THE RICE WINE COMPLEX AMONG THE TAGBANUWA OF PALAWAN

ROBERT B. FOX
The CSC Special Studies Series is a venue for comparative studies involving the Cordilleras. Studies done into similar socio-cultural contexts are preferred although for the purposes of this series, mere possession of significance for Cordilleran concerns may qualify a study for publication. Typescripts shall not exceed 50 pages, be in duplicate and must be accompanied by a brief curriculum vitae of the author. For matters of style, references must be made to the specifications of the *The Chicago Manual, 13th edition*, which all CSC publications follow. Write to Oscar V. Campomanes, *editor* or Elizabeth Simplina, *assistant*, CSC Publications, Cordillera Studies Center, University of the Philippines, Baguio City 0201.

**THE RICE WINE COMPLEX AMONG**

**SPECIAL STUD**
We are privileged to open the CSC Special Series with this monograph written by Dr. Robert Fox in 1972. This monograph has affinities with those written on the social worth of wine among other cultures and other lands. The similarities and differences alone between Palawan rice wine-making and those of our own Cordillera communities should make for interesting study and analysis.

We present this CSC Special Studies Series monograph as a tribute to Dr. Fox’s life-long dedication to Philippine scholarship. We know that its subject matter, its meticulous attention to detail, and its felicitous writing style shall be a welcome treat for students of culture here and abroad.

Benjamin C. Abellera
CSC Director
INTRODUCTION

This is a study of the social and ritual usage of rice wine by the Tagbanuwa of Palawan Island, a description and analysis of a pattern of drinking woven into the very fabric of a culture and society.¹

Tradition has provided the Tagbanuwa with a truly social system of drinking that is intimately linked with religious beliefs and rituals, with interpersonal relationships and group activities, and with the "good life," with being Tagbanuwa. Rice wine has an intense meaning and value to the Tagbanuwa, its use highly institutionalized and harmonious, and the social and ritual functions of rice wine drinking are manifestly integrative, although there are dysfunctional consequences.

Insobriety among the Tagbanuwa—common during the ritual and social drinkfests among men, women, and even children—is not associated with guilt as in the western world. Their standards for alcoholics or alcoholism differ from the West's as well. To the Tagbanuwa, rice is a divine gift and the drinking of rice wine is understood to contribute to the euphoria of the individual and the society. As

¹ The data for this paper were gathered during two periods of fieldwork among the Tagbanuwa in 1950-51 and 1961-62. Research for this paper was supported by the National Museum of the Philippines and the Asia Foundation. The paper was first prepared for presentation at the Central State Anthropological Meetings in 1954 made possible through a grant-in-aid from the Ford Foundation. The writer, as always, is deeply grateful to Dr. Fred Eggan for the direction of his research in the Philippines.
It has been pointed out and as these data again illustrate, the use of an intoxicant by a people with respect to its social and psychological functions—"integrative," "disintegrative," "anxiety-reduction," and so forth—is relative to the specific social and cultural setting.

It is with a cultural description and an analysis of the social functions of rice wine among the Tagbanua that this paper primarily deals, not with the personal and psychological factors which are attendant upon the drinking of rice wine.

2 Alcohol obtained from a great variety of endemic and indigenous plants, both wild and cultivated, is readily available and extensively utilized by the many distinct cultural-linguistic groups found in the Philippines. The principal source of drinking alcohol at present is the prehistorically introduced sugar cane (Saccharum officinarum Linn.) which is distilled and bottled as gin, gin-like beverages, or rum in Manila and other urban centers and distributed throughout the Archipelago. In possibly every community large enough to support a small store, these cheap bottled liquors form a major item of sale, and are now reaching isolated mountain peoples in significant quantities. The fermented juice of sugar cane, commonly known as basi, is also prepared in many mountain and coastal societies where it is linked with traditional social and religious life. Among a few minority groups and among all of the rural Christian Filipinos living in the lowland and coastal areas, alcohol is obtained by tapping and fermenting (sometimes distilling) the juices of a number of palms: the nipa palm (Ny pa fruticans Wurmb.); the common coconut (Cocos nucifera Linn.); and, though less commonly, the buri palm (Corypha elata Roxb.). Prior to the more recent commercial production of alcohol from sugar cane molasses, the fermented nipa and coconut wines (usually called tuba, when fermented; lambanog, when distilled) provided the common alcohol among the coastal and near-coastal peoples, and there is still a lively trade of the nipa and coconut wines in the provincial areas throughout the Philippines. Special stores selling only these wines are even found in the major cities, such as Manila. Not having access to the nipa palm, a shore plant, and the coconut, principally a coastal and lowland palm, pagan mountain groups, such as the Ipagi Ilongot of northeastern Luzon, fell and tap wild palms, specifically Arensa spp. and Caryota spp., in order to obtain a daily supply of a "palm toddy."
TAGBANUWA SOCIETY

The Tagbanuwa

The Tagbanuwa are swidden farmers, principally of dry rice, who now inhabit the eastern and western coastal and near-coastal plains and valleys of central Palawan Island. One of the smaller pagan groups in the Philippines, it is estimated that they number less than 10,000 persons in all (no accurate census has been made). They are a peaceful and sophisticated people with a complex custom law and an elaborate cult-of-the-dead associated with dramatic rituals. They are principally known in anthropological literature for having retained an Indic form of syllabic writing which was introduced into the archipelago in pre-Spanish times.

Kinship is reckoned bilaterally and residence is matri-local. The family is the basic and axial unit of the society. The villages, defined as such by ritual and social obligations, are relatively large and permanent and usually formed from a number of sub-village groupings based upon kinship relationships. The household ideally and with few exceptions consists of a single elementary family of father, mother, and unmarried children, even widows and widowers maintaining separate residences.

The society is loosely stratified, persons with usba or "noble blood" being the descendants of leaders called ginu u. The primary function of the many titled leaders is to sit in jural councils, the surugidin, to represent and defend their relatives, and to arrive at decisions based upon a consensus in opinion of the leaders present. A popular leader may, of course, represent non-relatives in the councils.

Further data concerning the Tagbanuwa may be found in the writer's unpublished doctoral dissertation at the University of Chicago: Fox, Robert B., "Religion and Society Among the Tagbanuwa of Palawan Island, Philippines" (1954).
Prestige and social advantages belong to the class of the "noble-blooded," with no distinct economic advantages in tow. The contemporary character of the Tagbanuwa's jural and political structure has been influenced by past contacts with Muslim people from Sulu and Borneo who dominated southern Palawan until the beginning of the 20th century. Their developed indigenous religion, on the contrary, shows many Hindu-Indonesian elements which predate any contact with the "Great Religions"—Islam and Christianity.

