



## Sanggar, pelimbonen, kaphaygo sa ragat: Traversing the Pre-Islamic beliefs and traditions of the Meranaws in the Philippines

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### ABSTRACT

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The pre-Islamic culture in the Philippines is evident in the present social behavior of the Filipinos, especially the Meranaws. These people geographically occupy the two Lanao provinces and other nearby towns. This paper explored the tradition of *sanggar*, *pelimbonen* and *kaphaygo sa ragat* as ancient practices before the influence of Islam to the Meranaws. The practices involve the invocation of spirits, use of nature such as sea, plants, and spells. The study is a qualitative and the method used is descriptive analysis to explain and discuss the beliefs and traditions. The data were collected through interviews on the three concepts mentioned. The traditions and beliefs were rich embedded culture and widely practiced years before the Islamization of the Meranaws. They called spirits in nature as they believed in the power of these beings in treating people and the success of their spells. However, it is noted with the case of sea bathing, the Meranaws live near the lake, which calls for further investigation if this tradition is true for all Meranaws. No single document has ever proven this. Thus, some traditions and beliefs have been banned due to the influence of strong Islamic teachings.

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## Introduction

Mindanao is a basin of rich culture and diversity where different ethnic groups live. The Meranaws (sing.: /Məranaw/) dominantly occupy the provinces of Lanao del Norte and Lanao del Sur. Their culture is rich, especially in beliefs and traditions. The different aspects of how they can be described resonate with their uniqueness and shared culture with the rest of the ethnic groups in the island. Some of these tangible cultures are their dress, material product, their crafts, designs of their home, musical instruments and many more. Most of these cultural materials are said to be pre-Islamic and indigenous, from the time of Bantugen. This is provided in the description of the Darangen (Coronel, 1992).

Darangen epic is accounted to Meranaw literature and known in the country and in whole Asia as the longest epic ever recorded in the history in the continent. It consists of eight volumes. It narrates the life of the ancient Meranaw people, which shows how rich the culture, beliefs and traditions they used to be in their daily life. The series of stories that make up the epic revolve around the Iliyan a Bembaran, an ancient place in the Lanao provinces, which is said to be the root genealogy or lineage (*salsila*) of the royal blood who were half spirits and rulers of the land (Cairoden, 2019; Gonzales et al., 1978; Alonto, 1975).

The rich culture imbued in its narratives was slowly forgotten or deliberately neglected because of the arrival and spread of Islam. This was peddled by the Arab traders from Malaysia and Indonesia. They were called *sharief* (Coronel, 1992). One of these *sharief* is Sharief Kabunsuan. Due to this emerging influence in the region, the culture of the old people was modified by assimilation and deletion of the traditions and beliefs that did not conform to the teachings of Islam. Undoubtedly, the Meranaw culture was

affected by the prohibitions of the religion. This eventually led to a detachment from the psyche of the people. Believing in spirits and communicating with them is a manifestation of shirk (associating God with other deities). Practicing shirk while embracing Islam is forbidden and a great sin as an offense against God (Al-Dahlawi, 2012).

Due to this, the existing traditions and beliefs of the ancient Meranaws were treated as shirk as they called and communicated with the spirits who were believed to have power and grant wishes. For this reason, they are forced to acculturate. However, although the wearing off of the old culture is desired when Islam entered the island, some traditions were passed on to the next generation until its last execution from the communities in two Lanao provinces.

The Meranaw people, like the other ethnic groups, cultivated their culture long before the arrival of Islamic influence. With the transmission of culture from generation to generation had been done smoothly because of the continuous practice of the particular traditions and beliefs. In Edward Taylor (1971) explained that the behavior, beliefs, customary laws, arts, knowledge and all the skills are learned and shared by people who interact socially with their own society. Culture is a historical pool of meanings of symbols. It is a system of inherited concepts that have undergone a meaningful form and used in the livelihood and spread throughout (Gusto, 1995). Knowledge and behavior were developed and becomes vehicle in the development of human life. Likewise, the Meranaws use the knowledge they have for their advantage and welfare especially related to health and safety. The syncretic belief system of the Meranaws on health, causes of diseases, curative resorts, and healing methods are indigenous knowledge (Mendoza, Ponce, & Voloria, 2019). This is posited in the *sanggar* to change the bad fate of a person, *pelimbonen* to counteract

the curse or anything that harms a person, and *kaphaygo sa ragat* to heal the condition of a sick person by bathing in the sea. These practices involve the intervention of spirits or deities in nature.

