to be eaten by

⁷ Shortcut for betamax but refers to movies, even in VCD/DVD format.

⁸ This occurred on December 2010.

someone in the bible. Arman asked around and he later learned that it was an old Agta word for a kind of grasshopper. The word they presently use for grasshopper is *dudun* (the term in Kasiguranin is *pasar*, close to the old Agta term *pésah*). He also said aside from Boboy (grandfather) Erning Moral, other Agta rarely use the word *mara* which means “for example.”

Arman thinks that the bible should already be revised using the present Agta language or it should be translated to “*mababaw na Agta*” (simple Agta). It would be better to change the words which they cannot understand, because for him what is important is that the word of God is effectively shared and understood.

Many Agta words have ceased to be used as a result of more non-Agta coming to their land, and as their natural environment and livelihood had changed. Different kinds of forest animals have either disappeared or their numbers have been drastically reduced which is why hunting is no longer the Agta’s primary livelihood. Along with this is the reduction of knowledge passed on to children about animals in their natural habitat. In the school for Agta built by the Tribal Center for Development, each classroom has an Agta name, such as the *Kabeksan* room which refers to the female or mother *buhog* (monkey). Naming the rooms is a good strategy to familiarize the youth with Agta words. But it will be retained or it will be more meaningful to the young Agta if they are able to apply in their everyday life.

In the dictionary which the Headlands had published (Headland and Headland, 1974), they listed a plant which was used to dye *biskal* (armband). Presently, Resi, goes to the market to buy dye for her *pinanés* (wristband) made of abaca. She does not know of any plant which may be used as dye. Aside from this many other plants have already disappeared because of environmental degradation. They have also turned their back on traditional rice seeds when hybrid seeds were introduced. More families use ‘durabox’ (plastic containers) in their homes than woven baskets. Because of these changes, there has been decline in the utilization of their traditional baskets which have different shapes and uses. (Headland, 2003)

The Agta are now also able to obtain medicine from the health center, pharmacy, and other stores. The Agta have learned new health related words and concepts from the health workers, nurses, doctors, and also from the media (radio and television). For other Agta who have been baptized as Christians, they say that if they have faith in God, they should no longer believe that there are spirits in the forest which cause illness. In these situations, less Agta words, concepts, and beliefs are passed on the youth.

According to Dolsing, an Agta healer, if they cease wearing *beg* (loincloth), they will also cease using herbal medicines.⁹ The older Agta are also concerned that if their ancestral domain continues to be degraded and as more youth embrace the life ways of the non-Agta, then their language and their culture will be gone.

III. The land of the Casiguran Agta People

In the year 1962, the Headlands lived among the Agta in what was still a closed primary forest rich with flora and fauna. There were still a great number of *laman* (wild pigs), *buhog* (monkeys), and *ogsa* (deer) which nourished the Agta. In the 1950s, a group of Agta could capture 20 wild pigs or deer in one game drive.¹⁰ (Early and Headland 1998, Headland 2003)

However, in the middle of the 1960s, the lives of the Agta slowly began to change. Large scale logging was permitted by the government and this only halted in 1978. The largest non-Agta migration in Casiguran also occurred during this time. When logging became a major industry in the north of Aurora, four companies began to operate in Casiguran and a great number of non-Agta were hired to work in the area.¹¹ The logging companies in Casiguran were Casiguran Bay Timber Corporation, Industries Development Corporation (IDC), RCC Timber Company, and Pacific Timber Export Corporation (PATECO). In 1977, a road connecting Casiguran and Baler was constructed. The next year, 52,103 m³ of the forest in Casiguran was already logged. From a foraging lifestyle, the Agta began to work for cash and wages because their forest resources were dwindling. (Early and Headland 1998, Headland 2002 and 2004)

Casiguran is still involved in a large scale logging agreement which will end in 2025. The IDC holds an Integrated Forestry Management Agreement (IFMA) which gives them a right to log in 48,877 hectares of land in the municipality. (Phil. Daily Inquirer 2005)

The Agta of the Casiguran, Dinalungan, and Dilasag municipalities, who recognize themselves as part of one indigenous group, applied for a Certificate of Ancestral Domain Title (CADT) in 1998. The NCIP began the perimeter survey phase of the titling process in December 2010 and it is still ongoing. The Agta hope to obtain the CADT as soon as possible in order to strengthen their right to

⁹ Dolsing said this during an interview when we discussed that until now Agta are still wearing *beg*, June 27 2010.

¹⁰ A way of hunting wild pigs or deer wherein Agta women would line themselves at the bottom of a steep hill and set fire in the grass. The animals would then run toward the top of the ridge in the forest, the Agta men waiting to catch them. (Early and Headland 1998)

¹¹ According to Benedicto Parimog (from the Schedule for Market Values 1981-1982 for the Province of Aurora, Philippines), during the end of the 1970, almost 10,000 people worked for more than 40 companies with logging operations in the entire Aurora (Headland 2004).

reside and manage their ancestral land and resources.

The CADT is crucial for them since, aside from logging, a recent development project has encroached on Agta lands. The Republic Act 9490, authored by Aurora Representative Angara, was passed in 2007. This bill would create the Aurora Special Economic Zone Authority (ASEZA) in 500 hectares of land in Casiguran and its objective would be to develop the economy of Casiguran through its agriculture and tourism industry. In 2010, Senator Angara amended this into Republic Act 10083, which became the Aurora Pacific Economic Zone and Freeport (APECO). From its initial land area, the economic zone was expanded to 13,000 hectares, encompassing the entire San Ildefonso Peninsula. (Barcelona/CBCPNews 2010)

Included in the plan are an international airport, seaport, and processing and canning facilities for agricultural and marine products. The APECO administrative building and hotel which is being built costs 437 million pesos. The said aim of APECO is also to conserve the rich biodiversity of the area while providing livelihood to people and bringing progress to the province. (Barcelona/CBPCNews 2010, Galvez 2010, APECO) Areas affected by the zone are Barangays Cozo, Culiat, Dibet, Estevez, and San Ildefonso, these consist of public and private lands, residential areas, prime and productive agricultural lands, and the Agta ancestral domain. (Cahiles-Magkilat/MB 2009, Benaning/MB 2010)

*Aanhin natin ang magandang bayan kung ang mga tolay ay walang kabuhatan?
Sabi nila pinangangalagaan nila ang kagubatan pero para sa kanila 'yun, hindi para sa amin. Yung iba, ang iniisip lang nila ay trabaho. Hindi nila inisip ang mangyayari sa kagubatan namin.*

What is the use of a 'developed' land if people are losing their livelihood?
They say they want to conserve the forest but that is for their own purpose, not ours. Others only think about getting employed. They do not realize what will happen to our forest.
- a Casiguran Agta

Presently, one can find approximately a thousand Agta living among more than 25,000 non-Agta in Casiguran. Many of their lands are already owned by non-Agta farmers and soon the entire peninsula may be controlled by the development project. But the Agta still utilize their knowledge of their surroundings through strenuous work, gathering raw materials or fresh products in what remains of their forest and sea not yet spoiled by the aforementioned developments. Although their products are bought at a low price, they make do with what they earn.

IV. The livelihood of the people

Agta women gather *bidiyo* and *sabutan* leaves in upland areas and its fibers are woven into *abek* (mats). A single size mat costs Php 120.00 while a family size is Php 200.00. *Talen* (baskets) are also woven from the same material to create containers for rice or clothes. This can cost Php 30.00 to Php 50.00. They also make house shingles made of nipa palm and bamboo. Some buyers may order 200 pieces. One *pawed* (shingle) costs Php 2.00 or Php 4.00 if sold in the *bayan* (town center). *Walis ting-ting* (brooms) made out of coconut leaf ribs cost Php 4.00 and buyers may order 100 pieces.



Malaga making a *pawed*.



Resi weaving a small *talen* (basket).



Loyda crafting a *walis*.

The men gather *uway* (rattan) which are sold at Php 1.00 for a thin vine and Php 2.00 for a thicker vine. After purchasing these from the Agta, non-Agta contractors sell it at a higher price. Men also gather tall and narrow wooden trees to be used as posts for *baklad* (fish traps) of non-Agta wherein Agta are hired as wardens. Each person only earns a few hundred pesos for obtaining more than 30 wooden posts. This is the payment they receive for three hours of travel into the interior of the forest to cut the trees. Then they must guide these logs through a long winding river until these reach the sea.

Hunting for animals is still a source of income. The *kurukuru* or *pudupudu* (species of dove) are sold for Php 50.00 apiece. A kilo of wild pig meat is usually sold in the community at Php 150.00, while it will cost Php 180.00 in the town.

Agta women also sell *melatak* (white), *medideg* (red), and yellow orchids, and *baston* (a beautiful red flower) from the forest. These usually cost Php 10.00 to Php 20.00 but uncommon violet orchids can be priced at Php 100.00. If the orchid has no flower they bring down the price to Php 5.00 to earn even just a small sum for their work.

When they have limited funds, they gather for themselves fruits, vegetables, and rootcrops in the upland areas. The indigenous food which their ancestors taught them to eat, uncultivated edible roots called *buklog* and *ilos*, are still obtained there. Nutritious indigenous forest fruits called *inapo* and *bahubu* which they value are already becoming fewer since its trees are cut down for wood. According to Arman, the *inapo* trees are very important. One way to catch a wild pig is to perch on an *inapo* tree when its fruits ripen and fall to the ground. The hunters will just have to wait for a wild pig to come and eat the *inapo* fruits. In their *binaset*,¹² where the soil is hard and reddish, one may still find an *inapo* tree. But these are getting fewer and fewer because of the large scale and small time loggers. Hempok considers the *inapo* and *bahubu* truly healthy food. Many Agta say the *inapo* is an 'original Agta fruit' or '*orihinal na prutas ng katutubo*' which their ancestors taught them to eat. The fruit of the naturally growing tree is very tasty according to Wayna Estanes. Arman even describes the fruit as one that has its own grease. Wisay is angered by those non-Agta who cut the *inapo* trees. She said that the Agta confront them regarding cutting down the valuable fruit trees, but they do not listen.

Titing shared that if one ate *buklog* (uncultivated edible root plant) found in the forest, it would already be a heavy meal and one could have energy enough for 2 days. Even the *pélwat*, a rambutan like indigenous fruit, is useful as both food and medicine. It can be used as an antibiotic for wounds. Dolsing said that one only needs to heat it over fire, mash, boil in water, then drink the decoction. He uses it for his itches and wounds on his feet. This shows that their indigenous forest fruits and root crops are very valuable to their way of life, especially health.

Agta also bring home from the upland areas *talbos ng kamote*, *biget* (banana), *puso ng saging* (banana blossom), papaya and *pako* (fern) among others. They also obtain *sarembagat* plant to add flavor to their food.

Rice is also an important part of their diet. They buy rice from nearby Sitio Busok-busok and Site, where non-Agta have put up sari-sari stores. Two Agta households in Dipontian also sell NFA rice.

¹² A portion of the Agta ancestral domain forest area, still rich in flora and fauna. Non-Agta are prohibited to enter this area where wild pigs and other animals are able to reproduce and mature. Binaset originally refers to an area where an Agta died which the grieving family forbids people to enter for a number of years to respect the deceased.



Agima (crab) caught by Agta mothers.

Ikan (fish) and *kugita* (octopus) from the Pacific Ocean caught by Agta men.

Agta men head to the eastern side of the peninsula to catch *ikan* (fish) in the Pacific Ocean. There, one can get *malabed* (surgeon fish), *salagpat* (oscar fish), *kugita* (octopus), *banagan* (lobster), and other sea fauna. Using *antipara* (goggles) and *pana* (arrow), men fish in a deep part of ocean when the waters are calm. The fish are salted and dried or delivered fresh to non-Agtas in the *bayan*. Fish usually cost Php 50.00 per kilo but sometimes, for eight kilos of fish, they are only paid two kilos of rice and some tobacco.

Sigay (cowry shells) are gathered in the seaside of the Pacific Ocean. A tall cupful of *sigay* sells for Php 100.00. Sometimes these are bought by non-Agta to be used for souvenir items. A few buyers from Manila have also order *ébuwang* (hermit crabs) which are sold to schoolchildren who use it for crab racing that they bet on. One *ébuwang* sells for a peso.

Agta also catch *agima* (sea crab) in unpolluted mangroves not close to their homes. They obtain *gapet* (small sea crab), *sisi* (oyster), *capiz*, *batukarit* or *balilit* (sea or brackish water snail), and other marine bivalve mollusks and sea/freshwater snails in areas far from human waste.

If there are no jobs available within Barangay Cozo, the men go to other barangays and accept temporary jobs working for logging companies such as Pacific Timber Export Corporation (PATECO) in Dinapigi. Some guard bulldozers while others cut trees using *senso* (chainsaw). Agta women, on the other hand, do laundry or cut grass for non-Agta families. Some go to Manila, Pampanga, Isabela, and other far places, to work as house helpers.

A few Agta men have also been hired by APECO to become forest guards who are tasked to preserve the biodiversity of their land. They are paid a few thousand pesos to prevent both Agta and non-Agta who hunt for animals and cut trees in the forest. They report sighted individuals to the Department of Environment and Natural Resources office in the town center. This has caused

quarrels among the Agta. Many are angry because they are losing their right to livelihood in their own ancestral land, a way of life which they learned from their ancestors. Those who are prevented to go hunting in the forest ask, "What else can we do to earn a living decently? Do you want us to steal in order to survive?"

Many coconut trees have already been planted in the Casiguran forest for copra. The Agta have coconut farms but most are owned by the non-Agta who hire Agta workers. According to Arman dela Cruz, a piece of coconut costs Php 5.50 while a kilo of copra sells for Php 20.00.

The Agta typically work in rice fields of non-Agta or lease their rice fields to non-Agta (*pagpapatalok*). Outsiders always ask why Agta people don't farm. Their forest resources are dwindling so they are better off earning through planting in fields. They have their own fields and they also have strength and the ability to do this. Some call them lazy for not tilling their own fields. Many organizations have helped them start or develop rice fields but not one has succeeded. Back in 1740, a Spanish priest was already prodding the Agta to do farming. (Perez 1928 from Headland 1985)

According to a study of Headland, the Agta will be competing with the non-Agta if they go into farming. The Agta and the migrant settlers had already developed a defined relationship which has continued from generation to generation (called *ahibay* system). The role of the Agta is to obtain products from the forest which the non-Agta purchase. The Agta also work for them in their rice fields and coconut farms. If this relationship is disrupted, the Agta will not be able to get rice or money to buy food each day. Rice is very important to the Agta. It is estimated that 92 percent of what they consume is eaten with rice. There have been many instances when forest lands which the Agta cleared and turned into productive agricultural areas were taken possession by non-Agta. (Headland 1988b)

The choice of the Agta of Casiguran to avoid farming and continue their present available livelihood is a step they take so that they can still call a portion of land their own and obtain essential food such as rice. This is a way to avoid conflict. Joel, an Agta high school scholar, explained what commonly happens to the Agta when they clear land:

Kami (Agta) ang nagbukas ng gubat, naglinis ng lugar para magbahay at magtanim. Pag maganda nang tirahan, inaagaw na sa amin.

We (Agta) were the ones who cleared the land to be able to build houses and plant there. Once the land is good to live in, they take it from us.

Arman said many Agta now have coconut farms or *koprahan*, but if a non-Agta takes possession of

their land '*hinahayaan na lang ng iba para walang gulo.*' The other Agta just let it go so there will not be any argument. Resi also said, '*Pinapapasok na nila (gobyerno) yung mga puti. Saan na kami pupunta? Sa bundok?*' 'The government is allowing the non-Agta to settle in our land. So where will we go? Up to the mountains?'

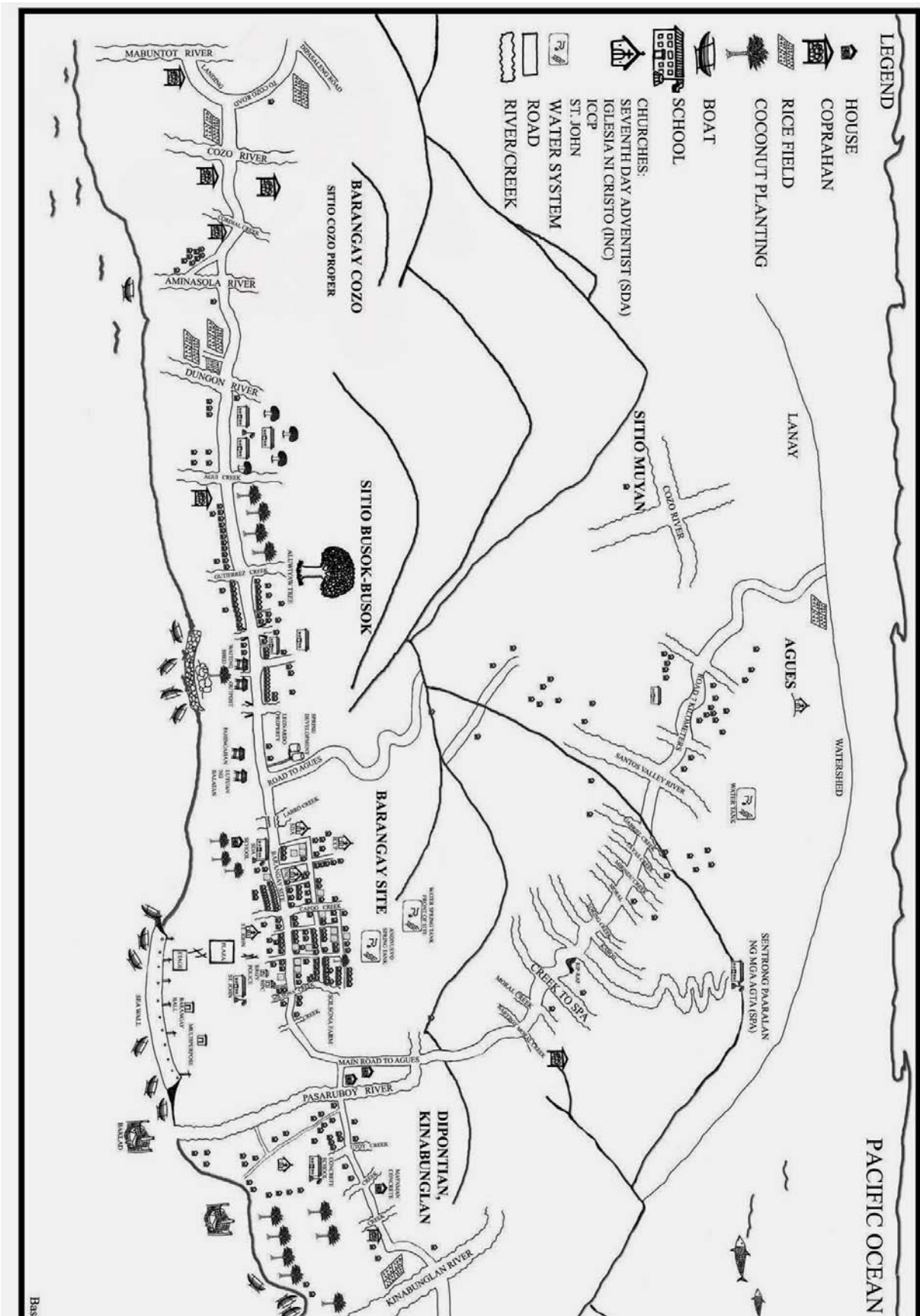
As the population in Casiguran grows, more and more people depend on the remaining natural resources of their environment which is continuously depleted. Now, both Agta and non-Agta of Casiguran must look for means to survive in what is available to them.

V. Access to Sitio Dipontian

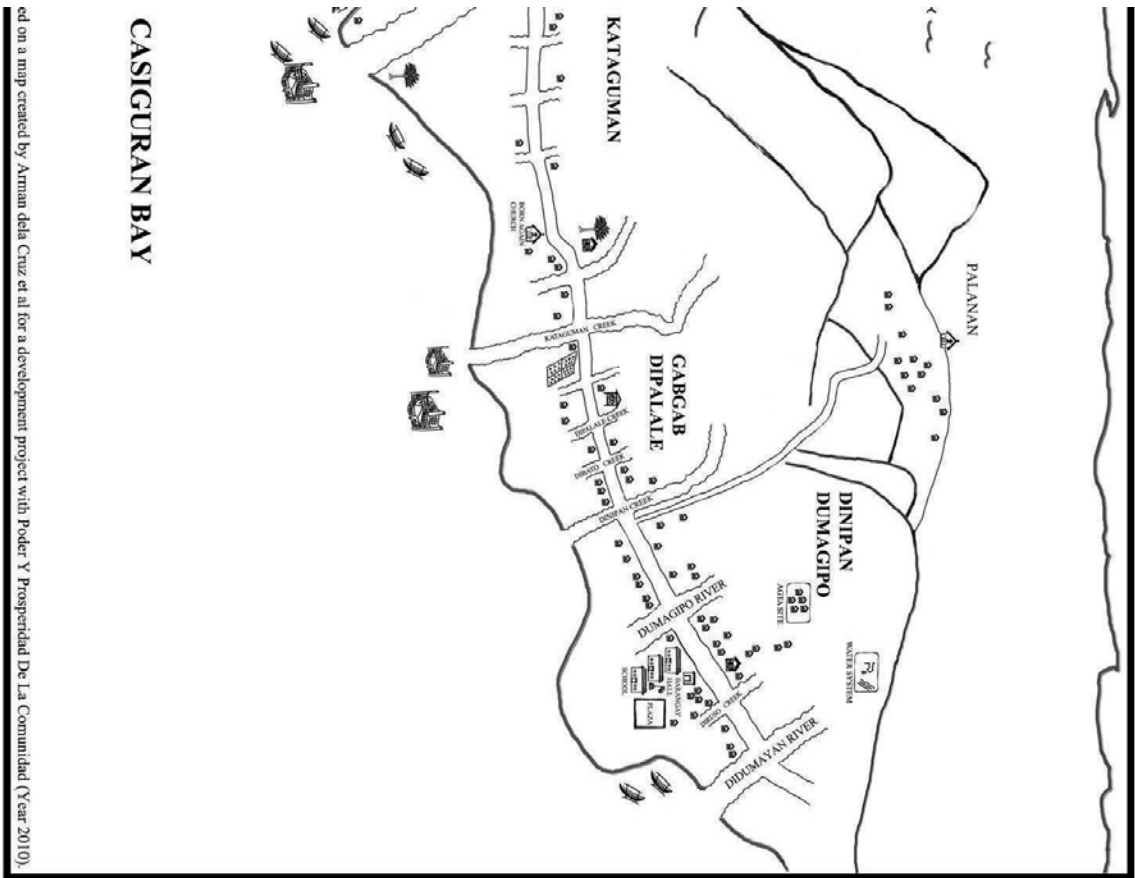
Casiguran is 353 km away from Manila. It takes twelve to thirteen hours to reach the municipality by land (Casiguran-MPDC 2007). Buses pass through the provinces of Bulacan, Pampanga, Tarlac, Nueva Ecija, and Nueva Vizcaya to get there. The public transportation service directly travelling from Manila to Baler and Casiguran is the Genesis Transport Service. A community member said that indigenous people of Aurora are given free rides in its buses and in return conductors request for wild pig meat from the Agta. Other buses, both regular and air-conditioned buses (such as Five Star and Baliwag Transit) ply the Manila to Cabanatuan, Nueva Ecija route. One must then transfer to another bus or van to get to Baler.

Before the road from Baler to Casiguran was constructed in 1977, the only way to reach the municipality was a five-hour boat ride. At present, to get to Casiguran, one must take a four-hour bus or van ride from Baler. Vehicles pass through the municipalities of Dipaculao and Dinalungan before arriving in Casiguran. The small regular buses available can carry an average of forty-five passengers which may sit comfortably. Men also ride on the roof of the bus beside the agricultural and marine products. The popular bus traveling to Casiguran is D-Liner. The bus fare is PhP 162.00 while riding a van will cost PhP 200.00.

Upon reaching the *poblacion* of Casiguran, where the municipal hall and public market may be found, one must hire a tricycle to get to the *pantalan* (dock) in Barangay Lual, where a number of *bangkero* wait for passengers. A small outrigger boat or *bangka* traveling to Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, may be rented for PhP 120.00. The boat ride takes about thirty minutes. Trucks, jeepneys, and motorcycles may travel to Barangay Cozo by land which takes up to twenty to thirty minutes. A portion of the road nearest the *poblacion* is already cemented but the greater part is rough road and crosses rivers which may rise during high tide or *taib*. A more sturdy bridge is currently being constructed to replace the old wooden one still being used.



Documentation of Philippine traditional knowledge and practices in health:
 The Agta People of Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora, 2011



CASIGURAN BAY

ed on a map created by Arman dela Cruz et al for a development project with Poder Y Prosperidad De La Comunidad (Year 2010).

VI. Community facilities within and near Sitio Dipontian

Based on its name, Dipontian may once have been an area abundant with *ponte*,¹³ a wild banana plant. According to Wisay Francisco and her daughter Rehina Eneria, the Agta from Sitio Pasaruboy moved and settled in Sitio Dipontian because a German individual named Hartmut Heller bought the land from a non-Agta and donated it to them. He wanted to help build huts and protect their natural environment but Hartmut died in Manila in 2006.

In the Agta settlement within Sitio Dipontian, there is no electricity, although power cables for other communities (usually non-Agta) run along the dirt road. To charge their cellular phones and flashlights for Php 10.00-15.00, the Agta must walk 30 minutes westward to Site, wherein majority of the residents are non-Agta. They also pay a small sum to watch television, movies, and rent a karaoke machine. This is where they also buy food, soap, and other necessities from numerous variety stores that non-Agta have put up. Within Sitio Dipontian, two Agta households now sell NFA rice. One has a small store which is stocked with canned sardines, coffee, sugar, cooking oil, dried fish, noodles, biscuits, candies, liquor, and other items.

The Agta obtain their water for drinking, bathing, and dish washing from a *poso* (water pump) beside the basketball court and the Dipontian Christian Fellowship ICCP, Inc. church. Households have not built toilets. Other Agta do their bathing and laundry in nearby rivers and springs.



The unused school building with two classrooms.



The *poso* (water pump) beside the church.



The Dipontian Christian Fellowship Church and the basketball court.

The Filipino-Chinese Friendship School Building in Dipontian was built in 2008, donated by the Federation of Filipino-Chinese Chambers of Commerce and Industry, Inc. This has two classrooms which are rarely used. But if there is a relatively strong typhoon, the community seeks shelter in this concrete structure, otherwise they evacuate Dipontian and stay in town. The Protestant church

¹³ A wild banana plant whose fruit is barely edible but the fiber obtained from its trunk can be made into a string for wrist and arm bands; it is similar to abaca, but it is not an abaca plant (Headland and Headland 1974).

also acts as a hall for community meetings. The nearest government office and health center is in Site.

TABLE 1 COMMUNITY FACILITIES WITHIN SITIO DIPONTIAN

School Buildings	Health and Sanitation	Government Offices	Recreational	Others
1 school building with 2 classrooms (unused)	1 water pump	None	1 basketball court	1 church building/ meeting hall

VII. Interaction among the Agta and religious groups

The Agta of Dipontian belong to different Christian churches but not all actively attend services. Most of the older Agta were baptised as Catholic before the Protestants came to their area. The Agta have had a long history of interaction with the Catholic Church.¹⁴ According to Headland, there are records of Agta being baptised by Catholic priests since the 1800s. Wisay Francisco, who is in her forties, recalls having non-Agta god parents from Baler when she was baptised a Catholic as a child.¹⁵

In 1962, Thomas Headland, an anthropologist, and his wife Janet, a field-linguist, conducted field research among the Casiguran Agta including studying their language. They translated the New Testament into the Agta language with the help of Didog Aduanan, Pompoek Aduanan, Eleden Aduanan, and other individuals. They developed an alphabet for the language and published a grammar and dictionary. They also provided medical services and community development programs for the people. (Headland 2007)

There are twenty to thirty born-again Christian Agta in Dipontian, according to Arman dela Cruz, the Agta pastor who leads the services in the Protestant church there. He explained the roots of their church, that Monie Chiong of the Christian Missions for the Unreached, Inc. (CMU) lived among the Agta of Palanan, Isabela for a long time. Monie hired the Palanan Agta to harvest rattan. When he was able to gather them, he began preaching to them. The Palanan Agta who became born-again Christians then came to the Casiguran Agta and were able to convert some

¹⁴ In 1578, Franciscan priests arrived in Palanan and Casiguran to do mission work, even before the founding of the said towns which was in 1609. (Headland 1999)

¹⁵ These non-Agta may have been her parents' *ahibay* or lord/patron, for whom the Agta work, in rice fields or coconut plantation, and may have a significant relationship with through their system of labor.

individuals into the Protestant faith.

Mas epektibo ang paghikayat dahil kapwa katutubo ang nag-imbata at nagbahagi ng salita ng Diyos.

They (CMU) were effective in converting us (Casiguran Agta into born-again Christians) because the indigenous peoples themselves (the Palanan Agta) were the ones who invited us and shared the word of God to us.

- Arman dela Cruz, Agta Pastor

Back then, when a few families had just began to settle in Dipontian, the born-again Christian Agta invited other Agta to come and do fellowship in their homes. This was before the church was built in 2000. Agta children in Dipontian are now commonly baptised in the Protestant church, regardless if their parents are churchgoers or not.

Some Agta had joined the Iglesia ni Cristo but were not able to follow the strict attendance of church services and the monetary contribution. Others were offered jobs by Adventists and afterwards were coerced into becoming members of the church. Arman says one thing he appreciates about Monie and their church is that they respect the Agta cultural traditions, specifically betel quid chewing.

The various religious groups that came to Casiguran provided the Agta of Dipontian education, employment, and western medicines. Through this, new knowledge and practices were learned by the indigenous people.

VIII. Experiences in education

Agta children from Sitio Dipontian study in F. Benitez Elementary School in Sitio Busok-busok, Barangay Cozo. Majority of the residents in that sitio are non-Agta, which are comprised of Tagalog, Bisaya, Bicolano, and other migrant ethnic groups. Children walk for thirty to forty minutes to go to class. During low-tide or *hibas*, they take a short cut by passing through a *bakawan* or mangrove and estuary (where the Pasaruboy river flows to the Casiguran Bay), then walk the dirt road to Busok-busok. If it is *taib* (high-tide), the children are brought to school by boat.



Agta children going to school by boat.



High-tide greets the Agta children crossing the Pasaruboy Estuary to get home from school.

The Sentrong Paaralan ng mga Agta - Main (SPAM) in Sitio Gagawden, Barangay Cozo was established by the Tribal Center For Development Foundation, Inc. (TCD), a non-government organization set-up by Catholic priests and nuns. The primary objective of the school was to teach the Agta people to read and write. The SPAM caters to the youth of Sitio Dipontian as well as other Casiguran Agta communities. There is also an SPA campus in Sitio Disigisaw, Barangay San Ildefonso. The first SPA campus was established in Infanta, Quezon, where the TCD is based.

Forty-five scholars may be accommodated by the school each year. The campus is an hour and a half hike uphill where one crosses the Pasaruboy River twice and the Gagawden River more than ten times. In the SPAM campus there are more than five classrooms; a two-storey building with a wide space in the first floor and three classrooms in the second floor; a girls, boys, and teacher's dormitory; and a kitchen (which burned down a few years ago). There is also a basketball court and an elevated area where students' graduation ceremonies are held.

The children must stay in campus for the whole school year except during weekends. This is when the students and a teacher come down to buy their food for the coming week, the daily meals being part of the children's scholarship. Since the school does not have its own text book specifically about Agta culture, students read books about other indigenous Filipino cultures such as *Kultura Mangyan* gathered by Antoon Postma. Nevertheless, if an Agta adult or elder is available, she/he is also called to share Agta stories or teach Agta practices. A problem the community faces is that SPA is yet to be accredited by the Department of Education. They do not issue report cards so if the student would want to transfer to a regular school, her/his subjects grades in SPA will not be credited. The TCD say they are still resolving this matter.

There are currently two SPAM teachers who are from Aurora but are not Agta. The Agta community in Dipontian have yet to produce a college graduate. One of TCD's goal is to produce Agta teachers by providing scholarships for Agta youth. The Agta teacher will then replace the non-indigenous teachers which they hope shall be more able to motivate the Agta youth to value their culture and also value education. Among all of TCD's Agta schools, only the Infanta, Quezon campus has an Agta teacher.

The secondary and tertiary level school nearest the community is the Mount Carmel College of Casiguran, which is in the town center. If a student comes from Dipontian, it takes about an hour, riding a boat and tricycle, to get to class every day. Agta youth attending the said school stay in the TCD office in Barangay Lual in order to get to class easily.

Agta youth have experienced discrimination not only from their classmates but also their teachers. They are picked on simply for being Agta. But a number of them have learned to stand up for themselves. Ria Estevez, a college scholar of TCD who hails from Sitio Dumagipo, shared her experience of her teacher uttering a slur against the Agta, when she was a senior high school student in Mount Carmel. One time her classmates were being noisy so the teacher scolded the class. "*Ang iingay niyo para kayong mga Agta!*" she said. (Stop being so noisy! You are acting just like the Agta!) Ria then spoke up and confronted her teacher. She told the teacher if she was aware that there was an Agta among her students. She pointed out that the Agta are not the only people who make noise since all humans possess a mouth. She also reminded her teacher that the Agta are always the ones people ridicule. She then reported the incident to the principal who reprimanded the teacher. The teacher apologized to her. Ria gained respect from her classmates by standing up for herself and her identity as an Agta.

A challenge which the Agta must confront is that even though organizations (such as TCD) offer elementary, high school, and college scholarship, some of their college scholars have chosen to get married than finish their education. ASCOT also offers scholarships to indigenous peoples in Aurora. However, few Agta have applied for it, since some parents do not want their children to be away from home. Agta youth commonly attend elementary school then marry or find work. Girls often get jobs as house help or take care of children for families in Isabela or even as far as Manila. Boys take jobs in logging companies.

Resi, an Agta mother, said it is fortunate that her children received an (elementary) education so that they know how to handle money and also distinguish what is right from wrong.¹⁶ However, many Agta children are unable to attend class if they have no food to bring to school or slippers to wear. Some youth skip their classes. Parents see the importance of education but are not able to encourage their children to go to school as they are occupied with making a living to support their family's daily needs.

¹⁶ Some Agta view themselves as not knowledgeable of proper reasoning and behavior because they are unschooled, unlike their children.

THE *BUNOGEN*, *ALBULARYO*, OR THE *DOKTOR*?

The Agta People of Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora:
Their present views on health and well-being

Sibilisado na.
Binyagan na.
Already civilized.
Already baptized.

These are a few of the ways the Agta people of Sitio Dipontian describe themselves and other Agta in Casiguran, Aurora. Although they have maintained their appetite for *laman* (wild pig) and taste for *éman* (betel quid or *nganga*), significant events have already altered the Agta way of life. Among these are the influx of migrant settlers who have become the majority in the area, the destruction of their ancestral domain, and the introduction of Christianity.

Far from their earlier nomadic, hunting and gathering lifestyle in the thick forest, the Agta have already settled down. They live among the non-Agta and work for them in coconut farms and rice fields, lands which used to be their hunting grounds. Their children now attend public school and are exposed to mainstream media through radio, television, and VCDs/DVDs.

The depletion of natural resources in their ancestral lands and waters has resulted to a lack of sustenance which the Agta previously obtained from their forest, rivers, and ocean. Being unable to depend on hunting for meat and gathering other food has forced the Agta to participate in the cash economy. Aside from working as laborers for the non-Agta, other means of living are selling fish and crabs they have caught. Earnings from this go to buying rice and coffee, among other things.

The Agta have also joined various religious groups such as Roman Catholic, Protestant, Iglesia ni Cristo, and Seventh Day Adventist. Within Sitio Dipontian can be found a Protestant (born-again) church wherein services are led by an Agta pastor. As they acquire new views and values, they are also taught to retain 'good' Agta traditions and set aside other indigenous beliefs. '*Yung iba (na gawain ng katutubo) dapat alisin. Yung iba huwag dahil maganda.*'

According to the born-again Agta, among the positive traditions that should be maintained is the sharing of food (e.g. wild game) while belief in supernatural beings should cease. Along with this, the *bunogen* (shamans) who cure illnesses brought about by spirits, are dissuaded by churchgoers in continuing their practice if they decide to surrender themselves solely to God. On the other hand,

other Agta say that one should have faith in God yet still respect the beliefs and traditions of their ancestors such as healing through the *bunogen*.

Through the example above, we see that the major occurrences which altered the Agta life ways have consequently affected their health-seeking behaviour. Interactions with migrant settlers have led them to rely on the non-Agta *albularyo* and adapt their healing methods such as the use of *tawas* (alum). Moreover, medical programs provided by government offices, non-government organizations, and researchers, have introduced them to biomedical treatments and explanations. All these various sectors have influenced how the Agta view their body, their illnesses, the cause of their ailments, and the appropriate health specialist to consult. Their present knowledge and practices in health are now a mixture of indigenous Agta traditions, with cultural borrowing from neighboring ethnic groups and Western biomedical approaches.

The indigenous knowledge system of the Casiguran Agta was developed through centuries of interacting and learning from each other, from non-Agta of different ethnicities, and most importantly their natural environment. As inhabitants of a large expanse of tropical rainforest bounded by the Pacific Ocean, they became adept at utilizing their surroundings for their sustenance. To subsist, they relied on their understanding of the world and the resources available to them.

With the arrival of migrants, their cultural, economic, and political system was altered, social relations expanded, and roles were redefined. Drastic ecological transformation occurred as their natural environment was utilized by a growing non-Agta population together with the boom of the logging industry. In facing these changes, the Agta still relied on what was left of their natural resources and also their understanding of the world, but when it was not enough, they had to learn new knowledge and depend on available resources. To survive, the Agta adapted to their ancestral domain's changing ecology and social environment.

In examining these transformations through a cultural and environmental adaptation framework, we shall take a functionalist approach, viewing their economic and cultural adaptation as a step they have taken to maintain their survival. But we shall also highlight the continuity of the Agta indigenous knowledge system, particularly in health and well-being, persisting among the present population. The knowledge and practices passed on to them by their ancestors are part of their identity as Agta which the older generation still hold on to. Although many changes have occurred and old practices have been abandoned, a number of their elders' teachings are things that they are very sure of. Examples of this are medicinal plants which they have compared with prescription

drugs and have proven to be more effective. They tell people that they strongly swear by its efficacy.

Indigenous Agta health practices and borrowed methods from neighboring rural communities are also maintained since there are limitations due to their economic condition. The Agta are marginalized in their own land. Although they strive to participate in the cash economy they still cannot afford medicines. This leads them to return to their roots and utilize medicinal plants and other methods which were taught to them by both ancestors and non-Agta healers.

The Agta also recognize that their survival does not only depend on adapting to modern customs, one must still learn the old ways which will be useful if the need arises:

*At kung magkaroon pati ng giyera at magkaroon kayo riyang ng takbuhan?
Magtakbuhan kayo sa gubat. Mabuhay kaya kayo roon kung wala kayong alam?
Ay, ano ang matutunan niyong kainin sa gubat? E, 'di patay kayo ng gutom.
And what if war erupts and you run to the forest to escape? Will you survive there
if you do not know anything?
What will you learn to eat in the forest? You will die of starvation.*

- Edna and Hempok Prado, an Agta couple in their fifties, addressing the Agta youth

In this study, I shall compare the Agta view of well-being and suffering while living among themselves in a richer habitat, with their current life ways in a changed environment. How the Agta define their health and cope in their present situation by utilizing different options in healing shall be explored.

Case studies on physiological and symbolic modes of healing shall be included. The Agta rely on medicinal plants especially during financially tight times. When herbs and prescription drugs are not enough, some Agta still seek help from a *bunogen* (shaman), to commune with the spirits which may have caused the illness. In other cases that the Agta cannot handle, such as *tédak* (witchcraft), the non-Agta are consulted. Situations when both physiological and symbolic modes overlap will also be tackled, such as sharing of wild game which enhances nutrition and strengthens social relations.

In this study I will explore the various methods of healing which the present Casiguran Agta utilize to attain health and well-being. I will examine how they experience and prevent or respond to illness in the context of local cosmology, relying on their indigenous knowledge and practices and also the methods borrowed from the non-Agta. I shall describe and analyze their health-seeking

behaviour as they interact among themselves and with the non-Agta, adapting to the changing natural and social environment of Casiguran.

COSMOLOGY

In the 1930s, Father Morice Vanoverbergh, CICM, a Belgian missionary, observed the Casiguran Agta for over two months. Vanoverbergh noted that Casiguran Agta superstitious beliefs and practices were “exceedingly sporadic and they differ from person to person...from individual to individual...” and “it is very easy to trace all or almost all of them to the Malays...the Negritos themselves...confessed to me that they heard about them from their Malay neighbours or that they imitated what they saw them doing.” (Vanoverbergh 1937-38)

Thomas Headland compared the Casiguran Agta which Vanoverbergh wrote about, to those he lived with during his fieldwork from 1962 to 1975. He observed that the Casiguran Agta were animists who showed not much interest in adapting to Catholic religion of the non-Agta, and there was little syncretism between Christianity and Agta animism. They had also “adopted the beliefs... in the supernatural similar to that of many other rural areas in the Philippines.” (Headland 1975)

Beyond Vanoverbergh’s statement of their ‘superstitious’ beliefs being individualistic and sporadic, and though they have adapted the supernatural beliefs of other ethnicities, I observed that the Agta’s views on the interaction of the physical and supernatural realm, as a whole, are individualistic and sporadic. This can be observed in the healers’ and other community members’ variations of explanations regarding the beings residing within their land and beyond it, including perceptions on a higher being. Still, one may notice that there are distinct Agta beliefs embedded in their narrations.

Concept of God

The Casiguran Agta concept of God varies from individual to individual. For Headland, their monotheistic belief was a result of Christian influence (Headland 1975). Dolsing says that according to his ancestors, Dios can be found in *langit*. But they do not know where *Satanas* resides. Noel and Resi Tanyet say Dios is also called ‘*Apo a Talon*’ or the old man in the forest.

Types of spirits

What is common among the Agta is the belief that there are two general types of spirits, the *bélet* and the *lamanlupa* or *hayup*. According to Loyda Moral, the Agta world has two sections, the *lupa* (land) and the *Dinatagen*. Within each domain resides a type of *éwan maetan*, unseen being or spirit. Those who live with the Agta or *tolay* (people) on land are the *lamanlupa*. Resi describes the latter as:

Sila ang nambabati. Nakatira sila sa ilaya. Katulad din namin sila, isang sitio sila. Bati ang sakit na bigay nila.

They are the ones who take notice of us. They are found uphill, in the forest. Like us they reside in a village. They cause illnesses when they take notice of people.

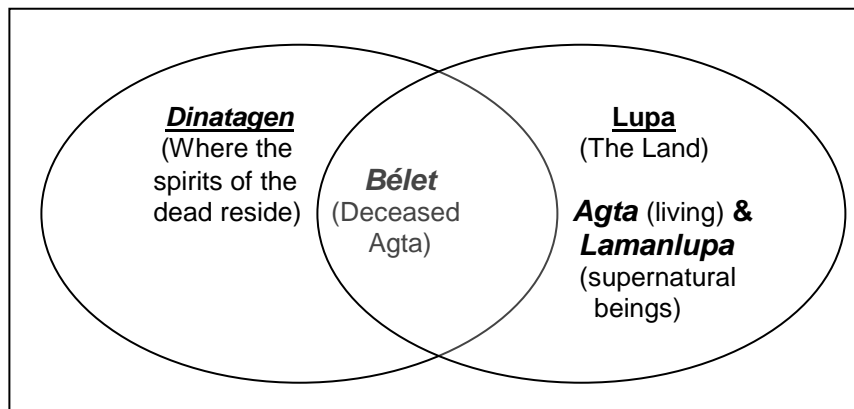


DIAGRAM 1. EARLY CASIGURAN AGTA COSMOLOGY

Loyda says the *lamanlupa*, which are also called *multu*, *yawyaw*, and other names (depending on an individual), may live in balete trees, small springs, and big mountains.