During the past sixty years, large numbers of Christian Filipinos from many areas of the Islands have settled in Central Palawan and now live in close proximity to the Tagbanuwa. As a result of these recent contacts, changes in Tagbanuwa life-ways have occurred notably in the economic and political spheres. Just as consequently, even more rapid changes in Tagbanuwa culture and society may be anticipated in the next few decades. Nevertheless, the Tagbanuwa remain a conservative and ethnocentric people, their indigenous religion inseparable from the rice wine complex, being the principal factor leading to the retention of their unique ethos.

The Annual Cycle

Social, religious, and economic activities among the Tagbanuwa fall roughly into two seasons. The first season—approximately from February through July—is a period of relatively hard work during which the clearings for rice are prepared, the crops planted, weeded, guarded against birds and animals, and finally harvested.

During this agricultural period, the families may live in small, temporary dwellings near their fields, or travel back and forth daily to their clearings, retaining residence in their permanent villages. Social interaction and social activities during this period are minimal.

After the rice harvest, in late July or early August, the scattered families regroup in the villages—in the dwellings which are their more permanent residences. This second season is characterized by recurrent social and ceremonial activities with marked individual and group interaction.
All of the social and religious gatherings during the period following the harvest are also drinkfests—drinkfests in which prodigious amounts of rice wine are consumed. The numerous activities which are associated with the use of rice wine occur, therefore, during the social-ceremonial period, particularly during the first month or two after the harvest when the rice for making wine is plentiful.

The intrinsic features of the Tagbanuwa’s life-ways are understandable only by recognizing this seasonal difference in ritual and social activities and the varying intensity of personal and group interaction.

THE MAKING OF THE TAGBANUWA RICE WINE

The preparation of the tabad or “rice wine” follows a series of traditional steps. The first is that of preparing the “yeast cake” or purad. The Tagbanuwa argue that the specific quality of the wine (its taste and strength) is determined largely by the character of the yeast. Although many persons may have attempted to make yeast at one time or another, only a few individuals whose purad is associated with successful batches of wine will continue. These few yeast-cake makers enjoy prestige and some income from the sale of their yeast cakes.

The exact ingredients of the yeast-cake are the private knowledge of each maker but vary only slightly from person to person. The following formula for one yeast cake was employed by Rinsun, a babalyan or “medium” of Kabigaan; one (1) portion of ginger or lu ya (Zingiber officinale Rosc.); one (1) portion of lakwas (Alpinia brevilabris Presl.); three (3) pieces of betel leaf or buyu (Piper betel Linn.); five (5) pieces of pepper or katumbal (Capsicum frutescens Linn.); and seven (7) leaves of a wild betel-like leaf, sarmara (Piper retrofactum Vahl.).

4 Identification of the ethno-botanical plants—more than 700 specimens
These are pounded together in a mortar until a damp mash is obtained. This mash is mixed with a large quantity of *inuk*, powdered rice, and finally moulded into round, doughnut-like cakes. As the newly made yeast cakes are soft, they are placed in a winnowing tray over bundles of rice and dried overnight. Rice is also placed on top of the yeast cakes and covered with cloth, branches of wild pepper, and *uwag* (*Flagellaria indica* Linn.). Everyone agrees that this keeps the “strength from leaving the purad.” The following morning, a hole is made in the center of the cakes which are then strung up and sun-dried for three days. Branches of the wild pepper and *uwag* are also hung on the drying rack with yeast. If this is not done, according to informants, “the purad will not work.” Portions of these two plants are later placed in the wine jars with mash of rice and yeast.

*Purad*-making, as noted, varies from person to person. Kandida at Magbabadil always adds one *libu-libu*, the water spider (*Ranatra* sp.), which darts about on the surface of quiet streams. This, she believes, causes “the eyes of the drinker to twirl like the movements of the water spider.” She may also add the web of spiders, *abalit kalalawa*, which strengthens the yeast and helps the drinkers “to become quickly inebriated and sleepy.”

The basic rice component of the rice wine, is of course, white non-glutinous rice, unhusked and husked, which is partially pounded and cooked. This mash is then spread over a large mat and the yeast cakes crushed and scattered over this rice mash. One yeast cake is used for approximately two “gantas” (a dry measure of three liters) of rice.

The mash is finally placed in large stoneware jars, largely of Chinese origin and Late Ming or Early Ching in date, to ferment. These trade jars are family heirlooms and the most valued possession collected by the writer among the Tagbanuwa—are found in the herbarium of the National Museum of the Philippines and were graciously identified by Dr. Eduardo Quisumbing, former Director of the National Museum, Mr. Demetrio Mendoza, former Chief Botanist of the National Museum, and Mr. Hermes Gutierrez, Botanist of the Museum.
of the Tagbanuwa. The quantity of the rice-mash prepared is directly proportional to the size of the jar used.\(^5\)

When compared with the usual size of the Tagbanuwa’s rice harvest and the many drinkfests, the quantity of rice expended for wine is considerable. But no Tagbanuwa would sacrifice rice needed for wine in the rituals and social drinkfests for use as a daily food. They would rather subsist on less desirable staples, such as the sweet potato and cassava, or buy rice by gathering and selling forest products.

After the mash has been placed in the jar, the mouth of the jar is carefully covered with a number of leaves of the tree *alimutyukan* (*Mallotus ricinoides* (Pers.) Muell.-Arg.), or banana leaves. Finally, a plate or shallow bowl (sometimes a rare Early Ming piece) is inverted over the leaves; the cover is then tied to the neck and ears of the jar with strips of rattan to hold it firmly in place. Age, the Tagbanuwa state, enhances the quality and strength of the wine so that it is allowed to ferment for two or three weeks, often much longer, if possible.

When the jar holding the fermented mash is opened at the ritual or drinkfest, the leaves of a small tree *ulam* (*Barringtonia curranu* Merr.), commonly found in abandoned clearings and said to be planted by the highest ranking deity, *mangindusa*, are bunched, twisted, and stuffed into the jar. These leaves fill the jar up to just below the neck and serve to keep fermented mash from floating to the surface of the wine when water is later added. These leaves also support the four drinking straws.

Two short pieces of bamboo are finally placed on top of the leaves, at right angles to each other, with the ends of the bamboo catching on the inner shoulder of the jar. The bamboo pieces prevent the leaves from protruding into the neck and mouth of the jar. After these steps, a brief ritual is performed in which water is splashed into the mouth of the jar for five or seven times from a small saucer.

\(^5\)The large *basinganin* requires from ten to twelve gantas of rice, the *sing* eight to ten gantas.
The jar is then filled with water which mixes with the mash and forms the wine.