They also believed that sickness or death is caused by the spirits of nature. They also worshipped the sun, moon, animals, and even the trees are considered sacred. The ancient connection with nature is strong. Animism is widely observed among different ethnic groups (Agoncillo, 1990). The change of belief, as *sanggar* is all about, accelerates the power that the deities or spirits can do to prevent the bad omen.

Likewise, the main reason for invoking the help of the deities is to ask for healing mercy from these beings. They gave instructions to the people on what to do for healing. This traditional healing is part of the Filipino culture (Rebuya, Lasarte, Amador, 2020; Bantug, 1953). The *pelimbonen* tradition comes to this when there is a curse on someone, it can also be countered with another spell. For Rivera (2012), it is an evil act that is usually done by a man who is possessed by an evil spirit.

Other forms of communication with the deities to ask for healing mercy is through the possession of the spirits on one of the people to convey their message verbally. Mostly this happens to the *pamomolong* (quack doctor or healer) who call the spirits and later they become different people. In Meranaw this is called *pendarpaan* (possessed). This definitely does not mean to help the sick person or help in general, but it can also mean to occupy or control the person. There are deities that are good and bad, whether they help or harm. These conditions are represented as why *kaphaygo sa ragat* is done for some reason.

The healers used a variety of strategies in invoking the deities and their process of healing sick people with the immense help of the spirits. As these findings revealed in the literature, Meranaws have different

ways of offering the spirits to help them. The healers are divided into six categories; 1. The psychic surgeons, 2. The healers with paraphernalias, 3. The anointers, 4. The blowers, 5. The whisperers, and 6. The psychic healers (Aping, 2016; Bibon, 2021). Although these healers (*albularyo* varieties terms depends on their strategies of healing) have commonalities in their practice such as the knowledge in folkloric modalities, the use of herbs, and the invocation of spiritual or supernatural interventions (Rebuya, Lasarte, Amador, 2020).

In this paper, the general objective is to narrate the three of the traditions and beliefs on *sanggar*, *pelimbonen*, and *kaphaygo sa ragat*, a way that has not yet been recorded and for the purpose of understanding the Meranaw in their culture before they embraced Islam. The influence of their religion now disabled them to practice the old traditions and beliefs to do so because of the shift to Islam. It is a valid reason not to practice the old culture, but it is also noteworthy to recognize the rich activities and way of life of the ancient Meranaws. It is also an excavation of historical and socio-anthropological account that can open to wide pre-Islamic discussions about them. It is also relevant to pay attention to their ancient social behavior that helped them to survive and maintain their natural links with their environment.

## Method

The research design of the study is qualitative using the descriptive approach. Basically, the approach is to describe the traditions and beliefs of the Meranaws especially the *sanggar*, *pelimbonen* and *kaphaygo sa ragat*. These three ancient cultural traditions sometimes flourished in the past as part of the important process of healing and protection for the Meranaws.

The study is ethnographic in nature because the data were collected through interviews with reliable community members. A person can be a key informant in an ethnographic study (Sangasubana, 2011). It is an emic ethnography because the researchers are members of the ethnic group being studied (Rivera, 2012). There were four key informants in this study: a *pamomolong* (healer) who knows and performs the rituals, and three people who were able to witness, observe, and experience the traditions. The rarity of people who can tell the story has taken time because the researchers need to get referrals and crowdsource among locals who know someone alive who can vividly discuss the topic. The researchers record the story of the healer or *pamomolong* and the three community members about what and how these traditions are held. They are from different age generations to ensure cross-checking of the traditions being sought. It was with the consent of the resource to allow the recording. The location of the interviewees is in the municipalities of Tubaran and Marogong, Lanao del Sur.

In the presentation and analysis of the data, this paper discussed the psychology and sociology of the traditions studied and the rituals performed by these traditions. Rituals are considered to be the center of meaningful traditions and cultural practices that translate all actions and gestures into symbolic expressions (Hobson et al., 2017; Genep, 1909). The rituals function as to regulate emotions, performance, and social connection that pieced together to monitor and maintain various psycho-sociocultural states (Hobson et al., 2017; Rappaport, 1971). This explains the rituals in three traditions.