Dolsing Lisiday does not know how the world was created. He says all he learned from his ancestors were the medicinal plants they used. And he also knows that *duwende* live beneath the land and *kapre* live in trees and *padel* (rocky headlands):

Kasama natin yan sa mundo. Kaya pag matisod natin sila ay magkasakit tayo. Pag mamatay tayo ay wala na tayo sa lupa.

We live together with them in this world. That is why we unknowingly collide with them and we get sick because of it. And when we die, we already leave this earth.

The Bélet (spirit of the deceased)

The other type of spirit is the *bélet*, the ancestors of the Agta, their grandfathers and grandmothers who have passed away. *Dinatagen* is where the *bélet* or the spirits of the dead reside. According to Loyda, it may look like our world too, with the spirits living in barrios. The Agta have different reactions to the *bélet*. Many are terrified of them and believe they cause trouble and even death. Other times they will say that these are harmless and only seek to be remembered.

Some say the *bélet* return to our world, wanting to help out if people are sick or pregnant. Loyda remembers that a male *bélet* once appeared to her when one of his relatives was about to give birth to a child. It seemed that he wanted Loyda to help. She said the *bélet* lingered in the pregnant woman's house, concerned about the mother her child to be born.

The *bélet* may also appear to a person so the living may remember them. Utet dela Cruz shared that her sister Jeni came to her. As a *bélet*, Jeni had a big body but always turned her back from Utet. Utet thinks her sister was just visiting her.

The *bélet* also ask the living Agta for *éman* (betel quid):

Kung minsan ngani, dun sa Agues kami. Pero may apoy ako. May apoy kami dun sa kuwan namin. E, 'di tulog na ako. Tulog na kami si Beni. Ay, mga alas-dose yata o alas-onse.. Nako! Akala ko si Beni ang naghawak sa akin ay ayun pala bélet na! Bélet namin na Dumagat. Ay si yung matandang Ayogyog na malaking katawan. Oy! Kagi ko, 'Beni!' ('Yun pala) bélet siya! Aning! E, ito o.. nung..yun noon nilalamig pa ito.. Ngayon wala na. Bakit kaya ganun? Pag hawakan ka ng bélet ay talaga. Lumamig ang paa mo. 'Yung kabila lang. Akala ko nga si Beni ang naghawak sa paa ko. 'Yun pala siya.

Ay iyun pala.. kaya pala pumunta roon, mahingi ng mama. 'Yun na nganga. Oo.. binigyan ko siya. Sapul noon hanggang ngayon de..(hindi na bumisita). Basta 'yun lang. Yung ugali namin na Agta. Maki-hingi ng mama. 'Yun, bigyan (ko) siya. M.. Pagkatapos yung.. paghingi niya.. wala na. Wala na rin kaming maramdaman. Mm..nagulat lang. Talaga.. éwan ka na matakot.

There was one time, we were in Agues. But I already made a fire. We built a fire in our dwelling place. I was asleep. Beni (her husband) and I were asleep. Then at 12 or 11 o'clock.. Nako! I thought Beni touched me but then I saw it was a *bélet*! It was our *bélet*, a *Dumagat*. He was the old man Ayogyog, the one with the big muscular body. Oy! I said, 'Beni!' But it was a *bélet*! Aning! This one.. (her foot) this suddenly felt cold. But it has already subsided. Why does that happen? When a *bélet* touches you, your feet becomes cold. Just the other foot. I thought it was Beni who touched my foot. But it was the *bélet*.

And the reason why he came, he just wanted *mama* (betel quid). The *nganga*. Yes.. I gave him (*mama*). From then on until now (he has not visited). That's all. Our tradition as Agta. To ask for *mama*. I gave him some.. M.. After that, after he asked and I gave him some.. he was gone. We did not feel anything. Yes.. I was just surprised. Really.. then I wasn't afraid anymore.
- Utet dela Cruz

When I asked Resi Tanyet regarding the *bélet*, she said that they caused illnesses and may kill someone, if they desire to do so. However in the explanation she gave, the *bélet* was not harmful:

Ay, ganito ang kuwento diyan... Pag halimbawa me.. kapares 'yung mga lola namin... Pag halimbawa dumaan ka sa libingan ng mga Agta, magbigay ka ng éman. 'Yung nginanganga. Eto. Bigyan mo sila ng éman dahil 'yun ang, 'yun ang ano nila. Tapos kapag hindi ka makapagbigay ng éman, pagdaan mo sa libingan.. papanaginipan mo. Sabihin sa iyo, 'Dumaan ka na lang, hindi ka na lang nagbigay ng nganga.' Ayun... Halimbawa mapanaginipan mo ngayong gabi, bukas ng hapon magbibigay ka ng nganga. Ilagay mo roon, doon sa ano ng libingan nila... Basta iwanan mo lang doon. Pangalawang, pantatlong gabi, papanaginipan mo. Sabihin nila, yung kaluluwa, 'E, kung ganun ang ginagawa mo, 'di salamat. Magbibigay ka sa akin ng nganga.'

Ay, hindi pwede (na hindi ka magbigay). Ulit-ulitin kang anuhin. Parang nakikita mo siya pag gabi. Hindi ka agad-agad makatulog. Dahil iniisip mo kasi yung panaginip mo na, ba't kaya hindi ako makatulog? Naalaala mo yung paghingí niya sa iyo ng nganga. 'Yun. Gagawin mo iyon.

This is the story (about the *bélet*)... If, for example, our grandmothers... If you pass by the grave of an Agta, you should give them *éman*. The *nganga*. This one. You give them *éman* because that is, that is (what they want). And if you are not able to give them *éman*, when you pass by their grave, you will dream about them. They will tell you, 'You passed by and didn't even give us *éman*.' Like that.. If you dream about them tonight, the next day you should bring them *nganga*. Place it in their grave. Just leave it there. The second or third night, you'll dream about them. They will tell you.. the spirit will say, 'If you did that, I thank you.. because you gave me *nganga*.'

You cannot ignore them for they will constantly remind you. It will be like seeing them at night. You won't be able to sleep. You will be thinking of your dream and wonder why you can't sleep. You will remember that they asked you for *nganga*. Then, you will do what they ask of you.

-Resi Tanyet

Noel's father caught a spirit of the dead (which he called *amas* or *bélet*) whose body was already buried for three days. It was masticating betel quid near his father. Noel's father grabbed the *bélet*'s hand and held it tightly. It melted. It was like water. After a while, it vanished. Resi says that people who can catch a *bélet* are people like Dolsing, a healer. He can talk to a *bélet*, such as his deceased wife, and ask 'Why did you do this to me?' And she may answer, 'Because you are no longer giving me *éman*. That is why I did that to you.' What Dolsing must do is give her *éman*. The *bélet* only wants to be remembered.

Resi explained that during Todos los Santos (All Saints Day) and Christmas, one must prepare bread and *éman* for the *bélet* and invite them to partake of it. The healer will feel that they are pleased. If one will be passing through a burial area, one must also leave *éman* for the *bélet*. If you give them *éman* you won't feel afraid when you walk in that area.

Loyda had various explanations on the Agta's interaction with the *bélet*. In some instances she says they just want to scare people but she also says they will cause death. Once she said that she believes it is just the behavior of the *bélet* to scare people but they are not bad and do not cause illnesses. Loyda explains:

Tatakutin ka niya, pero kung 'di mo pansinin hahayaan ka niya. Pag natakot ka sige, pélos ka niya at tatapunan ng bato.

It will try to scare you, but if you ignore it, it will leave you alone. If you get scared, it will whistle and throw stones at you.

Other Agta, like Nateng Prado, his wife Tetet, and son Joey, say that the *bélet* once caused illnesses and death, but not anymore, since many Agta are now Christians. They described how a *bélet* could kill a person:

Labasan ka niya. Tapos, mulatan ka niyang ganyan. Mamatay ka na. Sa umaga wala ka na. Patay ka na yan. Saka yung.. pélos. Tapos, (pag) nag-iingay yung bata? Ay, hindi na ito umagahin. Patay. Patay ito. Talagang gusto niyang kunin. Wala siyang dahilan.

The *bélet* will appear in front of you and stare at you with its eyes wide open. You will die. You'll be dead in the morning. And the.. whistling. If this child is crying loudly, she won't reach the morning. Dead. She will be dead. It really wants to get the child. It has no reason, it just wants to get the child.

Loyda shared a similar story. She said the *bélet* of the past were *masungit*, bad-tempered and irritable. Back then, if a child would cry, the mother would have to do *momo*¹⁷, wherein she would join the child and make louder sounds so that the wailing child would not be heard by the *bélet*. If the *bélet* heard the child, it would be angered by its deafening cries. It would then whistle to the child which would cause its death.

Noong araw kasi masungit ang Agta kaya ang mga bélet din masungit.
Back then the Agta were *masungit*, so the *bélet* were also *masungit*.

Back in those days, Teming Moral said, if an Agta died due to an illness, the family of the deceased would seek retribution. They would sever a hand of another or would shoot someone with an arrow because a loved one had died.

¹⁷ According to Headland and Headland (1974), a hooting sound is what the mother creates to protect her child from the *bélet*.

Walang katuwiran ang mga Agta noon.
There was no reasoning with the Agta back then.

Similarly, the *bélet* in those days would act without reason.

For Tetet, the *bélet* are very frightening. She remembered when a *bélet* followed her and some relatives when she was still young:

Nakakita ako ng bélet. 'Yung lahat na katawan niya'y may parang baga. Lumalakad kami doon.. doon sa kabila. Marami kami. Pati kasama ko, lahat kami nakakita. Ay, nung nakita namin sabi ko.. 'Tingnan mo 'yan a.' Sabi ko dun sa kasama ko. 'Yung tiya ko naman, 'Ano 'yan?' Sabi ko, 'Wag ka sabi niyang maingay. Bélet na iyan.' Nakatingin sa amin. Makita namin 'yung mata niya ay parang flashlight. Lumampas siya, kami tuloy laang.

Ay pagdating namin dun sa lola ko ay para na siyang mina-malaria. Alam niyang bélet yun. Kaya sabi ko'y, 'Ano po yun lola?' Sabi niya, 'Bélet nakasunod sa inyo.' Kamontik kaming mamatay kung hindi siya!

I've seen a *bélet*. Its whole body seemed to be in flames. We were walking there.. on the other side. There were many of us walking together. All of us saw the *bélet*. When we saw it. 'Look at that.' I told them. My aunt asked, 'What's that?' I told her, 'Keep quiet. That's a *bélet*.' It was looking at us. We saw that its eyes were like a flashlight. It passed us by and we just went on our way.

When we arrived in our grandmother's place, she was experiencing a convulsion. She knew that we encountered a *bélet*. I asked her, 'Grandma, what was that?' She told us, 'A *bélet* was following you.' We almost died if it wasn't for her!

Her grandmother Pidela, a *bunogen* (shaman), was at home, far from them, but she knew that a *bélet* was following them when she suddenly experienced chills. She did the *duphak* treatment, spreading masticated plants (betel quid with *kabugao* or *dibago* leaves) on their bodies so that they would not be harmed by the *bélet* who wanted to kill them. That is the way you will counter the *bélet*, Nateng says. If a *bélet* appears to a child, one must immediately do a *duphak*.

That was part of the beliefs and practices of the Agta back then says Loyda. If you saw a *bélet* of an Agta, you certainly will die. One must not let three or four days pass by without consulting a healer. If it is already too late, the person will die even if a *bunogen* tries to counter it with *duphak*. The *bélet* would already have possession of the person.

Ngayon ay wala na ngayon dahil mga patay na 'yung lola ko... mga Kristiyano na 'yung mga bata. Wala nang lumapit na bélet.

There are no more *bélet* because my grandmother has passed away.. the children are already Christians. No *bélet* dares to come near them.

- Tetet Prado

Nateng called the *bélet* a *multu*. He said his ancestors believed that if an Agta died, she or he would go to *impiyerno* (hell). But if one is *makasalanan* (a sinner), he will roam around the world first. That wandering spirit is the *bélet*. Resi, on the other hand, says her ancestors who were not yet Christians believed that the deceased stay on earth. But now that the Agta are baptised, they will not become a *bélet* anymore because their spirits already go to *langit* (heaven).

Dolsing said that their ancestors' *bélet* were powerful, *yung mga ninuno malalakas pa ang bélet*. There are no more *bélet* because the Agta are baptised. But if one lives in the mountains and does not know about baptism, then the *bélet* are strong in those areas.

Siguro kaisipan nila hindi sila bininyagan. Kaya pag bininyagan ka at namatay ka, may galang ka. Pero pag 'di bininyagan at namatay, walang galang.
Maybe they put it in their minds that they were unbaptised. If you were baptised and you died, you respect others. But if you were not baptised and you pass away, you have no respect for others.

The many spirits residing on land

Aside from the *bélet*, supernatural beings such as *hayup* or *multu*, which can take the form of a horse, goat, or dog, are also said to come near the unbaptized:

Ganun siya kainam. Lalo kung magtakot siya ng kuwan, kumbaga halimbawa hindi binyagan. 'Yuon malamang na lapitan niya, 'yung hindi binyagan. Kasi hindi siya binyagan kasi. Kaya, papasok siya sa kanya. Kasi masasakitin siya. (Pag binyagan ang tao) ay hindi na siya lapitan ng ganoon. Noong araw walang binibinyagan. Madalas silang makakita ng mga.. 'yung patay baga..maglakad kaso patay na..

It is very cunning (with its shapeshifting abilities). Especially if it wants to scare the unbaptized. The spirit goes after these people since it is also unbaptized. It is able to possess the person since she/he is weak. But if a person is baptized, the spirit won't come near her/him. Back then, the Agta were not baptized. They always saw people walking, but these people had already passed away.

-Noel, approximately

As Dolsing mentioned, appearances of *bélet* are still very much prevalent among the unbaptized Agta up in the mountains. Even Agta individuals in the lowland communities still mention the *bélet* though they now follow Christian traditions. Aside from that, Noel explains that older Agta may still recognize and experience the *ugali ng bundok*, the way of of the mountain (spirits):

'Yung kuwan na ngayon, 'yung ugali na sa binyag. 'Yung ibang matatanda na iba, ganun pa rin 'yung kuwan nila, kultura. 'Yung mga tiga riyan, may lahi pa silang ugali ng bundok. Ang ugali kasi ng bundok, halimbawa tinuro mo 'yung bato na 'yun na malaki.. kinagabihan lalagnatin ka 'yan. Kasi ayaw niyang ituro-turo. Ayaw

niyang binabati-bati doon siya. Kumbaga mas ma-kuwan siya, anong tawag 'yun.. masungit pag kuwan.. masungit. Ayaw. Ayaw niyang ituro-turo. Ayaw niyang patawa-tawa. Saka ang ugali ng ibang bundok, pag magsigaw-sigaw.. didilim. Mag-ulan siya sa lugar na iyon. 'Yung sigaw-sigaw sa kagubatan. Hiyaw-hiyaw. Biglang mag-ulan lang doon. Ayaw nila 'yung magsigaw-sigaw. Katulad kami doon. Nakatingin lang ako doon sa malaking pader ay nag-ulan na ng ganitong oras.. Tinititigan ko lang, nag-ulan ng ganito.. madilim na pati. Pero kung nasa baryo na kami, wala nang ulan doon. Oo, dun lang. Sa lugar na 'yun. Bundok pala ang ganun pag ganung magsigaw-sigaw ka doon. Ayaw nilang sinisigawan. Nabibingi raw yata.

These days, people follow the Christian way. However, for some older Agta, their culture remains. They still recognize the way of the mountain. The mountain's way is when, for example, you will point to that large rock.. at night you will surely get sick with fever. Because it does not want anyone pointing at it.. It does not want anyone noticing it. It is like, what do you call it.. *masungit* (ill-tempered, irritable). It does not want people pointing at it or anybody laughing. And also, the way of the mountain is that it gets dark when someone is shouting. It will rain in the area where the person who has shouted is located. It does not like anyone shouting. Like what happened to us there. I was just staring at this large rocky headland then it began to rain. It got dark. But in the village, there was no rain. Only in where we stood. That is the way of the mountain when you are noisy there. They do not want to be shouted at. Maybe the noise is deafening for them.

(See No. 4, 'People may have disturbed the peaceful and/or secluded area of the spirits' in 'various examples of interaction among Agta/tolay (persons) and spirits' in page 51-52)

The present Agta are still very fearful of supernatural beings. Utet and Resi say that if one is alone, the beings such as the *lamanlupa*, *maligno* (malignant spirit), or *hayup* may suddenly appear:

Ahay.. Pag ikaw laang ang.. talagang labasan ka niya a. Nakakatakot. Nakakatakot din pag ikaw laang. Talagang hindi ka makatulog. Maingay sa paligidan mo ng bahay. Siyempre, hindi ka makatulog.

Ahay.. If you are alone.. it will appear to you. It is very frightening. It is scary to be alone. You really won't be able to sleep. You will hear noise outside your house. You won't be able to sleep.

Supernatural beings or spirits may be malevolent, benevolent, or neutral. Malevolent ones may feed on human organs. Benevolent ones may help an Agta during times of trouble. Both malevolent and benevolent spirits can befriend an Agta and help in curing illnesses. This spirit friend is called a *bunog* and the shaman assisted by the *bunog* is called a *bunogen*. This shall be discussed later.

Neutral spirits may not hunger for human organs or give assistance to an Agta, but it may still unintentionally harm a person because of its *bisa*. All spirits are said to have a powerful *bisa*, an effect on humans. The Agta do not know why these beings have that effect. They cannot explain it.

'Yun nga e. Kung bakit mabisang masyado 'yung salita lang niya.. 'yung pagbati (bati) lang niya sa tao.

We wonder about it too. Why its mere utterance of words has a strong effect.. when it notices a person.

- Hempok

Mabisa kasi 'yung bati nila. Gawa na lamanlupa sila.

Their words have a powerful effect simply because they are *lamanlupa*.

- Resi

As mentioned earlier, Dolsing said that supernatural beings are a part of the world we live in, *kasama natin yan sa mundo*, that is why one cannot avoid interaction between humans and spirits. These are the Agta peoples' various examples of interaction between Agta/*tolay* (persons) and spirits:

Types of interactions between humans and spirits

- 1) People may cause unintentional harm to the supernatural beings while doing everyday activities.

Pag matisod natin sila ay magkasakit tayo.

If we unknowingly cause them to stumble then we get sick because of it.

- Dolsing

Nag walis (ka). O kaya nagsaboy ng.. Halimbawa maghugas ka ng pinggan. E, 'di siyempre saboy mo yun tubig. Nasabuyan mo sila. E, 'di iyun. Nabasa. Sasabihin niyang.. 'Sana kung mag-ano ka ng tubig sabihin mo tabi dahil maraming naglilibot pag nagtakipsilim hanggang ganitong oras. Magpatabi ka. Dahil naglilibot sila paggabi. Lalo pag mag takipsilim iyon. Para nila siguro..Ang gabi para nilang araw.'

When you swept the floor or threw away water.. For example, you washed the dishes. Of course you will have to throw away the dirty water. You unknowingly dispose the water where they are situated. The spirits got wet. The healer will say.. 'Next time you throw away water, tell them to move aside. There are many spirits roaming because nighttime is coming. Especially at sundown. Because to them the night time is daytime.'

- Resi

- 2) People new to an area may be noticed by the spirits.

Hempok says that these beings are like people, when a person passes them by, they notice them and may say:

Aba, saan kaya galing itong si ano? Anong pangalan nun?

Where did this person come from? What's his/her name?

And after uttering that, *mabati ka na*. You will get sick because it noticed you. It did not want to hurt you. It just noticed you, like asking a person, 'Where did you come from?' But

its asking about a person has an effect, the *bisa* of the *bati*.

Sabihin nila, 'Sino kaya iyan? Taga saan kaya iyan?' Ganoon. Kaso lang 'yung pagsabi ng hindi natin nakikita, mabisa. Kaya ka nilalagnat. Ganyan. Sa gabi nananaginip ka.. 'yun na pala yung bumati sa iyo.

They will wonder, 'Who is that? Where is that person from?' Like that. But when they say it, it has an effect on you. That is why you get fever. At night you will have a dream.. The one who will appear is the spirit that noticed you.

- Resi

In my first week in Sitio Dipontian, I waded in a shallow river with two adolescent Agta girls. One of them, Hanny, wanted to show me a fish that she saw in the water. Bibi, the other girl, suddenly scolded her. After the incident, they explained to me that they were told not to point at things in the forest, especially if one is new to the area. I might get *bati*, noticed by the spirits, and then get sick with fever. However, Hanny said that if I did get sick, I need not worry since her father is a healer.

3) The spirits may take a liking to certain humans.

Ay, siyempre nagtataka 'yung mga lamanlupa. Sabihin nila, 'Naku. Napakaganda nung batang iyon.' Kasi mabisa kasi 'yung bati nila. Gawa na lamanlupa sila. Maano na sila. Mabisa kasi 'yung bati nila. Yung sabihin nila, 'Nako ang ganda ng batang iyon.' Kahapunan lalagnatin ka na iyan. Pag nabati, madalas 'yung pintig, 'yung ano mo pulso.. Mabilis. Saka dito sa may sentido mabilis 'yan. Pero kung halimbawa lagnat lang ay 'yung natural lang na ano.

The *lamanlupa* will wonder. They will say, 'Oh, that child is very beautiful.' Their words have a powerful effect simply because they are *lamanlupa*. When they say, 'That child is beautiful,' the said child will get a fever later in the afternoon. When their words have an effect on you, you will experience rapid pulse rate. You will feel it in your temples. But if it is just an ordinary fever, your pulse rate will be normal.

- Resi

4) People may have disturbed the peaceful and/or secluded area of the supernatural beings.

Kasi sa SPAM.. karamihan na kasi nasapian sa SPAM. E, kasi ang SPAM na 'yan nung unang buksan nila 'yan talaga.. Talaga ngang masungit. Dahil siyempre unang bukas nila e. Siyempre бага. Siyempre nagtaka rin siya dun kung bakit nagkarami na ng mga bata roon. 'Di maingay na. Nabulabog na siya ngayon. Kaya nagalit siguro. 'Yun, sinapian yung ilang mga bata. Pero ang nakagalang lang dun, bunogen din.

In SPAM (school for Agta).. most children in SPAM have been possessed by spirits. Because when they cleared some forest land and built SPAM.. the spirits were really bad-tempered and irritable. Of course. Who wouldn't be cross if many children suddenly arrive and stay in your place. And it becomes noisy there. The children were disturbing them. Maybe that is why they became angry. So they

possessed some children. The one who can resolve this situation is the *bunogen*.
- Edna Prado

(See another example of people disturbing the spirits, in page 49)

5) The malevolent beings may want to feed on people.

When a spirit smells an unborn child, it will try to get hold of the child, thus causing miscarriage. Precaution is done "*para hindi ahobén*," so the child will not be smelled by the spirit. Mothers may pin to themselves, garlic, *matang udeng* leaves, or the tail of a *mutit* (wildcat) to mask the child's smell.

Supernatural creatures residing on land

The following are the supernatural creatures recognized by the Agta, with features and behavior also described:

Duwende

According to Dolsing, a *duwende* is a short being with long white hair and a beard. It lives on the ground, in a *punso* (mound). There are both malevolent and good *duwende*.

The Agta fear of the *duwende*, malevolent or not, can be observed in Utet's story:

Nung nakaraang taon, ayun. Alas dos uwi na'ko rito... Sige. Lakad na lakad ako. Lakad na lakad. Ay! Kumukuwan na ang katawan ko. Parang umalsa 'yung balahibo itong katawan. Ay itong balat ko. Sige, nandiyan na. Nandiyan na. Ay, nako kabilis. Mabilis. Malapit na. Ganyan na. Ay, nako! Hiyaw ko pababa sa dagat! Ay, taga rito ko 'yung dagat. Oo! Nakikilabutan na ngani ako. Ngayun naman, narinig ako ni Mayla. 'Ano 'yun?' Kagi niya, 'Dada?' 'E, nakakita ako kay ko ng mahiksing bata... Lumapit sa akin!' Talaga. Lumapit sa akin! Ay nako, ang damit niya puti. Ang sombrero niya puti rin. Pero pag dating niya sa akin. Ay lahat na katawan ko kinikilabutan. Ay, talagang lumapit pag 'di ako umalis doon... Doon pa laang nakakita ako. Hindi naman ako nagkasakit... Ang katakutan ko naman, baka unahan niya ko. Hawakan niya ko at hindi na ako makaalis dun. 'Yun ang katakutan ko. Kung kuwanan niya ako. Sa leeg ko. O.. naging loko-loko na yata ako kung inintay ko 'yun. Aning. Talaga.. Ay..

The past year, I was walking home at two o'clock in the afternoon... I walked and walked. Walked and walked. Ay! I started to get goosebumps. It was getting nearer and nearer. It moved fast. It got nearer. Ay, *nako!* I screamed as I ran to the ocean! I was already chest-deep in the water. It's true! I had goosebumps all over. Mayla heard me and asked, 'What was that, Dada?' 'I saw a tiny person... It was coming towards me!' Really, it was walking towards me. It was wearing white clothes. Its hat was also white. When it got very near, I had goosebumps all over. Ay, if I didn't

run away it would have really walked up to me... It was my first time seeing a *duwende*. But it didn't cause any illness. I was afraid that it would move faster than me. It could have suddenly grabbed me and not let me go. That was what I was afraid of. If it did that.. Grab my neck. I would have been crazy to stay there and wait for it to come to me. *Aning*. Really.. Ay..

Although Resi thought that it was indeed a terrifying situation, she said if she were Utet she would have taken that as an opportunity to befriend the *duwende*:

Kung ako. Kung sa akin lang. Kung ako lang? Ay, hindi ako matakot. Sasabihin ko sa kanya.. sabihin ko sa kanya, 'Bakit ano bagang kailangan mo? Gusto ko magkaibigan tayo. Tulungan mo ako.' Oo. *Binibiro mo, ganyan lang kay Gapet. Na matanda na siya na me.. me sombrero siyang maganda. O..*

If it happened to me? If it were me? I wouldn't be afraid. I would tell the *duwende*, 'Why? What do you need? I want to befriend you. You can be helpful to me.' Yes, I would say that. Would you believe, it was as small as Gapet (a 3 year-old Agta child). But it was already old. It wore a nice hat. Unbelievable..

Resi is familiar with good types of *duwende* that are able to help the Agta since this is what her husband, Noel, experienced:

Noel and Resi shared that he had a *duwende* friend who helped him during a dire situation. Many years ago, Noel was on a boat overloaded with *kopra* and a carabao. The weight was too heavy and the level of the boat was almost the same as the water. The water would have entered the boat if not for a benevolent *duwende* that came to help. It was a *puting* (white) *duwende* that helped carry the boat to safety.

Resi also says that the *bunog* of her mother were two *duwendes* who were husband and wife.

Kapre

The *kapre* is described as a large being, with thick and dark body hair. It lives in trees and *padel* - a rock formation or a cave / rocky headlands. The *kapre* is the *bunog* of Dolsing.

Noel tells of a *kapre* that possessed, Ondol, the husband of Abéy. He described that the *kapre* was not a large hairy being but was in the form of a *bulayo*, a large bird. It seemed as large as a human and had great big wings. It was making a sound and Ondol cursed the bird. It became angry and possessed him. The eyes of Ondol turned red. Noel held him tightly and asked, '*Sino ang Panginoon mo?*' Who is your God? It screamed, '*Wala! Ayoko na!*'

Opéng

Dolsing said an *opéng* is a human-like being but has very big teeth. It lives in water formations such as springs. Loyda on the otherhand says the *opéng* are like the *duwende* but they are not small. They have unpleasant faces, *masama ang mga mukha*. From what Boboy Pidela taught her, the *opéng* feeds on sick people. If, for example, a child is sick, the *opéng* waits beneath one's house, exactly under the sick child and the child feels worse instead of getting better because of the *opéng*. The *opéng* positions itself beneath a child wanting to kill her/him to eat her/his intestines.

Other cosmological beliefs

Besides the *lamanlupa* and the *bélet*, Noel says, plants are '*talagang kasama sa mundo*' naturally a part of our world. He also shared his notion of why natural phenomenon such as earthquakes, occur:

Ang lindol ay dahil sa halimaw na nasa ilalim ng dagat na may pitong ulo. Pag gumagalaw ito, lumilindol. Kampon nito ang lamanlupa, aswang, kapre, at multu.
Earthquakes are caused by a seven-headed creature which lives under the sea. Whenever it moves, the earth shakes. This creature is an ally of the *lamanlupa*, *aswang*, *kapre*, and *multu*.

If one is threatened by a *lamanlupa*, according to Noel, one must just utter the word '*Disisnem*' three times. This orasyon would command the unseen being to leave. The mere utterance of the word would make it feel like it is being hit or beaten by something. It would be afraid. This orasyon is one's weapon against them says Noel. The elder Agta taught this to them. The Agta healers dream of these orasyon wherein one would also be taught how to use it.

But not all Agta are worried about the *lamanlupa*. Neneng dela Cruz said the *lamanlupa* are the least of her concerns when she enters the forest. What she is more anxious of are animals such as the *ipél*¹⁸:

Ang iniingatan ko 'yung ahas. Baka matapakan ko. Kagatin ako. 'Di.. Nako. Wala akong alam na.. Hayop ang iniingatan ko. Kasi 'yung hayop, pag nasagasahan mo 'yun.. Lalo yung mga.. ipél.. 'Yun o.. Lalo pa. Ganyan ka pa lang kalayo pumipitik na 'yun. Ay talagang lundagan ka niya. 'Yun ang iniingatan ko. Kaya pag pumupunta ako sa gubat.. Ay ganyan ang itak ko. Mm. Nauuna ang itak. Pati 'yung lupa nga ginaganyan ko, o. Mga doon.

I stay alert for snakes. I might step on them and they might bite me. I don't know

¹⁸ *Ipél* is a species of venomous snake that is small and has a green shade (Headland and Headland 1974).

about those (*lamanlupa*).. It's the animals that I am careful of. Because if you run into.. if you step on especially one of those.. *ipél*.. Especially that one. Even if you're still a bit far, it will already be snapping at you. It will lunge toward you. That is what I am careful of. So whenever I enter the forest, my knife is always in front of me. I move the soil and leaves with my knife (to make sure there are no snakes).

NOTIONS OF WELL-BEING

'lilan pa lang ang tao rito noong araw, ('yung mga) Tagalog. Dito raw sa ilog (Pasaruboy), lumangoy ka lang riyan, matapakan mo na ang alimango sa kasaganahan. 'Yung hipon makita mo raw diyan sa ilog.' 'Nag-iipitan 'yan mga 'yan.' 'Nag-iipitan lang.. karamihan ng mga lamang ilog noong araw.'

'Back then, there were still very few Tagalog here. They said that if you swam here in the (Pasaruboy) river, you could step on crabs because of the abundance of creatures. You could see the shrimps in the river.' '(Shrimps) nipping at each other.' 'Just nipping at each other, the many river creatures in the early days.'

- Hempok and Edna Prado, an Agta couple in their fifties

Arman, who was born in 1976, said that in his youth, the Pasaruboy River still had a strong current and was difficult to cross. But now many trees have been cut, the flow has become weak and there are fewer fish. Hempok and Edna also recalled that back then one would just see wild pigs roaming in the seashore. Resi Tanyet, 53 years of age, remembers that when she was young, an Agta could still get one or two pigs in a day. Noel Tanyet, her husband, who was born in the 1960s, said that in those days it was enough for the Agta to have three coconut trees to obtain its milk (*gata*). They did not think of doing copra, or making money by utilizing the coconuts. The logic of their ancestors were:

Laman bi nadid, laman bi ta gabiya.

We have wild pigs today, we'll have wild pigs tomorrow.

Their ancestors moved from place to place. Where there were wild pigs, that was where they would settle temporarily.

According to Hempok, if, for example, five families were living together and one of the women would be able to dig half a sack of *buklog* or *ilos* (two different species uncultivated edible root plants), it would be divided equally among all households. If the men were able to hunt for wild pigs, the same would also be done. Those were the ways taught by their *dédikkél* (elders).

Today, the Agta peoples' value of sharing has changed. This is how Boboy Erning, an elder Agta,

explained how they divided meat in the past, for the sustenance of all:

Pero magsabi lang ako... 'yung kaugalian noong araw ano, at ako ang pinakamatanda nila, eh. Noong araw, noon, nung kapanahunan pa ng mga nanay ko at mga tiyuhin ko.. Pagka kami ay nakahuli ng isang baboy, hati-hatiin namin 'yun dun sa mga bahay-bahay. Walang matitira doon sa nakahuli. Kaunti lang. Pagkain lang nila. Hati-hatiin namin. Bahala ka namang ipagbili... Pero isa lang ang naghirap. Ganun din kung kuwan, kung magsaing kami. 'Yung isang kaldero.. O, halimbawa ako lang ang may bigas. Isaing ko muna bago.. Halimbawa, tig-isang kutsarita... mga anak. Pero ngayon hindi na. Iba na ugali ngayon. Binago na nga e, 'yung kultura namin.

I want to say something... the practices back then, because I am the oldest Agta. In those days, when my mother and uncles were still alive.. Whenever someone would catch a wild pig, it would be divided among households. What would be left for the hunter.. a few pieces, enough for his family's meal. The meat would be divided. It would be up to you if you want to sell it.. But only one person caught that pig. It would be the same if we cooked rice.. a pot of rice. For example, I am the only one who has *bigas* (husked, uncooked rice). I will cook it. Then.. for example, each will just have a small spoon of rice.. the children. But now, things are different. Our culture, it has changed.

- Erning Moral, approximately 73 years old

Hempok explains that the Agta have adopted the practices of the non-Agta. They now want to earn cash to purchase things and tend to their individual or own family's needs rather than the community (or band). This has an effect on the sharing of meat:

Kasi yung mga iba kasi.. para bagang sibilisado na rin sila sa.. Kumbaga 'yung kagamitan na gusto nilang makuha.. Kaya ibinebenta na nila.. karamihan ba, tukél pa rin. Kumbaga, halimbawa si Ser bigyan ko ng isang kilo.. Hindi na lahat na katawan ng baboy ang parte-partehin. Kumbaga kalahati ng mahuling baboy 'yun lang ang partehin. Kalahati benta nila. Ganun ang karamihan ngayon.

The other Agta, it is like they have also become 'civilized.' For example, they want (to buy) something.. so they will sell (wild pig meat). But people still share the meat to others. It is like this, I will give Sir one kilo.. but I will not divide the whole pig (for the community). Only half of the meat will be divided for others, while the other half will be sold. That is what most Agta do nowadays.

According to Dolsing, the Agta still practice sharing among the community. If an Agta has attained financial well-being, he must also share it to the other Agta so they may attain well-being as well:

Maraming nakikihiram. Paadim. 'Pahiram ka muna at ikaw ay may kaunting kaginhawaan. Bukas ay ibabalik din namin ang nahiram namin sa iyo.' Ang tanong naman nila, 'Bakit nagkaroon ka ng ganito.. maganda buhay mo?' Sa hirap namin, ibenta ko ang lupa namin sa Kristiyano. Na pinirmahan ng NCIP. 'Di ka puwede magbenta ng lupa na 'di nila pirmahan.. Basta pirma lang para makuha ng Kristiyano ang lupa na binenta ko sa kanya. Tapos pag napirmahan na ng NCIP, 'yun na. Mga kapwa tribo ko na lumalapit ng unti-unti.

Kaya walang yumayaman na tribo. Hindi puwedeng iwanan ang kapwa tribo pag yumaman. Magtulungan.. Wala pakong nakitang yumaman na tribo sa Aurora.

Many will borrow from you. We call it *paadim*. (Other Agta will say) ‘You lend us money since you are doing well. We’ll pay you back tomorrow.’ Then they will ask, ‘Where did you get this.. how come you have a better life?’

Because of hardship, I will sell my land to a Christian (non-Agta). NCIP signs a document. You can’t sell land if they do not sign it.. They should sign the document so my land can be bought by the Christian. After NCIP signs it, the deal will be official. Then (since I have money) my fellow Agta start approaching me one-by-one. That’s why no Agta becomes rich. No one can leave behind a fellow Agta if one becomes better-off. We help each other. (That is why) I haven’t seen a rich indigenous person in Aurora.

Agta commonly say that they only aim for their family’s well-being. Loyda says what is important to her in life is her children’s health and that her family is together:

Wala akong ibang pangarap. (‘Yun lang na ang) mga anak ko walang sakit o problema. Magkakasama kaming pamilya. Wala akong pangarap na yumaman.
I don’t have lofty dreams. What I just want is that my children be healthy, have no problems. Our family together. I don’t wish to become wealthy.

Arman defines a good life as having a coconut farm, rice field, and carabao. Having that life, one is easily able to obtain money when she/he needs it and the person need not work for daily wages. Neneng says she is thankful that she has pigs and chickens in her yard as investment, and that she has strength to make mats and hunt for crabs, so she can provide for her family.

Since the Agta do strenuous work in their various livelihood, it is crucial that they have healthy bodies. They recognize that part of a person’s well-being is having no illness such as body pains.

A healthy person

The Agta describe a healthy person as *mesibét*, having strong immunity from illnesses. One does not feel any sickness or pain. For Arman, healthy adults are strong, can move fast, and are also able to carry objects (light or heavy). A healthy person feels good, feels that her/his body is light not heavy. Even if one is thin, what matters is that she/he is active and energetic. *Kahit payat, basta hindi lampa*, according to Wayna Estanes, an Agta mother. Loyda says a healthy person may also have fat but more importantly, one is able to do her/his work. Some Agta also like to wear *pinanes* (wristbands made of abaca) because it will make a thin wrist look fatter, healthier.

Healthy food

To attain good health or become a healthy person (which they have defined above), the Agta rely on their surroundings since this is where they obtain their sustenance. Although their earlier diet has been altered as their natural resources became depleted, the Agta still recognize the value of food for their health. Presently, they may still obtain various types of food from the forest, deep sea, mangroves, rivers, and streams.

Noyme Aduanan says that medicinal plants are not the reason why the Agta are healthy. They get their strength from the food they eat, particularly the food which they learned to eat from their ancestors, *kinamulatan na*.

Nanay ko napakatanda pero dahil sa pagkain ay andiyan pa rin siya.
My mother is very old but she is still alive because of the food she eats.
- Noyme Aduanan, 48 years old, talking about her 78 year-old mother

Food from the sea, mangroves, and rivers such as *kodkod* (a type of clam), *balilit* (a type of triton shell), *kuhépan* (a type of mussel shell), *pahék* (heart clam), *agima* (sea crab), *gapet* (small sea crab), and *udang* (freshwater shrimp) all help make the body become stronger, according to Noyme.

Arman, says that their secret to keeping their children healthy is that mothers who have just given birth are fed *ulam* such as shrimp, fish, and vegetables so the child will be nourished when breastfed. He said that mothers who do not eat *ulam* result to having *bansot* (underdeveloped) children. Wayna also shared that children at a young age should be fed wild pig and shrimp to make them stronger.

Resi says resistance from illness can also be attained by eating various vegetables, fruits, and root crops found in the forest, such as *séngpat* (pith of a rattan vine) and *kamote*. Hempok and Resi both agree that *bisal* (fruit of a type of rattan), and the forest fruits (and pod) *pélwat*, *palesokén*, *inapo*, and *bahubu* are good for the body. Hempok shared that if the Agta have no rice to eat, they can survive with these fruits. These taste good and one will feel light and healthy. If one has caught a wild pig, these fruits are also good to eat with the pig's meat. Along with the forest fruits mentioned, resi considers the edible roots such as the *ilos*, *buklog*, and *gindah*, and also the *agé* palm, as part of the plant foods that are most important to the Agta.

The elder, Boboy Pompoek Aduanan shared an old Agta story that reflects the value of the indigenous fruits, *palesokén* and *etbi*:

A woman wanted to accompany her husband to the forest but the baby she was carrying was crying. The man told the woman that the child would only scare off the animals he would hunt. The woman asked him where she would leave the child. He told her to leave it beside the *palesokén* and *etbi*. And the woman did. The child survived by sucking on the *palesokén* and *etbi* fruits. And the poor child who was abandoned began to call the two fruits his mother.

Wayna says that the body also becomes *mesibét* by eating *pitukan*¹⁹ (honey). The Agta eat this by dipping the honeycomb in the honey. If an Agta obtains an entire hive, she/he will have enough strength to walk in the forest all day. Mary Jane Prado, an Agta mother, also shared that she gives her children *giyaw*²⁰ (honey) if they have colds. They consume this by using it as a dip for *kamote*. The *kalabe* (honeycomb) is what she gives her children, because the honey itself may cause intoxication. They also get honey for a non-Agta friend from Dangkalan who confirmed the positive effect of eating honey:

Pare, pag-enom ko lang, lumalakas ako. Talaga nararamdaman ko bumabakség ako!

Just a drink and I become stronger. I really feel like I am more energetic!

One will always hear from an Agta that the *laman* (wild pig) is a true source of nutrients because what it eats are fruits in the forest. Noel says that other than wild pigs, consuming *bénég* (monitor lizard or *bayawak*) and *sawa* also keeps an Agta strong. If one eats this, the body will be kept warm and *lamig* (cold) will not enter the body when one goes to work in the forest.



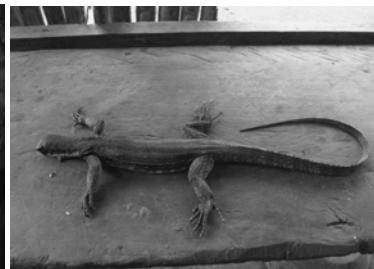
Hanny holding an *udang* (shrimp) that she caught in the river



Bisal (fruit of a type of rattan)



Myrna with a *buklog*, an edible root plant



Bénég (monitor lizard)

¹⁹ *Pitukan* is honey from a hive on a tree branch

²⁰ *Giyaw* is honey from a beehive in a hollow tree

The Agta had a healthier diet back then when there was still an abundance of *laman* (wild pig), *labuyo* (wild chicken), *buhog* (monkey), and *ogsa* (deer) in the forest. There were also many types of fish and one could easily gather *gutem* (shells and snails). The fruits and root crops found in the forest, which their ancestors taught them to eat, such as *inapo*, *balagwesan*, *balo*, *buklog*, and *ilos*, were not yet at risk of becoming depleted. Because of the great reduction of food obtained in their ancestral domain, the Agta have to find other sources of food. Some plant a few vegetables in their yard so they can easily obtain healthy food. Resi grew chili pepper, okra, tomatoes, and camote tops beside her house.

Part of the changes experienced by the Agta is that they are now exposed to food which are not nutritious. Some households add *betsin* (monosodium glutamate) to their food to add taste. They are also aware that the rice they consume is exposed to chemicals. Since it is getting harder to fish and hunt for animals in the forest, noodles and canned fish have become common food for families. Children also frequently eat candy and junk food bought from the sari-sari store.