**THE TAGBANUWA DRINKFEST**

Four straws, the *bansuk*, made of a small bamboo, are pushed down through the leaves until the bases of the straws rest upon the bottom of the jar. The wine is sucked through these straws. It is never dipped from the jars with a cup as practised by the Ifugao of northern Luzon.

The straws are five or six inches taller than the jar so that the drinkers are able to grasp the end of a straw when drinking. The wine enters the straws through holes cut in their sides, a few centimeters from the bottom, the lower ends of the straws being closed by the node of the bamboo.

Two of the straws are always provided with incised horizontal lines or shavings. It is from these latter two straws that the soul-relatives and the deities drink. Before the drinking begins, the jars are latched securely to the flooring. Jars, as noted, are the most valuable personal properties of the Tagbanuwa, and it is feared that they might be tipped and broken during the riotous drinking.

When drinking, the man or woman squats before the jar, grasps one of the straws, and sucks continuously until the allotted quantity of wine has been drawn off. The drinker will invariably taste the wine from all four straws—the wine is said to vary in strength and quality from straw to straw—and will always spit out the first mouthfuls. This latter behavior is related, as will be seen, to the fear of "poisoning."

The quantity of wine to be drawn off by each drinker or by a pair of drinkers forms the basis for a lively discussion led by the host. The agreed quantity is measured by the number of bowls of water necessary to refill the jar, after a person has drunk. A sliver of bamboo pushed down vertically into the leaves indicates to the drinker the level to be reached. When the drinker has lowered the
surface of the wine from the lip of the jar to the top of the sliver, the appropriate quantity of wine has been drawn off. Despite hopeful protests on the part of the participants, the quantity of wine which each person will drink at one time is roughly proportional to the number of jars which have been prepared for drinking and the number of guests. The assigned quantity is normally large, however, three or four turns at a jar being sufficient to make even a Tagbanuwa tipsy.

The jars of wine are always placed in the center of the dwelling and the throng of excited and expectant drinkers crowd around them. In the background are the few individuals who do not drink, normally, women who attend to infants sleeping in cloth cradles.

A number of brass gongs are hung around the margins of the room. The gongs are beaten by the women who attend to the babies or persons who are awaiting their turn to drink. This is also a popular activity of the younger group. All drinking is accompanied by the rhythmical boom of the gongs, the gong tune being established and led by a drummer who begins the beat when the drinker bends over the jar. The din produced by the gongs can be heard during clear nights for ten or more kilometers and the pulsating throb within the room is almost overwhelming and literally drives the drinker on. When at the jar, the drinkers often sway or move their shoulders to the rhythm of the gong beat.

The hosts appoints a drinking leader, the magpa inum (who is usually an elder and respected individual) to lead and control the drinking. He calls each drinker to take his turn and may exclude those individuals whom he knows to be disorderly when intoxicated. The hereditary leaders, special guests, and the older men and women are called to drink first. Each person called detaches himself from the throng, squats before the jar, and when the gong begins, draws off his allotted share of the wine.

For a minute or two, the drinker draws the attention (and envy) of all. Songs and jests are directed towards him. Thus, the drinkfest pivots around one individual and then another, until everyone has had a turn. It is a socially rewarding and "ego-inflating" experience for each participant.
Diehards will continue to drink with unabated pleasure even when the wine has been wholly exhausted and replaced by water. Emotions stimulated by the liquor and reinforced by the merriment, songs, dancing, the beat of the gongs, and good companionship sweep them along. In fact, it is considered extremely tactless to even suggest that the wine is exhausted, unless the host has done so first. No one wants the drinking to end. In this highly stimulating setting, the drinkfests will usually last for a night and day and hopefully, longer.

The Value of the Rice Wine

The traditional values underlying the use of the rice wine are both religious and social. The ritual usage of the wine is to be expected for it is made from rice, the latter being a divine gift which yields the perfect food and drink. Although a drinking party may be essentially a secular occasion, as when one bloodbrother visits another, one or more of the older men and women participating will invariably offer an individual prayer to the ancestral dead or to the deities when they take their turn at the jar.

The first rice wine to be drunk following the harvest and new year must be associated with rituals. Rice wine has a profound meaning to the Tagbanuwa. Its availability indicates that a harvest has been made and that the joyous holiday-like period of drinking is at hand. It is consequently believed that the relationships of both the individual and the group with the dead and the deities, so necessary for health and economic welfare, will be harmonious.

Rice wine is a not a mere intoxicant, which accounts for its survival despite the persistent attacks upon its use by contact agencies and by neighboring Christian groups (which have their own share of bottled alcohols.) It is, to the Tagbanuwa, a life sustaining drink believed to be absolutely necessary for well-being.
THE STRUCTURE OF THE RICE WINE COMPLEX

Ceremonial Drinking

The use of rice wine is associated primarily with two dramatic religious ceremonies, the bilang and pagdiwata.

The bilang ritual is given by an individual for his/her recently dead relatives, the tiladmanin, who are principally believed to cause illness.

When a person becomes sick, the soul-relative causing the sickness is determined through divination. A “promise” is then made to the ancestor that the bilang ritual will be held annually with plentiful wine and food, provided the soul-relative permits the sick to become well. The dead are eager to attend the bilang, for there is no rice wine in basad, the underworld.

Numerous ritual obligations of this type may be established in the course of an individual’s lifetime. A person may also inherit the “promises” made to soul-relatives by parents or kinsmen. Hence, a number of ancestral relatives are usually called to eat and drink, one after another, at the bilang ceremonies. The dead are not pas se evil, it should be noted, but only cause illness when they are “forgotten.”

Genealogical studies show that the soul-relatives called are the recently dead, normally the dead within two ascending generations and rarely beyond three. It is not “ancestor worship” for the bilateral kinship structure is shallow, emphasizing horizontal rather than vertical relationships.

The manner in which the spirits of the dead are summoned to drink and participate in rituals is traditionally patterned. The jars of wine are opened and prepared, as previously described and tied to the flooring in the center of the room. A new and attractive mat is spread on the floor before the jars.

On this mat with three aligned piles of husked rice, the following items are usually placed: one bowl of fried rice cakes, the amik;
one bowl of *liyutlut* or glutinous rice which has been cooked in green bamboo tubes and then cut into short lengths; two or more bowls of *piyusupusu* and *suman*, special cigarettes called *diyubla* which have nipa-leaf wrappers; a plate of betel quids, the *pagemama*; and on some occasions, a bowl of fermented rice, the *ka muy*.

The great value which rice has to the Tagbanuwa is vividly illustrated by the ritual food largely made from rice itself.