In terms of culture, assimilation is discussed to link the eventual cultural change of the Meranaws with the arrival of Islam. As defined by Vega et al. (2009), culture is assimilated as:

*“Assimilation is the term used for a process in which an individual entirely loses any awareness of his/her previous group identity and takes on the culture and attitude of another group.”*

Change in culture can occur through assimilation. This is inevitable for cultures that have contact with another culture or the dominant culture (Perez, 2003). Cultural change among ethnic groups is an undeniable social phenomenon (Boch, Jimenez, & Roesler, 2020; Nelson & Braff, 2020).

## Results and Discussion

During the interview with the informants, this paper presents an information narrated only by the healer and the three community members. Each tradition is discussed briefly because the informants only describe the old culture in the simplest way. The philosophy behind the practice that the researchers tried to explain in this case is based on what the informants wanted the researchers to understand. The discussions are organized according to how it was stated in this paper: *sanggar*, *pelimbonen*, and *kaphaygo sa ragat*.

### *The sanggar: Changing the bad fate*

The Meranaws believed in *rimar* (fortune telling). The person who does the fortune telling is called the *paririmar* (fortune teller). It is said that through the lines in the hands of the person that the fortune teller can predict or tell of the things that have happened or will happen. In Islam, this is forbidden because no one can tell his future or see what has happened to a person just by looking at his hand. As mentioned earlier, this is called *shirk*. The healer added that fortune telling continues to happen to some and is now believed by some Meranaws because it has aroused the curiosity of Meranaws to know what will happen to them so that they can do something about it if they ever find out.

Usually, most of the people who would engage in fortune telling are those Meranaws who have clan feud, or locally called *rido* (Alaya-ay et al., 2013). The rampant and extreme clan feud leaves phobia among the clan members. It is human nature to be afraid of death. Moreover, the thought of what is coming to them causes stress to the extent that they cannot fully live their normal lives. In this case, healers can also be diviners. Asking them for help by reading the lines in their hands gives the *parimar* the power to believe what they see. For example, once they see what will happen, they can suggest ways to change their fate.

The healer told the story of five men who asked a fortune-teller to tell them what was in store for them. Three of them had bad fortunes. In addition, there are situations that will lead to their death. Because of this tragic reading, the fortune-teller introduced the *sanggar*. It is a belief in counteracting fate to avoid death, as the fortune teller said. It is the only solution to the tragic fate that will happen. The literal meaning of *sanggar* is to prevent or counteract fate. The people who have bad fate will undergo a ritual to protect themselves from the expected tragedy or any bad situation that can claim their lives that has been seen by the fortune teller.

#### *Process of doing the ritual: Sanggar*

This ritual is only performed on Wednesdays. It is necessary to note the time. It shouldn't go past eight o'clock in the morning. There are things to be brought by the people who want to perform the ritual. They must bring a *malong* (a cloth usually worn by the Meranaws to cover their body and similar to the sarong of Indonesia and Malaysia, but the former is larger in size) that is unused and *kiparat* (literally the fee, but not necessarily money and depends on the request of the healer). The usual request of

the healers is a rooster or other live animals as much as the clients can provide.

During the day of the *sanggar*, the basic instruction aforementioned should not be forgotten in any of the requirements. For example, the time is not negotiable. The *sanggar* should be held before eight in the morning. It is held in the lower part of the house. The common house in the villages is elevated a few feet and there is a space under the house where anything can be stored or maybe animals like chickens are housed or a free space.

First the person has to put on the *malong* and take off all his clothes (literally naked). He will stand while the healer rotates on him and pours water at the same time casting spell or whispering the spell to contradict the destiny. The spell was originally passed on by the healer from his ancestors. The words and how to use the spell is forbidden to tell anyone. Only the right descendant and apprentice can learn the spell. One reason for not sharing the spell to others is to prevent the spell from failing. After seven rounds of pouring the water, the rooster is slaughtered. It serves as an offering to the unseen and to the devoid of tragic fate. The process will not take long.