Aside from exposure to unhealthy food, the Agta also endure not being able to eat when they are busy with their livelihood. They recognize that this leads to illness and it is important to take meals on time. Resi says if one does not eat breakfast, she/he becomes weak. She recommends eating cassava (*kamoteng kahoy*) or boiled banana (*saba* or *cardaba banana*) in the morning. One can then just eat rice at noontime. Hempok says that a person will get sick if she/he does not eat enough. The body will feel heavy if one is not able to eat delicious and nutritious food.

Clean and unclean food

The Agta differentiate the clean animals which may be consumed from the *lamug* (unclean) animals that one must be aware of. *Mehébsa* (disgusting) are the *ébuwang* or *umang* (hermit crab) that consume anything, from human waste to rice on the ground.

Gapet (sea crab) and *bahing-bahing* (crab) found in the *kabekawan* (mangrove) near Sitio Dipontian are not eaten. These are dirty because it can be found near peoples' houses where waste is concentrated. The Agta travel far to Dungon, to gather crabs and other seafood in a mangrove near the fores and away from houses. Here, the creatures they catch only eat algae and coconut meat. *Gapet* near people's homes eat human and pig waste, and fish intestines which are removed before cooking.

There are two kinds of pigs, the *laman* or wild pig that lives in the forest and the *baboy awan* or domesticated pig. The *laman* eats root crops and fruits which is why it is clean and healthy to eat. It digs for these crops in the forest at night. A *baboy awan* on the other hand only eats feeds and food that people throw away, even stale food. It is also given medicine that is why, according to Noel Tanyet, people get high blood. All the things that are ingested by the *awan* have a negative effect on people who eat its meat.

Éman (Betel quid)

One of the many practices passed on to the Agta by their ancestors is *éman* or *pag-man* (betel quid chewing). This cultural tradition contributes greatly to their well-being. Resi remembers their elders saying:

Kahit 'di kumain sa hapon basta mag-éman.
Never mind if you don't eat at noon as long as you chew *éman* (betel quid)."

Éman is comprised of a *gawéd* leaf (*ikmo* in Tagalog – *Piper betle*), *butag* or *bunga* (areca nut, popularly known as betel – *Areca catechu*), *maskada* (tobacco), and *apog* (slaked lime). Wayna explained that all ingredients must be complete when chewing *éman*, '*Pag wala ang isa ay hindi timplada.*' If there is no *maskada*, one will get dizzy. Without *apog* there is no sense in chewing *éman* since it is the *betsin*, the source of the flavor. Without *gawéd*, the lips might get burned by the other ingredients. But an Agta used to *éman* may not get burned easily. If there is no *gawéd* Wisay substitutes this with *kalingag*. Noel and Hanny also use shaved *butnol* vine for their *éman*.



Tapahang shell to be pulverized into *apog*.



Ingredients of *éman*.



Bungel (mature) type of *butag* (areca nut)

Many of the Agta, such as Resi and Hanny, feel that if they do not chew *éman*, they are in no condition to work. They may feel sleepy, lazy, or too tired. But if they chew *éman*, they have energy for the whole afternoon. The students are able to focus on their studies or adults are able to

concentrate on their work because of it. Aside from energizing them, the youth also say that it feels good to chew *éman*.

Basta may éman at tabako ay okey na.
As long as there is *éman* and *maskada*, it is all good.
- Resi

Wayna calls this their *bisyo* (vice). She feels worn-out and feverish without it. They crave for it when they have none. When Hanny and I were removing garbage from a bathing and laundry area of the Agta, she offered *éman* to me so that I could bear the smell and continue cleaning. In the SPA (school for Agta), teachers allow the Agta youth to have break time so they could chew *éman* after they have finished their task.

Betel quid chewing also strengthens teeth, Wayna says. Arman explains that *éman* is better than smoking cigarettes because it protects the teeth from *bukbok* (cavities). Because of this, he added, the elder Agta still have a complete set of teeth. Wayna allows a child to chew *éman* if she/he already has teeth. Resi also lets her eight year old niece, Jesika, chew *éman* so that her teeth become strong. For Arman, his 10 year-old son, Mandong, may start chewing only the apog and *gawéd*. The *maskada* is excluded since this might be too strong for him.

Although the *éman* helps the Agta feel energized, Resi shared that doctors discourage them from this practice. But she still continues to do this except when she is sick. According to her, a person will get dizzy and seem drunk if she/he chews *éman* while sick.

The *éman* is also a vital in healing. Parents and healers chew medicinal leaves along with *éman*. The masticated plants are spread onto the whole body or affected part of the person who may be experiencing headache, body pains, fever, or hard cough. The *éman* is also applied directly onto wounds.

NOTIONS OF SUFFERING

One afternoon, I was walking home to Dipontian with two young Agta women, Hanny and Bibi. We came from Site where we bought soap, shampoo, and condiments for the evening meal. We walked along the seashore to gather firewood. When we had enough wood, we folded and pulled up our shorts and pants so these would not get wet as we waded in the sea. It was already *taib* (high-tide). The water reached our thighs midway. While carrying the branches of wood and the items bought, with our clothes already soaked, Bibi sighed, “Ay...ay... *ang buhay ng Agta.*” (Oh... the life of an Agta.) And as we continued wading toward home, Bibi’s slippers got torn apart.²¹

Although the Agta experience great and small hardships in their everyday lives, they know that they must also take action. When Neneng’s children are sick and she has no money, she says she cannot just worry, she must do something within her means. By utilizing what is available around her, she tries to resolve the suffering she and her family face. An Agta’s ingenuity surfaces as she/he utilizes the knowledge in health she/he has learned and observed or she/he may also resort to trial and error.

Ano kaya ang gawin ko rito sa anak ko ay? Ano kaya ang maganda rito? Itakbo ko kaya sa ospital? Wala rin akong pera.. ano kaya ang ibayad ko? Ano kaya ang ibili ko ng tabletas? Ay nako problema mo lahat.. Wala kang pera. Wala ka pang bigas. May karamdaman pa ‘yung anak mo.. Basta naka ganyan ka.. Basta tinitingnan mo ‘yung anak mo.. hindi ka gumawa ng remedyo.. Wala. Kailangan, pag nakita mo ‘yung anak mong may karamdaman.. Ay purbahan ko rito ay.. Bugahan ko rito sa ano.. yan ‘yung dahon na iyon ay.. purbahan ko at kinakabagan. O yan.. purbahan ko ‘yung bihot-bihot.. yan. O, pag hindi mo sinabing ganun.. basta tinitingnan.. talagang manlulupaypay ka at nakikita mo yung anak mo ay. Naghihirap na.. o kaya.. itatag mo ‘yung sarili mo. Gawin mo ‘yung lahat ng nakakaya mo.. naiisip mo gawin mo.. kahit naiisip mo kung hindi mo gagawin..wala. walang mangyari. Kaya kailangan, pag maisip mo sabayan mo. Gawin mo. Ikuwan mo.. isagawa. Ganun.. para.. malunasan.

What will I do with my child? What is the best that I can do? Should I bring her/him to the hospital? But I don’t have money.. how will I pay the bills? What medicine should I buy?

You have all these problems. You don’t have money. You don’t have rice to eat. And your child is sick. If you just stand there.. If you just look at your child and don’t do anything.. nothing will happen.

If you see that your child is sick, you must do something. I’ll test this.. I’ll spread the masticated leaf.. I’ll test this for my child’s flatulence. There.. I’ll try the bihot-bihot.

If you do not do what you can, if you just look at the child, you will really feel weak when you see your child suffering. You must keep yourself strong and do the best that you can. If you’re thinking about some solution that may help, do it. But if you

²¹ This occurred on June 21, 2010.

are just thinking about it, nothing will happen. So if you have an idea, act upon it. So you can resolve your problem.

HEALING METHODS

To confront the health concerns they are faced with, the Agta learned to utilize their surroundings. Even in the present, when there is available medicine but no financial means to purchase it, the use of medicinal plants obtained from the forest is one method that have aided the Agta in many instances.

The use of medicinal plants

Common methods of preparation and use of medicinal plants

Buga – This is a treatment for conditions such as fever, abdominal pain, and wounds. The parent or healer will use betel quid mastication and apply it on the whole body, the stomach, or other affected part.

Duphak – This is a treatment for illnesses caused by spirits. The healer will use dibago or kabugaw leaf and betel quid mastication and apply it on the body of the person.

Decoction – This is the most common preparation for medicinal plants. It is used for abdominal pain, abortifacient, rheumatism, wounds, cough, fever, among others. A medicinal plant or a combination of plants are boiled in a said amount of water. This is then taken by the patient.

Tapal (poultice) – This is a common preparation for headache, fever, flatulence, among others. The plant is heated over fire, mashed and applied on the affected area.

Extract – This is a usual preparation for a cough treatment. Leaves may be heated, pounded, and squeezed to obtain its extract. This is then given to the patient by spoonfuls.

Soaking plant in liquor – This is a common method for preparing abortifacients. After soaking the plant in liquor for a said amount of time, the woman will drink a specified amount of the liquor.

Noel's deep wound

Noel Tanyet was fishing in Kalawaan. He was standing on a rock and he threw a net in the sea. He suddenly slipped on the rock he was standing on which had oyster shells (*sise*) attached to it. He obtained a deep and long wound on his left leg. It bled profusely. He stopped fishing and rested on the shore. He pulled out his hair to cover the wound so it would stop bleeding. He tore a piece of his shirt and tied it to his wound which he covered with hair. As he went home, he tore from his shirt again to replace the cloth covering the wound which was still bleeding. The blood coming out was warm. He felt dizzy and his vision changed from light to dark.

When he reached home, Noel's stomach could already be seen because of the amount of cloth he tore from his shirt. He hung his left leg so that the bleeding would stop. He removed the hair he used to cover the wound since it did not stop the bleeding. He put coffee powder on the wound which hardened. It was painful. His wife told him to go to the hospital but he refused. He did not go to hospitals. Many indigenous peoples don't get well, they die in hospitals, he said.

Noel obtained *cover crop* and *damong pailaya* leaves and boiled it. He placed the two plants on a clean piece of cloth. He pounded the plants and squeezed the cloth on the wound. This was what he did each morning, for one week. The wound closed after a week.

Better than diatabs

Numerous Agta individuals strongly shared their experience that the tulang plant was better than diatabs in curing diarrhea with vomiting and stomachache. According to them, this effective medicine is easily found in the forest and one may plant it near homes. One would just need to grate the roots, boil it, and drink the decoction.

Hindi yung diatabs, ay wala 'yun. Walang kuwenta 'yun.
Not the diatabs. That's nothing.
-Erning

They said that although it is very bitter it has a faster effect than medicine for diarrhea.

Sharing medicine for inducing post-partum bleeding

Both Agta and non-Agta have needed medicine for emergency purposes wherein a mother was not able to release much blood during child delivery or was afflicted with *séhéyo* (post-partum illness) because she was exposed to cold water immediately after giving birth. In order for the woman to remove the blood retained in her womb or for her body to counter the cold (*lamig*), the Agta use the *bilante* plant. Although there may be other plants for post-partum bleeding, it will take time to gather it all. The *bilante* may work on its own for the meantime since it can be found near the Agta homes. Its bark is obtained, boiled, and drunk.

According to Arman, medicine for post-partum bleeding is something that many or all Agta are aware of. There is no need to undergo the *raspa* (dilatation and curettage) procedure. They give this plant (among others) to non-Agta when they see that those people also have nowhere to go to for help. He experienced a non-Agta approaching him for help. She/he said:

Alam ko kayo lang ang makakagamot...
I know only you (Agta) can treat (this)...

Arman gave them the *bégnét* plant, also for post-partum illnesses. They wanted to pay him but he did not accept it. He said that he just passed by an area with the said and took some in case someone needed it, so he gave it to them.

Sea water as medicine

Aside from medicinal plants, sea water was also what Noel utilized when he had wounds. He would always bathe his wound in the ocean while he continued to apply plants on his injuries. He said that the seawater is like penicillin. It causes a stinging pain but helps in healing the wound.

The Duphak method

The *yawyaw* is a term for spirits which may be found in the mountain or forest. A child may experience *nayawyaw* or *nabati* due to *meuhikas* or being played around by the spirit. If one enters the forest and is noisy and rowdy, she/he may get sick. This is because the *yawyaw* have been undisturbed for weeks or months and suddenly a person disrupts their peace. Another reason may be that a child spirit may also want to play with a human being. (See explanations on page 51)

When a spirit notices a human or becomes angry with one, it has a *bisa*, an effect on the person. When a child is said to be *na-teplak* (*nabati*), she/he experiences stomachache, becomes feverish, and also vomits.

Bati may be cured by the *bunogen* through *duphak*. The healer will chew a *gawéd* and *dibago* leaf with the ingredients of *éman* (betel quid): *butag* or *bunga* (areca nut), *maskada* (tobacco), *apog* (lime). Loyda says that she removes the *tabako* and replaces this with *dibago* or *kabugao*.

The *bunogen* will place the masticated substance in her/his hand. She/he will spread this all over the child's body, from head to toe. The ingredients of the *éman* (or *nganga* in Tagalog) must be complete to be effective. The healer will then speak to the spirit: "You might have brought illness/*bati* to the child, please leave."

To appease the spirit, the healer will ask for forgiveness if the beings were disturbed. The child is then brought home to rest. In the morning, the parents will bring the child back to the *bunogen*. The healer will examine the child's whole body to determine if she/he is already healed.

Pompoek, the eldest Agta in Dipontian, shared that what she recalled is the mastication is placed on the forehead and chest of a child who was *tinalon* (another term for *nabati*, specifically referring to being afflicted by an illness caused by the spirits in the *talon* or forest). In her recollection, rather than pacifying the spirits, the Agta elders spoke more forcefully when banishing them:

Pwe! Umadeyu ka dén! Diyan ka manatili. Adeyuan mo anak.
Pwe! Leave her/him now! Do not stay there. Leave the child.

Nateng also explained that *duphak* should be done when it is approaching sunset, so that there would be no noisy children outside. It should be quiet when one is performing *duphak*.

The effect of having no access to a *bunogen* to perform *duphak* is illustrated in this story that Loyda shares:

The spirits and the death of Loyda Moral's brother

This is a story that Loyda's mother told her when she returned to Casiguran without her son. Loyda had asked why her brother got sick and died.

Loyda's mother and brother were returning to Casiguran from Isabela where they were held by the military for joining the New People's Army (NPA). As they walked home, they passed through Dinapigi. There, Loyda's mother and brother rested. Her brother dove into the Dinapigi River to get fish for their lunch. He was able to catch a *giyon* or *palos* (sea eel) using his arrow. They cut the head of the fish and left it on top of a large rock. They walked further on the side of the river. Her brother went back to the water and was able to get another eel. They returned to the rock where they left their first catch. It was gone. Only the head was left.

They carried the head and the whole fish to the place where they would stay for the night. They chopped the fish and made a fire since it was getting dark. After they had eaten and were already resting, a light came toward their shelter. It was like a light from a gas lamp. "Mother, wake up," Loyda's brother said, "There's someone out there." Their mother sat up and she too saw the light. When it was already very near the house, the light suddenly died. They looked around but no one was there. A few minutes passed and Loyda's brother started to experience a stomach ache. Then he felt pain on his back and chest. Their mother tried to give him whatever medicine she could obtain but nothing could cure him. He died, not reaching midnight.

According to Loyda, her brother should have been brought to a *bunogen* and treated with *duphak* because a spirit was the one who caused the illness. That is what should be done if an illness cannot be healed by herbal treatments or medicine from a doctor. If there is severe pain, *duphak* can relieve it even slightly so that one will be able to bear it.

She said that her mother and brother should have asked the Agta in the area if they could catch fish in the river. The residents in any place, especially a *bunogen*, know which areas must be left alone. Outsiders tend to unknowingly violate a new area's rules since they did not ask the people there. Loyda instructs that a person new to an area must ask a resident "Is it alright if I do this here? If I get this from your area?" If one starts throwing stones in a river and hits a spirit, the being may also hit the person with something such as an illness. One should always ask a *bunogen* and

she/he may tell you “Child, don’t go there. We don’t go fishing in that area.”

Atang: giving offerings

If a healer has performed *duphak* twice but a patient is still afflicted with an illness, one can also try to appease the spirit by giving an offering, this is called an *atang*. Lodya Moral, a *bunogen*, says that one may have a dream wherein the spirit is requiring that an offering be provided for the patient to get well.

The patient's family must prepare offerings such as *éman* (betel quid), chicken, a few pieces of bread, *malagkit* (sticky rice), and coke. These will be placed in a *bilao* (winnowing basket) and brought to the back of the patient's home. The healer will then call the spirit:

Halika na, kaibigan. O, kumain na tayo sa kaunting handa namin.
Come, friend. Let us partake of the few things that we have prepared.

This should be done around 5 in the afternoon, when it is getting dark. This is the time when the spirits roam the land. The offering will be left alone for an hour. Afterward, the healer and patient can partake of the offering.

If the patient is still not healed after the *atang* is performed, one has to consult a senior *bunogen* with more experience and ability.

HARM-REDUCTION STRATEGIES

The following methods are knowledge and practices that the Agta apply in their everyday lives in order to avoid illnesses and other harm that may be caused by spirits, plants, animals, and natural elements:

Tabi: Polite requests

To avoid being afflicted with illnesses, one must remember to respectfully say '*tabi*' which is a request to be excused when passing by areas identified as being inhabited by spirits. One must also ask permission from them when obtaining resources such as fish or fruits in their area. One should not be noisy and rowdy when passing through the forest so spirits will not be disturbed.

Introducing a new person

I experienced accompanying a *bunogen*, Noel Tanyet and his niece, Hanny, in the forest to gather *biget* (bananas) near the SPAM (Agta school) in Sitio Gagawden. *Bunogen* consider the forest as the dwelling place of the unseen, which must be entered with care, respecting the surroundings and the beings that live there.

We crossed the Pasaruboy River twice, and various plants of medicinal and culinary use were shown to me. We passed through and followed the Gagawden River more than ten times, with the temperature of the water varying in each crossing. Some portions of the river had moss covered rocks and in other parts leaves blanketed the floor. We also stopped to look for *udang* (river shrimp) and *tabungkak* (a type of edible snail).

We were nearing the school when we traversed through the Gagawden again. A large rock was in the middle of the river. Noel then told us, "*Manalangin tayo.*" The three of us faced the rock and Noel began to speak:

Gagawden... ikaw, Gagawden Gagawden, huwag mong batiin itong kasama ko. Siya ay nakakatulong din sa amin.

Gagawden... you, Gagawden. She is my friend, do not harm her. She helps us.

Noel took out the plastic of *apog* (slaked lime) from his pocket and placed a small amount of the white powder in his palm. He added water from the river and more *apog* then mixed it using his fingers. With the *apog*, he drew a cross mark on my left arm. He repeated this on my right arm.

Afterward, I asked if I could take a photograph of that part of the river but he forbade me to do so. He later explained that Gagawden was there and must be respected.

Upon arriving in the deserted Agta school buildings in the forest, the healer raised his hand. Noel later explained that he was stopping the unseen spirits from coming near us. They were excited about newcomers:

Mabisa kasi ang mga kuwan nila, masagi ka lang sa likod nila ay malalagnat ka na. May mararamdaman kang sakit sa katawan.

They have a powerful effect that if one comes in slight contact with them, one may get fever and body aches.

Noel was able to see them. They were floating but he only saw their bodies from the head down to the shoulders. There were children and adults there. Gagawden on the other hand, he says is, an *ermityano* (hermit), an old man with white shoulder length hair and beard down to the chest.

After the trip, Noel told me that he did that so that Gagawden and the other spirits would not question the presence of a stranger. The next time I would go there, they would already know me. He would not need to accompany me since he already informed them about me.

Knowledge of harmful plants, animals, and humans

Another harm-reduction strategy of the Agta is being knowledgeable of what are safe and unsafe/dangerous plants and animals. There is a great diversity of flora and fauna in their forests, rivers, and seas. Aside from the resources beneficial to them, they have also taken note of those creatures and growths that may be unsafe for them. Even people may unknowingly cause illnesses. The Agta try to avoid the following:

Poisonous animals

1. Ipél – a snake that can cause death or paralysis. It lives in rattan plants so the Agta are careful when they work by gathering *uway*. According to the Agta dictionary it is a small and green snake. (Headland and Headland, 1974)
2. Omseng – the second most poisonous snake in Casiguran. It has white and black streaks and is found in water.
3. Kenepes – are scorpions. These live in coconut trees.

Plants that cause itches

- 1) Ahangas (arangas in Kasiguranin) – one must avoid this tree because it causes rashes that are *makaté na makaté*, very itchy.
- 2) Ahapay (arapay in Kasiguranin) – the *Laportea meyeniana* causes severe irritation [Headland and Headland, 1974]. Wisay Francisco describes it as *talagang masakit at makati*, very painful and itchy. Its effect is worse than the ahangas plant. It grows near the sea.

According to Wisay, kalingag (*Cinnamomum mercadoi* Vidal) is used a medicine for these plants. When wounds already appear because of a child's severe itches, one must mix kalingag with *éman* (betel quid), chew it and place the mastication on the affected area. This is called *buga*.

Biha (bira in Kasiguranin) is also a medicine for ahapay. It is like a big gabi (*Colocasia esculenta*) but should not be eaten because it may also cause irritation (itchy mouth). The juice of the plant may be used as a treatment.

Another healing method is one that can only be done by a person who is immune to the plants. According to the Agta, because the said individual is not affected by the plant, she/he can treat the patient through *buga*, applying their masticated betel quid on the affected part. (See page 89)

People with balis

Balis is caused by a person who has just come from work or travel. One may be exhausted, exposed to heat, is sweating, and then she/he may encounter another person. The one she/he meets may get *balis* wherein one suddenly feels weak and may want to vomit. The heat that one was exposed to is passed on to the person she/he encounters.

Yung init madala niya sa iyo.
She/he transferred the heat to you.
-Tetet Prado

Nateng Prado also says that the *amores* (body smell) of the person causes the *balis*. There are people known to have *balis* as a result other Agta give warning that they should be avoided. Nateng explains that a person may be healed by the one who has caused *balis* through her/his saliva. It is applied on the forehead and stomach. Noel, on the other hand, says that the one who can cure *balis* is a person who is immune to it.

Dealing with natural elements

Illnesses may be brought about by natural elements such as the heat and cold. To avoid getting sick, the Agta instruct that a person must avoid exposing the self too much to the heat of the sun. Or if one is tired, one must not bathe immediately. If one comes home exhausted from work and takes a bath right away, she/he will get *pasma*. The cold will enter the body in small openings in the skin. A person will then feel body aches such as joint pains. One remedy is to sit in front of a pot of hot water while placing a large cloth over the head and the back. The heat will release the cold that entered the body. The person should then rest and in the morning she/he must avoid walking out in the cold morning mist.

The wind also brings about illnesses such as colds which causes *sipon* (colds). Dolsing explains that if a person from a certain barangay visits another place and is exposed to the *hanging habagat* (southwest monsoon), she/he will get the illness brought by the wind. The *habagat* brings about *pohopo* or light rainfall that can cause colds. One should return home to avoid getting sick. This advice may be due to the possibility that one may get stuck in the rain and have nowhere to go to if one is in another barangay.

HEALING METHOD ADAPTED FROM THE NON-AGTA

Noel Tanyet and Dolsing Lisiday utilize *tawas* as one of the ways to treat patients with spirit/supernatural being-caused illnesses. Through *tawas*, one may be able to see the one who brought about the illness. This is a practice of non-Agta communities which is where the Agta have obtained it.

Using this method, Noel says that one may see the face, eyes, and hair of the being. One must put oil on the back of a plate and expose it to the flame of a candle. One will begin to see the image of the being. It may look like a *tikbalang* (horse-like), a dog, or cat. When the healer has seen the spirit who caused it, she/he may then speak to it:

Ba't ginanun mo siya? Tanggalin mo 'yan.. ang ginigawa mo sa bata.
Why did you do that. Remove that.. whatever you did to the child.

The healer will use the soot in the plate to draw a cross mark in the forehead of the patient. Then she/he will repeat the first step to see if the image of the being will still appear. If its face is gone then the illness is already cured. One must repeat the procedure if the image of the being is still seen.

Dolsing also shared his method of performing *tawas*. He gives an egg to the patient who must hold it for 3 minutes. The healer will get a glass of water and says to the glass,

Kung kayo ang bumati pumunta kayo sa baso (para) makita ko kayo.
If you are the one who caused the illness, go to the glass so I may see you.

The egg is cracked and must be caught on the glass. The form of the being that caused the illness will be seen on the glass through the egg whites and yolk. The patient must drink a small amount of the water in the glass. The healer will then get a small amount of water (there should not be any egg mixed with it). She/he will use the water to make a cross mark on the wrists and near the ankle joint, where the pulse may be found. The patient will return to the healer the following morning. If one is already well, the healer will conclude the treatment by again placing a cross mark on the wrists and feet.

Noel said that one uses *tawas* in severe cases but in minor ones, *duphak* can be used. However, Dolsing says that if *tawas* is not effective, then one must already perform *duphak*.

THE HEALING PRACTITIONERS

The bunogen

Ay, pagka halimbawa batiin.. paano mo 'yun sa may bunog. Patingin mo sa kanya kung ano talaga iyun. Duphakan ka niya ngayun. Kakaligkigin 'yun. Kung talagang makuha niya 'yung sakit. Tapos 'yung maman niya pulang-pula 'yun. Katulad din 'yan sa mga albularyo..'di бага ang albularyo may mga tawas-tawas..

Pero manginginginig po 'yun talaga. Lalabanan niya 'yung nagbati sa iyo.

If you were noticed by a spirit, then you must go to a person with a *bunog* (a spirit friend). Ask the person to examine what caused the illness. Then she/he will do *duphak*.²² The healer will experience convulsions if she/he is able to counter the illness. And her/his *éman* will be very red. It's just like the *albularyo*, with the *albularyo* using *tawas*.

But the (*bunogen*) will really get severe chills. She/he will struggle to overcome the spirit that caused the illness.

- Hempok and Maal Prado (neice of Hempok)

The *bunogen* is the shaman among the Agta community. The healing ability of a *bunogen* comes from a spirit friend, a *bunog*. A *bunog* may be any kind of supernatural being which are called by different names, *yawyaw*, *lamanlupa*, *maligno*, and other terms. The spirit may appear to the human in person or in her/his dreams. Dolsing knows of three types of *lamanlupa* who bestow healing abilities to the Agta, these are the *duwende*, *kapre*, and the *opéng*. Loyda says a *bunog* can also be in a human form which may look like an ordinary Agta.

Each *bunogen* has her/his own ability depending on which being gave her/him the power to heal. According to Dolsing, if a *bunogen* is assisted by a *duwende* then the shaman is only able to cure illnesses caused by *duwende*. If the sickness was brought about by a *kapre*, that *bunogen* must refer the patient to another healer capable of handling the case. On the other hand, Loyda says the *bunogen* can heal any illness no matter which being is her/his spirit friend.

In a correspondence with Thomas Headland,²³ he wrote that during the 1960s, there were Agta adults who identified themselves as *bunogen* but other Agta would say that these were only 'bubunogen,' pretending to be one. The powerful male and female *bunogen* back then were Ayogyog and Tika. Even Loyda remembers Ayogyog, as '*matibay talaga, masyadong ma-eppekto ang duphak*.' He was very strong and his *duphak* healing method was very effective.

²² Healing method wherein one adds a dibago or kabugaw leaf to a betel chew. The masticated plants will be spread on the body of a person or applied onto the affected part.

²³ Email received from Thomas Headland, October 7 2010.

During the 1960s, the Agta actively practiced a traditional animistic religion. Headland (2004) reported that 13 percent of the adults were spirit mediums or shamans. Their healing methods comprised of using medicinal plants and also conducting seances for severe illnesses. A shaman would go 'into a trance..not in the normal language, but in some type of glossolalia.' (Headland 1975)

These days, Agta like Wayna and Resi say, '*Wala nang bunogen ngayon. Namatay na.*' Gone are the *bunogen*, they have passed away a long time ago. They may be referring to the powerful *bunogen* of the past. There are still Agta healers present in their communities. Their role still recognized and utilized by other Agta, although they are not of the same level as Ayogyog and Tika.

Many Agta referred us to Boboy Erning Moral when we asked about who to interview regarding healing practices. Dolsing said Boboy Erning is the oldest *bunogen* that is why he is the healer most respected by the spirits. But when we asked him he answered that he does not practice healing:

Wala na akong alam na naggagamot na Dumagat. Noong araw, mga nanay ko laang. Hindi ko na alam kasi 'yung iba nilang gamot. Hindi ko na tandaan. Marami ring alam ang mga tao noong araw. Mga matatanda.. Wala pa lang doktor noon, ay. Kaya puwede laang mga dahon, tapal... Noong araw talagang marurunong ang matatanda. Ngay-un ay wala na. Mga ina-anak ay hindi na sila. Hindi na nila alam. Bihira na rin ang magpagamot sa albularyo. Namihasa na rin sa doktor.

I do not know of any Dumagat who can still heal. In those days, my mother knew how to.. But I am no longer knowledgeable of their healing methods. I have forgotten it. Back then, a lot of people knew a lot about healing. The elders.. There was no doctor back then. So they used leaves, poultice.. In those days, the elders were experts in those.. Now, there is no one. The younger generation, they don't know how. People these days also rarely go to the *albularyo*. We are used to going to the doctor.

For Loyda, the strongest *bunogen* (*pinakamatibay na bunogen*) who is still alive is Boboy (grandmother) Batanggas:

Kumbaga sa doktor ay mas mataas siya..
Like with doctors.. she is the more senior (*bunogen*)..

However, Batanggas has already been baptized into the born-again Christian church so she has refrained from practicing her healing abilities. Loyda says she still possesses the abilities but she does not do it out of respect to the church. This is the same with Tetet and Nateng Prado, who

used to practice healing methods but now avoid discussions regarding topics related to *bunogen* and the unseen. Talking about it made Tetet very uncomfortable since as a child she already did not want to interact with the unseen and also because she is now a Christian.

Nevertheless, some Agta still seek help from the present albeit less powerful *bunogen*, in cases when illnesses are caused by spirits. Dolsing shared that a parent and child from Kinabunglan would be visiting him. A *duwende* was said to have befriended the child, who suddenly began laughing with a small voice.

During my stay in the community, the *bélet* and spirits such as *lamanlupa* were common topics of conversation, but it was rare to hear talk about a healer who would be treating a serious spirit-caused illness. The present healers did not share that part of their abilities or methods were chanting or going into trances. Those were only stories they shared of what the Agta practiced in the past. My nearest experience and observation of a *bunogen* communicating with a spirit was when Noel spoke to the spirits in the forest so that we researchers, who were new to the area, would not be afflicted with illness.

The Agta narrated stories of past healers' traditions, including a ritual wherein the *bunogen* would be publicly introduced as a healer as the *bunog* (spirit) would descend upon her/his body, the spirit and human being joining together.

TALIBÉNG: The bunogen ritual

When Dolsing Lisiday was still courting Marina, his wife-to-be, he was able to witness a ritual of the *bunogen*. Dolsing was from Barangay San Ildefonso and he travelled to Sitio Busok-busok, Barangay Cozo to visit Marina. At that time only a few coconut trees grew in Cozo. One of Marina's relatives was a *bunogen* who was participating in the ritual.

A cross made of bamboo stood in the middle of the ground where the ritual was to take place. The cross was as tall as a person. Pieces of red cloth were wrapped around the cross. A person knelt in front of the cross. She/he too had red cloth wrapped around her/his body. A *bunogen* began pounding on a piece of wood and the individual kneeling on the ground began to experience *maralya*. She/he was convulsing. Three *bunogen* began to move around the cross and the person in a circular manner. They danced round and round until the individual in the middle passed out. The three *bunogen* also collapsed.

After they fell down, the spouses of the ritual participants approached them and wiped their face with a leaf so they would wake up. Upon gaining consciousness, the one who experienced convulsion (*minaligno* at *minalarya*), was now a *bunogen*.

Loyda is unsure but thinks that the ritual is still being performed. Hempok and Edna confirmed this. Edna's sister, Dora, who is from Dumagipo, went through the talibéng ritual just a year ago. All the elders were invited. All the Agta in their community who had a *bunog* gathered for the event. The male *bunogen* wore red *beg* (loin cloth) while the women put on red *tapis*, a cloth wrapped around the body. Women also wore *manek* (beaded necklace). Hempok shared that the wood used for making drum beats was a *bahas/baas*.

Loyda explained how a talibéng occurs. If an Agta becomes sick for a long time and is not getting better, she/he will go to doctors and other people for treatment. If the person is still not cured, she/he will go to a *bunogen*. The *bunogen* will perform a *duphak* on the person then will say, 'You are not getting well because a spirit wants to befriend you. *Dapat i-talibéng. Ipe apon.*' Talibéng must be performed so that the spirit would *ipe apon* (in Filipino, *sasapi sa iyo*), unite with the individual experiencing an illness.

Two *bunogen* would play drumbeats on either side of the sick person. After a while, the two will start to shiver, and the one in the middle will experience it too. When the person convulses severely, the *bunog* has indeed united with the body. The person will gradually become healed and feel better. The weakness of the body and loss of appetite will be gone. When the said person stops convulsing, the *two* *bunogen* will do *duprak* or *duphak* to the new *bunogen*. The mastication (of *dibago* or *kabugaw* leaf with betel quid) will be applied on the head, the throat, stomach, forehead, and fontanelle. The duration of the ritual would be about an hour, from 4 to 5 in the afternoon which is the time when the spirits roam. Loyda said there was no need for *talibéng* to be done to her since the *bunog* was already passed on to her by Boboy Pidela.

Becoming a bunogen: Noel Tanyet

When Noel was still a young man, an *engkantada* appeared to him in a cave in Ditawine, past Dinadyawan. He described the being as a beautiful and large man who was standing on top of a rock. At that time, he and his companions were fishing for *malabéd* (labahita) but it was only he who saw the being.

“I shall give you something, my friend,” the being told him.

“What is it?” Noel wanted to know.

“First, bring me two *kugita* (octopus)” the being instructed.

“I will. If I’m lucky,” he answered.

Noel was not able to get the two octopi but caught a white fish instead. He brought it to the *kabilang bato* or other rock as the being instructed him. He felt like he was going crazy but at the same time he felt light. When he reached the area, the being was sitting atop a rock. He gave the fish to the supernatural being.

“Thank you. Tomorrow morning at five, go to the sea shore. You will find me there.”

The next day, the being gave him a *kuwintas* (medallion).

“I am giving this to you. You can wear this even if you are diving in the ocean, large fishes will not harm you. You may also be able to heal people.”



The medallion which the *bunog*, an *encantada*, gave to Noel.



Noel helps researchers gather *bisahaw* leaves.

For Noel, because of the medallion, he and his wife experience a simple yet good life. They do not worry about food or getting sick. He also says that the characteristics of a *bunogen* is kind, silent not loud, and does not fight others. He believes this is why he was given the medallion. He also shared that he does not ask for payment when he heals people. He will not accept remuneration because he says that the healing he carried out is a gift to the patient.

Becoming a bunogen: Dolsing Lisiday

Dolsing was 25 years old when he was swimming in Pinanuktukan River, which flows to the east, in the Pacific Ocean. He was in the area gathering *yantok* (rattan) for a living. After eating his dinner he slept and dreamt that a spirit appeared to him. It was very hairy, a *kapre* type of spirit. It was taller than him and had dark and thick body hair.

“I will possess your body/enter your body,” it said to him. “Do not refuse.”

Dolsing agreed to the being.

“Make a *biskal* (armband),” it instructed him.

He again agreed.

“If an Agta approaches you for help, heal her/him.”

The being then bade farewell.

That night, Dolsing experienced “*maralya*” wherein he would get severe chills. His wife woke up and asked him what was happening. He told her to leave him be. He slept again and continued his dream. When he woke up, people were crowding around him. A couple brought their sick child to Dolsing. He then performed the healing act called *duphak*. He chewed two leaves, *butag* (areca nut), *maskada* (tobacco), *apog* (slaked lime), and placed in his hand what he had just masticated. He spread this all over the child. He was able to heal the sick child.



Dolsing, wearing a *biskal* (armband), showing some medicinal plants and reenacting how to treat a headache.

For Dolsing, the traits of a *bunogen* are kindness and the ability to communicate well with spirits. Communicating with a spirit (wether the *bunog* who helps one heal or the spirit who caused the illness) is important or else a sick person might not get well. Among his healing skills are pulse reading and performing the *duphak*. By reading the pulse, Dolsing is able to determine if the patient has a fever, *pilay* (sprain or strain), or colds. If one has a *pilay*, the pulse rate on one wrist would be slow and the other would be fast. If one has a fever, the pulse rate of both wrists would be fast. If the pulse is already past the joints, then one has been *bati* by an unseen being. When he diagnoses the illness, he also observes the different body parts such as watching out for redness in the eyes. Dolsing says that the person he has healed must give one or five pesos so that he (the healer) will not get body aches. The illness will bounce to the healer and the ill person will not get well if she/he does not give remuneration.

Dolsing also shared that he had already dreamt that he would be passing on his knowledge to Gapet, one of his granddaughters. She will know when it is time to become a *bunogen* when she is afflicted with a severe fever. She would already have 2 or 3 children by that time. Although his eldest son Daret was not chosen to be a *bunogen* (through the dream), Dolsing taught him how to do *duphak*. Daret can heal other's illnesses through his father's power. He has already treated more than five times. But if he is faced with a strong and difficult spirit, and his *duphak* is ineffective, the illness may bounce to him (Dolsing calls this *pinagsaulian*) and his father has to heal him.

Becoming a bunogen: Loyda Moral

When Boboy Pidela, the grandmother of Teming, was still alive, she shared her knowledge to the chosen few who were kind to her and knew how to communicate with her. During afternoons that they were together, she would tell Teming and his wife, Loyda, 'Ganito anak, pag may sakit kayo..(This is what you should do when you get sick..)' Wether it be *taun*, *pilay*, or *teplak*, (see Appendix A for list of indications) she would share it to them.

On her deathbed, she called Loyda and Teming near her bedside. Boboy Pidela carried out *duphak*, spreading *éman* (masticated betel quid) on Loyda's head, throat and stomach.

After two years, Loyda already had her first born child, then she began to experience chills. Her body was always trembling and at night she dreamt of an old woman. Her mother-in-law told her that it was no ordinary sickness. She was experiencing that because Boboy Pidela performed *duphak* on her before she died. She had passed on her *bunog* to Loyda.



Loyda holding ferrous sulfate brought home from the town center.



Loyda wearing *pinanes* (wristband) and showing a *payokpok* plant.



Gathering *mahoknég* with researchers.

The first person she healed was her neice from Dinipan who was suddenly afflicted with fever and a swelling in a part of her body. Her neice said that she was only washing clothes with her mother in the river when it occurred. She was brought to Loyda who was able to heal her through *duphak*. Because she successfully healed the child, she realized that she had indeed become a *bunogen*.

Pag may parating na may sakit pakiramdam mo gutom na gutom ka at parang nilalambot kinakaligkig pinagpapawisan.

Everytime a patient is about to visit me, I always feel very hungry and weak. I get chills and perspire a lot.

When she began to carry out healing as a *bunogen*, she did not think that it was important to wear a *pinanes* (wristband). She thought that it would be just a waste of energy to make those bands. But then she repeatedly had dreams that an old woman (who looked like Boboy Batanggas) wearing *pinanes* was putting *pinanes* in her wrists. After four nights of ignoring the dream, the old woman returned to her dreams but this time she was already giving Loyda the things needed to make a *pinanes*. It was the *bunog* telling her to make *pinanes* because it will make her *duphak* more effective. The old woman in her dreams was the *bunog* whom she would call to guide her every time she heals a sick person.



Nateng and Tetet (in the middle) during a meeting

Becoming a bunogen: Tetet and Nateng Prado

When Tetet was still young, her grandmother told her that a spirit wanted to befriend her, but she was afraid and did not accept it. Her grandmother Pidela, who was a *bunogen*, continued to pass on her knowledge in medicinal plants, *duphak*, and other healing practices. Tetet and Nateng got married, both of them and other Agta continued to learn from the grandmother until she died.

Although it was Tetet who had a spirit wanting to befriend her, she was fearful of the spirits. She taught and instructed her husband to do the healing such as calling the spirit to remove the illness and performing *duphak* whenever someone would get sick from the spirits. According to Nateng, when he was healing with the help of the spirit, Tetet would get chills and feel dizzy. Although Nateng was the one who would do the healing, it was Tetet who would feel ill. Sometimes she would tell him to stop performing the healing practice because she was already feeling unwell.

Now, both of them have become born-again Christians and say that they cannot practice *duphak* anymore. They must not believe in spirits, only God, who is the most powerful of all. Although they have stopped their healing practice, they still recognize that having a *bunog* was useful back then:

Maganda kasi 'yung me ano, 'yung me bunog. Laging makahuli ng ano baboy ramo. Pag mabigat na 'yung kaliwang kamay ko. A, lumakad na ako sa gubat, may huli ako 'yun. Sigurado 'yun. Talagang dito sila humahatol. Pero hindi mo sila makita. Basta bumigat lang 'yung kabilang ano ko. Alam ko na 'yun na sila na. Pagtawag ko, halimbawa sa salita namin, "Pa sambat mu din diya ka ni laman." 'Yun. Wala pang dalawang minuto makita ko na sila, mga baboy ramo. Kaya araw-araw, ang baboy noon. Tatlo. Ganyan. Dalawa. Oo. Ganun din sa gabi. Isa.. dalawa. Ganyan. Sa gabi. Basta makagaling lang siya pag tinawag mo siya.

It's good (useful) to have a *bunog*. You would always catch a wild pig. When I feel that my left arm is heavy. Ah, I will start walking toward the forest. I will surely get a pig. No doubt. They will really settle here (in the left shoulder). But you won't see them. It will just feel heavy, my other (shoulder). That's how I know that they are there. When I call them, in our language, "Let me chance upon a wild pig." There. It won't take two minutes. I will already see them, the wild pigs. Back then, we would have wild pigs every day. Three or two. Yes. Even at night. One or two. And it can help heal whenever you call it.

Even Tetet and their son Joey agreed that the *bunog* are useful:

Makatulong ngani.. makatulong talaga.
It is useful.. really useful.

Both husband and wife also compared the *bunogen* to a doctor:

Hindi kagaya ng doktor na may bayad na malaki.. wala.
Not like with a doctor where you have to pay a large sum.. (when you seek the help of a *bunogen*) no need..
-Tetet

'Yun kusa nila. 'Yun, kunin mo.
You (a *bunogen*) accept whatever (*payment*) the patient can offer.

Still, Tetet holds on to her Christian faith. She says that though there are benefits of having a *bunog* there are also advantages in Christianity. She points out that if you become a Christian, no *bélet* or *lamanlupa* will harm you.

Hindi na mababati.. maliban sa halimbawa'y matapakan o madanasan sila. 'Yon.
One won't be afflicted by an illness caused by the unseen.. not unless you step on them..

(Discussion on Christianity continued on page 92)



Erning Moral

When we spoke to different community members in Sitio Dipontian regarding who to approach, many suggested that Boboy Erning Moral should be interviewed since he is an elder and had many experiences in the realm of healing. Dolsing recognized him as the most senior of all the present *bunogen* in their area.

Boboy Erning with his daughter Tetet, her husband Nateng, NCIP Director Carlos Buasen, and project leader Isidro Sia.

When we spoke to him, Boboy (grandfather) Erning said that he only cures common illnesses:

'Yung mababa laang na sakit. Minsan, ay tandaan ko rin 'yung halimbawa nagpagamot kami sa albularyo. Tandaan ko na 'yung kung ano ang kasaket ng sakit niya. Sa puso aniya nun e. Sa puso niya kuwan tinuren kung ano ang sakit niya.. pag napaigi niya. Tandaan ko na 'yung ano niya. 'Yung gamot niya.