At dusk, the clamor of the drum and gongs discloses to the dead the beginning of the ritual and the person who has made the “promise,” the *magbilang*, begins the ceremony. With parina, a penetrating incense obtained from the sap of a tree (*Kingiodendron alternifolium* (Elm.) Merr. and Rolfe), the *magbilang* censes all of the ritual paraphernalia including the sides of the wine jars. The soul-relatives are said to have an inordinate liking for the smell of this incense and are thus easily attracted to the ceremony.

Then, to summon a specific ancestor, the *magbilang* holds a plate with betel quids and taps it lightly seven times. He next places the plate on top of the four straws in the wine jar and, while doing this, throws a pinch of rice into the air or through the flooring. The soul-relative is now present and drinking the wine.

While the ancestor sucks the wine, the *magbilang* prays softly, almost inaudibly, asking for favors and the protection of his family. He reminds the soul-relative that the obligations of a *bilang* ceremony have been fulfilled. In a minute or so the soul-relative departs and the *magbilang* removes the plate with the betel quid. Water is added to the jar using the small saucer to replace the amount drawn off by the ancestor. In many instances a member of the family, usually a child, a younger person, or someone ill will drink after the soul-relative as a sort of “drinking partner.”. This special wine is be-

6 These are types of cooked glutinous rice cakes which have been sweetened.
lieved to protect the children⁷ and to have medicinal qualities. The above procedure is repeated until each of the soul-relatives has been summoned and has shared the wine and the ritual food.

During the more elaborate *pagdiwata* ceremonies which usually last from dusk to dawn, a large number of soul-relatives and deities are called, one after the other. Each appears and acts through the being of the "medium," the *babalyan*, to drink wine, eat, smoke, chew betel, sing, dance, and hear the supplications of the living. The Tagbanuwa look upon the *babalyan* as a sort of intermediary who can be possessed and manipulated by the supernaturals when they appear at the ceremonies.

The behavior of the *babalyan* during rituals in the various Tagbanuwa communities differs considerably, but the manner in which the supernaturals "drink" the wine is identical. After a period of ritual singing and dancing, the *babalyan*—the supernatural according to the Tagbanuwa—sits in a swing or squats before the wine jar. Then, with violent body movements and with rhythmical swishing of the *ugsang*⁸ against the sides of the jar, the supernatural drinks.

The spectators do not actually see the supernatural drink wine from the jar, though all are satisfied that such drinking occurs and point out, as well, that water must be added to the jar after the supernatural's turn. For when the ceremony begins, the head of the *babalyan* is covered with a large cloth shawl, red or black in color, which covers the straws and most of the body of the jar as the *babalyan* bends over the jar to drink. The shawl hood is used to cover the head of the *babalyan* as the Tagbanuwa believe that it is extremely dangerous, causing illness and even death, to see the eyes of the dead.

The beat of the drum and gongs also accompanies all ritual drinking.

---

⁷ Infant and child mortality is high among the Tagbanuwa.

⁸ These are bundles of stripped palm leaves tied around a small bell at the end of a stick.
A person from the audience will frequently drink after each soul-relative or deity. The drinking partner may be selected by the supernatural—we would say the babalyan—who darts into the surrounding throng and seizes an individual by the arm, dragging him to the jar.

Any person may be seized, as was the writer on two occasions. However, the choice is usually someone who had helped the babalyan prepare the elaborate paraphernalia used in the ceremonies or who had gone deep into the forest to gather the necessary sacred plants used in decorating the dwelling. Thus, the privilege of drinking with a supernatural acts as a ritual reward. The rice wine drunk on these occasions is said to have an even more beneficent value.

When the more important deities and soul-relatives have been called to drink the wine, all of the remaining supernaturals are summoned as a group. The prosperity and well-being of man lie in the hands of the supernaturals and though some are of greater importance than others, it is imperative that none be slighted or ignored, that harmonious relationships be maintained with all.

Thus, the jars of wine are the focal point of the Tagbanuwa rituals. Man and the supernaturals are brought together by the same intense desire to drink wine. In this setting, the principal guests who are the soul-relatives and deities are happy, and therefore amiable to the entreaties of man. As the Tagbanuwa have a highly developed cult-of-the-dead with a concern for an enduring and intimate relationship, the sharing of ritual wines reinforces the social bond between the living and the dead.

Social Drinking and Associated Activities

An orgy of group, recreational drinking follows each bilang and pagdiwata ceremony which lasts for a day or longer, as noted, if there are many jars of wine. Nearly every adult and some of the children will become inebriated. But it is a merry and harmonious occasion, an occasion for singing and dancing and for renewing acquaintanceships with friends who have been invited from other settlements. It is for forming blood compacts, for discussing politics
and current issues, for courting, and for forgetting momentarily one's private problems.

In fact, the drinkfests and associated activities are the only expression of organized adult recreation among the Tagbanuwa. The number of people attending a ritual and drinkfest varies greatly. As few as twenty persons at the bilang ceremonies (which are essentially a family affair) can be counted. However, even a hundred or so may be spotted at a pagdiwata ceremony as it is normally for the health and welfare of the larger kindred. Always, there are more women at the rituals--the babalyan are usually female--the men arriving later for the drinking.

What are the traditional social controls which create a harmonious setting for this fervent drinking? The Tagbanuwa recognize and say that a person "walks and talks differently" when drunk, that he is lango, and they may excuse minor infringements of sanctioned behavior.

But the fundamental social controls are never relaxed. A display of overt aggression in any form is intolerable. There are young, acculturated individuals who are known to be aggressive and troublemakers when drunk but they are either not invited to the drinkfests or should they be present, are not called or called only once by the magpa inum to drink at the jars.

The drinkers are expected to show respect for kinship, age, and social status, even when drunk. A man must be particularly careful not to antagonize his in-laws by being forward with other women in their presence. There are, of course, infractions of sanctioned behavior but when these occur, they are quickly dealt with in subsequent councils. Fines are levied.

In Tagbanuwa society, there is a relatively greater freedom for pre-marital sexual play and many opportunities for extra-marital sexual relations. In this setting, sexual aggression would not be expected during the drinkfests and none was seen (or expected). There is considerable sexual play among the younger boys and girls at the drinkfests--behavior which might be shocking to the Western eye. But the stimulus is more the product of the opportunity for personal inter-
action provided by the drinking party and the general gaiety of the occasion, than of insobriety as such. It occurred as frequently, in fact, among the younger individuals who are not drinking. There is little correlation, if any, between drunkenness and sexual aggression.

Other social factors control drinking. The persons participating in a drinkfest and ritual are by and large intimately co-associated either as members of a bilateral kinship group or individuals having a similar social status and a common residence. These ties provide a harmonious setting for the drinking, a social environment which is relatively free from potential conflict. Participants are tacitly invited to the drinkfest, and no one would or could be turned away from a ritual or the subsequent drinkfest.

