

“Aeta,” “Ayta,” “Ita,” and “Ati” are believed by some to derive from the Malay “hitam,” meaning “black,” or its cognate in Philippine languages, “itom” and “itim.” In reality, Aeta means “people.” Early ethnographic accounts on the Aeta (Blumentritt 1882, published 1980; Worcester 1898; Bean 1910; Barrows 1910) referred to them as Negritos or Negrillos, meaning “little blacks.” This was due primarily to their skin color, which is darker than that of the rest of the inhabitants of the Philippine archipelago. They were believed to be the first settlers or aborigines of the Philippines, who were later driven away to the mountains and hinterlands by later migrants (Virchow 1899; Kroeber 1919; Krieger 1942; Beyer and de Veyra 1952).

The Aeta are a dark-skinned people, short (average height: 1.35-1.5 meters), small of frame, kinky haired, snub nosed, and with big black eyes. The Aeta population today consists of some 30 different ethnolinguistic groups, numbering an estimated 30,000 people. The Sierra Madre Agta in northeastern Luzon alone, with a total population of 9,000, have 10 different languages (Headland 1993). Many Aeta adopted the language of the lowlanders with whom they came in contact.

Before the Mount Pinatubo eruption in June 1991, the Aeta lived in the vast Zambales mountain range which stretched into great portions of Bataan, Zambales, Pampanga, Tarlac, and southwestern Pangasinan. They have also lived along the eastern portions of northern and southern Luzon, specifically in the provinces of Isabela, Cagayan, Quezon, Camarines, Albay, and Sorsogon.

Next to Luzon, the greatest concentration of the Aeta can be found in the Visayas, particularly in Panay island. Another Visayan island, Negros, is so named because in the remote past the Aeta were numerous in the island. But Negros at present has a scant Aeta population confined to the extreme northern and southern portions of the island. Small Aeta groups also dwell in northeastern Mindanao and in northern Palawan.

The Aeta have different names which may refer to their history, their geographical situation, or their relationship with their neighbors. Various Aeta groups have been differentiated in curious ways. For example, one group in northern Luzon is known as “Pugut,” a name designated by their Ilocano-speaking neighbors, and which is the colloquial term for anyone with dark skin. In Ilocano, the word also means “goblin” or “forest spirit.”

An Aeta group may resent a name designated by non-Aeta groups or neighbors, especially when they consider the given names deprecating. Because the majority of Filipinos look down on their dark color, some groups resent being called “Ita.”

In Central Luzon, the Aeta are sometimes referred to with the term “baluga” which means hybrid. This is considered insulting by other Aeta groups since it also means “brackish, half-salt, and half-fresh.”

The Aeta also differentiate themselves through geographic and social situations. While the Aeta of northern Luzon are collectively called “Aeta” or “Agta,” one group, the

Ebuked—coined from the Filipino word “bukid” or field—are the Aeta who live away from the lowlanders. Interestingly, the Agta consider their fellow Aeta, the Ebuked, backward if not primitive. Other Aeta names in Cagayan province are “Kofun,” “Diango,” “Paranan,” “Assao,” “Ugsing,” and “Aita.”

The Aeta of Camarines Norte and Camarines Sur are known locally as “Abiyan,” which is derived from “abe” meaning “companion” or “friend.” The term reflects the group’s occupation of working for landed Christian families during the Spanish period. The Abiyan are also called “Bihug,” from “kabihug” or “companion in the meal.” Abiyan also refers to the Aeta in Quezon province, whose work includes the clearing of coconut plantations and various odd jobs in exchange for meals and pieces of cloth. Other names used in Quezon are “Umag,” “Ata,” “Atid,” and “Itim.”

The term “Dumagat,” as the Aeta of eastern Quezon, Tanay, and Bulacan are called, comes from the word base “dagat” or sea. In Bulacan, they are also called “Dumagat” or “Ita”; in Pampanga, “Baluga”; in Zambales, “Ita,” “Ta’un Pangolo,” and “Mangayan”; in Tarlac, “Kulaman,” “Baluga,” “Sambal,” and “Aburlan”; in Panay, “Ita,” “Ati,” “Aata,” or “Agta.” In Mindanao, the Aeta known as the Mamanua live in the northeastern provinces of Surigao and Agusan. The term “Mamanua” means “first forest dwellers,” derived from “man” (first) and “banwa” (forest). In Palawan, the Aeta group is called “Batak.”