I only treat minor ailments. Sometimes when we go to an albularyo, I observe what she/he does. I take note of what illness, how one acquired it, how she/he diagnoses it. If she/he makes the patient better, I will take note of how she/he

cured it.

Erning acknowledges that Agta also obtain healing methods from non-Agta such as the *albularyos*. But both Agta and non-Agta go to him when they want assistance in having a child or giving birth. Erning can do *hilot* so that a woman can bear children.

Yung babae hilutin yung tiyan. Paitaasin yung matres. Bantunin.

One massages the abdomen of the woman. Raises her womb.

He assisted when his daughters and the wives of his sons gave birth. He has also helped Ilocano women give birth to their children. Other than that, he said that he utilizes *tapal* or medicinal plant poultice when his children have headache or *pasma*. If this does not help, he already brings them to the doctor.

There are no more *bunogen*, according to Erning:

Wala na. Paano, nanatili na sa doktor. Ay, kaya wala na 'yung mga herbal-herbal. Naalis na.

(There are) No more (*bunogen*). People have gotten used to consulting doctors. That is why the use of herbal medicines have waned. Disappeared.

(Discussion on mainstream health practices continued on page 98)

The non-*bunogen* Agta healer: Neneng dela Cruz

Neneng dela Cruz, sister of Loyda Moral, is also recognized as a healer. Dolsing, a *bunogen*, was the one who identified to the researches that she too had the ability to cure illnesses. Other Agta would also say, 'Ask Neneng about *gayuma* (love potion).'

Neneng says she is not a *bunogen*. She learned her knowledge in healing from the *ebuked*.²⁴ Her uncle invited her to accompany him as he moved from place to place. She stayed in an *ebuked* community and was able to observe how they dealt with illnesses:

Ay, kasi kami na mga Dumagat.. Pag halimbawa...kapag na-dalaw 'yung tiyuhin namin.. halimbawa nasa Simbahan (name of a barrio) 'yung tiyuhin. Pag dumadalaw, ay siyempre sabihin niya, 'Nagigiliw na ako sayo. Sumama ka naman sa akin, pamangkin.' 'Yan.. ganun 'yun. Kaya ayun, nagasama-sama ako. Ngayon..kasi ang ebuked, halimbawa sa mga ilog-ilog. Halimbawa.. itong ilog natin na ito ay..isang linggo sila riyon... Tapos, isang linggo na naman sa ilog na isa. Ganyan lang 'yan sila. Hindi sila kasi katulad namin na pirmihan. Hindi. Isang linggo rito. Isang linggo roon. Isang linggo roon. Ganun 'yan sila. Ganun ang mga taga-bundok. Wala. Hindi sila nag.. wala yung bahay na ganito sa kanila. Basta 'yung naka ganyan sa.. sa buhanginan o. Nakaganyan. Itinutuon lang 'yung kahoy baga, ginaganyan lang saka tinutukudan dito o.. Oo, pinanahang na sabi namin.

Halimbawa, a 'di yung nakatirahan ko. A, 'di siyempre kapi-kapitbahay kami. Magkakalapit na ganito. Ayan, nakikita ko. Pag kumuha sila ng dahon.. halimbawa sabihin nung may anak, 'Ano kaya ang alam mong i-gamot ko rito sa anak ay.. dito sa anak ko at nagtatae. Sinasaktan ang tiyan, kinakabagan.' Ay, sabihin naman nung nagtanungan niya na 'Ay, kumuha ka na roon sa kuwan..ganito. Diyan. Ganito ang dahon o.' E, 'di natandahan ko.. 'Yan. Ganun lang yun. Kasi hindi ako nagtatanong. Basta tinitingnan 'yung kinukuha nilang dahon. 'Yun din. Tandahan ko 'yun. Na ito pala ang gamot sa kabag.. Hindi ako nagtatanung na, 'Ano 'yang gamot nito? Ano ang ano nito?' Wala. Kasi nahihya rin ako. Ayun. Baka sabihin na lang nila, 'A masugsugin ka.' O, ay 'di, alam mo yung taga-bundok. Ayaw nilang susugsugin ang ano. Basta tingnan mo kung ano 'yung ginagawa nila. Ayun tinatandahan ko naman. E, 'di hanggang ngayon tanda ko siya. Siya naman ang ginagawa ko roon sa mga apo ko. Awa naman ng Panginoon, gumagaling sila.

Kaya ganun laang ang gawa ko. Kaya, tingnan mo ngayon, 'di alam ko lahat ang ano? Meron silang pinamana sa akin kahit hindi ako nagtanong sa kanila.

Because we Dumagat people.. For instance, if one of our uncles from Simbahan visit us.. he will say 'I have grown fond of you, my niece. Why don't you come with me.' That's what happens. So I did accompany him. Now, the *ebuked*..they will stay near a river. For example, this river, they will stay there for a week.... After that, they will move to another river. That is what they do. They are not like us (lowland Agta) who have settled down. They're not like us. They will stay here for

²⁴ The Agta of Dipontian recognize themselves as *Agta sa kapatagan* (lowland Agta) who are civilized. This is in contrast to the Palanan Agta which they refer to as *ebuked*, a derogatory term. Agta and non-Agta alike stereotype the latter as wild people living in the mountains and seldom interacting with other people (Headland 1978).

one week. They will live there for one week, then settle there for a week. That is how the people from the mountain live their lives. They don't have houses like this. They just put up a temporary dwelling place in the sand.. They embed a piece of wood on the ground to support it. We call it *pinanahang* (a lean-to type of shelter).

The people I stayed with.. our *pinanahang* were near each other. So, I saw them when they obtained leaves. For example one of them who had children would say, 'Do you know what I can give my child? She/he is experiencing diarrhea. And has stomachache and flatulence.' And the other person may answer, 'You get this in that place. This is the leaf of that plant.' So, I remembered what they said. Just like that. I didn't ask them. I just looked at the plants that they obtained and I would keep that in mind.. that this was their medicine for flatulence.. I didn't ask, 'What is the cure for this? What does this do?' I was shy to ask. And they might tell me, 'Why are you so inquisitive?' And you know the people from the mountains, they don't want you to be investigating them. You just observe what they do. And I remembered those things. Until now, I recall what I learned from them and apply it to my grandchildren. Thank God they get well with those remedies.

That is all that I did. And now, now I know everything. I inherited something from them even though I did not ask them.



Neneng puts masticated *éman* on her granddaughter Laga's finger that was bitten by an *ébuwang* (hermit crab).

The illnesses that Neneng can heal are common ones such as headache, fever, and stomachache. Not ones caused by the spirits. She is also knowledgeable of caring for mothers who have just given birth to a child.

Neneng obtains medicinal herbs from nearby areas and plants it in her own yard so it can be easily found if she needs it to heal her children, grandchildren and others.

THE NON-AGTA HEALERS

The albularyo

Neneng also learned about healing from Mani, an elder non-Agta woman. Neneng met Mani when she had no husband or children yet. Loyda, her sister had just given birth and she became afflicted with *binat* or *séhéyo* in Agta (post-partum illness)²⁵. They called Mani for help. She was the one who assisted Loyda in giving birth.

Mga bandang alas onse ng gabi, sabi niya, 'Masakit ang ulo ko.' 'Ay bakit,' sabi kong ganun. 'Magtumar ka ng gamot.' 'Ay..wala nga tayong kagamot-gamot.' sabi niya. Sabi kong ganoon, 'Bukas magtumar ka.' Aba, kinaumagahan ay talagang kuwan, masamang talaga ang pakiramdam niya.

Around eleven in the evening, Loyda complained about her headache. I tolde her to drink medicine. 'But we don't have any medicine at all,' she answered. I told her, 'Drink medicine tomorrow.' Morning came and she was feeling worse.

They asked Anna, the American missionary, for medicine but Loyda's situation still did not improve.

Ngayun, nang hindi gumagaling.. Ay gusto ko ring gumaling siya at para makapag hanapbuhay at hindi nga.. siya nga lang ang malakas humanap. Sabi ko, 'Tayo na. Ta na. Patingin kita kay Ate Mani.' Pumunta kami ngayun. Para kaming mag-asawa.. Sinamahan ko siya ngayun. E, 'di pinulsuhan ngayun nung matanda. 'May pasma ka,' sabi niya. 'Tuturo ko sayo' sabi niya sa akin, 'Ang gagawin mo ano.. at ikaw na lang ang gumawa. Ganito ang gawin mo, maglaga ka ng tubig. Tapos, pagmalaga mo 'yung tubig lagyan mo ng asin. At saka.. siyang ibanyos mo sa kataw(an).. 'Wag mo basain ang dibdib niya saka 'yung likod. Dito.. diyan saka dito hanggang tuhod. Saka dito sa magkabilaan baga nitong gulugud ng likod natin. A, ginawa ko nga. 'Yan, umayos siya. Sinabayan ng tumar. Tanggal 'yung ano.. pinawisan siya.

Kinaumagahan, gumaan daw 'yung katawan niya. 'Di natanggal ngayun. 'Yun, tuloy na naman ang pawis niya. 'Yan, ganun lang ang ginagawa ko. Hanggang ngayon, pag itong mga anak ko rin ang may karamdaman, 'yan ako lang ang gumagamot sa kanila. Lahat kasi ng tinuturo sa akin, tinatandahan ko 'yun. Minsan ko lang gawin hanggan alam ko na iyun. Hindi ko 'yun malimutan.

When she did not feel better.. I wanted her to get well so she could work again. Cause she was the one who was good in making a living. I told her, 'Let's go. I'll bring you to Ate Mani.' So we went to her that same day. We were like a married couple as I brought her to the healer. Ate Mani examined her pulse. 'You have *pasma*,' she told Loyda. Then she said to me, 'I will teach you what to do.. so you can do it yourself. This is what you will do, boil some water. When it boils, add salt. Use this water to sponge her body.. Do not wet her chest and back. Wash her thighs up to the knees. And the left and right side of the lower spine.' That is what I

²⁵ A woman may become afflicted with *séhéyo* o if she comes in contact with cold water immediately after giving birth. This can be through bathing, getting wet from the rain, or going out of the house in the late afternoon or evening and being exposed to the cold evening mist. A woman affected by *séhéyo* experiences constant coughing, abdominal pain, headache, chills, frequent fever, loss of appetite and loss of weight.

did. And she got well. She also drank medicine (tablet). And it disappeared.. She began to sweat.

The next day, she said her body felt lighter. That means her illness was gone. She continued to sweat. That is what I do. Until now, when my children get sick, I'm the one who nurses them back to health. All that I have learned (from the albularyo), I remember. I try to apply what I learned for a few times, and then I know it already. I won't forget it.

Edna says the bunogen have the *duphak* while the non-Agta albularyo utilize *tawas* when they heal the sick. Aside from going to a *hilot*, so one will massage the stomach of a pregnant woman for a safe birth (to ensure correct position of the child as it leaves the womb), the Agta also go to the *albularyo* when they have *pilay* (sprain), and common ailments. Some Agta say they prefer to consult non-Agta *albularyo*, not the *bunogen*. Noel shared that a bunogen cannot heal his or her own children or spouses. So when Dolsing's wife was afflicted with an illness, he went to different *bunogen* or *albularyo* to ask for help. They also go to a man named Dodoy or Fred Turusilla who can heal bites of dogs, snakes, and scorpions.

Healers with immunity against harm

Dodoy, the non-Agta whom they go to when they are bitten by a poisonous animal, has immunity against the harmful bites of the animals, that is why his saliva (through masticated betel quid) is used as medicine for poison bites.

Ang 'di naaantak na tao ang puwedeng gumamot.

One who has immunity against poison bites is the one who can heal it.

-Arman

In relation to that, Wisay says that the one who can heal the itches after contact from an ahangas (or arangas) plant is a person who is not affected by the said plant.

Ay 'yung arangas talaga, ay 'yung 'di lang 'yung arangasin. Tulad ni Boboy Pompoek. 'Yun lang 'yung makagamot. 'Di siya tinatalaban nun. Kahit din sino, pag hindi ka tinatalaban, puwde kang manggamot.

The arangas (can be treated), by the one not affected by it. Like Grandma Pompoek. She's the only one who can treat it. She won't get itches from it. Anyone who has immunity against something can heal the condition.

Noel Tanyet also shared that if a person is not affected by *balis* then she/he can heal it.

(See page 72 for information about *balis*)

The *magtetédak* (mangkukulam)

The Agta call a *mangkukulam* a *magtetédak*, or one who pierces a doll and causes illnesses. Some of the reasons for bringing about affliction to others are common issues among community members such as unpaid debt or stolen goods/produce. Noel Tanyet shared that in Sitio Dalugan, a few men ran away to Palanan, Isabela, carrying with them payment for *uway* (rattan) which they should have given to a woman who was their contractor. The woman asked Noel where the men went. Noel told her they were gone and she answered, "Never mind, it will just be my gift to them." But for Noel, her statement meant something deeper, that aside from the money she 'gave away,' she would also give the men illnesses.

Noel shared that a *mangkukulam* or *mambabarang* has animals which are her/his followers. Insects such as flies may rest on top of your skin and cause wounds (*talingo*) or small boils (*busale*) that do not heal.

In Dalugan, another Agta man became a victim of the *mangkukulam* because he took from a woman's pineapple and sugarcane plantation without asking permission. When he went home, he discovered a lump / swelling on his neck. The man's wife asked Noel to talk to the woman and remove the illness she had brought to her husband. Noel agreed to help so he visited the owner of the fields.

"Kuya Noel, what can I do for you?" The woman laughed and continued, "I know why you are here."

Even a healer like Noel felt chills when she said that.

"Please heal the person who stole from your fields," he told her.

She agreed to meet Noel in the man's house that afternoon. Later that day, she came to the house. She laughed and said, "Next time, inform the tree that you are getting something so that Ate knows that you asked permission. Because it's not good to steal from a person. What if I was away? Then I wouldn't have been able to heal you and your illness would get worse." Then she did *duphak* to remove the lump.

Noel knew the woman. She was a kind person just as long as one would ask permission. Noel also recognized that he could not heal the illness. The woman was the one who caused the illness and only she could heal it. He could only act as a mediator and request her to remove the affliction. He

was only able to talk to her because he knew her personally.

Kulam is a mechanism for social justice or social control as evidenced in these accounts. It is a way to reprimand and correct community members of their wrongdoings. The people become aware of right and wrong, and avoid bad behavior which may bring about illnesses. Some community members may consider *kulam* to be more effective in bringing justice than taking it to the chieftain or *kagawad*, where the offender/wrongdoer could even deny the transgression.

AGTA HEALTH PRACTICES AND CHRISTIANITY

'Yun ang lengguwahe ng ninuno, relihiyon nila ay duphak. Sa atin naman ay panalangin.. pag kurus.

That was the language of our ancestors, their religion was the *duphak*. Our present religion is prayer.. making the sign of the cross.

- Noel

Through this statement one can observe that before their Christianization, the Agta greatly relied on the *bunogen's* abilities to counter illnesses or death caused by the spirits. In the recent years, Christian Agta already use *panalangin* (prayers) to God and the sign of the cross, to oppose the spirits which threaten the Agta. One can observe that although *duphak* and strong belief (fear) of the unseen are considered traditions of the past (their ancestors), it continues to prevail along with Christianity in contemporary times. The unseen are still a common daily discussion among people although many Agta already attend church services. In the aspect of healing, *duphak* and the cross are fused by some healers.

Before Christianity was introduced to the Agta, there was no symbol of the cross used in healing.

Here, Noel Tanyet described the early healing rituals:

Nung 'di pa binyagan. Binabanggit lang 'yung pangalan nung bundok. Tapos duprak na ugali nila. Halimbawa itong Batoktoro. Idududura (sa likod niya). Tapos sabihin niyang 'O ikaw na Batoktoro, pagalingin mo ito.' 'Yung kuwan na ngayon.. 'yung ugali na sa binyag. (Pero) 'yung ibang matatanda na iba.. ganun pa rin 'yung kuwan nila.. kultura.. 'yung mga tiga-riyan. May lahi pa silang ugali ng bundok.

When the Agta were not yet baptized.. one would just utter the name of the mountain. Then she/he would perform *duprak/duphak* (spreading it) on the (back of the) patient. The healer would say, 'You, Batoktoro. Remove the illness from this person.' But now.. what is practiced are the methods of the baptized. But some elders.. they still have the same.. culture.. They still have the behavior of the mountain.

When Christianity arrived, the use of the cross became prevalent in their healing methods. One may see it in how Noel uses the cross in his harm-reduction (page 70-71) and healing methods (page 74). He explains the effect on an unseen being when one puts a cross mark on the patient's forehead during a *tawas* treatment:

Pag may krus na, lalayas na siya sa'yo. Kasi may krus na dito sa noo. Takot siya sa krus. E, kasi 'yun ang kuwan niya talaga.. takot sila doon. 'Yun ang kuwan talaga. 'Yun ang bisa ng kapangyarihan mo.. sa krus.. Para bagang kuwan siya, si Kristo. Si Kristo siya.

When you draw a cross on the forehead, it (the spirit) will leave you. Because of

the cross. It is afraid of the cross. That is just how it is. They are afraid of it. The effect of the power.. of the cross. Because it is like Christ. The cross is Christ.

Noel explains that they also put cross marks on the foundations or posts of their house, so that the unseen will not enter. They fear Christ and since he is the symbol of the cross, they are repelled by it.



Hindi na mababati.. maliban sa halimbawa'y matapakan o madanasan sila. 'Yon.

(Baptised Agta) won't be afflicted by an illness caused by the unseen.. not unless you step on them..
-Tetet

Noel draws a cross, signifying Kristo, to ward-off spirits in a classroom in SPAM.

Although Tetet says that baptized Agta are not affected by the unseen, she still believes that one may get sick when she/he unknowingly harms the unseen while doing everyday activities. Both Agta and Christian beliefs exist in her perspective but her belief in Christ gives her more security knowing that God is more powerful than the unseen beings.

Nababati pa rin (ang mga binyag). Sinong nagduduphak? Wala, panalangin lang. Hindi na (nagduduphak). Wala na. Pinagdadasala na lang. Mm. Mga pagbabago. Panginoon. Walang makapangyarihan maliban panginoon, diba?
(Those who are baptized) still get sick because of the unseen. Who performs the *duphak*? No one. We just pray to get better. Yes. Those are the changes. God. There is no one more powerful except God, right?

Tetet also says that because others believe in the spirits, instead of going to the doctor and getting treated correctly, they go and give offerings to the spirits and their illness worsens. However, there was also a time when she said that she does not understand why a *bunogen* is bad if the healer is helping cure others of their illnesses.

Arman, an Agta pastor, shared that when Christianity was being introduced to the Agta, the elders forbade the young to touch the bible. It was *busong*, disrespectful to the elders. They hit those who defied them. They also warned the children that their hands would become paralyzed if they touched the book. So many were afraid to read it. Arman says that people should have informed

them that nothing bad would happen if one read the bible, on the contrary, it has been very helpful in his life.

When he was not yet a Christian, he remembered working in the forest then suddenly experiencing a stomachache. He wanted to rush home. The other workers were walking slowly so he left them. When he came to a river, he felt someone or something was following him. He heard a noise similar to a screeching cat, but it also changed its cries. He said that it was a *bélet*. He sought help from Noel, who had a *bunog*. He told the spirit to leave Arman alone. However, the unseen being walked beside Arman again and made the screeching noise.

When Arman began to accept the Christian faith, he said that the bad spirits became fearful of him. A person who believes in Christ also won't be harmed by black magic (*kulam*) because one will not believe in its power anymore.

Pag paniwalaan mo, tatalaban ka.. Sa bibliya, sabi kay San Pablo, hindi ka matalaban ng kamandag pag naniwala sa Diyos.
If you believe it, it will affect you. In the bible, Saint Paul was told that he would not be harmed by the snake if he had faith in God.

Arman has become less fearful when he goes to the forest for his livelihood. The fear of *bélet* (spirits of the dead) and *lamanlupa* (supernatural beings) is a significant concern for the Agta, but because of his trust in God, unnecessary fears (regarding unseen spirits) are set aside and he is able to focus on making a living for his family. This is an aspect of Christianity that is beneficial to some Agta people such as Arman.

Before he became a Christian, Arman drank liquor like Agta men commonly do. But when he was introduced to Christianity, he said that his life had changed. He and his wife would usually fight if they had no food to eat. But when they began to have faith in Christ, they stopped arguing with each other even if they faced hardships. They also avoided creating conflicts with other community members since that is what they were taught in church.

According to Arman, there are Agta traditions that should be continued, such as sharing wild pig to other Agta or rice when their neighbors have none. But there are also practices that should be abandoned. He said that the Lord commanded people not to believe in those who give offerings (*atang*) to spirits. He used to practice that but he already stopped:

Tinanggal namin dahil Siya lang ang tunay.

We stopped (this practice) because only Christ is true.

For Loyda, there are old Agta traditions that are similar to what it written in the bible:

Kung may pamilya na walang bigas, ibigay namin pag may sobra kami. Hindi ipautang. Ibigay... Nakasulat din sa biblyo pag may magutom, pakainin. Pag may uhaw, painumin.

If a family doesn't have any rice, we give them the excess of what we have. We don't lend it, we give it to them... It is written in the bible, if someone is hungry, feed her/him. If someone is thirsty, feed her/him.

Many Agta traditions are not written in the bible but these are still beneficial to people and should not be abandoned. She herself acknowledges that there is no being more powerful than God but they should also remember the traditions of their ancestors, such as their healing practices:

Walang makapangyarihan kundi Mahal na Panginoon. Pero 'yung mga kaugalian, dapat sumampalataya tayo roon.. dahil talagang 'yun ang kinabukasan kung halimbawa mga ninuno. Dapat doon sumampalataya rin tayo.. pero pangunahin ang Mahal na Panginoon. E, kaso hindi nga sila naniniwala kaya hindi ako puwedeng makapagpaliwanag sa kanila. Dahil hindi nila ako paniwalaan, kahit ano pang sabihin ko.

There is no one more powerful than God. But we should also have faith in our traditions.. because that is how we remember our ancestors in the present/future. We should have faith in our traditions but primarily have faith in God. But the others don't believe (in our traditions) anymore so I can't explain anything to them. They won't believe me, whatever I tell them.

Dolsing also wonders why Christian Agta consider *bunogen* healing as something from the demons:

Dimonyo raw ito. E, bakit magiging dimonyo, e gamit ko rin ang Diyos Ama? Dimonyo raw kami. Hawak daw kami ni Satanas. Kalikasan (ay) kontra ng Diyos. Hawak ni Satanas.. ang nagbigay ng kapangyarihan sa yawyaw ayon sa kanila.. Ang kapangyarihan ng bunog galing sa kalikasan, walang iba kundi galing sa Diyos.

They say that this is from the demons (evil spirits). Why will it come from the demons if I get (healing power) from God, the Father? They say we are from the demons. We are controlled by Satan. That nature is against God. They say Satan gives power to the unseen.. But the power of the *bunog* is from nature which comes from God himself.

Dolsing shared that once, a brother-in-law kept asking him to help his sick relative, but the parents of the sick child did not go to him for they did not believe in his ability. Dolsing said that he could not treat the child unless the parents wanted him to. He could cure only those who have faith in God and also his abilities. If one will not have faith in him as a healer, this will result to *supla* or *masusupla*, the lack of faith will go against the treatment.

Being brought up with Agta traditions and exposed to Christian beliefs, there are contradicting

ideas when the Agta explain about God and unseen spirits. However, in Loyda's understanding, one may benefit from and should value both God and also their ancestors' legacy:

Ay kasi 'yung Mahal na Panginoon, 'di baga siya ang gumawa ng lahat? Lahat dito sa lupa. Tapos siya rin 'yung nagbigay sa atin ng isip.. kahit sino pa man na may mga kapangyarihan.. walang makakatalo sa Kanya. Basta Siya yung pinakamataas.

God made everything, right? Everything on earth. He also gave us our minds.. Even if there are people on earth who are powerful.. no one is above God. He is the highest.

Loyda also acknowledges God when she is healing:

Ang iniisip ko kapag nagduduphak ako.. 'Panginoon tulungan mo ako..' Tapos unang-una siya, pangalawa yung bunog. 'Yung halimbawa, 'yung sabihin ko sa Agta.. 'O, kadodon. Gamutin ta iye para maginhawaan.' 'O, halika na,' sabi niya sa Tagalog. 'Gagamutin na natin ito para guminhawa siya at maalis yung karamdaman.' Pero bago muna iyon, Panginoon muna talaga. Hindi yung lubos na ako lang ang tatawag dun sa mga halimbawa yung naka sapi sa akin. Siyempre, Panginoon muna. Kasi hindi ko nalaman 'yun kung hindi 'yun Mahal na Panginoon ang nagsabi sa akin na 'Ikaw ang bunogen para gumamot ka diyan. Dahil 'yan ay multu.' Kung halimbawa multu ang gumalaw diyan.

When I do the *duphak* treatment, what I think about is.. 'Lord, help me.' God first, then the *bunog*. For example, I'll say it in Agta, 'O, kadodon. Gamutin ta iye para maginhawaan.' 'Come here, we will cure this person so that she/he will feel better and the illness will disappear.' But before (I say that to my spirit friend), it is God first. It won't just be me alone who will call the spirits to come into me. Of course, God will be first. Because I would not know anything if not for God who told me that 'You are the *bunogen* who will cure that. Because that is the *multu*.' If, for example, the *multu* caused the illness.

Dolsing says that the *bunog* comes from God himself. Loyda also acknowledges that God created everything on earth, including the *multu* and the *bunogen*, and these have a function in the world.

..Bakit ginawa rin ng Mahal na Panginoon ang multu? At ginawa rin niya ang bunogen? Parang pinagtapat din niya. Kasi ang bunogen, gumagamot doon sa multu.

Why did God create the spirits? And the *bunogen*? It seems that for every kind of ailment, he created a corresponding healer. Because the *bunogen* heals illnesses caused by the spirits.

However, in a succeeding statement, Loyda says that power of the *bunog* and the *bunogen* is not from God but from the *dimonyo*. (I was not able to ask her whether she thought the *dimonyo* was also created by God.)

Parang ang sabi nila ay sa mga, sa mga dimonyo.. sa mga multu nanggaling yung bunogen.

What they said is that the *bunogen* (or *bunogen's* power) comes from the demons,

the evil spirits.

This reasoning comes from the idea that since the *bunog* can cure or counter evil spirits, it must have originated from evil beings.

Kasi ang bunogen, nakakagamot sa multu. Kaya ang ibig sabihin, 'yung bunogen, ay galing sa multu 'yung parang kapangyarihan niya. Nakakagamot dun sa gawa ng multu.. parang katapat rin ng bunogen 'yung multu.

Kasi ang bunogen parang.. parang multu rin. Dahil lumalaban 'yung bunogen dun sa multu.. Halimbawa, ikaw nabati ka..bunogen ako.. gamutin kita. Ang iniisip ko, para akong kalaban ng multu. Dahil bakit gumaling ka kung dura lang, e laway ko lang 'yun tapos 'yung mama. Kaya hindi galing sa Mahal na Panginoon..

The *bunogen* can heal illnesses caused by evil spirits. So this means, the power of the *bunogen* originated from the multu.. because it can counter the *multu*..

The *bunogen* is like an evil spirit for it to be able to counter an evil spirit..

For example, you get sick because of a spirit.. and I am a *bunogen*.. I will cure you.

I will think that I am like an enemy of the evil spirit. Because you were cured by.. just my saliva and betel quid. That kind of thing doesn't come from God..

Whatever is the origin of the *bunog*, what Loyda is sure of is that the *bunog* and *bunogen* are able to help people by curing their illnesses.

(Ang bunog) hindi masama. Kasi nakakatulong naman ay..

(The bunog) is not bad. Because it is able to help..

Loyda bridges her belief in God together with the Agta traditions. She sees that God gave each type of healer a role to play on earth, whether *bunogen*, *albularyo*, or doctor. Each one is crucial for a person to attain or maintain health. She values the importance of non-Agta healers yet she does not abandon the Agta traditions passed on to her by her ancestors because she knows its distinct role in the Agta way of life in contemporary times.

..Bakit ginawa rin ng Mahal na Panginoon ang multu? At ginawa rin niya ang bunogen? Parang pinagtapat din niya. Kasi ang bunogen, gumagamot doon sa multu. Ang doktor gumagamot doon sa sakit sa loob ng katawan natin na hindi alam ng bunogen. Tapos 'yung mga pilay.. tapos 'yung paghihilot sa buntis.. 'Yung albularyo na kagaya ninyo. Para alam mo kung saan 'yung ulo ng baby. Alam mo kung nakapwesto sa puwerta ng babae. Tapos ikaw na bunogen, gamutin mo 'yung nabati.. Ikaw na doktor gamutin mo 'yung sakit na para nasa ilalim ng katawan. Dahil hindi kaya ng albularyo.. hindi kaya ng bunogen. Kaya ang pagkakaalam ko Siya rin ang may gawa. Dahil tatlo, may bunogen, may albularyo, may doktor.. Siya rin ang may gawa. 'Yun ang pagkakaalam ko. 'Di ko alam sa iba. Pero ako, talagang 'yun ang pagkakaalam ko.

Why did God create the spirits? And the *bunogen*? It seems that for every kind of ailment, he created a corresponding healer. Because the *bunogen* heals illnesses

caused by the spirits. The doctor cures diseases inside the body which the *bunogen* cannot treat. And for the sprains.. and the one assisting a pregnant woman.. This is (the role of) the *albularyo*, a non-Agta like you. So you know where the head of the baby is placed. If it is in the right position when it comes out of the mother. And you, the *bunogen*, you will treat those who became ill because of spirits.. You, doctor, you will treat the diseases inside the body. Because this can't be done by the *albularyo*.. or the *bunogen*.

What I know is that He made this. These three, the *bunogen*, the *albularyo*, the doctor.. He made them. That is what I understand. I don't know about the others. But for me, that is what I understand.

THE AGTA AND MAINSTREAM MEDICINE

Wala na (ang mga bunogen). Paano, nanatili na sa doktor. Ay, kaya wala na 'yung mga herbal-herbal. Naalis na.

(There are) No more (*bunogen*). People have gotten used to consulting doctors. That is why the use of herbal medicines have waned. Disappeared.

-Erning Moral

When we asked Erning Moral, an Agta elder known by the community as a healer, what medicine he takes for colds. He answered that the Agta already go to the doctor in the *bayan*, even for minor ailments such as colds. They say that Maalox is what doctors prescribe for ulcer. Babies must be given Tiki-tiki to be healthy. They also commonly buy paracetamol for fever.

The Agta have long been introduced to mainstream medicine. Thomas and Janet Headland conducted field research among the Casiguran Agta from 1962 to 1986. While they immersed among the community, they also provided medical services and community development programs for the people. (Headland 2007) Missionaries from the New Tribes Mission also provided health services to the Agta after the Headlands had left Casiguran.

When money is available, many Agta now rely on mainstream medicine and supplements. They also follow what they hear on the radio. Dolsing, a *bunogen*, shared that when his 10 year old son had stomachache and fever, he gave *tabletas* first. If it would not be effective, he would have applied *hilot* on his son. His next step would have been to read his pulse, then perform *buga* or *duphak* (applying betel quid mastication on body) if needed. But before he did all that, he would check first if he could already be cured by *tabletas*.

When one Agta mother had a headache, she asked me if I had mefenamic. She said that she already massaged a gawéd leaf on her forehead, neck, and placed it on her temples. This method, she said, was only for a minor headache. She was experiencing a severe headache and chills so she needed mefenamic. In another occasion, she asked if the Tagamet (cimetidine) she brought with her could cure cancer, because this is what she heard on the radio. Erning also shared that he planted lagundi because he heard on the radio that it is a cure for cough.

There was also one male Agta who bought amoxicillin from a store and took one tablet although he did not consult the municipal doctor yet. He later asked us what the medicine was for and if it was okay that he took it.

When I got burned by a lamp (*gasera*), I asked a family if they had herbal medicine for burns. They said that the plant is found far away in the forest. I noticed that even the dibago leaf which is important for treating illness caused by spirits is obtained far from Sitio Dipontian. Part of the changes in the lives of the Agta, is the destruction of the forest, which has resulted to medicinal plants and healthy food from the forest being difficult to obtain.

One will see that when the Agta are ill, they utilize what is available to them within their means, utilizing medicinal plants if needed. But when they have money to spare or if they can borrow from someone, Agta (including indigenous healers) bring their relatives to the municipal doctor in the town center, a 30 minute boat ride away from their sitio. Loyda took her husband Teming to the town for a check-up and the doctor gave them iron supplements. They also brought home vegetables such as malunggay leaves for Teming to eat.

One Agta said that he would rather use medicinal plants because many indigenous people have died when they were brought to the hospital. He said that many went there for cases such as ulcer, liver problems, fever, headache, and flu but they did not get better. However, when one of his relatives had a severe illness, he was the one who brought her/him to the hospital.

If the municipal hospital cannot treat a severe illness, the Agta bring the sick to the provincial hospital in Baler and even in Philippine General Hospital in Manila. There was a time in 2011 when they were able to ask the Casiguran mayor for assistance when many Agta children were confined in the hospital for measles.

Agta mothers say they ask for medicine in the health center. But they believe that if a child gets used to mainstream medicine, herbal medicine will not be effective anymore. On the other hand, when one becomes accustomed to kalamansi and gawéd as medicine, she/he will no longer be cured by *tabletas*.

Wayna says that she chooses to feed her children vegetable rather than give them medicine with chemicals:

'Di namin sinasanay sa gamot na nabibili, pag nasanay sa gamot ay magiging sakitin. Parang iba ang kuwan..hindi magiging malusog.

We don't let our children get used to medicines because they will become sickly.. They will turn out different.. they won't be healthy.

Neneng dela Cruz also regards herbal medicine as better than mainstream medicine based on her experience:

Halimbawa, kaunting diperensya lang sa tabletas ka nananalig.. tuwing magkaroon ka ng karamdaman. Takbo ka sa tabletas. Kung hindi mo rin katum(bas).. Hindi rin katapat ng sakit mo 'yung tabletas.. napakarami na ang tabletas na kinakain mo hindi ka pa gumagaling. Ay.. Mm. Hindi katulad ng mga anu-ano lang na nalalaman mo sa gubat. 'Yan. Katulad ng pagme-menstruation natin.. hindi nakukuha ng tabletas. O, kapag hindi 'yung katapat na gamot na talagang palabasin niya 'yung dugo. M.. tulad ng halimbawa.. halimbawa nga mabati.. mababati ka.. hindi nakukuha ng tabletas 'yan. 'Yung sabi ngang bati.. o..na- obserbahan ko na kasi 'yan, ineng, e. Halimbawa nabati ka. Kumain ka ng tabletas na kumain. Hindi ka gagaling. Hindi gumaling talaga. Kahit ano pang tabletas ang kainin. Hindi gumaling. Pag hindi albularyo. Kasi ang albularyo.. kinukuha niya ang mga damo-damo.. kung ano-ano diyan. Dinadapat. Awa naman ng Panginoon, tinutulungan niya 'yung nagdadapat. Tinutulungan niya 'yung mga damo-damo na nilalapat sa katawan natin. 'Yun. Lalabas yung pawis na masama. 'Yun lang yan.

For example, just a minor illness and you already resort to *tabletas* (mainstream medicine).. everytime you get sick. You run to *tabletas*. If it isn't the right medicine for you.. If the *tabletas* you took isn't effective for you.. You've already taken lots of medicines and you still don't feel better. Ay.. Yes.. Not like using whatever knowledge you have regarding plants from the forest. Like our menstruation.. *Tabletas* won't be able to treat it. If the medicine is not effective for you, the menstrual blood will not be released. And for example, *bati* (getting sick because of the unseen). The *tabletas* cannot cure that. The one they call *bati*. I've observed this already. When one gets *bati* by the unseen, whatever *tabletas* one takes, she/he won't get better. If the albularyo doesn't treat her/him. Because the albularyo uses herbs, whatever plant there is.. She/he tries to treat it with her/his medicine. God is merciful because He helps the healer.. He assists so that the herbs effectively heal our bodies.. There. Then the ill person will start sweating, releasing what is bad inside her/him. That is all.

Alcoholism among the Agta

The non-Agta recognize that Casiguran Agta are hard drinkers. There have been many deaths among the Agta because of alcoholism. Agta have sold land to be able to buy alcohol. According to one barangay health worker, a female Agta, 30 years of age, was carrying her child while she was drunk. She collapsed on the ground and they got wet from the rain. The mother got sick and the child died. There was one man who fell face down on a puddle died because he was not able to breathe anymore.

Just like the non-Agta, the Agta youth also succumb to peer pressure. Arman said that Agta youth intimidate others saying, '*Hindi ka tunay na lalaki kung hindi ka iinom*' (You are not a real man if you won't drink). Wisay said that when she was still drinking regularly she thought that '*Pag malakas akong uminom, hinahangaang ako ng kasama ko*' (If I'm a hard drinker then the other Agta will admire me). Another Agta shared that he had stopped drinking and smoking because he had been taking medicine. When his friends invited him to drink they told him that he had been taking medicine for so long that it was already enough. They said that he could start drinking again. And he did.

A discussion with a health worker

The Headlands reported in 1985 that forty-eight percent of the children die before puberty; the main killers among the adults were tuberculosis, pneumonia, homicide, alcoholism and, among females complications from childbirth.

According to a barangay health worker (BHW) of Cozo, a common illness among the Agta of Dipontian is diarrhea because of the source of their drinking water from the *poso* (artesian well) which is a few meters near their homes. The BHW said that they have long told them not to drink water from the *poso*, they can instead get water from the spring since it is clean. It is also what the non-Agta use. As we have observed, some Agta do get water from a far but cleaner source but the water from the *poso* is always used since there is easy access to it.

The BHW fears that tuberculosis may spread in the areas. A few years ago one Agta had it. It could have been treated but when the patient felt better he went back to drinking and smoking. This led to his death.

During the rainy season, malaria is a problem. It comes from other sitios, not Dipontian, but according to the BHW, they are able to control it immediately.

One other problem the BHW says is that the Agta are stubborn. They are not vaccinated because they are afraid of it. However, Headland (1994) wrote that in 1987, two missionaries of the New Tribes Missions worked tirelessly and were able to give antibiotics and measles vaccination to Casiguran Agta children.

The BHW said that the Agta already use medicines from the pharmacy and go straight to the hospital or municipal health office for consultation. They can also get a discount in the botika ng barangay. What she observed is that they seldom practice their healing methods. They only use it for common illnesses.

According to the BHW, they are able to provide enough service for the Agta. A sectoral kagawad is assigned to each sitio and learns of the problems and needs of the said area. She said that the Agta are not left out regarding information on health.

The BHW also shared that there is a problem in the municipal level dispensing the free medicines and people like the Agta are affected. There are free medicines that may be given by the munisipyo and these should be in the municipal health office but it placed in the mayor's office. The patient must first ask the doctor for a prescription before the mayor's office gives the medicine. But sometimes the employees of the said office choose whom they give the medicine to. Sometimes the municipal doctor uses her/his own money to provide for those Agta who were not given the free medicine.

The BHW also reported that Agta children did not participate in the barangay feeding program although sectoral kagawad informed them since Agta children there are malnourished. She said that Agta parents say the problem is that their livelihood will be disrupted because the food is given to them one at a time. *Pa isa-isa*. They want to be given food for the whole week so they do not have to keep going back to the barangay hall. The BHW says the food for one week cannot just be given to the parents because they will only consume it in one day.

One of the Agta mothers shared that they Agta do not eat beef, corned beef, or pork and beans. If the feeding provides rice porridge (*lugaw*), the parents would rather work than take time to go to the feeding since they can provide that to their children.

Headland wrote an article in 1985 entitled 'Imposed values and aid rejection among the Casiguran Agta.' He explained a similar situation that happened at that time. A feeding program planned to provide undernourished Agta children with one healthy meal a day. The organizer decided to feed them at noon time because this was the time available for the volunteers to prepare the meals. During the first three to four meals, many Agta children came (they numbered about forty). After that, only few participated and the food prepared was wasted. The people behind the program had good intentions but they became discouraged because the Agta did not see the importance of the feeding program. They provided nutritious food such as rice, meat or fish, vegetables, and fruits.

Those supervising the program finally decided that it was useless to continue because "the G-stringed and and unlearned pagans were too ignorant to see the value" of such a project. The program was dropped.

What went wrong?

(Headland 1985:3)

The organizers of the program did not consider the culture of the community, the diet that they were used to. The food served came from Casiguran but these were non-Agta recipes, such as boiled squash mixed with canned milk. Headland said that Agta mothers complained that their children had diarrhea because of this food. Local pork was also served. If one has read a previous section of this report related to food, the Agta consider *baboy awan* (domesticated pigs) as dirty and disgusting.

Headland said that the primary reason for the project's failure was that the project supervisor chose that the meals be served at noon even if the Agta parents said that it would be better if they gave it at breakfast or as an evening meal. Agta are commonly away from home working in the forest. If they were to participate in the feeding, then they would have to stay at home for the day. This would mean that they would have no livelihood for the day or they would leave their children in the non-Agta village. The parents did not want to do that.

The supervisor was unaware of, or unsympathetic with, the patron-client trade system, an institution which the Agta themselves value. In this symbiotic relationship, Agta are obliged to spend at least some of their days working with their lowlander trading partners, where they always get a free noon meal anyway.
(Headland 1985:3)

Like the organizers of the feeding program, the health worker we spoke to seemed concerned about the Agta. However, we see in this situation that understanding where the Agta are coming

from will be greatly beneficial so health programs may be effective. The Agta people must be consulted and the culture understood in order for individuals and agencies to effectively give them assistance. Headland said it well when he wrote:

If a cross-cultural aid project is not designed to appeal to the important values held by the people of the client community, and to conform to their established patterns of daily living and social structure, it has little hope of success. The social worker or change agent must organize the program in such a way that it will “fit” the convenience and the culture of the client society, rather than the agent’s own convenience... A basic principle... is that of Ward Goodenough’s “cooperation in change.” This thesis simply says that in any program of community aid the proposal must have the cooperation of the client society in order to succeed... Goodenough suggests that the “agent and community [must] work closely together in both the formulation and organization of a program” (1963:365) if it is to succeed.” (Headland 1985:4)

CONCLUSION

Although the Agta consider themselves different from their ancestors because they are *sibilisado na, binyagan na*, already civilized and baptized, they still value Agta traditions. Among these traditions is the sharing of food. They also see the importance of the indigenous food which their ancestors taught them to eat. They are aware that these are more nutritious than the food that is eaten nowadays.

Though the Agta consult doctors and go to the pharmacy, municipal and provincial hospital, they continue to practice their traditional healing which have been passed on by their ancestors. Agta trust a number of plants' efficacy over mainstream medicine. Another reason why they still value medicinal plants is because of financial difficulty, they are not always able to afford medicine. In many instances medicinal plants have gotten them through their illnesses.

Agta beliefs and practices in health are very closely tied to their environment. They depend very much on their environment for the food and medicinal herbs that sustain them. Their health, their very lives depend on their ancestral domain, their forests and seas, this is why it is important that their natural environment is conserved for them to be able to continue their traditions. Their extensive and valuable knowledge about their environment may be lost with the destruction of their ancestral domain.

It is important for us to respect their right to practice their way of life, their right to their land. These health practices have been passed on to them from generation to generation. If there is a belief or practice that does not cause any harm, one should respect, not interfere with the community in changing the practice or removing it. They have a right to decide for themselves how to pass on their ancestors' legacy and also new and beneficial knowledge and practices.