Each family participating in a drinkfest and ritual will usually give a “ganta” or two of rice to the host in order to share the cost of making the wine. On some occasions, however, an elementary family or even an individual may give an inuman, a drinking party, and provide four or five large jars of wine—a very costly affair. This conspicuous consumption of the precious rice is motivated by a desire to achieve a favorable group opinion and to improve one’s social status. This is most often the case for non-Tagbanuwa who have married into the culture and seen closer identity.

The success of a drinkfest is measured by the quantity of the wine consumed and the general gaiety of the occasion. If the amount of the wine is insufficient, the participants may display unfavorable reaction. Malicious remarks may be made about the “hospitality” of the host, if the host is not a relative.

Families vie in preparing the greatest number of jars for a drinking party. If there is not enough wine, it should be the host and his immediate family who are slighted. Among the Tagbanuwa, an expectant but frustrated guest is an intolerant individual.  

---

9 An incident occurred in the Tagbanuwa village of Magbabadil in 1951 which drew the wrath of the Tagbanuwa. Three Palawan priests were asked by a Palawan who had married a Tagbanuwa girl to perform a palbi ceremony for his sick child. In the course of this non-Tagbanuwa ceremony, the Tagbanuwa
A number of social activities occur only during the drinkfests and consequently reinforce the value of drinking. The most important of these interrelated activities are blood brothership pacts, partner drinking, singing and dancing.

Blood Brotherhood Pacts

Most of the Tagbanuwa men (a few women) have one or more sandugu or "blood brothers." These formal blood pacts are arranged only during drinkfests. The pacts bind together two men from different Tagbanuwa settlements and sometimes men of different cultures. It is a ritual extension of kinship—the duties and obligations are those of a "brother-in-law"—which provides security for traders and travelers who are always fearful of being poisoned.

During the course of a drinkfest when it is known that a blood pact between two men is appropriate, a third party begins a lively and entertaining discussion with the two candidates in alimbawa (a flowery language which involves verbal circumlocution and no direct reference to the blood pact). The discussion is terminated when the two men have agreed. At this time, the wife of one of the men prepares two betel quids and places them on the opposite sides of a plate. While this is being done, two men make a pair of small and very sharp bamboo knives, the kadlit.

Another participant, acting as the maglambay, calls the candidates to the side of a wine jar and as the drum and gongs begin, invokes the highest ranking deity to witness the pact.

The two men who have prepared the bamboo knives now step forward and cut simultaneously the right nipple of each candidate. They take the betel quids from the plate and rub them against the guests and relatives of the girl were amazingly tolerant. However, when the three priests and the Palawan host drank the wine exclusively, as a part of the ritual, antagonisms flared. Though the Tagbanuwa resented the whole tenor of this heretical ceremony, it was actually the "selfish drinking" of the wine, as they put it, which triggered their anger and which became the topic of hostile conversation for many days, later leading to the forced separation of the couple.
nipple of each man until the betel quids are covered with blood. The two men exchange and chew the quids covered with the other's blood.

The *maglambay* again calls the highest ranking deity and at the same time places the bamboo knives on the surface of the wine in the jar. If the knives were to sink, it would mean that "hard feelings," although concealed, actually existed between the two men. And the highest ranking deity, recognizing that the pact would not be desirable, would reject it. If favorable the two men become *sandugu*, literally of "one blood." With a single piece of cloth covering their heads, they then sip together from the opposite sides of the jar. The *maglambay* and the two *kakadlitan* also take their turns at drinking.

Finally, the two "brothers" pay a small amount of money, usually twenty centavos, to each of the two men who acted as the *kakadlitan*. This is a symbolic payment, a "witness money," establishing that the blood pact had been performed.

Blood pacts are made only between men of a similar class or status, for it is believed that if the "noble-blooded" and the "common-blooded" were to mix, the latter would die. This is one of many expressions which gives reality to the two social classes in Tagbanuwa society, even though there are no economic or little political advantage held by the "noble-blooded".

It is dangerous, furthermore, to have too many blood brothers, that is, "to spread one's blood too thin." The behavioral relationships of the blood brothers, as noted, are similar to those of affinal kin.

The blood brothers employ only kinship terms when addressing or referring to the relatives of their *sandugu*. If a man should marry any relative of his blood brother, the pact is automatically broken and a fine, the *ulit dugu*\(^{10}\) demanded. Thus, this pact increases and extends the number of one's relatives, providing greater security for an individual in this society.

\(^{10}\) *Ulít dugu* means "to return the blood".
Partner Drinking

An earlier study (ca. 1907) has reported an interesting pattern of social drinking among the Tagbanuwa which was apparently common during this time:

“Any... 'commoner'... can lead the wife of the masicampo, the highest ranking hereditary leader himself to the jar, sit with her and drink pangasi tabad or rice wine. During the ceremony which is usually done by a man and woman, their heads being covered by a large handkerchief, the man has the privilege of kissing the woman and may be quite familiar... There is no jealousy evinced on the part of the husband unless the man should lead the woman to any part not within the house in which the feast is celebrated. Many times an invited noble will return to his house offended because his wife had not been taken by one of his friends to the side of the jar and there partaken of pangasi.”

This observation is significant in that it clearly records that conjugal bonds were socially relaxed during the drinkfests, that is, while the couples were drinking.

Although there were similar descriptions of this practice in Palawan, it was not in vogue in 1950-51 in the villages of Magbabadil and Kabigaan. Informants in Magbabadil denied, in fact, this pattern of partner-drinking and it may possibly have been limited to specific Tagbanuwa communities. No reason, however, may be invoked to question this pioneering description, for it conforms to the general pattern of partner drinking still practised by the Tagbanuwa.

Two situations in which partner drinking occur have already been described: (1) the occasion in which a person drinks after a supernatural during the bilang or diwata ceremony, and (2) the final act of the blood pact in which the two men drink together with a single piece of cloth covering their heads. In addition, partner drinking also takes place between men and women, men and men, and women and women during the social drinking but in a manner which varies from the previously quoted description.
This latter type of partner drinking is usually arranged by the *magma inum*, the "drinking leader," who selects the participants on the basis of the incongruity of the relationship, and in so doing provokes much laughter. A man, for example, may drink first, drawing off about one-half of the wine and a woman (his ex-wife) follows, lowering the level of the wine to the bamboo marker. The two do not usually drink at the same time and there are no intimacies shown.

Nevertheless, there is a bond of affection and *camaraderie* suggested in all situations in which partner drinking occurs. In this style of drinking, the relative social position of the partners is ignored. When the two are at the jar, the social functions of partner drinking momentarily transcend the relative status of the participants.

The sharing of wine is seen as a social value which inter-links man with man and man with the supernaturals, a relationship of fraternity and mutual understanding.