History

The origin of the Aeta continues to confound anthropologists and archaeologists. One theory suggests that the Aeta are the descendants of the original inhabitants of the Philippines who arrived through land bridges that linked the country with the Asian mainland some 30,000 years ago. These migrations may have occurred when the Malay peninsula was still connected with Sumatra and other Sunda Islands. At that time, the islands of what is now the Philippines may have been connected, making probable the dispersal of the Aeta throughout what is now an archipelago. Bellwood (1978:26-27) described the Aeta as an Australoid people whose small size has “increased survival value in a mountainous tropical environment with poor nutritional resources.” Genetic data of Omoto (1985:129-130) show that the Aeta are more closely related to the Asia-Pacific groups than to the African group. It is also interesting to note that the Luzon Aeta and Mamanwa have different origins in terms of migration to the Philippines.

In the early 1200s, Chau Ju-Kua (Hirth and Rockhill 1970: 161) described the people who were:

... small in stature and their eyes are round and yellow [brown], they have curly hair and their teeth show [between their lips]. They rest in tree tops. Sometimes parties of three [or] five lurk in the jungle, from whence they shoot arrows on passers-by without being seen, and may have fallen victims to them. If thrown a porcelain bowl, they will stoop and pick it up and go away leaping and shouting with joy.

In the 16th century, Miguel Lopez de Legazpi reported that “in some of these islands, the mountain regions are inhabited by blacks, with whom as a general rule, the Indians are at war, and whom the latter capture and sell, and also employ as slaves.”

In 1663, Colin wrote that the earliest inhabitants of the Philippines were black mountaineers, a notion picked up by many writers during the 18th and 19th century, including Ferdinand Blumentritt (1980:13).

Artifacts found in areas where the Aeta live provide archaeological evidence that in prehistoric times, the Aeta lived in the lowlands but gradually retreated into the hills and mountains when subsequent immigrants and conquerors, like the Spaniards, pushed them into the forests. Robert Fox (1952) argues, for example, that the Zambales Aeta used to live in the lowlands, coastline, and riverbeds. As revealed from his ethnobotanical studies, it can be concluded that they are not the descendants of forest dwellers.

The Aeta have shown resistance to change. The attempts of the Spaniards to settle them in reservations all throughout Spanish rule failed. During the early American colonization of the Philippines, the political structure of the Aeta was not disturbed, except when neighboring lowlanders organized artificial government structures headed by a *capitan*, *consejal* or *policia*.

In the 1930s, the Aeta of northeastern Luzon rejected efforts to introduce farming into their culture. The Pinatubo Aeta within the perimeter of the former US Bases in Zambales and Pampanga were just about the only group which became open to relations with the Americans.

After World War II, General Douglas MacArthur thanked and honored the Aeta who helped US Air Force men during the war. He also announced that the Pinatubo Aeta were free to enter the bases perimeter and engage in scavenging. The Pinatubo Aeta were also employed as instructors of jungle survival techniques used by the special operations forces of the American troops (Shimizu 1989). The base was severely damaged during Pinatubo's catastrophic eruption in 1991, abandoned by the Americans, and taken over by the Philippine government.

While resisting change from the outside for hundreds of years, the Aeta have adjusted to social, economic, cultural, and political pressures with remarkable resilience; they have created systems and structures within their culture to cushion the sudden impact of change. Since the latter half of the 20th century, however, the Aeta have been declining in number. Their very existence has been threatened by problems brought about by other people and by nature. Poverty-stricken lowlanders, seeking food, have encroached on forest lands, displacing the Aeta. The flora and fauna needed for Aeta survival are no longer available due to forest depletion. Disasters like the Pinatubo eruption destroyed and buried Aeta ancestral lands in tons of ashfall and lahar. All these, aggravated by government negligence and public apathy, have marginalized the

Aeta, some towards possible extinction.