Although many Agta have set aside the role of the *bunogen*, the Agta shaman, one healer informs us that God created each type of healer to cater to a distinct need. Albularyo and *doctors* have roles to play in maintaining and attaining health. The *bunogen*, aside from her/his role in health, is a link to their ancestors, and a part of their Agta identity. Just as each type of healer has a role to play, we too play a significant and distinct role as we interact with and also provide social services to the indigenous communities. The wounds brought about by many years of discrimination may slowly be healed by respecting them through the recognition of their rights and understanding the significance of their traditional knowledge and practices in their everyday lives.

**TABLES OF ETHNOPHARMACOLOGICAL USES OF NATURAL MATERIALS
AMONG THE AGTA PEOPLE OF SITIO DIPONTIAN, BARANGAY COZO, CASIGURAN,
AURORA**

Table 1. Abdominal pain

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Mégdégés i gusok</i> (abdominal pain)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Baragengan
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Whole root
Preparation	Get 3 whole roots. Wash roots thoroughly. Boil in 3 cups of water for 15 minutes or until 1 cup of decoction remains.
Direction for use	Use decoction as substitute for drinking water. Continue drinking until pain subsides.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Prado, Hempok Tulio (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 2. Abdominal pain

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Mégdégés i gusok</i> (abdominal pain)
Scientific name/s	1) <i>Areca catechu</i> L. 2) <i>Clausena</i> sp. 3) <i>Piper betle</i> L. 4) <i>Nicotiana tabacum</i> L. 5) Calcium hydroxide
Local name/s	1) Butag 2) Dibago 3) Gawéd 4) Maskada 5) Apog
Common name/s	1) Bunga 2) - 3) Ikmo 4) Tabako 5) Apog
Part/s used	1) Seed 2) Young leaf 3) Young leaf 4) Leaf 5) Slaked lime
Preparation	Gather 1 gawéd leaf, 1 dibago leaf, 1 butag seed, a small amount of apog and maskada.
Direction for use	Chew all ingredients of the <i>éman</i> (betel quid) with dibago leaf. Spread masticated plants on stomach. The Agta call this treatment ' <i>buga</i> '.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Lisiday, Batanggas Aduanan (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran,

	Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 3. Abdominal pain

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Mégdégés i gusok</i> (abdominal pain)
Scientific name/s	<i>Euphorbia hirta</i> L.
Local name/s	Buto-butonesan
Common name/s	Tawa-tawa, gatas-gatas
Part/s used	Young or mature leaf
Preparation	Collect all leaves of 1 buto-butonesan plant. Boil these in 3 cups of water for 20 minutes or until 1 cup of decoction remains.
Direction for use	Drink decoction as often as desired. Use it as substitute for water. Continue drinking until pain subsides.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Bernabe, Gretchen (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 4. Abdominal pain

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Mégdégés i gusok</i> (abdominal pain)
Scientific name/s	<i>Cinnamomum mercadoi</i> Vidal
Local name/s	Kalingag
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Bark
Preparation	Gather 3 pieces of bark, each must be 1 dangkal long and wide (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger). Cut bark into small pieces and boil in 3 cups of water until 1 cup of decoction is left.
Direction for use	Drink as much decoction as desired. Use as substitute for water. Continue drinking until pain subsides.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Francisco, Wisay Moral (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2011)

Table 5. Abdominal pain

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Mégdégés i gusok</i> (abdominal pain)
Scientific name/s	<i>Cinnamomum mercadoi</i> Vidal
Local name/s	Kalingag
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Primary root
Preparation	Get 3 kalingag roots, each must be 1 dangkal long (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger). Boil these in 2 cups of water until 1 cup remains.
Direction for use	Drink decoction as often as desired until pain subsides.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Estanes, Waynalin Tulio; Tanyet, Resi Culideg (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 6. Abdominal pain

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Mégdégés i gusok</i> (abdominal pain)
Scientific name/s	Zingiberaceae family
Local name/s	Kamahilan
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Primary root
Preparation	Gather roots of 1 kamahilan plant. Wash roots thoroughly. Remove first layer of roots.
Direction for use	Chew the roots. Spread masticated roots on stomach. Leave it in place until pain subsides.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Dela Cruz, Noralyn Prado (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 7. Abdominal pain

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Mégdégés i gusok</i> (abdominal pain)
Scientific name/s	<i>Acorus gramineus</i>
Local name/s	Lubigan
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Leaf
Preparation	Gather 8-10 lubigan leaves. Boil these in 3 cups of water until 1 cup of decoction remains.
Direction for use	Drink decoction frequently. Use it as substitute for water. Continue drinking until pain subsides.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Moral, Salve dela Cruz (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

and year)	2010)
-----------	-------

Table 8. Abdominal pain

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Mégdégés i gusok</i> (abdominal pain)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Mekaseng
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Vine
Preparation	Get 3 pieces of mekaseng vine, each piece must be 1 dangkal long (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger). Wash vine thoroughly. Cut vine into small pieces and boil in 3 cups of water until 1 cup of decoction remains.
Direction for use	Drink 1 cup of decoction once a day, in the morning. If there are no improvements, drink 2 cups of decoction a day. Continue treatment until pain subsides.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Prado, Hempok Tulio (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 9. Abortifacient

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Agasén</i> (abortifacient)
Scientific name/s	<i>Musa sp.</i>
Local name/s	Biget
Common name/s	Saging
Part/s used	Lusoy (a newly sprouted banana plant) The herbal medicine is also known as lusoy.
Preparation	Get a lusoy, 1 dangkal long (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger). Heat plant over coals until wilted. Pound it and squeeze out the sap. Get as much as 1 cup of sap if possible.
Direction for use	Drink 1 cup of decoction in the morning and evening before meals. Repeat drinking until there are signs of abortion or if one experiences abdominal pain and bleeding.
Additional information	It is dangerous and can cause death if a pregnant woman does this without the guidance of the healer.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 10. Abortifacient

Ethnopharmacological use	Agasén (abortifacient)
Scientific name/s	1) <i>Citrus hystrix</i> 2) <i>Citrus microcarpa</i> Bunge
Local name/s	1) Kabugaw 2) Sintones
Common name/s	1) – 2) Kalamansi
Part/s used	Primary root
Preparation	Collect the primary roots of both plants; each is about 1 dangkal long (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger). Wash roots thoroughly. Cut roots into small pieces and place in half a bottle of any kind of liquor. Soak for 3 days before using.
Direction for use	Drink 4 spoonfuls every morning before meals. Take this when the stomach is empty. Repeat procedure until there are signs of abortion.
Additional information	It is dangerous and can cause death if a pregnant woman does this without the guidance of the healer.
Informant/s (place and year)	Moral, Loyda Pulukin (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 11. Abortifacient

Ethnopharmacological use	Agasén (abortifacient)
Scientific name/s	<i>Anamirta cocculus</i> (L.) W. & A.
Local name/s	Labtang
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Primary root
Preparation	Get 3 labtang primary roots; each must be 1 dangkal long (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger). Wash roots thoroughly. Cut roots into small pieces and place in a bottle full of any liquor. Soak roots for 1 day before using.
Direction for use	Drink half a cup once a day before morning meals. It will take 5 days or more before abortion occurs.
Additional information	It is dangerous and can cause death if a pregnant woman does this without the guidance of the healer.
Informant/s (place and year)	Prado, Hempok Tulio (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 12. Acne

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Pénggéd</i> (acne/pimples)
Scientific name/s	<i>Vetiveria zizanioides</i> (L.) Nash
Local name/s	Tikél
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Leaf
Preparation	Gather 5-8 leaves. Wash these thoroughly.
Direction for use	Pound leaves and rub on affected area. Repeat treatment often until pimples become dry.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 13. Anemia

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Mebaba i dige</i> (anemia)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Anaw
Common name/s	Anahaw
Part/s used	Pith (ubod)
Preparation	Obtain an anaw pith. Get the pith in the upper part of the anaw. Chop this into small pieces.
Direction for use	Cook pith as a vegetable. Coconut milk or sardines may be added to it. Eat as much pith as desired. This may be eaten without rice.
Additional information	No known adverse effect. The ancestors of the Agta taught them to eat the nutritious anaw pith.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 14. Anthelmintic

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Purga</i> (anthelmintic)
Scientific name/s	1) – 2) <i>Derris</i> sp.
Local name/s	1) Bugsang 2) Tubling ligaw
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Primary root
Preparation	Collect sufficient amount of bugsang and tubling ligaw roots that can fill 1 cup with scraped root bark. Wash roots thoroughly. Scrape the roots and boil in 2 cups of water until 1 cup of decoction is left. Remove the residue.
Direction for use	Drink the decoction as often as desired. Use decoction as substitute for water. Continue drinking until worms are expelled.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.

Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 15. Anthelmintic

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Purga</i> (anthelmintic)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Talulong or tanagtag
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	a) Fruit b) Flower
Preparation	a) Get 3 fruits. Wash fruits thoroughly and remove the first layer. b) Get 3 fresh flowers. Boil these in 2 cups of water for 20 minutes or until 1 cup of decoction remains.
Direction for use	a) Let the child eat 3 fruits each day. b) Drink half a cup of decoction twice a day, in the morning and evening, before meals.
Additional information	No known adverse effect. The worms will be expelled because the fruit will make the stomach hot.
Informant/s (place and year)	Lisiday, Dolsing Bitigan; Prado, Hempok Tulio (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 16. Anthelmintic

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Purga</i> (anthelmintic)
Scientific name/s	<i>Derris sp.</i>
Local name/s	Tubling ligaw
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Whole root
Preparation	Gather whole roots of 1 tubling ligaw tree (about 15 cm tall young tree). Cut roots into small pieces and boil in 2 cups of water until 1 cup of decoction is left.
Direction for use	Drink as much decoction as desired. Use it as substitute for water. Continue drinking until worms are expelled.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Francisco, Wisay Moral (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2011)

Table 17. Appetite loss due to flatulence

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Mesumbal na mangan</i> (loss of appetite because of flatulence)
Scientific name/s	<i>Mallotus sp.</i>
Local name/s	Mahabénwang or bénwang
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Young or mature leaf
Preparation	Gather 3 to 4 leaves. Spread a small amount of coconut oil on leaves. Place leaves near fire for 5 to 10 seconds or until wilted.
Direction for use	Place leaves on lower back and stomach for 5 minutes while it is still warm. Wrap a cloth around abdomen to keep leaves in place. Do this twice a day, in the morning and evening before meals. Repeat this until appetite returns.
Additional information	It is a good sign if patient releases gas. Do not sleep at night unclothed for it can cause gas pain that leads to the loss of appetite.
Informant/s (place and year)	Moral, Loyda Pulukin; Prado, Mary Jane Lisiday; Moral, Salve dela Cruz (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 18. Arthritis

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Rayoma</i> (arthritis)
Scientific name/s	<i>Pterocarpus indicus</i> Willd.
Local name/s	Narra
Common name/s	Narra
Part/s used	Bark
Preparation	Gather 3 pieces of narra bark, each must be 1 dangkal long and wide (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger). Boil this in 3-4 cups of water until 2 cups of decoction remain.
Direction for use	Drink as much decoction as desired. Use it as substitute for water. If pain does not subside, continue drinking decoction daily until one feels better.
Additional information	No known adverse effect. It may even help cure a person's other illnesses. Bark may be reused as long as it gives the decoction a brown color.
Informant/s (place and year)	Prado, Hempok Tulio (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 19. Arthritis

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Rayoma</i> (arthritis)
Scientific name/s	Araceae family
Local name/s	Tigabaléd
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Young or mature leaf
Preparation	Collect 2 pieces of tigabaléd leaves. Spread a small amount of coconut oil on leaves and place over fire until wilted.
Direction for use	Apply leaves on affected areas while still hot. Use a clean cloth as bandage to keep leaves in place for 2 hours. Put another set of leaves if pain does not subside. Continue treatment until patient feels better.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 20. Asthma

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Mehapo</i> (asthma)
Scientific name/s	<i>Morinda citrifolia</i> L.
Local name/s	Bangkodu
Common name/s	Apatot
Part/s used	Fruit
Preparation	a) Get 3 bangkodu fruits. Boil fruits in 3 cups of water for 20 minutes or until 1 cup of decoction remains. b) Get a piece of fruit. Leave it inside a cup. Its sap will come out naturally.
Direction for use	a) Drink half a cup of decoction once a day. Continue treatment until healed. b) For a month old child: give 1 drop of sap. For a 2 year old: give 2 drops of sap. For a 4 year old: give ½ a spoon of sap. For an adult: give 1 spoonful of sap. This should be taken in the afternoon and the person will feel better in the morning. The child may be able to sleep well.
Additional information	Avoid getting wet from the rain while being treated.
Informant/s (place and year)	a) Prado, Nateng Tulio; b) Lisiday, Gemalyn (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 21. Athlete's foot

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Dalipunga</i> (athlete's foot)
Scientific name/s	<i>Barringtonia asiatica</i> (L.) Kurz
Local name/s	Buton
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Seed
Preparation	Gather a buton fruit, ripe or unripe. Cut fruit in half to obtain seed inside. Pound seed into a pulp.
Direction for use	Place pounded seed between toes. Cover toes with a cloth to keep plant material in place. Repeat process until infected area dries.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 22. Barang wounds

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Barang</i> (wounds brought about by witchcraft)
Scientific name/s	1) <i>Arcangelisia flava</i> 2) <i>Cinnamomum mercadoi</i> Vidal
Local name/s	1) Abutra 2) Kalingag
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Young or mature leaf
Preparation	a) Gather a handful of abutra and kalingag leaves. Boil leaves in 5 cups of water until 3 cups of decoction remain. b) Gather 30 pieces of abutra and kalingag leaves. Boil leaves in 15 cups of water.
Direction for use	a) Use decoction to wash affected part of body. Do it often daily until wound heals. b) Use decoction for bathing. Do it daily.
Additional information	<i>Barang</i> is a type of black magic in which the practitioner (<i>mambabarang</i>) orders her/his followers (which may be insects), to inflict illness on a person. The insect will land on a person's body and cause wounds to appear. This may even result to a person's death.
Informant/s (place and year)	Prado, Nateng Tulio (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 23. Barang wounds

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Barang</i> (wounds brought about by witchcraft)
Scientific name/s	<i>Capparis sp.</i>
Local name/s	Butahek
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Young or mature leaf
Preparation	a) Gather a handful of butahek leaves. Boil leaves in 5 cups of water until 3 cups of decoction remain. b) Gather 30 pieces of butahek leaves. Boil leaves in 15 cups of water.
Direction for use	a) Use decoction to wash affected part of body. Do it often daily until wound subsides. b) Use decoction for bathing. Do it daily.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 24. Barang wounds

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Barang</i> (wounds brought about by witchcraft)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Butnol
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Primary root
Preparation	Get 3 primary roots. Each must be 1 dangkal long (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger). Wash roots thoroughly. Scrape the roots. Boil these in 3 cups of water until 1 cup of decoction is left.
Direction for use	Drink 1 cup of decoction once every evening after meals. Repeat this until wounds heal.
Additional information	Do not eat any salty food while treating this illness. According to Headland and Headland (1974), 'butngol' leaves were used to heal cuts; these were also eaten by raiders to make them brave before they invaded another group.
Informant/s (place and year)	Prado, Nateng Tulio (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 25. Bati

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Nabati, nayawyaw</i> or <i>natalon</i> (illness caused by a spirit)
Scientific name/s	1) <i>Areca catechu</i> L. 2) <i>Clausena</i> sp. 3) <i>Piper betle</i> L. 4) <i>Nicotiana tabacum</i> L. 5) Calcium hydroxide
Local name/s	1) Butag 2) Dibago 3) Gawéd 4) Maskada 5) Apog
Common name/s	1) Bunga 2) – 3) Ikmo 4) Tabako 5) Apog
Part/s used	1) Seed 2) Young leaf 3) Young leaf 4) Leaf 5) Apog
Preparation	Gather 1 young gawéd leaf, 1 young dibago leaf, 1 butag seed, a small amount of apog and maskada.
Direction for use	Chew the gawéd leaf then add the dibago leaf. Masticate the butag, followed by the apog and maskada. Once all ingredients of the <i>éman</i> (betel quid) is chewed, spread masticated plants on the face, neck and all over the body. This is preferably done at 5 PM which is when the spirits are said roam around.
Additional information	To avoid sickness caused by the spirits, one must remember to respectfully say 'tabi' which is a request to be excused when passing by areas identified as being inhabited by them. One must also ask permission from them when obtaining resources such as fish or fruits in their area. One should not be noisy and rowdy when passing through the forest so spirits will not be disturbed.
Informant/s (place and year)	Moral, Loyda Pulukin (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 26. Beri-beri

Ethnopharmacological use	Beri-beri
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Hikaw-hikawan
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Fruit
Preparation	Collect 7 to 10 hikaw-hikawan fruits. Pound fruits and squeeze out the sap.
Direction for use	Drink a spoonful of sap 3 times a day, in the morning, noon and evening right after meals. Repeat daily until healed.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 27. Bite wounds

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Kinaget na mégkaantak na hayup</i> (wound from bite or sting of animal)
Scientific name/s	<i>Calophyllum inophyllum</i> L.
Local name/s	Bisahaw
Common name/s	Palo maria
Part/s used	a) Stem b) Young or mature leaf
Preparation	a) Obtain 1 bisahaw stem of any length (as thick as a pencil). Remove the leaves. Heat whole stem over fire until smoke comes out from one end of stem. b) Get 2-3 bisahaw leaves. Spread a small amount of coconut oil on leaves. Heat leaves near fire until wilted.
Direction for use	a) Stick the end of the stem (where the smoke is coming out) on the affected area. Continue treatment until pain subsides. Obtain a new stem if smoke does not come out anymore. b) Place leaves on affected area and leave in place for 30 minutes. Continue treatment until pain subsides.
Additional information	Example of such wounds would be bites of snakes, dogs, centipedes, scorpions, stings of rays, or puncture from talungég (a species of fish with poisonous thorn on its fins [Headland and Headland, 1974]). According to Dolsing, the bisahaw smoke will remove the poison/venom.
Informant/s (place and year)	a) Lisiday, Dolsing Bitigan b) Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 28. Bite wounds

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Kinaget na hayup</i> (bite wound - from domesticated pigs)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	1) Cover crop/oberkrap/koberkrap 2) Damong pailaya
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Young or mature leaf
Preparation	a) Collect a handful of cover crop leaves. Wrap leaves in a clean cloth and pound these until sap is extracted. b) Boil cover crop and damong pailaya leaves together. Place boiled leaves in a clean cloth. Pound the leaves.
Direction for use	a) Make sure wound is clean prior to application. Squeeze out sap from the cloth onto the wound. Repeat process 3 times a day until wound heals. b) Squeeze out sap of damong pailaya and cover crop leaves onto the wound.
Additional information	
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Resi Culideg; Tanyet, Noel; Dela Cruz, Noralyn Prado (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 29. Bite wounds

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Kinaget na kahame</i> (centipede bite)
Scientific name/s	<i>Drynaria quercifolia</i>
Local name/s	Pakpak lawin
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	-
Preparation	-
Direction for use	-
Additional information	-
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 30. Bite wounds

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Kinaget na kahame</i> (centipede bite)
Scientific name/s	<i>Acanthus ilicifolius</i> L.
Local name/s	Sante-sante
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Primary root
Preparation	Obtain 2 primary roots about 1 dangkal long (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger). Chop these into 2 pieces.
Direction for use	After washing the plant, place it near fire until wilted. Pound roots and place on affected area while still hot. Wrap a cloth around affected part to keep pounded roots in place. Continue treatment until pain subsides. Use another set of roots if necessary.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Moral, Loyda Pulukin (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 31. Bite wounds

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Kinaget na méngaantak na hayup</i> (bite wound from a poisonous animal)
Scientific name/s	<i>Hoya imbricata</i> Decne
Local name/s	Takép-takép
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Leaf
Preparation	Collect 2-3 leaves. Spread a small amount of coconut oil on leaves and heat over coals for 1 minute. Pound the leaves.
Direction for use	Wash the wounds clean. Squeeze out blood from wound to remove venom. Place plant on affected area. Do not remove until pain subsides.
Additional information	The Agtas use a knife or anything sharp to make a larger cut on the wound and then squeeze out the venom.
Informant/s (place and year)	Kukuan, Arnold (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 32. Body aches caused by witchcraft

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Tédak</i> (body aches caused by witchcraft)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Pinakunawan
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Primary root
Preparation	Collect 3 primary roots of pinakunawan, each must be 1 dangkal long (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger). Cut each root into 5 pieces. Boil these in 3 cups of water until 1 cup of decoction remains.
Direction for use	Drink 1 cup of decoction once a day after taking evening meals. Continue drinking to be relieved of the aches.
Additional information	One may be experiencing body aches because a person is inflicting harm (through a 'voodoo doll' like method). <i>Tédak</i> means to puncture with a pin.
Informant/s (place and year)	Prado, Nateng Tulio (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 33. Body or underarm odor

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Méamores</i> or <i>alipep</i> (body or underarm odor)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Adungalép
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Young or mature leaf
Preparation	Collect 10 leaves. Pound the leaves.
Direction for use	Apply pounded leaves on underarms. Use a clean cloth to keep leaves in place for 3 hours. Do this as often as desired. Repeat process until odor disappears.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 34. Body wash

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Sabun para ta bégi</i> (body wash)
Scientific name/s	<i>Passiflora foetida</i> L.
Local name/s	Kurombot
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Young or mature leaf
Preparation	Collect 20-30 leaves. Wrap leaves in a cloth and pound it.
Direction for use	Extract sap of pounded leaves. Mix it with a small amount of water (if one extracts ½ cup of sap add ¼ cup of water). Use it daily as soap.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Lisiday, Hanny Culideg; Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo,

	Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 35. Boil

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Busale</i> (boil)
Scientific name/s	1) <i>Hibiscus rosa-sinensis</i> L. 2) Calcium hydroxide
Local name/s	1) Gumamela 2) Apog
Common name/s	1) Gumamela 2) Apog
Part/s used	Flower bud
Preparation	Collect 5 gumamela flower buds. Pound the buds and add a small amount of apog (slaked lime).
Direction for use	Place buds around the boil. Do not cover the eye of the boil where the pus will come out. Continue applying the buds on the boil until the pus can be easily drained.
Additional information	The healers suggest that at the first sign of a boil, one must already squeeze the slight swelling in the skin so that the boil does not continue.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 36. Boil

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Busale</i> (boil)
Scientific name/s	<i>Ficus variegata</i> Bl.
Local name/s	Panangisan
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Sap
Preparation	Cut a portion of the tree trunk to obtain the sap. Gather sap in a glass or in a plate.
Direction for use	Apply sap on the boil. Do this often every day until the pus comes out.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 37. Boil

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Busale</i> (boil)
Scientific name/s	Araceae family
Local name/s	Tigabaléd
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Young leaf
Preparation	Collect 2 leaves. Spread a small amount of coconut oil on it. Heat leaves near fire for 2 minutes until wilted. Pound the leaves.
Direction for use	Place these around the eye of the boil. Replace leaves if these are already dry. Repeat procedure until pus can be easily drained.
Additional information	Sometimes the Agta use a bottle of gin to drain out the pus. The mouth of the bottle is placed right on top of the eye of the boil and one will sit on the bottle to induce the draining. Another method would be for another person to push the bottle on the boil of the person.
Informant/s (place and year)	Moral, Loyda Pulukin (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 38. Burn

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Pasi</i> (burn)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Silangan
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Young or mature leaf
Preparation	Get 1 or 2 leaves. Spread a small amount of coconut oil on leaves and place these near fire until wilted.
Direction for use	Place leaves on affected area. Wrap a cloth around affected area to keep leaves in place. Repeat process until burnt area dries.
Additional information	Choose the leaves facing east. These are the most potent/effective ones for healing.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 39. Child delivery, lack of bleeding during

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Taénén</i> (lack of bleeding during child delivery)
Scientific name/s	<i>Schefflera sp.</i>
Local name/s	Bégnét
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Primary root
Preparation	Gather 3 primary roots of this plant, each must be 1 dangkal long (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger). Wash roots thoroughly and cut into small pieces. Boil these in 3 cups of water until 1 cup of decoction remains.
Direction for use	Drink decoction as often as desired. Use it as substitute for water.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 40. Child delivery, lack of bleeding during

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Taénén</i> (lack of bleeding during child delivery)
Scientific name/s	1) <i>Macaranga bicolor</i> Muell.-Arg. 2) -
Local name/s	1) Bilante 2) Guheb
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	1) Bark 2) Primary root
Preparation	Collect 3 primary roots of a guheb plant, this must be 1 dangkal long (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger). Also gather a bark of bilante, 1 dangkal long and wide. Wash roots and bark thoroughly. Cut each root and bark into 5 pieces. Boil these in 2 to 3 cups of water. Wait until decoction changes to a brown color and half a cup remains.
Direction for use	Drink ½ cup of decoction every evening after meals.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Prado, Nateng Tulio (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 41. Chills due to high fever

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Kolikog or karambre</i> (chills due to high fever)
Scientific name/s	<i>Cucurbita maxima</i> Duchesne
Local name/s	Kalabasa
Common name/s	Kalabasa
Part/s used	Young or mature leaf
Preparation	Collect 3-4 leaves. Spread a small amount of coconut oil on leaves. Heat leaves near fire until wilted.
Direction for use	Rub leaves on the back down to the hips. Do this several times. Then place leaves on the back. Wrap a clean cloth around the body to keep leaves in place for 1-2 hours.
Additional information	Don't take a bath immediately after feeling better to avoid a relapse of fever.
Informant/s (place and year)	Moral, Loyda Pulukin (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 42. Circumcision

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Binugit/bugit</i> (circumcision)
Scientific name/s	1) <i>Psidium guajava</i> L. 2) <i>Cocos nucifera</i> L.
Local name/s	1) Bayabas 2) Niyog
Common name/s	1) Bayabas 2) Niyog
Part/s used	1) Young leaf 2) Hard inner shell
Preparation	a) Collect a handful of young bayabas leaves. Boil it in 4 cups of water for 10 minutes. Wait until water changes into a green color. b) Obtain a hard inner shell of a coconut and scrape it.
Direction for use	a) Use decoction to wash the wound. b) Apply scraped shell on the wound after washing. Use a clean cloth as bandage to keep scraped shell in place. Repeat treatment daily until wound heals.
Additional information	The male sexual organ is a sensitive part of the body, the wound must always be kept clean to avoid infection. According to Headland and Headland (1974), Agta boys are circumcised after they reach puberty. The circumcision is done by making a single cut across the top of the foreskin, leaving the foreskin to hang loose.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 43. Common cold

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Még sipon</i> (common cold)
Scientific name/s	<i>Piper betle</i> L.
Local name/s	Gawéd
Common name/s	Ikmo
Part/s used	Young or mature leaf
Preparation	a) Collect 3 to 4 pieces of leaves. Spread a small amount of coconut oil on leaves and heat over fire until wilted. b) Collect 3 to 4 young leaves. Spread a small amount of coconut oil on leaves and heat over fire until wilted. Pound the leaves. Squeeze out sap from leaves.
Direction for use	a) Rub or massage on forehead, neck and back of ears. Repeat procedure as often as desired or until cold is cured. b) Give half a spoon - 1 spoonful to a months old baby. Give 1 - 2 spoonful(s) to a child 2 years and above. Repeat until child feels better.
Additional information	The child must not go outside at night to avoid the cold night air.
Informant/s (place and year)	a) Prado, Mary Jane Lisiday b) Prado, Lonalyn Esteves; Lisiday, Gemalyn (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 44. Cough

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Ikéh</i> (cough)
Scientific name/s	<i>Piper betle</i> L.
Local name/s	Gawéd
Common name/s	Ikmo
Part/s used	Young or mature leaf
Preparation	Collect 3 to 4 leaves. Spread a small amount of coconut oil on leaves and heat over fire until wilted.
Direction for use	Rub or massage on forehead, neck and back of ears. Repeat procedure as often as desired or until cough is healed.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Prado, Mary Jane Lisiday (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 45. Cough (severe)

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Még iikehén</i> (severe cough)
Scientific name/s	1) <i>Vitex negundo</i> L. 2) <i>Citrus microcarpa</i> Bunge
Local name/s	1) Lagundi 2) Sintones
Common name/s	1) Lagundi 2) Kalamansi
Part/s used	1) Young leaf 2) Fruit
Preparation	Collect 5-8 young lagundi leaves and 1 sintones fruit.
Direction for use	Pound the lagundi leaves and extract 1 spoonful of sap. Add sap of 1 sintones fruit. Take this 2 times a day in the morning and evening after meals. Repeat until phlegm is loosened or gone.
Additional information	Medicine has no known adverse effect. It may even help cure a person's other illnesses. This severe type of cough already causes the person to cry.
Informant/s (place and year)	Prado, Mary Jane Lisiday (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 46. Cough

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Ikéh</i> (cough)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Payokpok
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Young or mature leaf
Preparation	Collect 8-10 leaves. Wrap leaves on a clean cloth and pound these. Extract sap of leaves.
Direction for use	Take 1 spoonful of sap twice a day in the morning and evening after meals. Repeat process until cough subsides.
Additional information	No known adverse effect. It may even help cure a person's other illnesses.
Informant/s (place and year)	Dela Cruz, Noralyn Prado (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 47. Cough

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Ikéh</i> (cough)
Scientific name/s	<i>Blumea balsamifera</i> (L.) DC.
Local name/s	Sambong
Common name/s	Sambong
Part/s used	Young leaf
Preparation	Gather 8 to 10 young leaves. Boil in 2 cups of water until 1 cup remains.
Direction for use	Drink ¼ cup of decoction 3 times a day in the morning, noon and evening after meals. Continue drinking until cough subsides.
Additional information	No known adverse effect. It may even help cure a person's other illnesses.
Informant/s (place and year)	Lisiday, Batangas Aduanan; Prado, Lonalyne Esteves (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 48. Cough

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Ikéh</i> (cough)
Scientific name/s	<i>Citrus microcarpa</i> Bunge
Local name/s	Sintones
Common name/s	Kalamansi
Part/s used	Fruit
Preparation	a) Gather 10 sintones fruits. Cut fruits in half and extract juice in a cup. Add a small amount of sugar. b) Gather 8-10 pieces of sintones fruits. Grill the fruits. Cut fruits in half and extract juice in a cup.
Direction for use	a) Drink as much as desired. Continue treatment until cough subsides. b) Drink the pure juice. One may add a cup of water and ½ spoon of sugar. The patient may chew the fresh fruit if desired.
Additional information	No known adverse effect. It may even help cure a person's other illnesses.
Informant/s (place and year)	Lisiday, Gemalyn; Francisco, Wisay Moral (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010, 2011)

Table 49. Cough

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Ikéh</i> (cough)
Scientific name/s	1) <i>Blumea balsamifera</i> (L.) DC. 2) <i>Citrus microcarpa</i> Bunge
Local name/s	1) Sambong 2) Sintones
Common name/s	1) Sambong 2) Kalamansi
Part/s used	1) Young leaf 2) Fruit
Preparation	Collect 4-5 young sambong leaves. Spread a small amount of coconut oil on leaves and heat these near fire until wilted. Pound the leaves. Squeeze out sap from leaves onto a spoon. Add a small amount of sintones sap and sugar.
Direction for use	For months old baby: give half a spoon to 1 spoonful. For a child 2 years and above: give 1 to 2 spoonful(s).
Additional information	No known adverse effect. It may even help cure a person's other illnesses. The child must not go outside at night to avoid the cold night air.
Informant/s (place and year)	Prado, Lonalyn Esteves (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 50. Cough

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Ikéh</i> (cough)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Tsa
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Root
Preparation	Gather whole roots of plant. Wash roots thoroughly. Cut these into small pieces and boil in 5 cups of water until 2 cups remain.
Direction for use	Drink as much decoction as desired. Use this as substitute for water.
Additional information	Cough can also be caused by drinking too much saet decoction (see table 52 and 132).
Informant/s (place and year)	Lisiday, Dolsing Bitigan (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 51. Dandruff

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Sabun para ta buhuk. Pwede be ta balakubak.</i> (to wash hair, also for dandruff)
Scientific name/s	<i>Passiflora foetida</i> L.
Local name/s	Kurombot
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Young or mature leaf
Preparation	Collect 20-30 pieces of leaves. Wrap leaves in a cloth and pound it.
Direction for use	Extract sap of pounded leaves. Mix it with a small amount of water (if one extracts ½ cup of sap add ¼ cup of water). Use it daily as shampoo. Continue use until dandruff disappears.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Lisiday, Hanny Culideg; Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 52. Dental cavities

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Bukbuk i ngipén</i> (dental cavities)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Saet
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Primary root
Preparation	Get 2 primary roots, each must be 1 dangkal long (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger). Remove root bark and grate remaining part of roots. Boil grated roots in 2 cups of water until 1 cup of decoction is left.
Direction for use	Remove residue and use decoction as a gargle. Do this daily or as often as desired.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Moral, Loyda Pulukin (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 53. Diabetes

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Diyabetis</i> (diabetes)
Scientific name/s	<i>Averrhoa bilimbi</i> L.
Local name/s	Kamyas
Common name/s	Kamyas
Part/s used	Young or mature leaf
Preparation	Get more than a handful of kamias leaves. Boil these in 2 liters of water for 20 minutes until decoction changes into a brown color.
Direction for use	Use the water for bathing. Repeat treatment daily.
Additional information	Avoid eating very sweet food.
Informant/s (place and year)	Lisiday, Dolsing Bitigan (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Apantado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
---	---

Table 54. Diarrhea

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Mégbubulusén</i> (diarrhea)
Scientific name/s	Fabaceae family-pap
Local name/s	Ipel
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Bark
Preparation	Gather 3 pieces of ipel bark, 1 dangkal long and wide (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger). Remove outer layer of bark. Boil in 2 cups of water until 1 cup of decoction is left.
Direction for use	Drink half a cup of decoction 3 times a day before every meal. Repeat until one gets well.
Additional information	This may cure diarrhea with accompanying abdominal pain.
Informant/s (place and year)	Moral, Loyda Pulukin (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Apantado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 55. Diarrhea

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Mégbubulusén</i> (diarrhea)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Tahid labuyo
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Root
Preparation	Scrape the roots of tahid labuyo. Gather a handful of scraped roots. Boil this in ample amount of water.
Direction for use	Use decoction as substitute for water.
Additional information	
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Apantado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 56. Diarrhea

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Mégbulus or még éttay-éttay</i> (diarrhea)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Tanagtag
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Bark
Preparation	Gather 3 pieces of bark, 1 dangkal long (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger) and half a dangkal wide. Remove outer layer of bark before cutting these into small pieces. Boil in 4 cups of water until 2 cups remain.
Direction for use	Use decoction as substitute for water. It will cleanse the stomach to stop diarrhea. Continue drinking decoction until healed.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel; Francisco, Wisay Moral (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 57. Diarrhea

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Mégbubulusén</i> (diarrhea)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Tayakét
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Bark
Preparation	Obtain a bark, one may get a 5 x 5 inch piece. Boil the bark in water.
Direction for use	Drink decoction continuously.
Additional information	The bark may be reused up to 5 times.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 58. Diarrhea with vomiting and stomachache

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Ertol</i> (diarrhea with vomiting and stomachache)
Scientific name/s	1) <i>Cyperus sp.</i>
Local name/s	1) Bihot-bihot 2) Tulang
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	1) Enlarged part found close to the base of the leaf 2) Primary root
Preparation	For severe cases, collect 20 pieces of bihot-bihot plant part and 3 primary roots of tulang that is 1 dangkal long (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger). Wash plants thoroughly. Pound the bihot-bihot plant parts. Remove first layer of tulang roots. Grate the remaining part of roots. Put ingredients together in a pot. Boil in 1-2 cups of water until half a cup of decoction is left.
Direction for use	According to Loyda: Drink half a cup of decoction 3 times a day before every meal. Repeat until diarrhea and vomiting stops. According to Nateng: Drink as much decoction as desired. Use this as substitute for water. It will cleanse the stomach from the infection that caused <i>ertol</i> .
Additional information	A person afflicted with <i>ertol</i> experiences diarrhea, vomiting, and stomachache. Avoid eating uncooked food such as <i>kilaw/kinilaw</i> (food only soaked in vinegar and not heated) especially fresh fish or meat.
Informant/s (place and year)	Moral, Loyda Pulukin; Prado, Nateng Tulio (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 59. Diarrhea with vomiting and stomachache

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Ertol</i> (diarrhea with vomiting and stomachache)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Kadel
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Bark
Preparation	Gather 3 pieces of bark, each must be 1 dangkal long (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger) and half a dangkal wide. Remove outer layer of bark before cutting these into small pieces. Boil in 4 cups of water until 2 cups remain.
Direction for use	Use decoction as substitute for water. It will cleanse the stomach to stop the diarrhea. Repeat drinking the decoction until healed.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel; Francisco, Wisay Moral (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 60. Dysentery

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Még éttay ta dige</i> (dysentery)
Scientific name/s	<i>Pterocarpus indicus</i> Willd.
Local name/s	Narra
Common name/s	Narra
Part/s used	Bark
Preparation	Obtain 2-3 pieces of bark, 1 dangkal long (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger) and half a dangkal wide. Boil these in 3 cups of water until 1 cup remains.
Direction for use	Use decoction as substitute for water. Drink as often as desired. Repeat process until one is well.
Additional information	No known adverse effect. It may even help cure a person's other illnesses.
Informant/s (place and year)	Lisiday, Batanggas Aduanan (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 61. Dysmenorrhea

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Sinibigan</i> (dysmenorrhea)
Scientific name/s	<i>Anamirta cocculus</i> (L.) W. & A.
Local name/s	Labtang
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Vine
Preparation	Collect 3 pieces of labtang vine, each must be 1 dangkal long (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger). Cut these into small pieces and boil in 3 cups of water until 1 cup remains.
Direction for use	Drink ½ a cup twice a day in the morning and evening right after meals. Repeat process until pain subsides.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 62. Dyspepsia

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Empadso</i> or <i>naéleban</i> (dyspepsia)
Scientific name/s	1) <i>Citrus microcarpa</i> Bunge 2) <i>Hyptis suaveolens</i> (L.) Poir.
Local name/s	1) Sintones 2) Suub-kabayo
Common name/s	1) Kalamansi 2) Suub-kabayo
Part/s used	Young or mature leaf
Preparation	Collect a handful of suub-kabayo leaves. Spread a small amount Of coconut oil on leaves and wrap these in a banana leaf. Heat leaves over coals for 3 minutes until wilted. Pound leaves and add sap of 1 sintones fruit.
Direction for use	Rub leaves on stomach while still hot. Keep leaves in place for 3 hours by wrapping a clean cloth around the stomach. Continue treatment until one expels gas.
Additional information	One can also do the treatment without the sintones.
Informant/s (place and year)	Moral, Teming Sadsoy; Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 63. Earache

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Mesaket i béngbéng</i> (earache due to colds or caused by a pimple inside the ear)
Scientific name/s	<i>Citrus aurantifolia</i>
Local name/s	Dayap
Common name/s	Dayap
Part/s used	Young leaf
Preparation	Gather 10-15 dayap leaves. Place a small amount of coconut oil on leaves. Wrap these in a banana leaf then place near fire for 3 minutes until wilted. Pound the leaves.
Direction for use	Rub pounded leaves onto back of ear down to the neck. Continue rubbing until one feels better.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 64. Ear, Clogged

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Béngsol</i> (clogged ear due to colds)
Scientific name/s	<i>Kalanchoe pinnata</i> (Lam.) Pers.
Local name/s	Katakataka
Common name/s	Katakataka
Part/s used	Young or mature leaf
Preparation	Get 1 katakataka leaf and spread a small amount of coconut oil on it. Heat leaf near fire until wilted.
Direction for use	Place leaf inside hole of ear. If the right ear is clogged, the leaf must be placed on the left ear and vice versa. Leave this inside the ear for 2 hours. Do procedure 4 times a day.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Resi Culideg; Lisiday, Dolsing Bitigan (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 65. Edema

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Manas</i> (edema)
Scientific name/s	<i>Vitex negundo</i> L.
Local name/s	Lagundi
Common name/s	Lagundi
Part/s used	Young or mature leaf
Preparation	Collect 3 to 5 lagundi leaves. Spread a small amount of coconut oil on leaves and wrap these in a banana leaf. Heat leaves near fire. Unwrap and pound the leaves.
Direction for use	Rub pounded leaves onto affected area as often as desired. Repeat procedure until one is well.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Moral, Erning Katalina (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 66. Eyes, Sore

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Bulegleg</i> (sore eyes)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Bikal
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Pith (<i>ubod</i>)
Preparation	Obtain a bikal pith, 1 dangkal long (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger). Get the pith in the upper part of a bikal stalk. Pound pith and squeeze out sap.
Direction for use	Apply drops of sap on eyes any time of the day. Repeat until sore eyes subside.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.