**Drinking Songs**

Drinking and singing are inseparable activities. The most important of the drinking-songs are those which for descriptive purposes are called *sudsud* (this is by and large the generic term also employed by the Tagbanuwa). This class of songs includes a variety of traditional tunes each of which has a specific name.\(^\text{11}\) These are sung only during the drinkfests by a few talented individuals, invariably, older men and women. Although very popular, the lyrics of these songs are either wholly or largely meaningless to both the singers and listeners.

Despite the writer's hope that the *sudsud* might be epic songs similar to the *hudhud* of the Ifugao, the *sudsud* are simply short, traditionally learned songs and verses sung in competition during the

---

\(^{11}\) Some notable samples are *sudsud*, *daguy*, *baukay*, *sik nan* and *bawla*. 
drinking parties. Furthermore, the precise meanings of the words of these songs, as noted, are of no real consequence. Rather, it is the act of singing the sudsud with their veiled words and once esoteric tunes which evokes an emotional response.

When a number of the older men (rarely women) are drunk, one will sing a verse of a sudsud and another will respond. This continues until the repertoire of one of the contestants, the loser, is exhausted. The challenges and answers do not follow a theme but are unrelated and largely meaningless lyrics. Nevertheless, each added verse provokes tremendous audience response—shouts of approval and laughter. In a very real sense, these songs are an expression of a collective identification and of in-group superiority, as well as pride in that which is Tagbanuwa. A contestant also enjoys the privilege and advantage of “monopolizing” the jar of wine as his “opponent” gets engrossed with singing.

Within recent years, a relatively new tune, the diday, has become popular. Each individual has a set of personal verses for this tune which usually deals with love, meaningful daily incidents and problems, or even a brief personal life-history. While the drinking is going on, a man or woman sings a series of such verses and the audience continues with the chorus. Often, a person answers the first singer with an impromptu verse from his own repertoire which is similar in content and appropriate. Such instances also incite much merriment. The diday are usually directed towards the person who is drinking, the singer standing near or bending over the drinker at the jar. This action is a further expression of the basic social features of the drinkfest, emphasizing group solidarity.

A sort of contest-singing may also be built around the traditional tunes, uyman and daguy, although the latter is usually sung with nonsensical verses. The words for these songs are extemporized by the singers in answer to an original theme. The contest provides a clever singer with the opportunity to play upon words and risque motifs and to “satirize an opponent.” As always, such contests are received with appreciation and amusement by the merry and mellowed audience.
Thus, singing is a group activity intimately associated with the drinkfest and rituals. It is almost impossible to get an old man to sing a *sudsud* unless he is tipsy or intoxicated.

Singing is rarely a part of everyday activities, except for the children and young people who hum or sing snatches of the drinking-songs after a party or, at present, sing popular tunes which are heard on the transistors or learned from Christian friends. However, good singers, are very popular--the people point to them with pride--and a man or woman who knows the *sudsud* is described as a “real Tagbanuwa.”

**Dancing**

It would appear from earlier accounts as well as from the statement of older informants that dancing was once an integral part of the Tagbanuwa’s daily social life. Dancing is associated at present almost wholly with religious ceremonies, being performed by the *babalyan* when in a trance.

The *babalyan* will not dance at any other times, for the mere execution of dance steps might summon the supernaturals. Nevertheless, a few persons, particularly the “helpers” of the *babalyan* who have learned the intricate steps of the dances, may perform during the drinkfests either as a spontaneous expression of exhilaration or when called upon by the audience. The traditional group dances described by the 1907 study which are executed by a woman with one or more men have almost disappeared.

Partner dancing in the “American style” has become popular in recent years among the younger people and is not antagonistically received by the older folk. The music--Tagalog, Spanish, or American tunes--is provided by one or more guitars. These dances usually take place in the afternoon before a drinkfest or if the latter takes place during the day, at the same time. The recent introduction of the “American style” of dancing has unquestionably been responsible for the decline of interest in the indigenous dances,
particularly for the younger set. It would be fairly safe to predict that the folk dances will survive only as a part of the pagdiwata rituals and drinkfests. Generally, traditional Tagbanuwa culture—song, dances, dress, and so forth—disappears in everyday life activities but appears during the rituals and drinkfests.

The Beneficence of the Rice Wine

While drinking, a person may spit or rub the wine on a wound or on some part of the body which aches, for the wine is said to have a curative value—an intrinsic power to heal. In view of the wine's ritual association and value, this belief is thoroughly understandable.

More striking is the doctrine that the wine refreshes and strengthens the body, regardless of the quantity drunk. The Tagbanuwa do not have descriptions for the symptoms of the Western world's "hangover." A heavy drinker may sleep longer after a spree but would never, because of drinking, evade obligation or work which had been previously planned.

The phenomenal quantity of this highly intoxicating beverage which a Tagbanuwa can drink (without exhibiting the symptoms of physical discomfort) is simply amazing. Tagbanuwa friends were annoyed when this writer complained about a general malaise and a headache after participating in a drinkfest, remarking politely but firmly that "it could not have been caused by drinking the wine." Since the wine is believed to contribute to the physical well-being of the individual, it could not, therefore, weaken one's body.

It would appear that many of the so-called "after effects" of indulgence as found in the West may be culturally conditioned, and not simply the physiological results of drinking.
THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF THE RICE WINE

The drinking of rice wine, seen as a virtue by the Tagbanuwa, is thus an inseparable part of the ethos. This liquor, as shown, is a product of the peerless and divine food--rice. During ceremonies, the wine is drunk by the dead and deities and later shared by mortal relatives and participants. During recreational drinking, the wine is associated with blood pacts, partner drinking, singing and dancing. It is looked upon as a medicine and a strength-giving agent which contributes to the well-being of the individual.

These are not a series of unrelated beliefs and activities. Rather, the use of wine links and binds the individual to the group, the smaller social units of the society to the larger social system, and mortal man to the soul-relatives and deities. Having this social and ritual value, the use of wine may be seen as a powerful integrating force.12

There are many more social drinkfests (and rituals) today than in the past, according to informants, as there are larger quantities

12 It should be noted that the social contexts in which alcohol is drunk throughout the Philippines--the value, function, and consequence of drinking--are highly invariable. The rice wine complex as found among the Tagabanuwa is by no means typical. Some groups, for example, such as the Agta of Polorllo Island on the east coast of Luzon, have not made or used liquors traditionally. The introduction of alcohol to these groups has greatly contributed to the disintegration of the indigenous society and has provided, it would appear, the principal means of escaping from a harsh contact situation. In some instances, drinking has provoked types of sexual and aggressive acts unknown in the traditional setting. These groups had no traditional social mechanisms with which to control the use of the introduced alcohol. Other groups, on the contrary, such as the Manobo of Mindanao, have traditionally used intoxicants for social and religious purposes. Nevertheless, they would also appear to lack
of rice made available for making wine. This is not, however, the explanation for the increase in the number of drinkfests.