Expulsion, relocation, serfdom, and mendicancy have plagued their lives. For example, in Negros, the Ati have become agricultural laborers or tenants working in ancestral lands that were formerly their own. Lowlanders hire their services to plow fields, gather coconuts, or cut bamboo for fish traps. Women are hired to weed fields or serve as maids in Christian families. In Iloilo, a few go begging in the streets.

It is not surprising then that some Aeta, notably among the Dumagat, turn to drink. Alcoholism, previously unknown in Dumagat culture, was probably introduced by lowlanders and reinforced by unscrupulous merchants, who supply alcoholic beverages, often as payment for Aeta labor. The problem of intoxication had been reported by Vanoverbergh (1937:924). Similarly, Headland (1975:249-250) observed that this has become a problem even among the women.

Economy

Hunting and food gathering have always been part of traditional Aeta economy (Vanoverbergh 1937; Garvan 1964; Estiko-Griffin and Griffin 1985, 1981; Peterson 1978; Rai 1982; Brosius 1983). In 1882, Ferdinand Blumentritt (1980) noted that the Aeta were wandering hunters and fishermen and did not practice agriculture, except those from Tarlac who knew how to plant rice. Blumentritt further observed:

[T]hey get their food through collecting activities of the women who gather wild fruits and edible greens, honey, game, and fish. They gather the heart of the palm trees and Aroideen [?] which form to a large extent their daily staple... Their only delicacy is obtained from the several varieties of honey bees found in their environs... The beeswax is usually bartered with the Chinese or Christian Filipinos for tobacco and betel nuts... All that crawls, flies and swims form a part of their daily diet when these are available... Arrow points are obtained... through trade... In their hunting activities, they are aided by their dogs which are their only domesticated animals.

They rarely succeed in killing larger game so that in most cases, their meat is obtained from snakes, frogs, and fishes. Fish is not caught with hook and line but they are obtained by shooting with bow and arrow.

Blumentritt further wrote that the Aeta used three different kinds of arrows—for birds, wild pig, and larger game. These were tipped with poison obtained from roots and herbs and carried in a bamboo quiver.

Similar observations were made earlier by the 17th-century traveler, Pedro Cubero Sebastian (1971) and by the early 19th-century accounts of Paul P. de la Gironiere (1972) about his encounter with Aeta groups near Jalajala, Rizal, and in Quezon.

In one day, a favorite hunting technique by the Ebuked Agta is to hunt at night during the dry season, using a flashlight fastened to the hand with a strong rubber band. The beam of light reflects the eyes of the animal spotted. The light is then lowered so as to guide one's steps while creeping near the target, then raised once more, and directed at the animal as the arrow is released.

The Mamanua use a variety of traps and hunting methods. Hunting intensifies during the rainy season, from November to April. In the forests, the Mamanua set up the *bayatik* (spear traps) and the *gahong* (pit traps) for animals like deer, pigs, monitor lizards, iguanas, monkeys, and large birds (Maceda 1975:38-46).

Various fishing techniques have been observed (Vanoverbergh 1937:924; Garvan 1964:74-75; Headland 1975:250). The Aeta of Antique in Panay practice both freshwater and sea fishing. All members of the community catch gobblers, shrimps, and crabs with bare hands. Children, with the help of adults, build watertight dams which bend the flow of a tributary back to the main river. When water recedes, fish, eel, and shellfish are collected from the river bed with bare hands (Rahmann and Maceda 1958).

The Pinatubo Aeta use modern techniques like fishing with a metal rod fired by a rubber band while swimming. Destructive fishing techniques have been noted among the Ati of northern Negros, who hurl explosive bottles of lime into the water.

Honey is a delicacy among the Pinatubo Aeta and the Ebuked Agta. The Pinatubo Aeta also eat the *umok* (young bees) and the *lata* (pollen) found in hives. Gathering honey is an important livelihood activity of various Aeta groups.