Informant/s (place and year)	Prado, Hempok Tulio (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 67. Eyes, Sore

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Bulegleg</i> (sore eyes)
Scientific name/s	<i>Euphorbia hirta</i> L.
Local name/s	Buto-butonesan
Common name/s	Tawa-tawa, gatas-gatas
Part/s used	Stem
Preparation	Get the whole plant. Remove roots and leaves. Cut stem to obtain sap.
Direction for use	Apply 3-4 drops in both eyes. Repeat process 3 times a day, in the morning, noon and at night before sleeping. Repeat procedure until sore eyes subside.
Additional information	Avoid smoke coming from vehicles, kitchen, and other things that cause eye irritation and may lead to a severe infection.
Informant/s (place and year)	Moral, Loyda Pulukin (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 68. Fertility, To increase

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Monda mégbuktet o mégenak</i> (to increase fertility)
Scientific name/s	1) – 2) – 3) <i>Anamirta cocculus</i> (L.) W. & A. 4) Fabaceae family-mim 5) –
Local name/s	1) Bunutan 2) Guheb 3) Labtang 4) Maseset 5) Pélwat
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Primary root
Preparation	Collect primary roots of all plants, each must be about 1 dangkal long (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger). Wash roots thoroughly. Cut each root into 5 pieces. Boil these in 2 to 3 cups of water until decoction turns into a brown color and half a cup remains.
Direction for use	Drink half a cup of decoction once a day, after evening meals. Continue treatment until there are signs of pregnancy.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Prado, Nateng Tulio (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 69. Fever

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Ladu</i> (fever)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Balag-balag
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Bark
Preparation	Obtain 3 pieces of balag-balag tree bark. Each must be 1 dangkal long (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger) and half a dangkal wide. Boil bark in 3 cups of water until 1 cup remains.
Direction for use	Drink half a cup of decoction 3 times a day, once in the morning, noon and evening right after meals. Continue drinking decoction until fever subsides.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Francisco, Wisay Moral (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2011)

Table 70. Fever

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Ladu</i> (fever)
Scientific name/s	<i>Pterocarpus indicus</i> Willd.
Local name/s	Narra
Common name/s	Narra
Part/s used	Bark
Preparation	Gather a bark of narra, 1 dangkal long and wide (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger). Boil this in 3-4 cups of water until 2 cups of decoction remain.
Direction for use	Drink as much decoction as desired. Use it as substitute for water. Continue taking decoction until fever subsides.
Additional information	No known adverse effect. It may even help cure a person's other illnesses. Reuse the bark as long as it gives the decoction a brown color.
Informant/s (place and year)	Prado, Hempok Tulio; Lisiday, Batanggas Aduanan (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 71. Fever

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Ladu</i> (fever)
Scientific name/s	1) <i>Blumea balsamifera</i> (L.) DC. 2) <i>Citrus microcarpa</i> Bunge
Local name/s	1) Sambong 2) Sintones
Common name/s	1) Sambong 2) Kalamansi
Part/s used	1) Young or mature leaf 2) Fruit
Preparation	Gather 9 pieces of sambong leaves and 5 sintones fruits. Slice fruits into small pieces. Add a small amount of kerosene and a dash of <i>asen</i> (salt) on leaves and fruits. Pound these together. Squeeze out extract onto a cup.
Direction for use	Rub extract all over body. Repeat process until fever subsides.
Additional information	This may be done at the first sign of a fever. The consultant learned this method from her late grandfather.
Informant/s (place and year)	Culideg, Irene Prado (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 72. Fever with cold and cough

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Ladu, mégikéh sakay sipon</i> (fever with cold and cough)
Scientific name/s	<i>Tagetes erecta</i> L.
Local name/s	Amarilyo
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Young or mature leaf
Preparation	Collect a handful of young leaves. Spread a small amount of coconut oil on leaves. Heat these near fire until wilted. Pound the leaves. Extract sap from pounded leaves.
Direction for use	For months old babies: give half a spoon to 1 spoonful of sap. For children 2 years and above: give 1 to 2 spoonful(s) of sap. This must be done 2 times a day in the morning and evening before meals. Repeat treatment until symptom free.
Additional information	The child must not go outside at night to avoid the cold night air.
Informant/s (place and year)	Prado, Lonalyn Esteves (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 73. Flatulence

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Lédud</i> (flatulence or <i>kabag</i>)
Scientific name/s	<i>Morinda citrifolia</i> L.
Local name/s	Bangkodu
Common name/s	Apatot
Part/s used	Young leaf
Preparation	Obtain 4 bangkodu leaves. Spread a small amount coconut oil on leaves and place these near fire until wilted.
Direction for use	Place leaves on stomach while still hot. Wrap a clean cloth around stomach to keep leaves in place for 30 minutes or until leaves become dry. Apply another set of leaves on stomach if needed. Repeat process until one is healed.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 74. Flatulence

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Lédud</i> (flatulence or <i>kabag</i>)
Scientific name/s	1) <i>Cyperus</i> sp. 2) – 3) Zingiberaceae family 4) –
Local name/s	1) Bihot-bihot 2) Dusol 3) Kamahilan 4) Lubigan
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	1) Enlarged part found close to the base of the leaf 2) Young leaf 3) Young leaf 4) Young leaf
Preparation	Gather 2 leaves each of dusol, kamahilan, and lubigan. Gather the bihot-bihot plant part. Wash plants thoroughly. Chew the plant materials.
Direction for use	Place chewed plants on stomach. Use a clean cloth as bandage to keep masticated plants in place. It will be more effective if all 4 plants are included.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Moral, Loyda Pulukin (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 75. Flatulence

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Lédud</i> (flatulence or <i>kabag</i>)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Silangan
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Young or mature leaf
Preparation	Gather 10 pieces of silangan leaves. Spread a small amount of coconut oil on leaves and wrap these in a banana leaf. Place this near fire until wilted. Pound the leaves.
Direction for use	Place pounded leaves on stomach. Wrap a cloth around the stomach to keep leaves in place. Do not remove leaves until pain subsides.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Moral, Salve dela Cruz; Lisiday, Batanggas Aduanan (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 76. Flu

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Tarangkasu</i> (flu)
Scientific name/s	<i>Pterocarpus indicus</i> Willd.
Local name/s	Narra
Common name/s	Narra
Part/s used	Bark
Preparation	Gather a bark of narra, 1 dangkal long and wide (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger). Boil this in 3-4 cups of water until 2 cups of decoction remain.
Direction for use	Drink as much decoction as desired. Use it as substitute for water. Continue treatment until symptom free.
Additional information	No known adverse effect. It may even help cure a person's other illnesses. Reuse the bark as long as it gives the decoction a brown color.
Informant/s (place and year)	Prado, Hempok Tulio (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 77. Food poisoning

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Még ota na nakakan ng me amag</i> (vomiting caused by eating spoiled food)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Mekaseng
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Vine
Preparation	Get 3 pieces of a mekaseng vine, each piece must be 1 dangkal long (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger). Wash vine thoroughly. Cut these into small pieces and boil in 3 cups of water until 1 cup of decoction remains.
Direction for use	Drink 1 cup of decoction in the morning before eating breakfast. If there is no improvement, drink 2 cups of decoction twice a day. Continue treatment until vomiting stops.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Prado, Hempok Tulio (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 78. Goiter

Ethnopharmacological use	Goiter
Scientific name/s	<i>Caulerpa racemosa</i>
Local name/s	Arusep
Common name/s	Lato
Part/s used	Whole plant
Preparation	Gather the whole plant. Wash in tap water to remove the fishy smell.
Direction for use	Eat the whole plant. One may add tomatoes for flavor. Eat the plant frequently until healed.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 79. Headache

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Mégdégés i ulo</i> (headache)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Balag-balag
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Young leaf
Preparation	Gather 3 young balag-balag leaves. Spread a small amount of coconut oil on leaves and place near fire until wilted.
Direction for use	Place leaves on forehead while still hot. Wrap a cloth around the head to keep leaves in place for 1 hour. If pain does not subside, place another set of leaves on forehead. Repeat until healed.
Additional information	

Informant/s (place and year)	Prado, Nateng Tulio (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 80. Headache

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Mégdéges i ulo</i> (headache)
Scientific name/s	<i>Premna sp.</i>
Local name/s	Bisag
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Leaf
Preparation	Soak leaves in vinegar.
Direction for use	Apply leaves as poultice on forehead.
Additional information	
Informant/s (place and year)	Moral, Erning Katalina (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 81. Headache

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Mégdéges i ulo</i> (headache)
Scientific name/s	<i>Pterocarpus indicus</i> Willd.
Local name/s	Narra
Common name/s	Narra
Part/s used	Bark
Preparation	Gather a bark of narra, 1 dangkal long and wide (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger). Boil this in 3-4 cups of water until 2 cups of decoction remain.
Direction for use	Drink as much decoction as desired. Use it as substitute for water. Continue drinking decoction until headache subsides.
Additional information	No known adverse effect. It may even help cure a person's other illnesses. Reuse the bark as long as it gives the decoction a brown color.
Informant/s (place and year)	Prado, Hempok Tulio (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 82. Headache

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Mégdégés i ulo</i> (headache)
Scientific name/s	<i>Ficus sp.</i>
Local name/s	Puyéng
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Young or mature leaf
Preparation	Collect 4 puyéng leaves. Spread a small amount of coconut oil on leaves. Heat leaves near fire for 20 seconds or until wilted.
Direction for use	Place 2 leaves on forehead and on temples. Tie a cloth around head to keep leaves in place. Do not remove leaves until pain subsides.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Lisiday, Dolsing Bitigan (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 83. High blood pressure/hypertension

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Metaas i dige</i> (high blood pressure/hypertension)
Scientific name/s	<i>Hyptis suaveolens</i> (L.) Poir.
Local name/s	Suub-kabayo
Common name/s	Suub-kabayo
Part/s used	Primary root
Preparation	Obtain 2 primary roots of suub-kabayo. Wash roots thoroughly. Boil these in 3 cups of water for 15 minutes or until half of decoction remains.
Direction for use	Drink the decoction every night after meals, before going to sleep. Repeat the procedure for 3 nights. If there is no improvement, continue treatment until blood pressure returns to normal.
Additional information	Sintones (kalamansi) and other sour fruits are also good for high blood pressure. Healthy food and daily exercise is also important to avoid hypertension.
Informant/s (place and year)	Lisiday, Dolsing Bitigan (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 84. Inunga

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Inunga</i> (an illness wherein the child grows unhealthy, body becomes thin, and head swells)
Scientific name/s	1) <i>Pterospermum diversifolium</i> Blume
Local name/s	1) Unga 2) <i>Bulayo</i> (owl) nest
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	1) Primary root 2) Leaf from <i>bulayo</i> nest
Preparation	1) Get primary roots of an unga plant. Remove first layer of bark and scrape second layer. Gather 1 cup of scraped bark. Boil this in 1 cup of water until half a cup of decoction is left. Remove residue. 2) Obtain <i>suob</i> or charcoal. Get a small portion of <i>bulayo</i> nest such as 3 pieces of leaves. Make a fire using charcoal and leaves from nest. Expose child to smoke from fire. One session will be enough.
Direction for use	1) For a child 0-12 months old: give half a tablespoon of decoction. For a child 2 years and above: give a spoonful of decoction. This must be done once a day in the morning after meals. Repeat procedure until child's appetite returns.
Additional information	This illness is said to be caused by the <i>bulayo</i> (owl). If a child cries at night and the <i>bulayo</i> hears this and is able to imitate the cry, the child will get sick. The child will not feel any pain but changes will be seen in the body. Once the child is cured, the body will return to normal.
Informant/s (place and year)	Francisco, Wisay Moral (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora, 2011)

Table 85. Itch (*Isél*)

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Isél</i> (foot itch from stepping on puddles with carabao urine)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	1) Karugtong ahas 2) Abigan 3) Apog
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	1) Leaf 2) Leaf 3) Slaked lime
Preparation	Collect 20 pieces of karugtong ahas leaves. Pound the leaves. Add a spoonful of apog (slaked lime). Wrap all these in an abigan leaf. Place leaves near fire for 2 minutes until plants are wilted.
Direction for use	Unwrap the abigan leaf. Rub karugtong ahas leaves on feet while hot. Repeat process until itch subsides.
Additional information	Avoid puddles with carabao urine for it can infect open wounds.
Informant/s (place and year)	Moral, Loyda Pulukin (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Apantado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
---	---

Table 86. Joint pain

Ethnopharmacological use	Joint pain
Scientific name/s	<i>Premna sp.</i>
Local name/s	Bisag
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Leaf
Preparation	Boil in water with salt.
Direction for use	Apply as poultice on affected joint areas and also the forehead.
Additional information	
Informant/s (place and year)	Dela Cruz, Neneng Pulukin (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Apantado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 87. Kidney stones

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Saket i bito</i> (kidney stones)
Scientific name/s	<i>Cordyline sp.</i>
Local name/s	-
Common name/s	Baston
Part/s used	Young or mature leaf
Preparation	Gather a handful of baston leaves. Boil leaves in 7 cups of water until it becomes reddish and 1 cup of decoction is left.
Direction for use	Drink as much decoction as desired. Use it as substitute for water. Continue drinking until urine turns into a clear color or until pain experienced while urinating disappears.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Resi Culideg; Lisiday, Dolsing Bitigan; Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Apantado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 88. Kidney stones

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Saket i bito</i> (kidney stones)
Scientific name/s	<i>Pithecellobium dulce</i>
Local name/s	Kamatsile
Common name/s	Kamatsile
Part/s used	Primary root
Preparation	Collect 3-4 pieces of roots. Wash roots thoroughly and cut into small pieces. Boil roots in 4 cups of water until half of decoction remains.
Direction for use	Drink decoction often. Use it as substitute for water. Continue drinking until urine turns to a clear color or until pain experienced while urinating disappears.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 89. Kidney stones

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Saket i bito</i> (kidney stones)
Scientific name/s	<i>Imperata cylindrica</i> L.
Local name/s	Kugon
Common name/s	Kugon
Part/s used	Root
Preparation	Gather whole roots of kugon. Wash roots thoroughly and cut these into small pieces. Boil roots in 5 cups of water until 3 cups remain.
Direction for use	Drink decoction often. Use it as substitute for water. Continue drinking until urine turns to a clear color or until pain experienced while urinating disappears.
Additional information	Learned from Dumagat people of Dibut, San Luis, Aurora
Informant/s (place and year)	Lisiday, Dolsing Bitigan (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 90. Kidney stones

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Saket i bito</i> (kidney stones)
Scientific name/s	1) <i>Imperata cylindrica</i> L. 2) <i>Zea mays</i> L.
Local name/s	1) Kugon 2) Mais
Common name/s	1) Kugon 2) Mais
Part/s used	1) Primary root 2) Silk
Preparation	Collect 100 roots of kugon. Use a trowel to get whole roots. Gather 20 pieces of mais and obtain its silk. Boil roots and silk in 5 cups of water for 10 minutes or until 2 cups of decoction remain.
Direction for use	Drink 1 cup of decoction twice a day before meals. Repeat daily until healed.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Kukuan, Arnold (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 91. Kidney stones

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Saket i bito</i> (kidney stones)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Mamanglat
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Whole root
Preparation	Obtain whole root of a small mamanglat tree. Wash roots thoroughly. Boil in 3 cups of water for 30 minutes or until 1 cup remains.
Direction for use	Drink as much decoction as desired. Use this as substitute for water. Continue drinking until urine turns to a clear color or until pain experienced while urinating disappears.
Additional information	Choose a small mamanglat tree so it may be easily pulled from the ground.
Informant/s (place and year)	Prado, Hempok Tulio (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 92. Kidney stones

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Saket i bito</i> (kidney stones)
Scientific name/s	<i>Pterocarpus indicus</i> Willd.
Local name/s	Narra
Common name/s	Narra
Part/s used	Bark
Preparation	Gather a bark of narra, 1 dangkal long and wide (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger). Boil in 3-4 cups of water until 2 cups of decoction remain.
Direction for use	Drink decoction as often as desired. Use it as substitute for water. Continue drinking until urine turns to a clear color or until pain experienced while urinating disappears. After one already feels better, continue drinking the decoction another 7 days to ensure that the stone will dissolve.
Additional information	No known adverse effect. It may even help cure a person's other illnesses. Reuse bark as long as it gives the decoction a brown color.
Informant/s (place and year)	Prado, Hempok Tulio (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 93. Labor time, To shorten

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Mebilis na méggésok</i> (to shorten labor time)
Scientific name/s	1) <i>Musa sp.</i> 2) – 3) <i>Piper nigrum</i> L.
Local name/s	1) Biget 2) – 3) Paminta
Common name/s	1) Saging 2) Itlog 3) Paminta
Part/s used	1) Lusoy (newly sprouted banana plant)
Preparation	Get 1 piece of lusoy (any variety of banana) 1 dangkal long (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger).
Direction for use	Heat lusoy over fire until wilted. Pound it and extract sap. Mix this with ground pepper, egg yolk and whites. Rub or massage on stomach until there are signs of delivery.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Lisiday, Batanggas Aduanan (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 94. Labor time, To shorten

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Mebilis na méggésok</i> (to shorten labor time)
Scientific name/s	<i>Pipturus arborescens</i> (Link) C.B. Rob.
Local name/s	Mahoknég
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Bark
Preparation	Get a mahoknég bark, 1 dangkal long and wide (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger). Scrape first and second layer of bark until a handful is obtained.
Direction for use	Rub scraped bark on the stomach of the pregnant woman until there are signs of delivery.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Prado, Nateng Tulio (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 95. Labor time, To shorten

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Mebilis na méggésok</i> (to shorten labor time)
Scientific name/s	<i>Thespesia lampas</i> (Cav.) Dalz and Gibs. var. lampas
Local name/s	Sablot
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Bark
Preparation	Get a sablot bark, 1 dangkal long and wide (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger). Scrape first and second layer of bark until a handful is obtained.
Direction for use	Rub scraped bark on the stomach of the pregnant woman until there are signs of delivery.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Moral, Teming Sadsoy (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 96. Malaria

Ethnopharmacological use	Malaria (wherein one experiences fever and chills)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Tayakét
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Bark
Preparation	Obtain a bark, one may get a 5 x 5 inch piece. Boil the bark in water.
Direction for use	Drink decoction continuously.
Additional information	The bark may be reused up to 5 times.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 97. Measles

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Tipdas</i> (measles)
Scientific name/s	<i>Shorea contorta</i> Vidal
Local name/s	Abo No. 1
Common name/s	White lauan
Part/s used	Primary root
Preparation	Collect sufficient amount of abo roots that can fill 1 cup with scraped root bark. Wash roots thoroughly. Scrape roots and boil in 3 cups of water until 1 cup of decoction is left.
Direction for use	Drink decoction as often as desired or until one is cured of measles.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 98. Measles

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Tipdas na hindi lumabas lahat</i> (measles)
Scientific name/s	<i>Scoparia dulcis</i> L.
Local name/s	Kulantro
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Primary root
Preparation	Obtain 2 primary roots of kulantro. Wash roots thoroughly. Boil these in 20 cups of water for 15 minutes or until half the amount of water remains.
Direction for use	Use this for washing or bathing. Repeat daily until symptom free.
Additional information	This is for measles wherein rashes have not completely surfaced yet.
Informant/s (place and year)	Lisiday, Dolsing Bitigan (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 99. Measles

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Tipdas</i> (measles)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Tantalikod
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Young leaf
Preparation	Gather 10 young tantalikod leaves. Wrap leaves in a cloth and pound these. Extract sap of pounded leaves.
Direction for use	For a child 0-12 months old: give ½ a spoon of the sap. For a child 2 years and above: give 1 spoonful of sap. One may add breast milk so it will be easy to swallow. Do this twice a day in the morning and evening after meals. Repeat this daily until child is healed of measles.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Francisco, Wisay, Moral (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2011)

Table 100. Menstrual irregularity

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Monda dire-diretso buhus na pégdige</i> (menstrual irregularity)
Scientific name/s	1) <i>Anamirta cocculus</i> (L.) W. & A. 2) Fabaceae family-mim
Local name/s	1) Labtang 2) Maseset
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Primary root
Preparation	Collect primary roots of each plant. Each root must be 1 dangkal long (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger). Wash roots thoroughly. Cut each root into small pieces. Boil in 3 cups of water until 1 cup of decoction remains.
Direction for use	Drink a spoonful every evening, right after meals.
Additional information	One may reuse the roots as long as it gives the decoction a brown color. Obtain new roots if decoction is colorless.
Informant/s (place and year)	Prado, Hempok Tulio (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 101. Mouth/oral sore of a baby

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Samad</i> (sore in a baby's mouth)
Scientific name/s	<i>Citrus aurantifolia</i>
Local name/s	Dayap
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Fruit
Preparation	Gather 1 piece of dayap fruit. Cut fruit into 2 pieces.
Direction for use	Rub fruit under ears and on neck. Repeat procedure until sore dries.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Dela Cruz, Neneng Pulukin (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aporentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 102. Mouth/oral sore of a baby

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Samad</i> (sore in a baby's mouth due to sucking)
Scientific name/s	<i>Pterocarpus indicus</i> Willd.
Local name/s	Narra
Common name/s	Narra
Part/s used	Sap
Preparation	Cut a portion of bark from trunk to obtain sap of tree. Gather sap in a cup or plate.
Direction for use	Apply sap on sore using a clean finger. Repeat treatment until sore dries.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel; Lisiday, Dolsing Bitigan (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aporentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 103. Mouth/oral sore of a baby

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Samad</i> (sore in a baby's mouth)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Silangan
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Leaf stem
Preparation	Collect 2 to 3 silangan leaf stems. Bend stems and squeeze out sap into a cup.
Direction for use	Use a clean cloth (or clean finger) and dip it in the collected sap. Spread sap on affected part of mouth. Repeat treatment often until sore dries.
Additional information	A mother should not breastfeed if she is tired from work. The baby will get mouth sores because of heat from the mother's tired body.
Informant/s (place and year)	Moral, Loyda Pulukin (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
---	---

Table 104. Mumps

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Taping</i> (mumps)
Scientific name/s	<i>Areca catechu</i> L.
Local name/s	Butag
Common name/s	Bunga
Part/s used	Seed
Preparation	Collect 2 to 3 butag seeds. Remove bark of seed.
Direction for use	Pound inner layer of butag and mix this with a small amount of water. Place it inside the mouth and leave it in place for 2 minutes. Do not swallow the pounded butag. Repeat process as often as desired or until mumps subside.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 105. Nasal congestion, Difficulty breathing due to

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Sahu</i> (new born child having difficulty breathing due to nasal congestion)
Scientific name/s	Araceae family
Local name/s	Payaw-payaw
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Petiole attached to a young leaf.
Preparation	Obtain 2 payaw-payaw petioles (similar to <i>gabi</i> or taro). Remove the leaves. Cut petiole into small pieces and use it as beads (<i>manek</i>). Slide petiole pieces onto a thread.
Direction for use	The necklace made of payaw-payaw petiole should be worn by the child afflicted with <i>sahu</i> . One should continue wearing it until healed.
Additional information	A newborn child may be afflicted with <i>sahu</i> if she/he is brought out in the late afternoon or at night and is exposed to cold night air.
Informant/s (place and year)	Lisiday, Daret Culideg (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2011)

Table 106. Otitis media

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Tagenga</i> (otitis media or <i>luga</i>)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Maria
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Young leaf
Preparation	Collect 10 young leaves. Spread a small amount of coconut oil on leaves and place these in a pan. Cook for 2-3 minutes until leaves are wilted. Remove leaves from pan. Squeeze out the sap.
Direction for use	Dip a chicken feather in the sap and insert it inside the ear. Use it the way one cleans ears with cotton buds. Do it often daily.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Moral, Loyda Pulukin (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 107. Pasma

Ethnopharmacological use	Pasma
Scientific name/s	<i>Premna sp.</i>
Local name/s	Bisag
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Leaf
Preparation	Soak leaves in vinegar.
Direction for use	Apply leaves as poultice on affected area.
Additional information	
Informant/s (place and year)	Moral, Erning Katalina (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 108. Pasma

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Pasma</i> (fever, chills and headache brought about by getting wet while tired from work)
Scientific name/s	<i>Pterocarpus indicus</i> Willd.
Local name/s	Narra
Common name/s	Narra
Part/s used	Bark
Preparation	Gather a bark of narra, 1 dangkal long and wide (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger). Boil this in 3-4 cups of water until 2 cups of decoction remain.
Direction for use	Drink as much decoction as desired. Use it as a substitute for water. Continue treatment until one feels better.
Additional information	No known adverse effect. It may even help cure a person's other illnesses. Reuse bark as long as it gives the decoction a brown color.
Informant/s (place and year)	Prado, Hempok Tulio (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
---	---

Table 109. Pasma

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Pasma</i>
Scientific name/s	1) <i>Cocos nucifera</i> L. 2) <i>Andropogon citratus</i>
Local name/s	1) Niyog 2) Tanlad
Common name/s	1) Niyog 2) Tanlad/tanglad
Part/s used	1) Coconut water 2) Whole plant
Preparation	Obtain 5 cups of coconut water and 3 pieces of tanlad. Boil these together for 20 minutes or until 1 cup of water remains.
Direction for use	Sit in front of the boiling coconut water and inhale the steam. Do this any time of the day and as long as one desires. Repeat until one gets better.
Additional information	Gather a coconut whose meat is just right, not thin and not yet hard. " <i>Kasarapan</i> " in Agta terms. Avoid bathing after coming home tired from work or after being exposed to the heat of sun for a long period. One should rest first before taking a bath to avoid <i>pasma</i> .
Informant/s (place and year)	Prado, Nateng Tulio (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 110. Pasma

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Pasma</i>
Scientific name/s	<i>Sandoricum koetjape</i> Burm. f.
Local name/s	Santol
Common name/s	Santol
Part/s used	Young leaf
Preparation	Obtain 5 young santol leaves and ½ cup of vinegar. Boil vinegar for 5 minutes. Soak leaves in boiled vinegar.
Direction for use	Place leaves on forehead, temples, and both sides of arms. Do this at 5 PM. Leave santol leaves in place until the next day. Repeat procedure until one is well.
Additional information	Do not take a bath until one has fully recovered from the illness.
Informant/s (place and year)	Francisco, Wisay, Moral (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2011)

Table 111. Poison, Ingestion of

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Nakakan i lasun</i> (ingestion of poison e.g. cleaning materials)
Scientific name/s	<i>Ananas comosus</i> (L.) Merr.
Local name/s	Pinya
Common name/s	Pinya
Part/s used	Fruit
Preparation	Obtain 1 pineapple fruit. Peel off skin of fruit. Mash the fruit and squeeze out the juice.
Direction for use	Drink all the juice that can be extracted from the fruit. One may also eat the fruit itself.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 112. Post-partum bleeding, Excessive

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Kinalkatan</i> (excessive post-partum bleeding)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Putat
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Bark
Preparation	Get 3 pieces of bark, 1 dangkal long and wide (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger). Wash bark thoroughly. Boil in 3 cups of water until 1 cup of decoction remains.
Direction for use	Drink 1 cup of decoction once a day after meals. Continue drinking decoction until bleeding stops.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 113. Post-partum illness

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Séhéyo</i> (post-partum illness)
Scientific name/s	<i>Schefflera</i> sp.
Local name/s	Bégnét
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Primary root
Preparation	Collect 2 bégnét primary roots, each must be 1 dangkal long (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger). Wash roots thoroughly. Remove root bark. Scrape second layer of roots. Gather as much as a handful. Boil scraped bark in 3 cups of water until 1 cup of decoction remains.
Direction for use	Drink decoction as often as desired, use as substitute for water.
Additional information	Mothers who have just given birth must stay inside the house for 2 to 3 weeks to avoid getting <i>séhéyo</i> . They must also avoid getting wet from the rain.
Informant/s (place and year)	Prado, Nateng Tulio (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 114. Post-partum illness

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Séhéyo</i> (post-partum illness)
Scientific name/s	1) <i>Schefflera</i> sp. 2) <i>Macaranga bicolor</i> Muell.-Arg.
Local name/s	1) Bégnét 2) Bilante
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	1) Primary root 2) Bark
Preparation	Collect 3 primary roots of bégnét, each must be 1 dangkal long (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger). Obtain 3 pieces of bilante bark, 1 dangkal long and wide. Boil these in 5 cups of water until 2 cups remain.
Direction for use	Drink decoction 3 times a day after every meal. Repeat daily until infant reaches the age of 2 months. Begin taking decoction right after giving birth to avoid getting <i>séhéyo</i> .
Additional information	A woman may become afflicted with <i>séhéyo</i> if she comes in contact with cold water immediately after giving birth. This can be through bathing, getting wet from the rain, or going out of the house in the late afternoon or evening and being exposed to the cold evening mist. A woman affected by <i>séhéyo</i> experiences constant coughing, abdominal pain, headache, chills, frequent fever, loss of appetite and loss of weight.
Informant/s (place and year)	Moral, Loyda Pulukin (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 115. Post-partum illness

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Séhéyo</i> (post-partum illness)
Scientific name/s	<i>Macaranga bicolor</i> Muell.-Arg.
Local name/s	Bilante
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	1) Bark 2) Leaf
Preparation	1) Obtain a bark of bilante, 1 dangkal long and wide (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger). Boil this in 5 cups of water until 2 cups of decoction are left. 2) Heat bilante leaf over fire.
Direction for use	1) Drink decoction 3 times a day after meals. Repeat daily until infant reaches age of 2 months. Begin drinking decoction right after giving birth to avoid getting <i>séhéyo</i> . 2) Place leaf on the back of the mother.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 116. Post-partum illness

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Séhéyo</i> (post-partum illness)
Scientific name/s	<i>Ceiba pentandra</i>
Local name/s	Bulak
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Leaf
Preparation	Collect 10 bulak leaves. Spread a small amount of coconut oil on leaves and place these near fire until wilted. Pound the leaves.
Direction for use	In the afternoon, rub pounded leaves all over body. After rubbing, place leaves on stomach. Wrap a cloth around stomach to keep leaves in place. Remove the cloth in the morning. Repeat daily until one is healed.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Moral, Salve dela Cruz; Lisiday, Batanggas Aduanan (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 117. Post-partum illness

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Séhéyo</i> (post-partum illness)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Dusol
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Young leaf
Preparation	Gather 10 young dusol leaves. Put a small amount of coconut oil on leaves and place these near fire until wilted. Pound the leaves.
Direction for use	Rub pounded leaves all over body. After rubbing, place leaves on forehead. Wrap a cloth around forehead to keep leaves in place. Do the treatment in the afternoon and remove leaves in the morning. Repeat process daily until one feels better.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 118. Post-partum illness

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Séhéyo</i> (post-partum illness)
Scientific name/s	<i>Impatiens balsamina</i>
Local name/s	Kamantige
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Young leaf
Preparation	Collect 20 kamantige leaves. Boil these in 4 cups of water until 2 cups of decoction remain.
Direction for use	Drink decoction as often as desired. Repeat daily until healed.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Moral, Salve dela Cruz; Lisiday, Batangas Aduanan (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 119. Post-partum illness

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Séhéyo</i> (post-partum illness)
Scientific name/s	<i>Anamirta cocculus</i> (L.) W. & A.
Local name/s	Labtang
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Primary root
Preparation	Gather 5 primary roots. Wash roots thoroughly and cut these into small pieces.
Direction for use	Soak roots in half a bottle of liquor (gin or sioktong) for 2-3 days. Take 1 spoonful twice a day, in the morning and evening before meals. Drink this right after giving birth to avoid getting <i>séhéyo</i> .
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Moral, Erning Katalina; Prado, Marina Moral (Dipontian, Cozo,

	Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 120. Post-partum illness

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Séhéyo</i> (post-partum illness)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Palatidug
Common name/s	
Part/s used	Primary root
Preparation	Get 2 primary roots, each must be 1 dangkal long (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger). Wash roots thoroughly. Cut it into small pieces. Boil roots in 3 cups of water until decoction turns brown and 1 cup remains.
Direction for use	Drink one cup of decoction every morning after breakfast. Repeat this daily until the new born reaches the age of 2 months or until one feels better.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Prado, Nateng Tulio (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 121. Post-partum illness

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Séhéyo</i> (post-partum illness)
Scientific name/s	1) – 2) <i>Anamirta cocculus</i> (L.) W. & A. 3) Fabaceae family-mim 4) –
Local name/s	1) Bunutan 2) Labtang 3) Maseset 4) Pélwat
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Primary root
Preparation	Collect primary roots of all plants, each is about 1 dangkal long (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger). Wash roots thoroughly. Cut each root into 2 pieces and place these in a half bottle of gin. Soak for 5 days before using.
Direction for use	Take a spoonful twice a day, in the morning after drinking coffee and in the evening right after meals. Do this right after giving birth. Do not wait to get sick before taking medicine. Continue treatment until new born baby reaches the age of 2 months. One may reuse the roots as long as it gives the drink a brown color. If the drink is already colorless, one should obtain another set of roots.
Additional information	A mother who has just given birth should drink this so that <i>lamig</i> or the cold air will not enter her body when she washes clothes or dishes.

	If the roots are boiled it will be easily spoiled. If it is soaked in gin it will last longer. It should always be kept soaked.
Informant/s (place and year)	Dela Cruz, Noralyn Prado (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 122. Prenatal care – to counter miscarriage caused by spirits

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Monda éwan ahobén na éwan maetan</i> (to counter miscarriage caused by spirits)
Scientific name/s	1) <i>Allium sativum</i> L. 2) <i>Breynia cernua</i> (Poir.) Muell. Arg.
Local name/s	1) Bawang 2) Matang udeng
Common name/s	1) Bawang 2) -
Part/s used	1) Clove 2) Leaf
Preparation	Obtain leaves of matang udeng and 3 pieces of garlic.
Direction for use	The pregnant woman must always carry the leaves and garlic wherever she goes especially after 12 noon until sunset. Place it near stomach to mask smell of unborn child.
Additional information	Once a spirit smells the unborn child, it will try to get it, thus causing miscarriage. This precaution is done " <i>para hindi ahobén,</i> " so the spirit will not be able to smell the child.
Informant/s (place and year)	Estanes, Waynalín Tulio (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 123. Prenatal care – to counter miscarriage caused by spirits

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Monda éwan ahobén na éwan maetan</i> (to counter miscarriage caused by spirits)
Scientific name/s	<i>Breynia cernua</i> (Poir.) Muell. Arg.
Local name/s	Matang udeng
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Young or mature leaf
Preparation	Get 1 twig of matang udeng.
Direction for use	The pregnant woman must carry the plant every time she goes out of the house. The leaves must be tucked in the waist so that it is near the stomach.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Prado, Hempok Tulio (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 124. Puncture injury, Sea urchin

Ethnopharmacological use	Sea urchin (tayéng) puncture injury
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Sablét
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Young leaf
Preparation	Obtain the shoots from a sablét tree. Heat these over fire until leaves wilt.
Direction for use	Apply leaves on affected area once.
Additional information	
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 125. Ringworm

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Buneng manok</i> (ringworm)
Scientific name/s	<i>Senna alata</i> (L.) Roxb.
Local name/s	Bayabas-bayabasan, baya-bayabasan
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Young leaf
Preparation	Collect 8-10 young leaves. Pound the leaves.
Direction for use	Rub pounded leaves on affected area. Repeat as desired. Continue treatment until infection dries and subsides.
Additional information	Do not eat crab, shrimp, fish, and other seafood while undergoing this treatment.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 126. Scabies

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Gales</i> (scabies)
Scientific name/s	1) <i>Vetiveria zizanioides</i> (L.) Nash 2) Calcium hydroxide
Local name/s	1) Tikél 2) Apog
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Young leaf
Preparation	Collect a handful leaves. Pound leaves and mix with a small amount of apog (slaked lime).
Direction for use	Rub or squeeze pounded leaves on affected area. Leave pounded material in place for 3 hours. Use a cloth as a bandage. Repeat process until rash is already dry.
Additional information	In the first sign of a rash due to scabies, avoid eating 'fishy' food. Prior to treatment, patient is advised to dip in the sea so rash dries quickly.
Informant/s (place and year)	Moral, Loyda Pulukin (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
---	---

Table 127. Scabies of a newly widowed person

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Gales</i> (scabies of a newly widowed person)
Scientific name/s	Zingiberaceae family
Local name/s	Balo-balohan
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Twig and leaf
Preparation	Gather 2-3 twigs with leaves. Pound the twigs and leaves.
Direction for use	Place pounded plant material on affected part. Leave it in place for 1 hour or until sap dries. Repeat treatment often daily until healed.
Additional information	If a person throws an object (such as clothes or apog container) to newly widowed person, the latter shall be afflicted with scabies and body aches. This is intentionally done by a person with a grudge on the latter. To counter this, one must be able to catch the object being thrown and then throw it back to the person who did this.
Informant/s (place and year)	Lisiday, Dolsing Bitigan (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 128. Smallpox

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Bulutong</i> (smallpox)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Tuba
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Fruit
Preparation	Gather 2-3 pieces of tuba fruit. Remove bark or first layer of the fruit then mash the fruit.
Direction for use	Place mashed fruit on all parts of body affected by smallpox. Remove poultice after 30 minutes and apply another set of mashed tuba fruit. Repeat process after every 30 minutes until rashes are dry.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 129. Sterilization/infertility

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Monda éwan ka dén mégenak o mégbuktet</i> (sterilization/infertility)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	1) Abutra 2) Guheb 3) Palatidug
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Primary root
Preparation	Collect primary roots of plants. Each must be 1 dangkal long (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger). Wash roots thoroughly. Cut each root into 10 pieces and place in an empty 1.5 liter bottle. Add half a bottle of any kind of liquor. Soak roots for 3 days before using.
Direction for use	Drink a spoonful after evening meals. Do the same for 3 to 5 days. It will take that duration before egg cells dry up.
Additional information	This concoction is used by couples who want to control how many children they will have. The concoction kills all the egg cells of a woman thus she will not be capable of getting pregnant. Excessive use of the said plants can affect the health of the baby and may possibly cause miscarriage. Pregnant women must not drink this concoction.
Informant/s (place and year)	Prado, Nateng Tulio (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 130. Sterilization/infertility

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Monda éwan ka dén mégenak o mégbuktet</i> (sterilization/infertility)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Dusol
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Fruit
Preparation	Collect 10 dusol fruits. Remove the first layer of the fruit. Mash the fruit and mix with half a bottle of liquor (gin).
Direction for use	Drink concoction twice a day in the morning and evening before meals. Do this for 7 straight days. It takes that duration before the womb of the mother will dry up.
Additional information	-
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 131. Sterilization/infertility

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Monda éwan ka dén mégenak o mégbuktet</i> (sterilization/infertility)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Pudas
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Vine
Preparation	Collect 5 pieces of pudas vine. Each piece must be 1 dangkal long (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger). Wash vine thoroughly. Cut vine into 10 pieces and place in an empty 1.5 liter bottle. Add half a bottle of any kind of liquor. Soak the plants for 3 days before using.
Direction for use	Drink a spoonful every evening, right after meals. Do the same for 3 to 5 days. It will take that duration before egg cells dry up.
Additional information	This drink will kill all the egg cells of a woman thus she will not be capable of getting pregnant anymore.
Informant/s (place and year)	Prado, Hempok Tulio (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 132. Sterilization/infertility

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Monda éwan ka dén mégenak o mégbuktet</i> (sterilization/infertility)
Scientific name/s	1) - 2) Calcium hydroxide
Local name/s	1) Saet/tinik 2) Apog
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Root
Preparation	Gather whole roots of the plant and half a spoon of apog (slaked lime). Boil roots in 7 cups of water mixed with half a spoon of apog. Wait until 1 cup of decoction remains.
Direction for use	Take a spoonful 3 times a day in the morning, noon, and evening right after every meal. Continue treatment for 2 more days.
Additional information	The heat of apog dries the womb of the female that is why she will not get pregnant. Dolsing: "If you want only 5 children or less, drink this." Drinking saet/tinik has a powerful effect on the body. You cannot drink this straight. You will always be coughing. (See Table 50)
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel; Lisiday, Dolsing Bitigan (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 133. Sting of jellyfish

Ethnopharmacological use	Sting of jellyfish
Scientific name/s	<i>Citrus microcarpa</i> Bunge
Local name/s	Sintones
Common name/s	Kalamansi
Part/s used	Fruit
Preparation	Squeeze out the juice from the fruit.
Direction for use	Apply it on the affected area.
Additional information	One may also use vinegar instead of sintones.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 134. Subi-subu or taun

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Subi-subu</i> or <i>taun</i> (months old baby experiencing stomachache/flatulence and chills)
Scientific name/s	1) <i>Tagetes erecta</i> L. 2) – 3) –
Local name/s	1) Amarilyo 2) Buhog 3) Hikaw-hikawan
Common name/s	1) - 2) Unggoy 3) -
Part/s used	1) Apdo/gall bladder 2) Young leaf 3) Young leaf
Preparation	1) Buhog gall bladder - make a small cut in the bladder and dip it in a tablespoon of breast milk. 2) Amarilyo - Pound the young leaves and squeeze out a spoonful of sap. 3) Hikaw-hikawan- Pound the young leaves and squeeze out a spoonful of sap.
Direction for use	1) Feed the child a spoonful of milk with apdo in the morning. 2) Collect a spoonful of amarilyo sap and mix this with breast milk. Feed this to the child at noon. 3) Collect a spoonful of hikaw-hikawan sap and mix this with breast milk. Feed this to the child at night.
Additional information	The child is afflicted with <i>subi-subu</i> if her/his palms and soles of feet are yellow. If it is a dark color, the child is afflicted with <i>taun</i> .
Informant/s (place and year)	Moral, Loyda Pulukin (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 135. Subi-subu or taun

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Subi-subu</i> or <i>taun</i> (months old baby experiencing stomachache/flatulence and chills)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	1) Dusol 2) Lubigan 3) Payokpok
Common name/s	
Part/s used	1) Young leaf 2) Primary root 3) Young or mature leaf
Preparation	1) Obtain 5 young dusol leaves. Spread a small amount of coconut oil on leaves and heat over coals until wilted. Pound leaves and squeeze out sap. 2) Get 3 pieces of lubigan roots. Each must be 1 dangkal long (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger). Wash roots thoroughly. Chop roots into small pieces and boil in 1 cup of water until ¼ of decoction remains. 3) Collect a handful of young payokpok leaves. Wrap leaves in a clean cloth and pound it to obtain sap. Squeeze out sap.
Direction for use	1) In the morning, give the child half a spoon of dusol sap mixed with breast milk. 2) At noon, give the child half a spoon of lubigan decoction mixed with breast milk. 3) In the evening, give the child drink half a spoon of payokpok sap mixed with breast milk. All this should be done before meals. Add breast milk so it will be easy for the child to swallow. More than half a tablespoon of the sap will be too bitter for the child to take. Repeat until the child gets well.
Additional information	
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Resi Culideg (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 136. Subi-subu or taun

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Subi-subu</i> or <i>taun</i> (months old baby experiencing stomachache/flatulence and chills)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Tantalikod
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Young leaf
Preparation	Gather 10 tantalikod leaves. Pound leaves and squeeze out sap.
Direction for use	For a child 0-12 months: give half a tablespoon of sap. For a child 2 years and up: give 1 tablespoon of sap. Add small amount of breast milk so it will be easy for the child to swallow. Do this twice a day in the morning and evening after meals. Repeat daily until child is cured.
Additional information	

Informant/s (place and year)	Prado, Nateng Tulio (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aporentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 137. Subi-subu or taun

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Subi-subu</i> or <i>taun</i> (months old baby experiencing stomachache/flatulence and chills)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Tantalikod
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Young or mature leaf
Preparation	Collect a handful of leaves. Spread a small amount of coconut oil on leaves. Heat over coals until wilted. Pound leaves and squeeze out sap.
Direction for use	Let the child take ½ a tablespoon of sap once a day. This should be done each morning before meals. Add breast milk so it will be easy for the child to swallow. More than half a tablespoon of sap will be too bitter for the child to take. Repeat until the child gets well.
Additional information	The flower of this plant is facing in the opposite direction of the leaves that is why it is called tantalikod.
Informant/s (place and year)	Prado, Dina Inong; Kukuan, Arnold (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aporentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 138. Swollen spleen

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Binumige i pile</i> (swollen spleen)
Scientific name/s	<i>Mallotus sp.</i>
Local name/s	Mahabénwang/bénwang
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Bark
Preparation	Obtain a bark of the tree. Its length must be based on the span of a person's forehead down to the stomach and it must be 1 dangkal wide (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger). Cut bark into small pieces. Boil these in 3 cups of water until 1 cup remains.
Direction for use	Drink 1 cup of decoction twice a day, in the morning and evening before meals. Continue drinking decoction until one has healed.
Additional information	A person's spleen will become swollen if she/he takes alcoholic drinks before eating meals and if she/he smokes cigarettes. Aside from the spleen, other organs of the body will be affected with this kind of lifestyle. One will feel abdominal pain because of the swollen spleen.
Informant/s (place and year)	Prado, Hempok Tulio (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aporentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 139. Teeth, To clean

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Pég is-is ta ngipén</i> (to clean teeth)
Scientific name/s	<i>Leukosyke capitellata</i> (Poir.) Wedd.
Local name/s	Lase-lase
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Leaf
Preparation	Gather 2 lase-lase leaves.
Direction for use	Rub leaves on teeth until stain disappears. Repeat daily to maintain cleanliness of teeth.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 140. Throat itch due to cold

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Még katél tu bukho</i> (throat itch due to cold)
Scientific name/s	<i>Piper betle</i> L.
Local name/s	Gawéd
Common name/s	Ikmo
Part/s used	Young or mature leaf
Preparation	a) Collect 3 to 4 pieces of leaves. Spread a small amount of coconut oil on leaves and heat over fire until wilted. b) Collect 3 to 4 young leaves. Spread a small amount of coconut oil on leaves and heat over fire until wilted. Pound the leaves. Squeeze out sap from leaves.
Direction for use	a) Rub or massage on forehead, neck, and back of ears. Repeat procedure as often as desired or until one feels better. b) Give half a spoon - 1 spoonful to months old baby. Give 1 - 2 spoonful(s) to a child 2 years and above. Repeat until child feels better.
Additional information	The child must not go outside at night to avoid the cold night air.
Informant/s (place and year)	a) Prado, Mary Jane Lisiday b) Prado, Lonalyn Esteves; Lisiday, Gemalyn (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 141. Throat itch due to cold