*Sanggar* is one of the beliefs and traditions that are contrary to the teachings of Islam. The clan feud still happens at the present time but the rituals of *sanggar* for many is depreciating and only few people engage and believe in this concept. *Sanggar* can be said a superstitious because it shows the people's belief on something uncertain of and to dismiss the idea of "bad fate" to happen, asking for help through enchantment and magic (Besa et al., 2021) is what people do in the community. For the general value system of the Filipino society, the expression of trusting everything to the supernatural being by saying "*bahala na*" attitude (Whatever will be attitude) is the belief on the divine power that everything will be done well after all

the precautions and preparations have been made (Macaranas and Macaranas, 2017).

### *The pelimbonen: Countering the curse with another spell*

The katao (witchcraft or sorcery) is one of the Meranaw tradition equivalent to bewitching or hexing. This is done when someone has hidden strong anger towards another person and in order to get revenge is to harm that person by hexing. This also requires rituals to offer something to the deities. However, there is a consequence for those who performed the ritual and then stopped along the way. A wise decision and a determined mind are required when people reach the point of asking for this. It is not easy because of the consequences.

In a short story written by Tiburon, the katao is discussed. In the story, the main character named Yusoph was cursed by his ex-girlfriend named Akmilah. There are two reasons why Akmilah asked a *pangangatao* (sorcerer) to hex Yusoph: first, when he left her, and second, the baby in her womb died because of him.

The story basically gives a glimpse into the root cause of katao and why people still want it despite the fact that it is forbidden and harmful. There are many reasons why *kapangatao* (cursing) is done by someone with the help of a sorcerer. Nevertheless, hexing or cursing is an activity to harm or control someone.

On the other hand, if there is this hexing, a hex can be countered with another hex and this is called *pelimbonen* in Meranaw. *Pelimbonen* is a ritual to counteract or protect the person from anyone who might be thinking of hexing or hexing them. This is done to stop or prevent whatever consequence it has. This can also return the hex to the person who did it. The unique thing about it, the ritual can be done on the person or a place like house. If this is done

in the house, it should be done at night. Only the person who knows this sorcery and knows the spell in doing so.

### *Whom to ask the ritual of kapelimbon?*

The word *pelimbonen* means to heal and protect someone from a curse. The *kapelimbon* (root word: limbon) is the act of performing the ritual. Usually, the *pamomolong* (healer) who specializes in this particular ritual can be asked by the locals. Note that a *pamomolong* can also be classified according to what they do and their specializations (Aping, 2016; Bibon, 2021). Since this is a counter spelling a curse from someone who also asked for help from a *pamomolong* (healer), a good healer who is well versed and experienced from the community or neighboring place is sought to make sure that the spells can be expelled by another spells. The healer can also identify the person who cast the curse. Accordingly, there are only a few healers in the whole ethnic group where they can get to know each other.

The *pamomolong* has a serious role here, as he has to fight a curse from another healer. Some believe that each healer has his own protection against spells. This means that every local healer knows that they are protected and that what they do is part of their job to help the seekers of their service.

Limos (2020) mentioned in his paper that the belief in supernatural healers who specialize in reversing diseases caused by curses didn't disappear until today, even with the advent of modern technology. Most locals who do not get a satisfactory answer from medical doctors' resort to traditional healers as an option. The narratives of people talking about their visit to their community's traditional healers are common conversation in different places in the Philippines.

Dating back to the pre-colonialism, the pre-colonial Filipinos believed that they have the power to connect and communicate

with the spirits in nature, even influence the condition of the weather, cure the diseases, and protect someone from the curse of others (Limos, 2020).

### ***The kaphaygo sa ragat: Healing through sea bathing***

In some old people, one of the traditional treatments is through nature. The Meranaws have inherited traditional medical treatment from their ancestors. Some of these medical processes like *potar* (reading healing spells), making herbal medicines, and/or asking for help from the spirits in nature.

Folk medicine is one of the major categories of traditional medicine. The World Health Organization (WHO) recognizes the role of traditional medicine as the knowledge, skills and practices transmitted based on the theories, beliefs and experiences of local people for the prevention and maintenance of health. They use the component of ecosystems indigenous to the community and the healers themselves are the custodians of folk medicine (Cerio, 2020).

According to Indar (2015), before the arrival of Islam, the ancient Meranaws had rituals and believed in different spirits such as *tonong* (invisible beings), *inikadowa* (doppelganger), *malaikat* (angel), *saytan* (satan), *arowak* (spirits of the dead), and others. She found in her study that the majority of the people in her study area, aged around thirty-six and above, believed that *tonongs* were right around them and that they helped them through rituals and treatments. They also believed that there are *tonongs* taken care of by local people to use them to harm and kill other people.