In the past forty years, the Tagbanuwa have been subject to considerable social pressures by encroaching Christian groups, mostly tenant farmers who had come to Palawan to seek their own lands. The Tagbanuwa's economic and political life therefore has become linked with the dominant Christian-Filipino world. But, the Tagbanuwa continue to keep their rituals and drinkfests to themselves (although Christian neighbors have been invited to attend the social drinking following the ceremonies.

An identification with traditional life-ways is reinforced by the Tagbanuwa's intensification of rituals and drinkfests. Facing a changing world, the social and ritual drinking of rice wine may be seen as an attempt to achieve a symbolic expression of Tinagbanuwa or "being Tagbanuwa." In social-psychological terms, the increase in the number of drinkfests might also be analyzed as "anxiety reduction," yet it is not simply alcohol but the entire complex of social drinking which contributes to the personal security and social solidarity of the Tagbanuwa.

Though the use of rice wine may clearly be analyzed as "integrative," there are, nevertheless, dysfunctional consequences.

effective means of controlling drinking—effective controls, that is, in relationship to group harmony. (?)Garvan writes:

   Indeed the Manobo loves a good eater and drinker. It is an honor to gorge and a glory to get drunk. Now it happens at times at a Manobo banquet, as it does in all drinking bouts the world over, that a quarrel ensues and recourse is had to the ever present bolo to settle an argument that wild shouts and frantic gestures can not decide. For this reason, the Manobo eats with his left hand and rolls his eyes from side to side in constant vigilance.

Elsewhere (?)Garvan calls the Manobo a "peaceful and a merry drinker" but then states that inebriation "on many such occasions has abruptly terminated the feast by a fatal quarrel." Insobriety among the Manobo is clearly associated with aggression and violence.
These are "poisoning" and the intensification of culture contacts. The Tagbanuwa have a bad reputation as poisoners, as the following quotation shows:

Aborlan was the hub of a large Tagbanuwa area where heathen witchcraft prevailed in a form so treacherous that the Christian who went out among the tribe must be careful lest he have his food poisoned at the command of the spiritual guardian of the barrio.

Among the Tagbanuwa themselves there is an ever present fear of ratyun or "poison." This writer found it almost impossible, however, to obtain systematic information about poisoning, for to admit knowledge of its use would be to confess to being a poisoner. Nevertheless, from numerous usually second-hand stories which I heard about poisoning incidents, as well as from daily gossip, the ratyun would seem to appear in two forms: (1) a metabolically active form, a lethal toxin, which is rarely and probably never used by the Tagbanuwa, and (2) a common magical-poison primarily associated with drinking which exists in the minds of the Tagbanuwa (and neighbors) and provides a rationale for the physiological after-effects of heavy drinking.

The Tagbanuwa do not clearly distinguish the two types of ratyun; that is, they do not differentiate between "natural" and "magical" poisoning. Each type of poisoning has its diagnostic symptoms. Moreover, each type of poisoning is believed to be the result of the use of a tangible substance—the ratyun.

They characterize the symptoms of first type of ratyun as being very violent; the tongue protrudes from the mouth, the teeth turn to powder, and death is instantaneous. They accuse, it is amusing to note, the Muslims and Palawan of using this form of poison and dread to travel in areas inhabited by these two groups.

The characteristics of the second type of ratyun are said to be less violent and rarely fatal. This ratyun is nevertheless very effective because it causes lingering illness and it is difficult to detect

---

13 The source cannot be established—ed.
the poisoner. The symptoms of this second type, as shown by case studies, are dryness of the throat, vomiting (sometimes with blood), and dizziness.

*Ratyun*, according to the Tagbanuwa, is used in a number of covert ways, such as by placing the substance on one side of a knife, cutting a betel nut with this knife, and then handing the portion of the nut which had been cut with the poisoned face of the knife to the other person. But the time of greatest danger is during the drinkfests when “foolish people” (the Tagbanuwa’s description) place the *ratyun* on one or more of the drinking straws in the wine jars. This explains the behavior of the drinkers who always spit out the first mouthfuls of the wine.

The Tagbanuwa state that the individuals who possess *ratyun* must employ it at least once a year or its “power” will attack the possessor. A number of informants related with horror how individuals were supposed to have used it against their immediate kin, as they had no opportunities to employ it against strangers or non-relatives.

A distant village is always said to have many poisoners. When a group is gossiping among themselves, they may reveal the name of a person believed to be a poisoner. But this is done quietly within the we-group and there is rarely a consensus in opinion about who is a poisoner. The accuser in one instance of gossiping may be the accused in another.

However, the very vivid belief among the Tagbanuwa in *ratyun* would appear to be the result of stereo-typed tales, hearsay and gossip about non-conformists and individuals who display aberrant behavior, or individuals whose personal histories are associated with fatal relationships with other persons. One man—a friend and excellent informant—had been married three times and all of his wives had died. He was generally accused of being a poisoner and to this day remains unmarried and could not find a fourth wife.

In this setting, the traveler or stranger is understandably the common target of the poisoner, hence the great importance of blood pacts between men of different villages. The Tagbanuwa will rarely
travel to another village to attend a drinkfest or drink rice wine unless it is at the dwelling of a blood brother, or a relative, and unless accompanied by a village mate or relative who knows an effective antidote for ratyun. Understandably too, Christian neighbors have great fear of the Tagbanuwa. The following case study is an illuminating incident of poisoning:

In 1950, Limwan, and Pidru—all residents of Magbabadil—attended a bilang ceremony at the house of Lasting in Kabiga at a nearby village. During the social drinking which followed the ceremony, Tikung suddenly became very thirsty, had a dry throat, and found it difficult to breathe. These symptoms were immediately recognized as those of ratyun and Pidru who fortunately knew an antidote immediately administered the medicine to Tikung. Even then Tikung suffered for about an hour.

Then Limwan realized that his friend and companion had been "poisoned," he became very angry and stopped the drinking by shouting: "If Tikung suffers anymore, I will accuse someone." Limwan remarked . . . however, that he did not really suspect any particular person. He knew, however, that if he threatened the group as a whole with a specific accusation, the poisoner would be afraid and stop.

The informants agreed that this particular instance of poisoning was done as "a joke by a very foolish person." The poisoner had not really attempted to kill Tikung, as the symptoms were relatively slight.