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Még katél tu bukho</i> (throat itch due to cold)
Scientific name/s	<i>Citrus microcarpa</i> Bunge
Local name/s	Sintones
Common name/s	Kalamansi
Part/s used	Fruit
Preparation	a) Gather 10 sintones fruits. Cut fruits in half and extract juice in a cup. Add a small amount of sugar. b) Gather 8-10 pieces of sintones fruits. Grill the fruits. Cut fruits in half and extract juice in a cup.
Direction for use	a) Drink as much as desired. Continue treatment until healed. b) Drink the pure juice. One may add a cup of water and ½ spoon of sugar. The patient may chew the fresh fruit if desired.
Additional information	No known adverse effect. It may even help cure a person's other illnesses.
Informant/s (place and year)	Lisiday, Gemalyn; Francisco, Wisay Moral (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010, 2011)

Table 142. Tinea versicolor

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Panaw</i> (Tinea versicolor or <i>an-an</i>)
Scientific name/s	<i>Ficus sp.</i>
Local name/s	Uséd
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Young leaf
Preparation	Collect 5 young uséd leaves. Wash leaves thoroughly. Pound leaves into a pulp.
Direction for use	Rub leaves on affected part once a day after bathing. Repeat treatment daily until <i>panaw</i> disappears.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Lisiday, Dolsing Bitigan (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 143. Tonsillitis

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Tonsil</i> (tonsillitis)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Kibit
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Fruit
Preparation	Gather 2-3 kibit fruits. Wash thoroughly. Chop fruits into small pieces. Mash fruits into a pulp.
Direction for use	Place fruits on neck. Wrap a clean cloth around neck to keep mashed fruits in place. Repeat procedure until healed.
Additional information	Do not eat any "fishy" food.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 144. Toothache

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Mégdégés i ngipén</i> (toothache)
Scientific name/s	1) <i>Bidens pilosus</i> L. 2) <i>Vernonia cinerea</i> (L.) Less.
Local name/s	1) Amorseko 2) Mégapa
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Primary root
Preparation	Obtain primary roots of each plant. Wash roots thoroughly. Pound roots and add a small amount of salt. Wrap roots in banana leaves.
Direction for use	Place wrapped and pounded roots on aching teeth for half an hour or until pain disappears. If pain subsides, remove poultice and throw this in the fire to avoid a recurring pain.
Additional information	If a tooth on the left side of the mouth is painful, also apply roots on the right side to prevent it from aching.
Informant/s (place and year)	Lisiday, Dolsing Bitigan (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 145. Toothache

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Mégdégés i ngipén</i> (toothache)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Pangden
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Primary root
Preparation	Collect primary roots, about 1 dangkal long (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger). Wash roots thoroughly. Remove bark then scrape second layer of roots.
Direction for use	Place a small amount of scraped roots on the cavity for 5 minutes. If pain remains, place new scraped roots. Continue treatment until pain subsides.
Additional information	Pangden gives a cool feeling when placed on the cavity and helps the pain subside.
Informant/s (place and year)	Moral, Loyda Pulukin (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 146. Ulcer

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Onser</i> or <i>orsel</i> (ulcer)
Scientific name/s	<i>Euphorbia hirta</i> L.
Local name/s	Buto-butonesan
Common name/s	Tawa-tawa, gatas-gatas
Part/s used	Whole plant
Preparation	Obtain a 15-20 cm tall buto-butonesan plant. Wash plant thoroughly. Boil this in 10 cups of water until 3 cups of decoction remain.
Direction for use	Drink as much as desired. Use this as substitute for water. Stop drinking decoction if abdominal pain caused by ulcer subsides.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Lisiday, Dolsing Bitigan (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 147. Ulcer

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Onser</i> or <i>orsel</i> (ulcer)
Scientific name/s	<i>Pterocarpus indicus</i> Willd.
Local name/s	Narra
Common name/s	Narra
Part/s used	Bark
Preparation	Gather a bark of narra, 1 dangkal long and wide (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger). Boil this in 3-4 cups of water until 2 cups of decoction remain.
Direction for use	Drink as much decoction as desired. Use it as substitute for water. Continue drinking until abdominal pain caused by ulcer subsides.
Additional information	No known adverse effect. It may even help cure a person's other illnesses. Reuse the bark as long as it gives the decoction a brown color.
Informant/s (place and year)	Prado, Hempok Tulio (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 148. Ulcer

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Onser</i> or <i>orsel</i> (ulcer)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Sablang
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Bark
Preparation	Obtain a sablang bark, one dangkal long (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger) and half a dangkal wide. Boil this in 2 cups of water for 30 minutes or until 1 cup remains.
Direction for use	Drink half a cup of decoction twice a day, in the morning and evening after meals. Repeat process until patient is cured.
Additional information	Always eat on time while undergoing the treatment. Avoid smoking and drinking liquor.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 149. Umbilical cord care

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Pinusédan</i> (care of newly cut umbilical cord)
Scientific name/s	1) <i>Piper betle</i> L. 2) <i>Cocos nucifera</i> L.
Local name/s	1) Gawéd 2) Niyog
Common name/s	1) Ikmo 2) Niyog
Part/s used	1) Young leaf 2) Nutshell
Preparation	Collect 2 young gawéd leaves. Scrape a small amount of coconut shell.
Direction for use	Make a hole in the center of 1 leaf. Place leaf on umbilical cord stump with stump protruding from leaf's hole. Apply a small amount of scraped coconut shell on stump. Place another leaf (without a hole) to cover the stump. Use a clean cloth as bandage. Wrap this around stomach to keep leaves in place. Repeat process until newly cut umbilical cord dries.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Prado, Mary Jane Lisiday (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aporentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 150. Umbilical cord care

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Pinusédan</i> (care of newly cut umbilical cord)
Scientific name/s	1) <i>Bambusa</i> sp. 2) <i>Cocos nucifera</i> L.
Local name/s	1) Kawayan 2) Niyog
Common name/s	1) Kawayan 2) Niyog
Part/s used	1) Stalk 2) Nutshell
Preparation	Heat the sharp end of a bamboo stalk in the fire. Use it to cut the umbilical cord. Scrape off the top of a coconut shell.
Direction for use	Apply scraped shell on umbilical cord stump. Wrap a clean cloth around stomach to keep scraped shell in place. Apply scraped shell on stump every morning. Do this for 4 to 5 days until stump is dry.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Estanes, Waynalin Tulio (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aporentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 151. Umbilical cord care

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Pinusédan</i> (care of newly cut umbilical cord)
Scientific name/s	<i>Cocos nucifera</i> L.
Local name/s	Niyog
Common name/s	Niyog
Part/s used	Baol, the hard inner shell of the coconut
Preparation	Get 1 piece of coconut shell. Scrape the inner shell and wrap it in a banana leaf. Heat it over fire for 3 minutes.
Direction for use	Apply scraped shell on umbilical cord stump. Put a small amount of alcohol on stump. Repeat process 3 times a day until stump heals. Keep umbilical cord stump covered with a bandage until it is already healed. Use a clean cloth for this.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Moral, Loyda Pulukin (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 152. Vomiting blood

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Dugal</i> (vomiting blood)
Scientific name/s	Euphorbiaceae family
Local name/s	Anggu
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Bark
Preparation	Gather 3 pieces of anggu bark. This must be 1 dangkal long and wide (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger). Cut bark into small pieces and boil in 3 cups of water until 1 cup of decoction remains.
Direction for use	Drink as much decoction as desired. Use decoction as substitute for water. Continue drinking until one stops vomiting blood.
Additional information	Frequent carrying of heavy objects (such as a 70-80 kilo sack of kopra) can cause vomiting of blood. Some carry load which are heavier than their own weight.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2011)

Table 153. Vomiting blood

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Dugal</i> (vomiting blood)
Scientific name/s	Fabaceae family-pap
Local name/s	Melmel
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Vine
Preparation	Get 5 pieces of melmel vine. Each piece must be 1 dangkal long (the span from tip of thumb to tip of little finger). Remove bark of vine. Scrape the remaining vine. Boil scraped vine in 3 cups of water until 1 cup of decoction remains.
Direction for use	Strain the mixture to remove sediments. Use decoction as substitute for water. Continue drinking decoction until one stops vomiting blood.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Prado, Hempok Tulio (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 154. Wound

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Talingo</i> (wound)
Scientific name/s	<i>Psidium guajava</i> L.
Local name/s	Bayabas
Common name/s	Bayabas
Part/s used	Young leaf
Preparation	Gather 3-5 young leaves.
Direction for use	Chew the bayabas leaves. Place masticated leaves on wound to stop the bleeding. Boil the other leaves in water and use this to wash the wound.
Additional information	Wounds can be caused by many things. One may have slipped on a rock by the sea with oyster shells stuck on it, or one can get cut by her/his own sundang (bolo) while working in the forest.
Informant/s (place and year)	Dela Cruz, Noralyn Prado (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 155. Wound

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Talingo</i> (wound)
Scientific name/s	<i>Sonchus oleraceus</i> L.
Local name/s	Butnol (found near homes)
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Young leaf
Preparation	Collect 2-3 pieces of young butnol leaves from the backyard. Spread a small amount of coconut oil on leaves. Heat leaves near fire until wilted. Pound leaves and squeeze out sap.
Direction for use	Clean wound with water. Apply sap on wound. Repeat until wound heals.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Resi Culideg (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 156. Wound

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Talingo</i> (wound)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Butnol (from forest)
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Vine
Preparation	Cut a 12 inch long and 1 to 2 inch thick butnol vine from the forest. Scrape vine until a handful is obtained.
Direction for use	Clean wound with water. Apply sap of vine on wound. Masticate the scraped vine then place on wound. Wrap a clean cloth around affected part to keep scraped vine in place. Continue treatment until wound heals.
Additional information	The butnol vine helps the bleeding stop.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 157. Wound

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Talingo</i> (wound)
Scientific name/s	<i>Scindapsus pictus</i> Hassk.
Local name/s	Butnol tigre (from the forest)
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	a) Young leaf b) Young or mature leaf
Preparation	a) Gather 3 young butnol leaves. Add a small amount of <i>asen</i> (salt) on leaves. Heat leaves near fire until wilted. Pound the leaves. b) Gather 2-3 leaves of butnol. Spread a small amount of coconut oil and place near fire until wilted. Pound leaves then extract sap.
Direction for use	a) Apply leaves on wound. Wrap a clean cloth around affected part to keep leaves in place. Repeat process every 1-2 hours if desired. Continue treatment until wound heals. b) Apply sap on wound 3 times a day, in the morning, noon and evening. Repeat treatment until wound heals.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	a) Prado, Hempok Tulio; b) Francisco, Wisay Moral (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010, 2011)

Table 158. Wound

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Talingo</i> (wound)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	1) Cover crop, oberkrap or koberkrap 2) Damong pailaya
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Young or mature leaf
Preparation	Collect a handful of cover crop and damong pailaya leaves. Boil leaves together. Place boiled leaves in a clean cloth. Pound leaves.
Direction for use	Make sure wound is clean prior to application. Squeeze out sap from cloth onto wound. Repeat process 3 times a day until wound heals.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Resi Culideg; Tanyet, Noel; Dela Cruz, Noralyn (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 159. Wound

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Talingo</i> (wound)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Damong pailaya
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Young leaf
Preparation	Gather 10-15 pieces of damong pailaya leaves. Put a small amount of coconut oil on leaves and wrap these in a banana leaf. Place these near fire until wilted. Unwrap and pound leaves.
Direction for use	Extract sap from leaves and apply this on wound. Do this 3 times a day, in the morning, noon and evening before going to sleep. Repeat procedure daily until wound heals.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 160. Wound

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Talingo</i> (wound)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Épma
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Young or mature leaf
Preparation	Collect a handful of épma leaves and spread a small amount of coconut oil on it. Wrap these in a banana leaf. Heat leaves over fire until wilted. Pound leaves and squeeze out sap.
Direction for use	Apply sap on wound 3 times a day in the morning, noon and evening before sleeping. Repeat daily until wound heals.
Additional information	Make sure wound is kept clean to avoid severe infection and swelling.
Informant/s (place and year)	Moral, Loyda Pulukin (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 161. Wound

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Talingo</i> (wound)
Scientific name/s	<i>Stachytarpheta jamaicensis</i> (L.) Vahl
Local name/s	Kalibutbut lucena
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Leaf
Preparation	Gather 10-15 pieces of kalibutbut leaves. Place a small amount of coconut oil on leaves. Wrap these in banana leaves then place near fire for 3 minutes until wilted. Pound the leaves.
Direction for use	Extract sap of pounded leaves and apply onto wound. Do it 3 times a day, in the morning, noon and evening before going to sleep. Repeat process until wound heals.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 162. Wound

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Talingo</i> (wound)
Scientific name/s	<i>Mimosa pudica</i> L.
Local name/s	Mesanike
Common name/s	Makahiya
Part/s used	Root
Preparation	Gather roots of the plant. Wash roots before cutting it into small pieces. Boil these in 2 cups of water until 1 cup of decoction remains.
Direction for use	Use decoction to wash wound in the morning after getting up and in the evening before going to sleep. Repeat procedure daily until wound dries.
Additional information	According to the healer, just as the leaf closes when one touches the mesanike, the wound will also close when this plant is used.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 163. Wound

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Talingo</i> (wound)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Nahotngot
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Young or mature leaf
Preparation	Collect a handful leaves. Spread a small amount of coconut oil on it and wrap these in a banana leaf. Heat leaves near fire until wilted. Pound leaves and squeeze out sap.
Direction for use	Apply sap on wound 3 times a day in the morning, noon, and evening before going to sleep. Repeat daily until wound dries.
Additional information	Make sure wound is always clean to avoid severe infection and swelling.
Informant/s (place and year)	Moral, Loyda Pulukin (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 164. Wound (balkas or kulebra)

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Balkas o kulebra</i> (wound that can be found on parallel sides of the body)
Scientific name/s	1) – 2) – 3) Araceae family 4) Calcium hydroxide
Local name/s	1) Klabá 2) Kuneg 3) Tigabaléd 4) Apog
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	1) Mature leaf 2) Primary root 3) Mature leaf 4) Slaked lime
Preparation	1) Get 2 primary roots of kuneg (similar to ginger). Pound it and add a small amount of apog (slaked lime). 2) Collect 2-3 mature klabá leaves. Spread a small amount of coconut oil on it. Heat it near fire for 1-2 minutes then pound it. 3) Spread a small amount of coconut oil on tigabaléd leaves. Heat it near fire then pound it.
Direction for use	1) Apply kuneg roots on wound. 2) After 4 hours, replace kuneg with klabá poultice. 3) Apply tigabaléd after 4 hours of klabá poultice. Repeat process once a day until wound heals.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Culideg, Irene Prado (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 165. Wound (balkas or kulebra)

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Balkas</i> or <i>kulebra</i> (wound that can be found on parallel sides of the body)
Scientific name/s	<i>Dillenia philippinensis</i> Rolfe
Local name/s	Palago, palale
Common name/s	Katmon
Part/s used	Fruit
Preparation	Collect 2 pieces of palago fruit. Remove the first layer and obtain the inner part.
Direction for use	Mash the fruit and apply on affected area. Use a clean cloth as bandage to keep poultice in place from morning until noon. Replace the poultice. Keep this in place from noon to evening. Remove bandage before sleeping and repeat procedure the next day or until healed.
Additional information	Balkas or kulebra is a wound which goes through the body. For example, a person will have a wound on the left side of his chest, one will also be found on the back of the person, parallel to the wound in front. This kind of wound is said to cause a painful sting.
Informant/s (place and year)	Prado, Mary Jane Lisiday (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

ANIMAL PRODUCTS

Table 166. Asthma

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Mehapo</i> (asthma)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Bakokol
Common name/s	Pagong
Part/s used	Body (meat)
Preparation	Wash turtle meat in tap water before cooking. Grill the meat or cook any other way.
Direction for use	Eat all the meat with or without rice. The bakokol meat should be eaten regularly to be healed from asthma.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 167. Impotence

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Lakedén</i> or <i>binakokol</i> (impotence)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Buwaya
Common name/s	Buwaya
Part/s used	Bayag (testicle)
Preparation	Obtain 1 testicle of a crocodile. Roast or grill this. One may also cook the crocodile organ any other way.
Direction for use	If possible, eat the grilled testicle regularly.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 168. Prenatal care – to counter miscarriage caused by spirits

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Monda éwan ahobén na éwan maetan</i> (to counter miscarriage caused by spirits)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Munoy or mutit
Common name/s	Wildcat
Part/s used	Tail
Preparation	Obtain the tail of the munoy or mutit. Place it near fire to let it dry.
Direction for use	The pregnant woman must carry the tail wherever she goes especially in the afternoon and evening. She may pin it on her clothes or attach it to a necklace. One must always keep the tail dry. If it gets wet, the animal odor that masks the smell of the unborn baby will disappear.
Additional information	If the spirit smells the unborn child, it will try to get it, thus causing miscarriage. This precaution is done " <i>para hindi ahobén,</i> " so the child will not be noticed by the spirit.
Informant/s (place and year)	Estanes, Waynalín Tulio (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 169. Ulcer

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Onser</i> or <i>orsel</i> (ulcer)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Manok
Common name/s	Manok
Part/s used	Apdo (gall bladder)
Preparation	Obtain a gall bladder from a chicken. Hang this above the fire/cooking area (<i>abuhan</i>) until it dries. Do not drain the bile.
Direction for use	Cut the dried gall bladder into 2 pieces and eat it. If one can obtain a gall bladder each day for the treatment it would be better.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Prado, Windel; Francisco, Wisay Moral (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

NATURAL PRODUCTS

Table 170. Common cold

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>(Még sipon)</i> For common cold
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	Giyaw or pitukan
Common name/s	Pulot-pukyutan
Part/s used	Honey
Preparation	Obtain giyaw from a beehive in a hollow tree or pitukan from a hive hanging on a tree branch.
Direction for use	One may let children dip kamote in the honey.
Additional information	Do not let children eat honey by itself. Prepare a glass of water so children will not have difficulty swallowing it.
Informant/s (place and year)	Prado, Mary Jane Lisiday (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

Table 171. Mumps

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Taping</i> (mumps)
Scientific name/s	-
Local name/s	<i>Bile na akot-akot</i>
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	House of the akot-akot insect
Preparation	Gather the soil from two houses of the akot-akot insect. Pound the soil and mix with a small amount of vinegar until it becomes sticky.
Direction for use	Spread the mixture under the ear, on the upper part of the neck. Leave it in place until the soil naturally comes off the skin. Repeat the process 3 times a day until the mumps disappear.
Additional information	The insect “akot-akot” was named after its process of making houses, bringing soil in the roof or posts of houses. In Agta “akot” means to transfer.
Informant/s (place and year)	Moral, Loyda (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

AESTHETIC USE

Table 172. Hair dye

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Pangitetén kupad i buhuk</i> (hair dye)
Scientific name/s	<i>Diospyros blancoi</i>
Local name/s	Kamagong
Common name/s	-
Part/s used	Sap
Preparation	Gather about ½ cup of sap and add ¼ cup of water. Mix well before using.
Direction for use	Rub sap onto hair. Leave this on hair for one whole day and wash it off before sleeping.
Additional information	No known adverse effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Tanyet, Noel (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Aparentado MG, Portera EC (Dipontian, Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora 2010)

APPENDIX A. Indications recognized and corresponding plants used

	Indication	Description	Plants used	No. of plants
1.	Abdominal pain (<i>Mégdégés i gusok</i>)	Abdominal pain may occur if a person has consumed stale food or has eaten certain food that one is not used to eating. It may also be a result of eating too much food. The pain may also be due to <i>onser</i> (ulcer).	Baragengan Butag Buto-butonesan Dibago Gawéd Kalingag Kamahilan Lubigan Maskada/tabako Mekaseng Other product/s: Apog	10
2.	Abortifacient (<i>Agasén or még agas</i>)	Abortifacient is a concoction taken by a pregnant woman who wants to end her pregnancy. After taking this for a specific number of days, the woman will experience subsequent abdominal pain until bleeding occurs, this includes releasing solid pieces of blood. It is dangerous and can cause death if a pregnant woman does this without the guidance of a healer. According to some, it will take 5 days or more before abortion occurs.	Biget or lusoy (newly sprouted banana) Kabugaw Labtang Sintones Other product/s: Any liquor	4
3.	Acne/pimples (<i>Pénggéd</i>)	It is natural for young women and men to develop acne. This marks that they are entering puberty.	Tikél	1
4.	Anemia (<i>Mebaba i dige</i>)	A person can become anemic if one lacks nutrition. The body becomes weak and does not have the strength to work. The ancestors of the Agta taught them to eat the nutritious anaw pith to gain strength.	Anaw	1
5.	Anthelmintic (<i>Purga</i>)	It is natural for a person to have intestinal worms especially children. It is one of the hanip (germs/bacteria) in the body which take away the nutrition from the food we put inside our body.	Bugsang Talulong/tanagtag Tubling ligaw	3
6.	Appetite loss due to flatulence (<i>Mesumbal na mangan</i>)	A child can lose her/his appetite if she/he experiences flatulence. This can be due to heat emanating	Mahabénwang/ bénwang Coconut oil	2

		<p>from the ground. For example if the weather is very hot then it suddenly rains, heat from the wet ground enters the body and can cause abdominal pain.</p> <p>One should not sleep at night unclothed for it can also cause gas pain that leads to loss of appetite. It is a good sign if a child releases gas.</p>		
7.	Arthritis (<i>Rayoma</i> or <i>rayuma</i>)	When one is afflicted with arthritis, for example in the knees, the litid (ligaments) in the knees swell and pain is felt especially when it is cold.	Narra Tigabaléd Coconut oil	3
8.	Asthma (<i>Mehapo</i>)	The people do not know the reason why one is afflicted by <i>mehapo</i> . The person with this illness experiences difficulty breathing especially when tired.	Bangkodu	1
9.	Athlete's foot (<i>Dalipunga</i>)	Athlete's foot may be due to exposure to dirty water from streets or in the mountains. If afflicted with this infection one will experience itchiness on their feet and in between the toes.	Buton	1
10.	Barang wounds (<i>Barang</i>)	<p>Barang wounds are wounds brought about by witchcraft. <i>Barang</i> is a type of black magic in which the practitioner (<i>mambabarang</i>) orders her/his followers, which may be insects, to inflict illness on a person. The insect will land on the person's body and cause wounds to appear. This may even result to the person's death.</p> <p>For example, if one stole fruits from a neighbor's land without asking permission, the owner will afflict barang to punish the individual. If the transgressed party is very angry, the person may die of barang.</p> <p>The most effective cure for the wounds is for a healer to communicate with the <i>mambabarang</i>, the person who caused the illness. She/he will ask the <i>mambabarang</i> why she/he</p>	Abutra Butahek Butnol Kalingag	4

		afflicted illness on the person and what can be done to mend the situation.		
11.	<i>Bati, nayawyaw</i> or <i>natalon</i> (Illness caused by an unseen being)	<p>One may become ill if she/he has unknowingly harmed an unseen being. For example, one throws away water after washing plates. After a few hours one may suddenly get a fever for no reason.</p> <p>To avoid sickness caused by the unseen, one must remember to respectfully say 'tabi' which is a request to be excused when passing by areas identified as being inhabited by them. One must also ask permission from them when obtaining resources such as fish or fruits in their area. One should not be noisy and rowdy when passing through the forest so unseen spirits will not be disturbed.</p>	<p>Butag Dibago Gawéd Maskada/tabako</p> <p>Other product/s: Apog</p>	4
12.	Beri-beri	The people do know the cause of beri-beri only that the body suddenly weakens and some die because of this illness.	Hikaw-hikawan	1
13.	Bite wound from animal (<i>Kinaget na hayup</i>)	<p>Example of animals that have venomous bites are <i>kahame</i> (centipede), <i>ipél</i> (type of poisonous snake), and <i>kenepes</i> (scorpion). Dog bites (rabies) and stings of rays are also considered harmful. They also treat wounds caused by <i>talungég</i>, a species of fish with poisonous thorn on its fins (Headland and Headland, 1974).</p> <p>These poisonous bite wounds are more painful than cuts due to a blade. One may feel a severe sting.</p> <p>The Agta also treat bite wounds from domesticated pigs.</p>	<p>Bisahaw Cover crop Damong pailaya Pakpak lawin Sante-sante Takép-takép Coconut oil</p>	7
14.	Body aches caused by witchcraft (<i>Tédak, inilowan</i> or <i>kulam</i>)	<i>Tédak</i> is a type of witchcraft wherein a practitioner of black magic inflicts body aches on a person. Aches may be inflicted to punish a person who has unpaid debt.	Pinakunawan	1

		<p>A ritual is done to achieve retribution. <i>Tédak</i> means to pierce with a pin. The practitioner uses a needle to puncture a doll. The part that is pierced is where the victim will feel pain. The ache will subside if the needle is removed from the doll.</p> <p>The most effective cure for the body aches is for a healer to communicate with the person who caused the aches. The healer will ask the person why she/he has afflicted an illness and what can be done to mend the situation. This will not always be effective, situations may vary.</p>		
15.	Body/underarm odor (<i>Mé amores</i> or <i>alipep</i>)	A person may get body odor if she/he seldom bathes or seldom keeps the body clean. Those who come home from a day's work under the sun and do not wash up have a bad smell. One's <i>amores</i> or <i>alipep</i> is especially evident when one sweats.	Adungalép	1
16.	Body wash (<i>Sabun para ta bégi</i>)	The ancestors of the Agta used kurombot as soap. However it is not being practiced anymore since the people now buy soap from stores.	Kurombot	1
17.	Boil (<i>Busale</i>)	<p>Boils just suddenly appear in the body. At first it may be small like a pimple but after some time it becomes larger and painful. There may be redness around the infection and also an eye in the middle. It is painful while it has not yet erupted or if the pus is not yet drained.</p> <p>The healers suggest that at the first sign of a boil, one must already squeeze the slight swelling in the skin so that the boil does not continue.</p> <p>Sometimes the Agta use a bottle of gin to drain out the pus. The mouth of the bottle is placed right on top of the eye of the boil and one will sit on the bottle to induce the draining. Another method</p>	<p>Gumamela Panangisan Tigabaléd Coconut oil</p> <p>Other product/s: Apog</p>	4

		would be for another person to push the bottle on the boil of the person.		
18.	Burn (<i>Pasi</i>)	A burn is damage to the skin that may be caused by contact with the flame of a candle or a larger fire. One may experience stinging pain and the affected part may become a blister.	Silangan Coconut oil	2
19.	Child delivery, lack of bleeding during (<i>Taénén</i>)	After giving birth, bleeding occurs so that unclean blood is released from the body of the mother. This unclean blood can cause abdominal pain and even death if it is not removed from the body.	Bégnét Bilante Guheb	3
20.	Chills due to high fever (<i>Kolikog or karambre</i>)	The body experiences chills or shivering when one has severe fever or malaria. One must not take a bath immediately after feeling better to avoid a relapse of fever.	Kalabasa Coconut oil	2
21.	Circumcision (<i>Binugit/bugit</i>)	<p>Circumcision is a procedure done to boys which marks their foray into being young men.</p> <p>The individual must first soak himself in sea water so that his skin is soft when it is being cut. The Agta have two methods of circumcision, one is using half of a coconut shell. A hole is made in the middle and the head of the penis is inserted there. The second is using a fork like branch/wood. The skin of the penis is placed in the said wood. It is then hit using a razor or sharp knife.</p> <p>The male sexual organ is a sensitive part of the body, the wound must always be kept clean to avoid infection.</p> <p>According to Headland and Headland (1974), Agta boys are circumcised after they reach puberty. The circumcision is done by making a single cut across the top of the foreskin, leaving the foreskin to hang loose.</p>	Bayabas Niyog	2
22.	Common cold (<i>Még sipon</i>)	A person must not go outside at night to avoid the cold night air.	Gawéd	1

		One gets a cold if she/he gets soaked from rain or is exposed to the cold night air. One may experience difficulty breathing, itchy throat, and cough.		
23.	Cough (<i>Ikéh</i>)	Getting wet from rain may cause cough. If one gets cold from getting soaked, a person may also experience throat itch and nasal discharge. The child must not go outside at night to avoid the cold night air. Drinking too much saet/tinik strong decoction (for sterilization) can also cause a cough.	Gawéd Payokpok Sambong Sintones Tsa Coconut oil	6
24.	Cough (severe) (<i>Még iikehén</i>)	Common cough is caught when one has colds but severe cough may be due to other illnesses. This type of cough already causes the person to cry.	Lagundi Sintones	2
25.	Dandruff/shampoo (<i>Sabun para ta buhuk, pwede be ta balakubak</i>)	The ancestors of the Agta used kurombot as hair wash/shampoo. However it is not being practiced anymore since the people now buy shampoo from stores.	Kurombot	1
26.	Dental cavities (<i>Bukbuk i ngipén</i>)	One may get cavities due to poor care or teeth hygiene.	Saet	1
27.	Diabetes (<i>Diyabetis</i>)	One can get diabetes by eating too much sweet food. A person with this illness experiences that it takes a long time before her/his wounds heal.	Kamyas	1
28.	Diarrhea (<i>Mégbubulusén, mégbulus or még éttay-éttay</i>)	A person experiences stomachache and loose bowel when she/he has diarrhea. One may be afflicted with this due to what one has eaten, if her/his stomach cannot take the food or one is not used to the food. One may also get diarrhea if the food eaten was stale or not cooked well.	Ipel Tahid labuyo Tanagtag Tayakét	4
29.	Diarrhea with vomiting and stomachache (<i>Ertol</i>)	A person may be afflicted with this due to what one has eaten, if her/his stomach cannot take the food or one is not used to the food. One may also experience this if the food eaten was not cooked well. A person afflicted by ertol experiences diarrhea, vomiting,	Bihot-bihot Kadel Tulang	3

		and stomachache. One must avoid eating uncooked food such as kilaw/kinilaw (food only soaked in vinegar and not heated) especially fresh fish or meat.		
30.	Dysentery (<i>Még éttay ta díge</i>)	This happens if one defecates a large and stiff stool (<i>még tébél</i>). The area where the stool passes through is grazed. One will have difficulty defecating and the stool will have blood streaks/stain.	Narra	1
31.	Dysmenorrhea (<i>Sinibigan</i>)	The Agta cannot explain why one gets dysmenorrhea. What they know is one feels pain in the abdomen.	Labtang	1
32.	Dyspepsia (<i>Empadso or naéleban</i>)	One may get dyspepsia if she/he is not able to digest the food she/he ate, for example if one ate too much meat. One will feel heaviness in the stomach and also pain and difficulty in belch/burping.	Suub-kabayo Sintones Coconut oil	3
33.	Earache (<i>Mesaket i béngbéng</i>)	This may be due to a cold or caused by a pimple inside the ear.	Dayap Coconut oil	2
34.	Ear, Clogged due to colds (<i>Béngsol</i>)	Clogged ears occur if one has a cold. The mucus does not only congest the nose but also the ears. One will also have difficulty hearing. If one ear is clogged and is not treated, the other ear will also become clogged.	Katakataka Coconut oil	2
35.	Edema (<i>Manas</i>)	Abnormal swelling of the body. Pregnant women are the ones who usually get edema especially if they lack exercise. They say that this usually happens to non-Agta. The Agta are always walking so they rarely get edema.	Lagundi Coconut oil	2
36.	Eyes, Sore (<i>Bulegleg</i>)	This infection is due to germs/bacteria. The eyes will get red, watery, and one will also have difficulty opening the eyes when one wakes up in the morning. One must avoid smoke coming from vehicles, kitchen and other things that cause eye irritation and may lead to a severe infection.	Bikal Buto-butonesan	2
37.	Fertility, to increase (<i>Monda mégbuktet o mégenak</i>)	This is used by couples who cannot bear a child. For example, they have been together for eight years but the wife has not gotten pregnant.	Bunutan Guheb Labtang Maseset Péíwat	5
38.	Fever (<i>Ladu</i>)	There are many reasons why one gets sick with fever, this may be	Balag-balag Narra	4

		<p>due to pasma, unseen beings, getting wet from the rain, pilay, or many other factors. One will feel: weak, her/his entire body is hot, headache, and there is also loss of appetite.</p> <p>When one has a fever, the child must not go outside at night to avoid the cold night air.</p>	<p>Sambong Sintones</p> <p>Other product/s: Kerosene Salt</p>	
39.	Fever with cold and cough (<i>Ladu, mégikéh sakay sipon</i>)	If a person is soaked from the rain, one may get cold and cough and this will lead to a fever. One may also experience headache and difficulty breathing.	Amarilyo Coconut oil	2
40.	Flatulence (<i>Léduḍ</i>)	One gets this due to the heat emanating from the ground. For example, the weather is hot due to strong sun's ray then it suddenly rains. When the ground is soaked, the heat will rise. This heat that enters the body will cause stomachache and flatulence.	Bangkodu Bihot-bihot Dusol Kamahilan Lubigan Silangan Coconut oil	7
41.	Flu (<i>Tarangkasu</i>)	One may get flu because of the rapid changes in the weather and bad wind blowing from the ocean. A person who has the flu may experience fever, loss of appetite, and chills during the afternoon.	Narra	1
42.	Food poisoning - vomiting caused by eating spoiled food (<i>Még ota na nakakan ng me amag</i>)	Vomiting due to food poisoning is caused by eating spoiled food.	Mekaseng	1
43.	Goiter	The Agta cannot explain why one gets goiter. They describe it as swelling on either side of the neck and loss of weight.	Arusep	1
44.	Headache (<i>Mégdégés i uló</i>)	One may get a headache while working outside, when the sun's rays are strong then it rains and one gets when. One can also have a headache if she/he has a cold.	Balag-balag Bisag Narra Puyéng Coconut oil	5
45.	High blood pressure/hypertension (<i>Metaas i díge</i>)	The Agta cannot explain the exact cause of high blood pressure. They say it may be because the type of food one consumes is not balanced and that one lacks exercise. One who has high blood pressure experiences dizziness. This illness can result to death. Sintones (kalamansi) and other	Suub-kabayo Sintones	2

		sour fruits are also good for high blood pressure. Healthy food and daily exercise is also important to avoid hypertension.		
46.	<i>Inunga</i> (An illness wherein the child grows unhealthy, the body becomes thin, and head swells)	An illness wherein the child grows unhealthy, the body becomes thin and head swells. This illness is said to be caused by the <i>bulayo</i> (owl). If a child cries at night and the <i>bulayo</i> hears this and is able to imitate the cry, the child will get sick. The child will not feel any pain but changes will be seen in the body. Once the child is cured, the body will return to normal.	Unga Leaves from a bulayo (owl) nest Other product/s: Suob/charcoal	2
47.	Itch (<i>Isél</i> or <i>asél</i>)	A person who is always in the fields and frequently gets her/his feet wet may get this itch. One will feel itch on the feet, including in between the toes. This itch is also caused by puddles with carabao urine. Dirty puddles must be avoided for it can infect open wounds.	Abigan Karugtong ahas Other product/s: Apog	2
48.	Joint pain	-	Bisag	1
49.	Kidney stones (<i>Saket i bito</i> or <i>tinalépét</i>)	One may get kidney stone because of the food she/he eats, especially those that we cannot digest. This gets in the way of the body parts connected to urinating.	Baston Kamatsile Kugon Mais Mamanglat Narra	6
50.	Labor time, To shorten (<i>Mebilis na méggésok</i>)	This is done to a mother who will soon give birth. When one feels pain, it is a sign that it will happen soon and the treatment/therapy should already be done. This will hasten the labor of the woman, instead of, for example 10 hours of labor, it will only take 3 hours.	Biget or lusoy (newly sprouted banana plant - any variety) Mahoknég Paminta Sablót Other product/s: Egg	4
51.	Malaria	This is described as having fever and experiencing chills. There is malaria in some parts of Casiguran.	Tayakét	1
52.	Measles (<i>Tipdas</i>)	One may get measles if she/he is infected by another person who has the illness. One can just talk to a person in close proximity and get measles. Swollen and itchy rashes may appear and one will	Abo No. 1 Kulantro Tantalikod	3

		also become feverish..		
53.	Menstrual irregularity (<i>Monda dire-diretso buhus na pégdige</i>)	The Agta cannot explain why there is menstrual irregularity. It is described as having a monthly period but in very small amounts and the period ends immediately.	Maseset Labtang	2
54.	Mouth/oral sore of a baby (<i>Samad</i>)	Samad is a small sore with pus in the gums of the child. A mother should not breastfeed if she is tired from work especially under the heat of the sun. The baby will get mouth sores because of heat from the mother's tired body.	Dayap Narra Silangan	3
55.	Mumps (<i>Taping</i>)	The heat of the body is the origin of the illness. For example, one has not bathed for several days already. The internal part of the ear will ache and one may also get feverish.	Butag	1
56.	Nasal congestion, New born child having difficulty breathing due to (<i>Sahu</i>)	A newborn child may become afflicted with <i>sahu</i> if she/he is brought out in the late afternoon or in the evening and is exposed to cold night air.	Payaw-payaw	1
57.	Otitis media or <i>luga</i> (<i>Tagenga</i>)	The reason for <i>luga</i> is, for example, one tries to get something inside the ear and this resulted to a wound. If the wound is not treated, an infection will follow and will cause the bad odor coming from the ear.	Maria Coconut oil	2
58.	Pasma	Pasma is described as experiencing fever, chills, and headache brought about by getting wet (through bathing or getting caught in the rain) while tired from a day's work under the sun. One must avoid bathing after coming home tired from work or after being exposed to the heat of sun for a long period. One should rest first before taking a bath to avoid pasma. One must not take a bath until one has fully recovered from the illness.	Bisag Narra Niyog (coconut water) Santol Tanlad Other product/s: Vinegar	5
59.	Poison, Ingestion of (<i>Minalasun</i> or <i>nakakan i lasun</i>)	One example of ingesting poison is, for example, a child plays with a bottle of Clorox and accidentally drinks it. The child will experience stomachache and severe	Pinya	1

		vomiting. This may lead to death if the child's body will not be able to take the poison.		
60.	Post-partum bleeding, Excessive (<i>Kinalkatan</i>)	A mother who has just given birth may be experiencing post-partum illness that is why she is still bleeding. She will feel abdominal pain and bleeding even though it has been several days since she gave birth.	Putat	1
61.	Post-partum illness (<i>Séhéyo</i>)	<p>A woman may become afflicted with <i>séhéyo</i> if she comes in contact with cold water immediately after giving birth. This can be through holding or drinking a glass of cold water, bathing, getting wet from the rain, or going out of the house in the late afternoon or evening and being exposed to the cold evening mist. A woman affected by <i>séhéyo</i> experiences constant coughing, abdominal pain, headache, chills, frequent fever, loss of appetite and loss of weight.</p> <p>Mothers who have just given birth must stay inside the house for 2 to 3 weeks to avoid getting <i>séhéyo</i>. They must also avoid getting wet from the rain.</p> <p>A mother who has just given birth should drink this so that <i>lamig</i> or the cold air will not enter her body when she washes clothes or dishes.</p> <p>The mother may consult a doctor regarding her coughing but the health practitioner may not see anything wrong with her.</p>	<p>Bégnét Bilante Bulak Bunután Dusol Kamantige Labtang Maseset Palatidug Pélwat Coconut oil</p> <p>Other product/s: Liquor (gin or sioktong)</p>	11
62.	Prenatal care - to counter miscarriage caused by the unseen (<i>Monda éwan ahobén na éwan maetan</i>)	Once an unseen spirit smells the unborn child, it will try to get it, thus causing miscarriage. This precaution is done " <i>para hindi ahobén,</i> " so the spirit will not be able to smell the child. If the unseen spirit smells the unborn child, it will try to get it, thus causing miscarriage. This precaution is done " <i>para hindi ahuban,</i> " so the child will not be	Bawang Matang udeng	2

		noticed by the spirit. If the spirit smells the child, the stomach of the pregnant woman will always be stiff and painful.		
63.	Puncture injury, Sea urchin	-	Sablét	1
64.	Ringworm (<i>Buneng manok</i>)	Germs/bacteria cause ringworm. This may appear in any part of the body. Itchy circular marks appear. These may become bigger if the illness is not treated immediately. One should not eat crab, shrimp, fish and other seafood while undergoing treatment.	Baya-bayabasan	1
65.	Scabies (<i>Gales</i>)	Germs/bacteria cause scabies. They also believe that other people can cause this. For example, one has a grudge on another person, so you will afflict this illness on the person. (See number 66) One will experience itches on the feet which may lead to wounds because of severe scratching. In the first sign of a rash due to scabies, avoid eating 'fishy' food. Prior to treatment, the patient is advised to take a dip in the sea so the rash may dry quickly.	Tikél Other products: Apog	1
66.	Scabies of a newly widowed person (<i>Gales</i>)	If a person throws an object (such as clothes or apog container) to newly widowed person, the latter shall be afflicted with scabies. This is intentionally done by a person with a grudge on the latter. To counter this, one must be able to catch the object being thrown and then throw it back to the person who did this.	Balo-balohan	1
67.	Small pox (<i>Bulutong</i>)	One gets this illness because of the heat of the body or if another person infects her/him with the said illness. Small wounds will appear in the entire body. One may also become feverish.	Tuba	1
68.	Sterilization/infertility (<i>Monda éwan ka dén mégenak o mégbuktet</i>)	This concoction is used by couples who want to control how many children they will have. For example, a couple already has 5 children and they do not want to	Abutra Dusol Guheb Palatidug Pudas	6

		have more. This treatment will dry up the eggs of the woman thus she will not be capable of getting pregnant.	Saet/tinik Other products: Any liquor, e.g. gin Apog	
69.	Sting of jellyfish	One must apply sintones when one's body comes in contact and is stung by a jellyfish.	Sintones	1
70.	<i>Subi-subí</i> or <i>taun</i> (months old baby experiencing stomachache/ flatulence and chills)	The months old baby may become afflicted with this illness if the mother is always exposed to the cold and heat while pregnant. For example while washing clothes, her feet are always soaked in the river's water, then her upper body is warm because of the sun's rays. This may result to her child getting the illness after one is born. When the child cries, her/his skin turns into a dark shade, she/he will not stop crying, and her/his body growth/development is slow. The child is afflicted with <i>subi-subí</i> if her/his palms and soles of feet are yellow. If it is a dark color, the child is afflicted with <i>taun</i> .	Amarilyo Hikaw-hikawan Dusol Lubigan Payokpok Tantalikod Coconut oil	7
71.	Swollen spleen (<i>Binumige i pile</i>)	A person's spleen will become swollen if she/he drinks alcohol with an empty stomach and if she/he smokes cigarettes. Aside from the spleen, other organs of the body will be affected with this kind of lifestyle. One will feel abdominal pain because of the swollen spleen.	Mahabénwang/ bénwang	1
72.	Teeth cleaning (<i>Pég is-is ta ngipén</i>)	This plant was used by the Agta ancestors to remove teeth stains because of betel quid chewing. It is rarely used nowadays.	Lase-lase	1
73.	Throat itch due to colds (<i>Még katél tu bukho</i>)	The throat may become itchy due to a cold.	Gawéd Sintones	2
74.	Tinea versicolor or <i>an-an</i> (<i>Panaw</i>)	This is an infection in the skin. One may have been infected by someone who has the skin condition. White spots may appear on the skin and can be itchy at times. This can spread to the whole body if it is not treated immediately.	Uséd	1
75.	Tonsilitis (<i>Tonsil</i>)	Germs/bacteria are the cause of the swelling of the throat. One will have difficulty eating because pain will be felt when swallowing food.	Kibit	1

76.	Toothache (<i>Mégdégés i ngipén</i>)	Teeth may ache if there is cavity due to poor care or teeth hygiene.	Amorseko Mégapa Pangden Other products: Salt	3
77.	Ulcer (<i>Onser or orsel</i>)	One may get ulcer of the person always drinks liquor with an empty stomach or when one skips meals. The person will experience abdominal pain because of the ulcer. One should always eat on time while undergoing treatment. One should also avoid smoking and drinking liquor.	Buto-butonesan Narra Sablang	3
78.	Umbilical cord care – newly cut umbilical cord (<i>Pinusédan or minaputa a puséd</i>)	After a mother gives birth, the birth attendant gets a sharp piece of bamboo bark. She/he will heat it over fire before using it to cut the umbilical cord. A. After it is cut, one will get a 1/8 size piece of paper, making a hole in the middle. The paper is placed on the stomach of the child, wherein what is left of the cord protrudes from the hole of the paper. Ashes will then be applied on the cord. This should be done for a week until the remaining umbilical cord is removed. Once removed, coconut shell shavings are applied on the stump until it heals and dries up. B. When the cord is cut, obtain 2 pieces of gawéd leaves. Heat it over fire, and make a hole on the middle of one of the leaves. The leaf is placed on the stomach of the child, wherein what is left of the cord protrudes from the hole of the leaf. Ashes will then be applied on the cord. The other leaf will be placed on top of the stump to cover the first leaf placed on the stomach. Tie a cloth around the stomach so that the leaves will stay in place. This should be done for a week until the remaining umbilical cord is removed. Once	Gawéd Kawayan Niyog Other products: Alcohol (disinfectant)	3

		removed, coconut shell shavings are applied on the stump until it heals and dries up.		
79.	Vomiting blood (<i>Dugal</i>)	Frequent carrying of heavy objects (such as a 70-80 kilo sack of kopra) can cause vomiting of blood. Some carry load which are heavier than their own weight.	Anggu Melmel	2
80.	Wound (<i>Talingo</i>)	Wounds can be caused by many things. One may have stepped on or slipped on a rock by the sea with oyster shells stuck on it, or one can get cut by her/his own sundang (bolo) while working in the forest. If it is a deep or large wound, it will be painful, especially in cold days.	Bayabas Butnol (found near homes) Butnol (from forest) Butnol tigre Covercrop Damong pailaya Épma Kalibutbut lucena Mesanike Nahotngot Coconut oil Other products: Salt	11
81.	Wound that can be found on parallel sides of the body (<i>Balkas</i> or <i>kulebra</i>)	Balkas or kulebra is a wound which goes through the body. For example, a person will have a wound on the left side of his chest, one will also be found on the back of the person, parallel to the wound in front. This kind of wound is said to cause a painful sting.	Klaba Kuneg Palago Tigabaléd Coconut oil Other products: Apog	5

ANIMAL PRODUCT

1.	Asthma (<i>Mehapo</i>)	Refer to explanation in number 8, asthma.	Bakokol (turtle)	1
2.	Impotence (<i>Lakedén</i> or <i>binakokol</i>)	There may be two reasons as why a man has no sexual urge, one may be that the man is already old (<i>lakedén</i>). The second may be that he is <i>binakokol</i> , like a turtle hiding in the shell when one sees a person, he has an erectile problem.	Buwaya (crocodile)	1
3.	Labor time, To shorten (<i>Mebilis na méggésok</i>)	Refer to explanation in number 50, to shorten labor time.	Bunay (egg)	1
4.	Prenatal care - to counter miscarriage caused by the unseen (<i>Monda éwan ahobén na éwan maetan</i>)	Refer to explanation in number 62, prenatal care.	Munoy or mutit (wildcat)	1

5.	<i>Subi-subí or taun</i> (months old baby experiencing stomachache/flatulence and chills)	Refer to explanation in number 70, subi-subí or taun.	Buhog – apdo (monkey bladder)	1
6.	Ulcer (<i>Onser or orsel</i>)	Refer to explanation in number 77, ulcer.	Manok – apdo (chicken bladder)	1

NATURAL PRODUCT

1.	Mumps (<i>Taping</i>)	Refer to explanation in number 55, mumps.	House of akot-akot insect made of soil	1
2.	Common cold (<i>Még sipon</i>)	Refer to explanation in number 22, common cold.	Pitukan or giyaw (Honey)	1

*Other natural products used are apog (slaked lime), suob (charcoal), vinegar, and salt

AESTHETIC USE

1.	Hair dye (<i>Pangitetén kupad i buhuk</i>)		Kamagong	1
----	---	--	----------	---

*Liquor (gin, sioktong Chinese medicine wine), rubbing alcohol, and kerosene are also used

APPENDIX B.