Inidal added in her study that when a supposed ritual is held and not performed, the *tonongs* become angry. However, what she mentioned in her studies was current knowledge that Meranaws in the present are familiar with. In this case, she could not

mention the tradition of bathing in the sea as a procedural treatment.

*Kaphaygo sa ragat* (literally, bathing in the sea) is something common when people hear about it, since people go to the beach to bathe and swim, but this implies something related to rituals. This tradition of taking a bath in the sea is a ritual in which *tonong* is asked to heal someone who is very sick, which today's technology cannot treat, according to the beliefs of the locals. It is also believed by many that a person's illness comes from the *tonong* itself. This means that only the *tonong* who did it can reverse the curse.

One of the researchers' informants told the story of how he asked the *tonongs* for mercy. According to this, his condition cannot be explained by science, and there is no cure for it because there are no findings. Someone suggested that he should do the *kaphaygo sa ragat*. No doubt he did not think twice about following the advice. His condition is getting dizzy with unexplainable voices of people, which leads to his uncontrolled emotions and loss of sanity. According to Disoma (1980), *tonongs* are believed to live in the lake. There are specific *tonongs* of each family clan and they have specific functions.

### *Rituals in kaphaygo sa ragat*

The *kaphaygo sa ragat* is a ritual that should be done with a healer who knows the process and holds the rituals at the sea. The healer tells the necessary things to prepare, what to do and what not to do. Expect that the person undergoing this procedure will also make the offerings and there will be a ceremony.

The sick person must find the musical instruments *kulintang*, *agong* and *debakan*. With these, there must be a musical play to call the spirits. Another preparation is to make a small *lamin* (a huge tower or minaret where the lady is kept before, similar to the room tower of Rapunzel). The tower is not

really high, just like the original concept of the *lamin*. Finally, there must be ten black-feathered chickens and five goats.

The ritual lasts for three days or can be extended to five to seven days if the sick person is not progressing in recovery. During these days, *kulintang* and other musical instruments are played. The process of how *kulintang* is played calls the attention of the *tonong*, which the people have asked, so the playing of music must not stop. The *lamin* is where the *tonong* can go or enter and help the sick person to recover from his illness. The cooked chicken is brought to the *lamin* as an offering. Baco (2011) concluded in her paper that the offering of animals in the rituals is believed to be part of the healing process of the various illnesses that a person has.

In the study of Indar (2015), the people who still believe in *tonongs* have a small *lamina* in their house. It is covered with yellow cloth and is located in the roof area of the house. This is where the *tonongs* go when they are called. The sick person is required to stay in the room or in the house for three days of continuous treatment. As part of the ritual, the healer sprinkles water on the person. Because only the sick person is allowed to be sprinkled with water, other sick people may join in to be treated; however, if other observers who are not sick are suddenly sprinkled with water, it is believed that the person will become sick.

The five goats are slaughtered and must be served to one hundred people as part of the *kanduli* (thanksgiving) and propels the fast efficacy of the ritual. The *kanduli* is held at the sea where the sick are bathed together with the one hundred people. All the money spent must come from the sick. Bathing in the sea is the last part of the ritual. It is believed that bathing in the sea will wash the disease out of the sick person's body.

The informant admitted that he used to do this every year because the disease keeps coming back. It is the only way to cure

his illness. He was not the only one who underwent this ritual, but it was a tradition of his ancestors or his family. It is passed on to them. Another reason why the illness comes back and forth in his family is that, as mentioned in the study, once the tradition of calling in the *Tongs* is started, it has to be continued. This is also due to the other rituals that need to be continued, and because of the discontinuation of the *tonongs*, the disease is given, which urged to perform the *kaphaygo sa ragat*.

Limos (2020) explained two reasons for the Filipinos' strong belief in traditional healers. First, Filipinos are deeply rooted in the belief of folklore and folk medicine that has been injected into the psyche of the people for hundreds of years. Second, the efficacy they received from the healers especially that herbal medicines are recognized which leads to increase the credibility of the healers.

Cerio (2020) stressed that despite the presence of modern health care personnels, the professional, the trust of the people to traditional healers are high and that they dispense important role in the health care system in the country especially in rural areas. The folk medicine in the country, including the Meranaws, has shown the behaviors of Filipinos to hold strong in the beliefs that the cause of diseases in the community is also driven by the supernatural causes due to the displeasure or irritation of the spirits (Rondilla, et al., 2021).