The effect of this widespread fear of ratyun is to intensify the solidarity of the local we-groups, the kinship and residential groupings, by limiting the number of social contacts and the actual area of personal interaction. Thus, although the Tagbanuwa have an embryonic concept of a "Tagbanuwa state," and talk of a "supreme leader," the masikampu ("maestro de campo," Sp.), intergroup friction and hostility as a result of the belief in "poisoning" is widespread and impedes the actual growth of political solidarity and social action.
The Tagbanuwa are extremely interested and active in local and even national politics and although they constitute a majority of the voting population in a number of places, are rarely successful for a government office. Group solidarity badly needed in an acculturation situation is swept aside by internal antagonisms provoked by the belief in *ratyun*. Most incidents of poisoning occur, as noted, at the drinkfests.

The highlight of the relationship between poisoning and drinking is that it provides the Tagbanuwa with an explanation for the seeming failure of the espoused benefits gained by drinking rice wine; that is, the belief that the wine strengthens the body and does not cause a "hangover." The conclusion that the Tagbanuwa do not use metabolic poisons and that the symptoms of "poisoning" are in fact the physiological consequences of intense drinking—vomiting, dizziness, and so forth, seems tenable. The Tagbanuwa, as noted, do not admit that the drinking of rice wine is deleterious. When there are physical effects from drinking, these are attributed to "poisoning."

Far more jural cases occur during the second period of the annual cycle, the social and ceremonial season, than during the first when the people are involved in agricultural activities. The councils convene almost daily during the period of increased drinking, the litigation sometimes being the result of incidents which happened at drinkfests.

But, it is highly questionable that the increased jural conflicts can be ascribed primarily to insobriety. Rather, the greater social interaction which occurs during this period simply provides the opportunities for disruptive behavior to arise. Quantitative studies of the causes of conflicts reaching the councils bear out this assertion, drinking being a negligible factor.

More rice is available today for making wine, as we have noted, than in the past. The total quantity of rice raised is being supplemented by gathering resin and trading or selling it to the Christian concessionaires for additional rice as well as manufactured goods. This study has argued that traditional life-ways are reinforced by the
intensification of rituals and drinkfests and that the social usage of rice wine contributes to the integration of Tagbanuwa society. But the blade is double-edged. For, although the rice used in making wine can be replaced at present by selling resin, the commerce has increased tremendously the rate of external culture contracts. Filipino, Spanish, and American tools, ideas, and values are flowing into Tagbanuwa-land rather profusely.

Changes in Patterns of Drinking

The traditional rice wine complex among the Tagbanuwa seems integrative in function, stressing social obligations and emphasizing social relationships with the dead as well as the living. This analysis becomes all the more valid when contrasted with a new pattern of drinking, Western in character, which has emerged among the Tagbanuwa during the past twenty years and which involves the use of bottled gins and rums.

When first introduced, the new alcohols were ritually as well as socially interwoven into the rice wine complex. During the bilang and pagdiwata ceremonies, for example, a bottle of gin or rum would be opened, a glass filled and placed on the mat in front of the wine jars, and offered to the soul-relatives, specifically when the dead had enjoyed bottled liquors during their life time.

Later, during the social drinkfests, this liquor (there could be many bottles) was shared with the participants, each given a portion after a turn at the jars. This first usage of the introduced intoxicants was thus socially articulated with the traditional rice wine complex.

Now, however, many small and informal drinking parties are held in which the new liquors are drunk in considerable quantity wholly for personal satisfaction and private psychological ends with none of the social and ritual functions of the traditional rice wine complex. These drinking bouts are socially disruptive, clearly dis-integrative and have become the concern of contemporary Tagbanuwa leaders who previously defended drinking as a necessary phase of the "good life." Until 1951, only one instance of violence involving Tagbanuwa could be remembered. Today, aggression is a usual fea-
nature of drinkfests, even rituals, involving in particular the younger Tagbanuwa men. It is interesting to note that the new generation attribute after-effects to the indulgence of rice wine in defense of their new style of drinking and bottled liquors which they say rarely cause "hangovers." Besides, personal status is derived from the ability to purchase such liquors.

CONCLUSION

The rice wine complex has had and continues to have an integrative value to the Tagbanuwa which is functional with their total culture. The new pattern of drinking, on the contrary, is without social meaning, involving only individuals drinking together as individuals. It is a new style of drinking which is without a social framework, norms or sanctions, to guide and control interpersonal relationships.

Thus, drunkenness (socially defined) aggression and disruptive behavior will continue to be associated with this new style of "Western" drinking. Alcoholism and drinking for personal and psychological ends, unknown and unrecognized in the past, is a predictable feature of this new way of drinking and will continue to create many new problems for the Tagbanuwa.

It is apparent that most anthropological writers on the subject of the use of alcohol in the Western world have, by and large, ignored the functional relationships between the social milieu and the value of drinking. Drinking, in fact, is truly a social phenomenon involving interaction between one and more or many persons—even Western culture is most intolerant of the lone drinker—and the consequences of drinking in terms of the personal cost of drunkenness and disruptive social relations are still "...a function of the cultural (and social) setting."
Dr. Robert Bradford Fox, an American by birth but a Filipino by professional interests, devoted his most significant years to the promotion of Philippine scholarship, especially in the realms of anthropology and archeology. He has a string of works published over a twenty-three year period to his credit.* In addition, he served as Chief Anthropologist of the National Museum of the Philippines, Professorial Lecturer of the Department of Anthropology (UP) and consultant, Presidential Arm on National Minorities, between 1955 and 1971. He spent seven (7) years and eight (8) months on cultural and special anthropology among the Negritos, Ilongots, Tagalog, Tagbanuwa, Ifugao and Bontok and for eight (8) years and five (5) months, did cave and open site archeology in the provinces of Albay, Batangas, Palawan, Pampanga, and Sorsogon. For his pioneering work in the country, the Philippine government conferred on him the Rizal Pro-Patria Award in 1964. Dr. Fox obtained his A.B., M.A. and Ph.D. in anthropology from the University of Southern California (1941), University of Texas (1944) and University of Chicago (1954), respectively.

* A comprehensive bibliography of his works was compiled in 1983 by Daniel J. Scheans of the Ceramics Analysis Laboratory, Portland State University.

Photos of the Tagbanuwa used for this issue’s cover courtesy of Mrs. Fernande Landau Fox. Plates used for pp. 2-3 are labelled Plates VIII and XII in Dr. Robert Fox’s book-length monograph (a version of the author’s dissertation published by the National Museum in 1982) entitled Tagbanuwa Religion and Society. Centerpiece photo in the cover showing a babalyan’s dance originally printed in Filipino Heritage Vol. 2, p. 384, the print for this issue provided by Mrs. Fernande Landau Fox.
Dr. Norma Lua of the Division of Humanities, UP Baguio, uncovers Kankanay worldview as it is coded in Kankanay folk narratives. Limited circulation, P25.