List of medicinal plants used by the Agta of Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Abigan | 47. Kadel |
| 2. Abo No. 1 | 48. Kalabasa |
| 3. Abutra | 49. Kalibutbut lucena |
| 4. Adungalép | 50. Kalingag |
| 5. Amarilyo | 51. Kamagong |
| 6. Amorseko | 52. Kamahilan |
| 7. Anaw | 53. Kamantige |
| 8. Anggu | 54. Kamatsile |
| 9. Arusep | 55. Kamyas |
| 10. Balag-balag | 56. Karugtong ahas |
| 11. Balo-balohan | 57. Katakataka |
| 12. Bangkodu | 58. Kawayan |
| 13. Baragengan | 59. Kibit |
| 14. Baston | 60. Klabá |
| 15. Bawang | 61. Kugon |
| 16. Bayabas | 62. Kulantro |
| 17. Baya-bayabasan | 63. Kuneg |
| 18. Bégnét | 64. Kurombot |
| 19. Biget or lusoy | 65. Labtang |
| 20. Bihot-bihot | 66. Lagundi |
| 21. Bikal | 67. Lase-lase |
| 22. Bilante | 68. Lubigan |
| 23. Bisag | 69. Mahabénwang/ bénwang |
| 24. Bisahaw | 70. Mahoknég |
| 25. Bugsang | 71. Mais |
| 26. Bulak | 72. Mamanglat |
| 27. Bunutan | 73. Maria |
| 28. Butag | 74. Maseset |
| 29. Butahek | 75. Maskada/tabako |
| 30. Butnol (found near homes) | 76. Matang udeng |
| 31. Butnol (from forest) | 77. Mekaseng |
| 32. Butnol tigre | 78. Melmel |
| 33. Buto-butonesan | 79. Mesanike |
| 34. Buton | 80. Mégapa |
| 35. Cover crop | 81. Nahotngot |
| 36. Damong pailaya | 82. Narra |
| 37. Dayap | 83. Niyog |
| 38. Dibago | 84. Pakpak lawin |
| 39. Dusol | 85. Palago |
| 40. Épma | 86. Palatidug |
| 41. Gawéd | 87. Paminta |
| 42. Guheb | 88. Panangisan |
| 43. Gumamela | 89. Pangden |
| 44. Hikaw-hikawan | 90. Payokpok |
| 45. Ipel | 91. Pélwat |
| 46. Kabugaw | 92. Pinakunawan |

- | | |
|-------------------|--|
| 93. Pinya | 108. Takép-takép |
| 94. Pudas | 109. Talulong/tanagtag |
| 95. Putat | 110. Tanlad |
| 96. Puyéng | 111. Tantalikod |
| 97. Sablang | 112. Tayakét |
| 98. Sablét | 113. Tigabaléd |
| 99. Sablot | 114. Tikél |
| 100. Saet/tinik | 115. Tsa |
| 101. Sambong | 116. Tuba |
| 102. Sante-sante | 117. Tubling ligaw |
| 103. Santol | 118. Tulang |
| 104. Silangan | 119. Unga |
| 105. Sintones | 120. Uséd |
| 106. Suub-kabayo | 121. Unidentified - leaves from a bulayo
(owl) nest |
| 107. Tahid labuyo | |

APPENDIX C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aurora Pacific Eco Zone Official Website. Top ten reasons to invest in our ecozone. *Aurora Pacific Eco Zone*. Retrieved from: http://www.aurorapacific.com.ph/sub_page.php?s_page=Top%2010%20reasons%20to%20invest%20in%20our%20EcoZone.
- Barcelona, Noel. 2010 Agosto 21. Fisherfolks ask congress to repeal Aurora Eco-zone law. *CBCP News*. Retrieved from: <http://www.cbcnews.com/?q=node/12767>.
- Benaning, Marvyn. 2010 Oktubre 23. Alliance of farmers opposing special economic zone in Aurora. *Manila Bulletin*. Retrieved from: <http://www.mb.com.ph/node/283748/alliance-farmer>.
- Bennagen, Ponciano. 1985. Indigenous Learning System Among the Kankanaey. *INNOTECH JOURNAL*. Vol. IX No. 1 / January-June 1985.
- Cahiles-Magkilat, Bernie. 2009 Hulyo 23. Aurora Special Economic Zone to start operation next year. *Manila Bulletin*. Retrieved from: <http://www.mb.com.ph/articles/210754/aurora-special-economic-zone-start-operation-next-year>.
- Casiguran-Municipal Planning and Development Office. Socio Economic Profile of 2007. Municipality of Casiguran, Aurora. 2007.
- Early, John D., and Thomas N. Headland. 1998. Population Dynamics of a Philippine Rain Forest People: The San Ildefonso Agta. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- Galvez, James Konstantin. 2010 Agosto 2010. Industrial Development in Casiguran opposed. *The Manila Times*. Retrieved from: <http://www.manilatimes.net/index.php/news/regions/24074-industrial-development-in-casiguran-opposed>.
- Goodenough, Ward H. 1963. *Cooperation in change*. New York: Russel Sage Foundation.
- Headland, Thomas N. Excerpted by Fred Cabuang. 2007 Setyembre 2. Negrito (Agta) languages' descent into extinction. *The Manila Times*.
- Headland, Thomas N. 2010. *Letrato Na Agta: Agta a Tolay a Mégiyan ta Probinsiya na Au-rora*. Manila: SIL Philippines. (Co-compilers Janet Headland and Ray Uehara).
- Headland, Thomas N. 2007. *Prairie Voices*.
- Headland, Thomas N. 2004. Basketballs for Bows & Arrows: Deforestation and Agta Culture Change. An invited piece for *Cultural Survival Quarterly*. 28(2):41-44, June. <http://www.cs.org/publications/csq>.
- Headland, Thomas N. 2003. Thirty Endangered Languages in the Philippines. *Work Papers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, University of North Dakota Session*, vol. 47. Online <http://www.und.nodak.edu/dept/linguistics/wp/2003.htm>.
- Headland, Thomas N. 2002. Tropical Deforestation and Culture Change among the Agtas of the Sierra Madre, Eastern Luzon: A Photographic Depiction. In *What Place for Hunter-Gatherers in Millennium Three?* T. Headland and D. Blood, eds. Pp. 59-76. Dallas: SIL International and International Museum of Cultures, Publications in Ethnography 39.

Headland, Thomas N. 1999. Managing the Natural Resources of the Sierra Madre: What is the role of the Agta? *In*: Co-Managing the Environment: The Natural Resources of the Sierra Madre Mountain Range. Edited by Eileen C. Bernardo and Denyse J. Snelder. Leiden: CVPED, Leiden University, and Isabela State University, Philippines. Pp. 67-75.

Headland, Thomas N. 1988b. "Why Foragers Do Not Become Farmers: The Competitive Exclusion Principle and the Persistence of the Professional Primitive." Paper presented at the 12th International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Zagreb, Yugoslavia, July 24-31.

Headland, Thomas N. 1988a. Ecosystemic Change in a Philippine Tropical Rain Forest and Its Effect on a Negrito Foraging Society. *Tropical Ecology* 29(2):121-135.

Headland, Thomas N. 1987. Negrito Religions: Negritos of the Philippine Islands. *In* The Encyclopedia of Religion, Vol 10. Pp. 348-349. Mircea Eliade, ed. New York: Macmillan.

Headland, Thomas N. 1985. "Imposed Values and Aid Rejection Among Casiguran Agta" & The Agta of Northeastern Luzon: Recent Studies. P. Bion Griffin and A. Estioko-Griffin, eds. Pp. 102-118. Cebu City: University of San Carlos.

Headland, Thomas N. 1984. Agta Negritos of the Philippines. An invited piece for *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 8(3):29-31. Online at <http://www.cs.org/publications/Csq/csq-article.cfm?id=233>.

Headland, Thomas N. 1978. Cultural Ecology, Ethnicity and the Negritos of Northeastern Luzon. A Review Article. *Asian Perspectives* 21:127-139.

Headland, Thomas N. 1975. The Casiguran Dumagats Today and in 1936. *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 3. 245-257.

Headland, Thomas N., and Janet D. Headland. 1974. A Dumagat (Casiguran)—English Dictionary. Canberra: Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University.

Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act of 1997. Republic Act 8371.

Lewis, M. Paul (ed.), 2009. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Sixteenth edition. Dallas, Tex.: SIL International. Online version: <http://www.ethnologue.com/>.

National Commission on Indigenous Peoples, Census 2010.

National Statistics Office. 2007 Census of Population. National Statistics Office, Republic of the Philippines Website. Retrieved: <http://www.census.gov.ph/data/census2007/index.html>.

Philippine Atmospheric, Geophysical and Astronomical Services Administration (PAGASA). *Ulat ukol sa Casiguran sa mga taong 1971-2000*.

Philippine Daily Inquirer. 2005 August 26. DENR allows resumption of Aurora logging. *Philippine Daily Inquirer*. Retrieved from: <http://batangbaler.net/deja-vu/>
<http://www.accessmylibrary.com/article-1G1-135532080/denr-allows-resumption-aurora.html>
http://news.ing7.net/regions/index.php?index=1&story_id=48066

Posey and Dutfield. 1996. *Beyond Intellectual Property: Toward Traditional Resource Rights for Indigenous Peoples and Local Communities*.

Reid, Lawrence A. 1987. The Early Switch Hypothesis: Linguistic Evidence for Contact Between Negritos and Austronesians. *Man and Culture in Oceania* 3 (Special Issue):41-59.

UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues. 2009. *State of the world's indigenous peoples*. New York: United Nations. p. 142. ISBN 978-92-1-130283-7.

Vanoverbergh, Morice. 1937-38. Negritos of Eastern Luzon. *Anthropos* 32:905-928; 33:119-164.

APPENDIX D.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PHILIPPINE ETHNOBOTANICAL, ETHNOPHARMACOLOGICAL, AND ETHNOMEDICAL STUDIES

(As mentioned in the significance of the study)

Abaya EC. *Grappling with life in a new place: The Pinatubo Ayta in Loob Bunga Resettlement, Botolan, Zambales*. Manila: National Commission for Culture and the Arts; 2003

Abaya EC. *Cultural politics of disease control: state-community relations in the struggles against malaria in the Philippines*. University of Michigan; 1994.

Fox RB. The Pinatubo Negritos: their useful plants and material culture. *The Philippine Journal of Science*, Vol. 81 (3-4):173-414; 1952.

Jocano FL. *Folk medicine in a Philippine municipality*. Manila: National Museum; 1973.

Lacdan NF, Sia IC, Limpin J, et al. *Ethnomedical documentation of selected Philippine ethnolinguistic groups: the Alangan Mangyan people of Mindoro Island, Philippines*. UPM-NIH 2002.

Madulid DA, Gaerlan FJM. *A bibliography on Philippine ethnobotany, ethnopharmacology, and related subjects*. Manila: National Museum; 1994.

Madulid DA, Gaerlan FJM, Romero EM, Agoo EMG. *Ethnopharmacological study of the Ati Tribe in Nagpana, Barotac Viejo, Iloilo*. *Acta Manilana* 1990; 38; 25-40.

Maramba NPC. *Medicinal plants in the Philippines*. In: Tomlinson TR, Olayiwola A, editors. *Medicinal plants: their role in health and biodiversity*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press; 1998.

Maramba NPC and Dayrit C. *Administrative and Management Aspects*. In: *Selection and scientific validation of medicinal plants for primary health care Technical report series no. 12* Philippine Council for Health Research and Development; 1991.

Palaganas EC, Sia IC. *Ethnomedical documentation of selected Philippine ethnolinguistic groups: the Tingguian people of Abra, Philippines*. UP-CIDS 2000.

Rubite R, Sia IC, Ylagan R. *Ethnomedical documentation of selected Philippine ethnolinguistic groups: the Tadyawan Mangyan people of Mindoro island, Philippines*. UPM-NIH 2001.

Sia IC, Bagunu F, Bernardo AM, et al. *Ethnomedical documentation of selected Philippine ethnolinguistic groups: the Sumadel Kalinga people of Tinglayan, Kalinga, Philippines*. DOH-PITAHC 2000.

Sia IC, de Costo C, Bernardo AM, et al. *Ethnomedical documentation of selected Philippine ethnolinguistic groups: the Busaos Kankana-ey people of Besao, Mountain Province, Philippines*. DOH-PITAHC 2000.

Sia IC, Finuliar VG, Israel LV, et al. *Ethnomedical documentation of selected Philippine ethnolinguistic groups: the Ifugao people of Banaue, Ifugao, Philippines*. DOH-PITAHC 2000.

Sia IC, Geraldino J, Israel LV, et al. Ethnomedical documentation of and community health education for selected Philippine ethnolinguistic groups: the Bagobo people of Marilog, Davao City, Philippines. DOH-PITAHC 2000.

Sia IC, Mangonon MRF, Israel LV, et al. Ethnomedical documentation of selected Philippine ethnolinguistic groups: the Isnag people of Kabugao, Apayao, Philippines. DOH-PITAHC 2000.

Sia IC, Milgo R, Israel LV, et al. Ethnomedical documentation of and community health education for selected Philippine ethnolinguistic groups: the Dibabaon people of Laak, Compostela Valley, Philippines. DOH-PITAHC 2000.

Sia IC, Montiel C, Bonifacio JC, et al. Ethnomedical documentation of and community health education for selected Philippine ethnolinguistic groups: the Ata-Manobo people of Talaingod, Davao province, Philippines. DOH-PITAHC 2000.

Sia IC, Ong R. Ethnomedical documentation of selected Philippine ethnolinguistic groups: the Tagbanuas of Palawan, Philippines. DOH-TMU 1998.

Sia IC, Ramos TB, Manalo E, et al. Ethnomedical documentation of selected Philippine ethnolinguistic groups: the Bataks of Palawan, Philippines. DOH-TMU 1998.

Sia IC, Reyes A, Israel LV, et al. Ethnomedical documentation of and community health education for selected Philippine ethnolinguistic groups: the Mandaya people of Davao Oriental, Philippines. DOH-PITAHC 2000.

Sia IC, Saguian FY, Galang RM, et al. Ethnomedical documentation of selected Philippine ethnolinguistic groups: the Busaos Kankana-ey people of Buguias, Benguet, Philippines. DOH-PITAHC 2000.

Sia IC, Sioquin C, Bonifacio JC, et al. Ethnomedical documentation of and community health education for selected Philippine ethnolinguistic groups: the Mansaka people of Pantukan and Maragusan Valley, Compostela Valley province, Mindanao, Philippines. DOH-PITAHC 2000.

Sia IC, Sur ALD, Bonifacio JC. Ethnomedical documentation of medicinal plants of selected towns of the provinces of Romblon, Sorsogon, and Eastern Samar, Philippines. DOH-TMU/UNDP 1998.

Sia IC, Sur ALD, Co LL, et al. Ethnopharmacological study of the Philippine ethnolinguistic groups: the Dumagat people of the provinces of Aurora, Bulacan, Nueva Ecija and Quezon in Luzon island. *The UP Manila Journal*; 1998;4:1-22

Sia IC, Sur ALD, Co LL, et al. Ethnopharmacological study of the Philippine ethnolinguistic groups: the Bugkalot people of Talbec, Dupax del Sur, Nueva Vizcaya. UPM-NIH 2002.

Sia IC, Tempongko S, Israel LV, et al. Ethnomedical documentation of selected Philippine ethnolinguistic groups: the Pala'wans of Quezon and Sofronio Española, Palawan, Philippines. DOH-TMU 1998.

APPENDIX E. NEGRITO LANGUAGES SPOKEN IN THE PHILIPPINES

Compiled by Thomas N. Headland, August 2002.

LANGUAGE NAME	POPULATION SIZE IN 1990s	BIBLIOGRAPHIC SOURCE
Batak, Palawan Island	386	Eder 1987
Mamanwa, Mindanao Island	1,000	Grimes 2000
Ati, northern Panay Island	30	Pennoyer 1987:4
Ati, southern Panay Island	900	Pennoyer 1987:4
Ata, Negros Island	450	Cadelina 1980:96
Ata, Mabinay, Negros Oriental	25	Grimes 2000
Atta, Pamplona, western Cagayan	1,000	Grimes 2000
Atta, Faire-Rizal, western Cagayan	400	Grimes 2000
Atta, Pudtol, Kalinga-Apayao	100	Grimes 2000
Ayta, Sorsogon	40	Grimes 2000
Agta, Villa Viciosa, Abra, NW Luzon (extinct?)	0	Grimes 2000; Reid, per. com. 2001
<i>Ayta groups of western Luzon:</i>		
Abenlen, Tarlac	6,000	K. Storck SIL files
Mag-anchi, Zambales, Tarlac, Pampanga	4,166	K. Storck SIL files
Mag-indi, Zambales, Pampanga	3,450	K. Storck SIL files
Ambala, Zambales, Parnpanga, Bataan	1,654	K. Storck SIL files
Magbeken, Bataan	381	K. Storck SIL files
<i>Agta groups of Sierra Madre, eastern Luzon</i>		
Agta, Isarog, Camarines Sur (language nearly extinct)	1,000	Grimes 2000
Agta, Mt. Iraya & Lake Buhi east, Camarines Sur (4 close dialects)	200	Grimes 2000
Agta, Mt. Iriga & Lake Buhi west, Camarines Sur	1,500	Grimes 2000
Agta, Camarines Norte	200	Grimes 2000
Agta, Alabat Island, southern Quezon	50	Grimes 2000
Agta, Umirey, Quezon (3 close dialects)	3,000	T. MacLeod SIL files
Agta, Casiguran, northern Aurora	609	Headland 1989
Agta, Maddela, Quirino	300	Headland field notes
Agta, Palanan & Divilacan, Isabela	856	Rai 1990: 176
Agta, San Mariano-Disabungan, Isabela	377	Rai 1990:176
Agta, Dicarnay, Jones, Isabela (recently extinct),	0	Headland field notes, and Grimes 2000
Arta, Aglipay, Quirino (pop. was 30 in 1977)	11	Headland field notes, and Reid 1994:40.
Alta, Northern, Aurora	250	Reid, per. comm.
Alta, Southern, Quezon	400	Reid, per. comm.
Agta, eastern Cagayan, Dupaninan (several close dialects)	1,200	T. Nickell 1985: 119
Agta, central Cagayan	800	Mayfield 1987:vii-viii; Grimes 2000
32 known Negrito languages in Philippines.	32,725= total estimated number of Negritos in Philippines	

Source of information: Headland 2003

APPENDIX F. AGTA CULTURAL CONSULTANTS / INFORMANTS

Supporting resource:

Headland, Thomas, Janet Headland and Summer Institute of Linguistics. 2009. Agta Demographic Database Version 1.0.

Healers and former healers

Table 1.1

Name of consultant	Dela Cruz, Neneng Pulukin
Address	Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora
Birthday	7/1/1952 (+/- 1 year)
Age	58
Sex	Female
Occupation/livelihood	Gathers and sells crab, weaves and sells mats
Type of consultant	Healer
Type of healing practice	Knowledgeable of herbal medicine.
Length of experience	
Consultant case history	Learned healing practices by observing other Negritos and also non-Agta albularyos.
Names of immediate family members and relationship	Dela Cruz, Reni (husband); Riki (son); Marites (daughter); Kulut/Marisel (daughter); Totoy/Riko (son); Moral, Loyda (sister)

Table 1.2

Name of consultant	Lisiday, Dolsing
Address	Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora
Birthday	7/1/1956 (+/- 1 year)
Age	54
Sex	Male
Occupation/livelihood	Agricultural worker
Type of consultant	Healer
Type of healing practice	Knowledgeable of herbal medicine. Can heal illnesses caused by spirits.
Length of experience	Began healing when he was married. Has attended workshops and exchanged knowledge in healing with other IPs.
Consultant case history	
Names of immediate family members and relationship	Lisiday, Daret (son); Lisiday, Richard (son); Lisiday, Hanny (daughter); Lisiday, Dolmeg (son); Lisiday, Gemalyn (daughter-in-law); Lisiday, Jessica (granddaughter); Lisiday, Matan (grandson); Lisiday, Gapet (granddaughter); Lisiday, Jesabel (granddaughter)

Table 1.3

Name of consultant	Moral, Erning Katalina
Address	Sitio Agues, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora
Birthday	7/1/1938 (+/- 1 year)
Age	72
Sex	Male
Occupation/livelihood	Agricultural worker
Type of consultant	Healer
Type of healing practice	Knowledgeable of medicinal plants. Assists in child birth.
Length of experience	
Consultant case history	Recognized by other healers as the most senior among the bunogen.
Names of immediate family members and relationship	Moral, Teming (son); Prado, Tetet (daughter); Francisco, Wisay (daughter); Moral, Saniboy (son)

Table 1.4

Name of consultant	Moral, Loyda Pulukin
Address	Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora
Birthday	7/1/1961 (+/- 1 year)
Age	49
Sex	Female
Occupation/livelihood	Agricultural worker, does laundry
Type of consultant	Healer
Type of healing practice	Can heal illnesses caused by spirits.
Length of experience	Began healing after grandmother of husband died.
Consultant case history	
Names of immediate family members and relationship	Moral, Teming (husband); Moral, Kris (son); Kukuan, Malaga Moral (daughter); Balilit (daughter); Jomar (son); Jemar (son); dela Cruz, Neneng (sister); daughter of Balilit (granddaughter); daughter of Kris (granddaughter)

Table 1.5

Name of consultant	Prado, Nateng
Address	Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora
Birthday	7/1/1955 (+/- 1 year)
Age	55
Sex	Male
Occupation/livelihood	Agricultural worker
Type of consultant	Healer
Type of healing practice	Heal illnesses caused by spirits; deliver babies, treats post-partum illnesses.
Length of experience	
Consultant case history	Former healer who treated illnesses caused by spirits through his wife's healing ability.
Names of immediate family members and relationship	Prado, Tetet (wife); Prado, Ogit/Ridyl (son); Prado, Orly (son); Kulideg, Irene (daughter); dela Cruz, Noralyn (daughter); Lopamiya, Hapek (daughter); Prado, Totoy/Luigi (son); Kukuan, Melani (daughter); Prado, Kulokoy/Joey (son); Prado, Saringkep (daughter); Prado, Butolan/Robin (son); Prado, Grace (daughter); Prado, Nining/Lenani

	(daughter); Prado, Batutung (son); Prado, Hakob (brother); Prado, Hempok (brother); Prado, Kuneng (sister)
--	--

Table 1.6

Name of consultant	Prado, Tetet Moral
Address	Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora
Birthday	5/5/1958
Age	52
Sex	Female
Occupation/livelihood	Rice seller
Type of consultant	Mother
Type of healing practice	Knowledgeable of herbal medicine.
Length of experience	
Consultant case history	Former healer who treated illnesses caused by spirits. She healed through her husband who followed her instructions.
Names of immediate family members and relationship	Prado, Nateng (husband); Prado, Ogit/Ridyl (son); Prado, Orly (son); Kulideg, Irene Prado (daughter); dela Cruz, Noralyn Prado (daughter); Lopamiya, Hapek (daughter); Prado, Totoy/Luigi (son); Kukuan, Melani Prado (daughter); Prado, Kulokoy/Joey (son); Prado, Saringkep (daughter); Prado, Butolan/Robin (son); Prado, Grace (daughter); Prado, Nining/Lenani (daughter); Prado, Batutung (son); Moral, Erning Katalina (Father); Moral, Teming (brother); Francisco, Wisay (sister); Moral, Saniboy (brother)

Table 1.7

Name of consultant	Tanyet, Noel
Address	Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora
Birthday	7/1/1966 (+/- 1 year)
Age	44
Sex	Male
Occupation/livelihood	Agricultural worker
Type of consultant	Healer
Type of healing practice	Knowledgeable of herbal medicine. He can heal a variety of ailments including illnesses caused by the unseen. Non-Agta also seek help from him.
Length of experience	
Consultant case history	
Names of immediate family members and relationship	Tanyet, Resi (wife); Tanyet, Biyong (daughter); Daga (daughter); Peni (sister)

Caregivers (Mothers, Fathers)

Table 2.1

Name of consultant	Aduanan, Noyme
Address	Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora
Birthday	7/1/1962
Age	48
Sex	Female
Occupation/livelihood	
Type of consultant	Mother
Consultant case history	
Names of immediate family members and relationship	Aduanan, Pompoek Saguned (mother); Lisiday, Baladong (son)

Table 2.2

Name of consultant	Aduanan, Pompoek Saguned
Address	Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora
Birthday	7/1/1932 (+/- 1 year)
Age	79
Sex	Female
Occupation/livelihood	
Type of consultant	Elder
Consultant case history	
Names of immediate family members and relationship	Aduanan, Noyme (daughter); Lisiday, Baladong (grandson)

Table 2.3

Name of consultant	Bernabe, Gretchen
Address	Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora
Birthday	
Age	
Sex	Female
Occupation/livelihood	
Type of consultant	Mother
Consultant case history	
Names of immediate family members and relationship	

Table 2.4

Name of consultant	Culideg, Irene Prado
Address	Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora
Birthday	9/15/1977
Age	33
Sex	Female
Occupation/livelihood	
Type of consultant	Mother
Consultant case history	
Names of immediate family members and relationship	Culideg, Lintok (husband); Culideg, Tonton (son); Culideg, Onyok (son); Culideg, Sika (daughter); Culideg, Tsina/Aymilin (daughter); Culideg, Sila (daughter); Culideg, Layrin (daughter); Culideg, Tina (daughter)

Table 2.5

Name of consultant	Culideg, Lintok
Address	Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora
Birthday	1974
Age	37
Sex	Male
Occupation/livelihood	Agricultural worker
Type of consultant	Father
Consultant case history	
Names of immediate family members and relationship	Culideg, Irene Prado (wife); Culideg, Tonton (son); Culideg, Onyok (son); Culideg, Sika (daughter); Culideg, Tsina/Aymilin (daughter); Culideg, Sila (daughter); Culideg, Layrin (daughter); Culideg, Tina (daughter)

Table 2.6

Name of consultant	Dela Cruz, Arman Aledig
Address	Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora
Birthday	1976
Age	35
Sex	Male
Occupation/livelihood	Pastor
Type of consultant	Father
Consultant case history	
Names of immediate family members and relationship	Dela Cruz, Noralyn Prado (wife); Mandong (son); Kimwel (son); Netan/Tatot (son); Cristobal (son); dela Cruz, Utet (mother); dela Cruz, Beni (father); Lisiday, Lerling (sister)

Table 2.7

Name of consultant	Dela Cruz, Noralyn Prado
Address	Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora
Birthday	12/15/1979
Age	31
Sex	Female
Occupation/livelihood	
Type of consultant	Mother
Consultant case history	
Names of immediate family members and relationship	Dela Cruz, Arman (husband); Mandong (son); Kimwel (son); Netan/Tatot (son); Cristobal (son); Prado, Tetet (mother); Prado, Nateng (father)

Table 2.8

Name of consultant	Dela Cruz, Utet Aledig
Address	Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora
Birthday	
Age	
Sex	Female
Occupation/livelihood	
Type of consultant	Mother
Consultant case history	
Names of immediate family members and relationship	Dela Cruz, Beni (husband); Lisiday, Lerling (daughter); Dela Cruz, Arman (son)

Table 2.9

Name of consultant	Eneria, Regina
Address	Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo and Barangay Lual, Casiguran, Aurora
Birthday	11/15/1984
Age	26
Sex	Female
Occupation/livelihood	
Type of consultant	Mother, Chieftain
Consultant case history	
Names of immediate family members and relationship	Eneria, Marvin (husband); Eneria, Jonas (son); Eneria, JM (son); Eneria, (son); Prado, Kedel (brother); Francisco, Ryan (brother); Francisco, Uganda (sister); Francisco, Shiela (sister); Francisco, Glaiza (sister); Francisco, Romnick (brother)

Table 2.10

Name of consultant	Eneria, Marvin
Address	Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo and Barangay Lual, Casiguran, Aurora
Birthday	
Age	
Sex	Male
Occupation/livelihood	NGO worker
Type of consultant	Father
Consultant case history	
Names of immediate family members and relationship	Eneria, Regina (wife); Eneria, Jonas (son); Eneria, JM (son); Eneria, (son); Prado, Kedel (brother); Francisco, Ryan (brother); Francisco, Uganda (sister); Francisco, Shiela (sister); Francisco, Glaiza (sister); Francisco, Romnick (brother)

Table 2.11

Name of consultant	Estanes, Waynalin Tulio
Address	Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora
Birthday	7/1/1968 (+/- 1 year)
Age	42
Sex	Female
Occupation/livelihood	
Type of consultant	Mother
Consultant case history	
Names of immediate family members and relationship	Estanes, Elpi (husband); Aileen (daughter); Aisa (daughter); Alma (daughter); Jessa (daughter); Elbing (son); JP (son)

Table 2.12

Name of consultant	Francisco, Idag
Address	Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora
Birthday	
Age	
Sex	Male
Occupation/livelihood	Agricultural worker
Type of consultant	Father
Consultant case history	Hails from Samar.
Names of immediate family members and relationship	Francisco, Wisay Moral (wife); Francisco, Ryan (son); Francisco, Uganda (daughter); Francisco, Shiela (daughter); Francisco, Glaiza (daughter); Francisco, Romnick (son)

Table 2.13

Name of consultant	Francisco, Wisay Moral
Address	Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora
Birthday	7/1/1962 (+/- 1 year)
Age	48
Sex	Female
Occupation/livelihood	Agricultural worker, weaves baskets, gathers and sells orchids
Type of consultant	Mother
Consultant case history	Knowledgeable of medicinal plants.
Names of immediate family members and relationship	Francisco, Idag (husband); Prado, Kedel (son); Eneria, Regina (daughter); Francisco, Ryan (son); Francisco, Uganda (daughter); Francisco, Shiela (daughter); Francisco, Glaiza (daughter); Francisco, Romnick (son)

Table 2.14

Name of consultant	Kukuan, Arnol/Aloy
Address	Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora
Birthday	3/15/1977
Age	33
Sex	Male
Occupation/livelihood	Agricultural worker
Type of consultant	Father
Consultant case history	Knowledgeable of medicinal plants.
Names of immediate family members and relationship	Kukuan, Melani Prado (wife); Kukuan, Alexis (daughter); Kukuan, Punay/Amy Joy (daughter)

Table 2.15

Name of consultant	Lisiday, Batanggas/Lodi
Address	Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora
Birthday	
Age	
Sex	Female
Occupation/livelihood	
Type of consultant	Mother, Former healer
Consultant case history	
Names of immediate family members and relationship	Lisiday, Borseg (husband); Prado, Mary Jane Lisiday (daughter); Nipal, Mary Grace Lisiday (daughter)

Table 2.16

Name of consultant	Lisiday, Borseg
Address	Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora
Birthday	1944 (+/- 1 year)
Age	67
Sex	Male
Occupation/livelihood	Agricultural worker
Type of consultant	Father
Consultant case history	
Names of immediate family members and relationship	Lisiday, Batanggas/Lodi (wife); Prado, Mary Jane Lisiday (daughter); Nipal, Mary Grace Lisiday (daughter)

Table 2.17

Name of consultant	Lisiday, Daret
Address	Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora
Birthday	
Age	
Sex	Male
Occupation/livelihood	Agricultural worker
Type of consultant	Father
Consultant case history	His father, Dolsing, taught him how to treat various illnesses including those caused by spirits.
Names of immediate family members and relationship	Lisiday, Gemalyn (wife); Jessica (daughter); Lisiday, Matan (son); Lisiday, Gapet (daughter); Lisiday, Jesabel (daughter)

Table 2.18

Name of consultant	Lisiday, Gemalyn
Address	Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora
Birthday	7/1/1982 (+/- 9 years)
Age	28
Sex	Female
Occupation/livelihood	
Type of consultant	Mother
Consultant case history	
Names of immediate family members and relationship	Lisiday, Daret (husband); Jessica (daughter); Lisiday, Matan (son); Lisiday, Gapet (daughter); Lisiday, Jesabel (daughter)

Table 2.19

Name of consultant	Moral, Dalia Mania
Address	Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora
Birthday	12/11/1983
Age	27
Sex	Female
Occupation/livelihood	
Type of consultant	Mother
Consultant case history	
Names of immediate family members and relationship	Moral, Saniboy (husband); Sammy (son); Samuel (son); Katrina (daughter); Andrew (son)

Table 2.20

Name of consultant	Moral, Teming
Address	Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora
Birthday	1953 (+/- 2 years)
Age	57
Sex	Male
Occupation/livelihood	Agricultural worker, boatman
Type of consultant	Father
Consultant case history	
Names of immediate family members and relationship	Moral, Loyda Pulukin (wife); Moral, Kris (son); Kukuan, Malaga Moral (daughter); Balilit (daughter); Jomar (son); Jemar (son); daughter of Kris (granddaughter); daughter of Balilit (granddaughter); Prado, Tetet (sister); Francisco, Wisay (sister); Moral, Saniboy (brother)

Table 2.21

Name of consultant	Moral, Trisa/Salve dela Cruz
Address	Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora
Birthday	8/12/1990
Age	20
Sex	Female
Occupation/livelihood	
Type of consultant	Mother
Consultant case history	
Names of immediate family members and relationship	Moral, Kris (husband); Dingding/Langgit (daughter); (son);

Table 2.22

Name of consultant	Nipal, Mary Grace Lisiday
Address	Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora
Birthday	7/1/1979 (+/- 1 year)
Age	31
Sex	Female
Occupation/livelihood	
Type of consultant	Mother
Consultant case history	
Names of immediate family members and relationship	Nipal, Kiti (husband); (son); Lisiday, Batangas/Lodi (mother); Lisiday, Borseg (father); Prado, Mary Jane Lisiday (sister)

Table 2.23

Name of consultant	Prado, Dina Inong
Address	Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora
Birthday	11/15/1978
Age	32
Sex	Female
Occupation/livelihood	
Type of consultant	Mother
Consultant case history	
Names of immediate family members and relationship	Prado, Luigi Moral (husband); Bikongen (son); Lablin (daughter); _ (daughter);

Table 2.24

Name of consultant	Prado, Edna Aduanan
Address	Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora
Birthday	10/15/1960
Age	50
Sex	Female
Occupation/livelihood	Makes <i>walis</i> (brooms).
Type of consultant	Mother
Consultant case history	
Names of immediate family members and relationship	Prado, Hempok Tulio (husband); Prado, Dangulan/Eduardo (son); Totoy/Karlito (son); Edikar/Batoy (son); Edirik (son); Dyekar (son); Jolina (daughter)

Table 2.25

Name of consultant	Prado, Hempok Tulio
Address	Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora
Birthday	7/1/1958 (+/- 1 year)
Age	52
Sex	Male
Occupation/livelihood	
Type of consultant	Father
Consultant case history	
Names of immediate family members and relationship	Prado, Edna Aduanan (wife); Prado, Dangulan/Eduardo (son); Totoy/Karlito (son); Edikar/Batoy (son); Edirik (son); Dyekar (son); Jolina (daughter)

Table 2.26

Name of consultant	Prado, Lonilyn/Bagel Esteves
Address	Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora
Birthday	1986
Age	25
Sex	Female
Occupation/livelihood	
Type of consultant	Mother
Consultant case history	
Names of immediate family members and relationship	Prado, Dangulan/Eduardo (husband); Ulysses (son); (son)

Table 2.27

Name of consultant	Prado, Maal Tomay
Address	Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora
Birthday	6/16/1971
Age	39
Sex	Female
Occupation/livelihood	
Type of consultant	Mother
Consultant case history	
Names of immediate family members and relationship	Prado, Orly (husband); Talagen (daughter); Dudan (daughter)

Table 2.28

Name of consultant	Prado, Mary Jane Lisiday
Address	Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora
Birthday	7/1/1974 (+/- 1 year)
Age	36
Sex	Female
Occupation/livelihood	
Type of consultant	Mother
Consultant case history	
Names of immediate family members and relationship	Prado, Ogit (husband); Bokiyeng/Regine (daughter); Abraham (son); Debora (daughter); Nipal, Mary Grace Lisiday (sister); Lisiday, Batanggas/Lodi (mother); Lisiday, Borseg (father);

Table 2.29

Name of consultant	Prado, Ridyel/Ogit
Address	Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora
Birthday	1974
Age	37
Sex	Male
Occupation/livelihood	
Type of consultant	Father
Consultant case history	
Names of immediate family members and relationship	Prado, Mary Jane (wife); Bokiyeng/Regine (daughter); Abraham (son); Debora (daughter); Prado, Tetet (mother); Prado, Nateng (father)

Table 2.30

Name of consultant	Sadsoy, Laleng/Toni
Address	Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora
Birthday	1962 (+/- 2 years)
Age	49
Sex	Male
Occupation/livelihood	Agricultural worker
Type of consultant	Father
Consultant case history	
Names of immediate family members and relationship	Sadsoy, Nayling (wife); Lari (son)

Table 2.31

Name of consultant	Tanyet, Resi Kulideg
Address	Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora
Birthday	7/1/1957 (+/- 1 year)
Age	53
Sex	Female
Occupation/livelihood	Agricultural worker
Type of consultant	Mother
Consultant case history	Knowledgeable of herbal medicine. Mother is a healer.
Names of immediate family members and relationship	Tanyet, Noel (husband); Vallejo, Badat (son); Tanyet, Biyong (daughter); Daga (daughter)

Youth

Table 3.1

Name of consultant	Bitigan, Bibi
Address	Dibulo, Dilasag, Aurora
Birthday	
Age	
Sex	Female
Occupation/livelihood	
Type of consultant	Youth
Consultant case history	
Names of immediate family members and relationship	

Table 3.2

Name of consultant	Kukuan, Malaga/Renalin Moral
Address	Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora
Birthday	12/1988
Age	22
Sex	Female
Occupation/livelihood	
Type of consultant	Youth
Consultant case history	
Names of immediate family members and relationship	Moral, Loyda Pulukin (mother); Moral, Teming (father); Moral, Kris (brother); Balilit (sister); Jomar (brother); Jemar (brother)

Table 3.3

Name of consultant	Lisiday, Hanny Culideg
Address	Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora
Birthday	2/11/1994
Age	17
Sex	Female
Occupation/livelihood	House helper
Type of consultant	Youth
Consultant case history	
Names of immediate family members and relationship	Lisiday, Dolsing (father); Lisiday, Daret (brother); Lisiday, Richard (brother); Lisiday, Dolmeg (brother);

Table 3.4

Name of consultant	Prado, Kedel/Windel
Address	Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora
Birthday	1983
Age	28
Sex	Male
Occupation/livelihood	Teaches Aytas in Rizal Province, employed by NGO.
Type of consultant	Youth
Consultant case history	
Names of immediate family members and relationship	Francisco, Wisay Moral (mother); Eneria, Regina (sister); Francisco, Ryan (brother); Francisco, Uganda (sister); Francisco, Shiela (sister); Francisco, Glaiza (sister); Francisco, Romnick (brother)