For Torres (2008), the factor that shapes this kind of behavior among Meranaws in believing in the power of *tonongs* is due to the high respect for the elders that their beliefs and traditions must be respected and consequently followed. The close relationship between members of the family or even the clan served as the basis for a strong transmission to the next generations. This also explains why some other villages choose to continue communication with the *tonongs* to maintain the pledge and obeisance.



The disposition of the Meranaws to follow the three traditions today, even with the strong persistence of Islam, is due to the fact that culture can be adaptive behavior and adopt the characteristics of the people surrounding them. This culture allows the locals to benefit through social coordination with others and the conventions of life (Cronk, 2016). Doing the traditions and performing the rituals is seen as beneficial to Meranaws to help them solve their problems such as believing on the bad omen, cursing, and healing unidentified conditions. Because of the strong belief of the society at the same time the continuous practice of some by giving testimonies on these activities, Meranaws are able to acclimate in this way of life and find it sufficient.

In Hobson et al. (2017), the categorization of rituals to functionally help people is integrated in the psychological understanding of the cultural transmission and recognition behind the acts of performing rituals among Meranaws. First, the emotional deficit of the person such as experiencing anxiety to alleviate the lack. It was mentioned that Meranaw who undergo with *sanggar* is to determine and change their bad fate which causes anxiety to them as he lives. Therefore, the ritual in *sanggar* help them to feel ease and security while they thought of ritual that guarantee their security. Second, performance or goal regulation to manipulate the emotions. This has two directions: minimize anxiety or goal-directed behavior. The fewer symbolic connections and more complex would reduce anxiety rather than submission to the goal, on the other hand, the more symbolic connections and less complexity would reduce goal regulation than suppressing anxiety.

The case in *kaphaygo sa ragat* would be either minimizing anxiety or reducing submission to the goal because the person might continue the healing process believing

that the only way to live comfortably is to perform the ritual regularly or need the ritual when he feels anxious about his condition. Third, social regulation is how the rituals are observed in the community. It is observed that the existence of most of the practice especially the three traditions in this study can be found in most of the rural or remote areas. When most of the people believe in the traditions especially the community leaders, the more it becomes popular in the place and each member is influenced with performing the ritual as part of their traditions and beliefs.

## Conclusion

This paper discusses the folk traditions and beliefs of the Meranaws in order to expose these cultures that are no longer familiar to the locals. The transmission of this knowledge to the next generation is generally inhibited by the presence of Islam. This existed long before the arrival of the religion. The traditions of *sanggar*, *pelimbonen* and *kaphaygo sa ragat* are rare knowledge of the way of life of the pre-Islamic Meranaws. The exposition of these cultures is not to revive it because it is certainly forbidden in their religion, however, this underpins and recognizes the significant connection of humans with other beings through communication through rituals. Another reason why these traditions are fading away is because the new generation is not interested in these especially oral traditions (Ismael, 2021).

The few existences of people who do these traditions are based on two reasons: first, there are some people who still needs this type of process in correcting their destiny of death, to expel the curse believed to be cast by someone who wants to harm others, and to treat a condition that according to them (the sick people) have no scientific explanation and no cure or remedy

to go from the condition. Second reason, to continue the traditions (either the healers or the person who asked for these traditions). The strong beliefs of the people on these beliefs and traditions give a solid reason to the researchers to try to document it, although some restrictions are said not to describe it vividly for its secrecy. It is hoped in this paper that future explorations of Meranaw pre-Islamic culture will be gathered to show the rich culture that is described from the oral literatures and in Darangen.

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## Declaration of Ownership

These researchers claim that this study is original and based on the ethnographic data or primary data resource.

## Conflict of Interest

Upon the approval of the research committee of the Department of Filipino and Other Languages and the presentation of this paper in a conference, there are no other parties that hold rights and ownership in this paper except the researchers.

## Ethical Clearance

The conduct of this ethnographic study does not really require an ethical clearance due to its safety, however, the researchers secure a permission from the informants an agreement to their willingness to be part of the study and resource for the necessary data.

One condition asked for by the informants is the exclusion of information that they do not allow for public dissemination.

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