A major economic activity among the Dumagat is rattan gathering, undertaken mainly by males. They gather daily without any regular work schedule. The work cycle entails getting rattan stems from the forest, cleaning and scraping them, ready to be split into long, narrow pieces. The Dumagat deliver the rattan to the merchants by the thousands. These merchants who live in the lowlands pay the Dumagat a basket of goods consisting of sugar, rice, salt, soap, and betel nut. The Dumagat hardly know the monetary value of their work. Often, their earnings do not meet their subsistence requirements. This forces them to incur debts (at exorbitant interest rates) from the merchants who extend credit in kind, which the Dumagat cannot afford to pay. The merchants then force them to gather more rattan to be able to pay their loans, so the vicious cycle of debt payment never ends.

In 1975, the Casiguran Agta practiced kaingin or swidden farming. Kaingin was probably only recently introduced into their culture (Garvan 1964:78; Fox 1952:175, 247; Warren 1964:3). The Agta are described as commercial hunters and gatherers. In contrast to the prehistoric hunter-gatherers, "commercial gatherers" have a symbiotic relationship with other people, trading meat, furs, forest products, or labor for carbohydrate foods.

In the early 1960s, agriculture was practiced among the Ati of the Visayas who lived in

permanent farming settlements. In these settlements, the Ati planted corn, wet and dry rice, sweet potato, cassava, bananas, beans, coconuts, and abaca.

The Ati example of systematic food production is a recent development. Generally, the Aeta have a subsistence economy, but they are slowly but surely being drawn into the cash economy of the majority of Filipinos. Such a transition from hunting-gathering may be inevitable because of the rapid disappearance of forest lands, the intrusion of lowlanders into Aeta ancestral domain, and the lure of income from cash crops. As the Aeta become more involved in a cash economy, they also become more dependent on agriculture.

The concepts of land ownership and legal titles are fairly new and not fully understood by the Aeta (Maceda 1975; Brosius 1983; Headland 1993). Some groups were able to acquire land titles, e.g., the Mamanua of Agusan, through the help of lowland friends in government agencies. But they tend to sell the land as soon as it is owned. This is because the traditional Aeta tend to be “foragers” who proceed on an ecological route for immediate, not long-term, gains. Oftentimes, the Aeta have been swindled into selling titles in exchange for clothes, trinkets, and rice, or mortgaging these titles because of debts.

The Aeta are skillful in weaving and plaiting. Handicraft is produced for their daily needs, for ornamentation, and for barter with outsiders. Both the Mamanua and the Agta produce winnowing baskets, hammocks, armlets, small bags, and mats.

Metalsmithing is the most skilled trade found among the Pinatubo Aeta. Metalwork is predominantly a male undertaking, although women and children may also help in the production. There are other Aeta sources of income. The Ati of the Visayas sell handicrafts, barter beeswax and domesticated animals, and sell medicinal plants and roots to the Visayan lowlanders.**Political System**

The political system of the Aeta is largely based on respect for elders who exert control over judicial affairs and who maintain peace and order within the band. The system is an informal one, a product of significant Aeta traits such as honesty, frankness, and lack of desire to seek power and influence for self-interest.

The band can be considered a democratic political organization. The main duty of the chieftains, usually the elders, is to maintain peace and harmony within the band. The accepted rules or laws are those norms enshrined by tradition. Among the Agta of Palanan, Isabela, the group of elders known as the *pisen* decide on important matters involving the community. In southern Negros, the Ati call the band *panunpanun*. The oldest member of the *panunpanun* serves as its leader. The chief is also a *mananambal*, an eloquent speaker, a good counselor and arbiter.

However, conformity to the decisions of the elders/chiefs is up to the individual. Agta leaders of northeastern Luzon never impose their decisions on band members and act only in an advisory capacity. They persuade through exemplary acts.

Lowland Filipinos, however, have disturbed the political structure of the Aeta by imposing on them the need to elect Aeta officials to take on quasi-legal positions like councilors, barangay captains, and paramilitary officials, who function as links with outside society and not necessarily as tribal leaders. On the other hand, some lowland civic and religious organizations have helped some Aeta groups to consolidate and press for their rights.

Social Organization and Customs

The Aeta stay in small bands with an average size of 10 families or some 50 individuals descended from a common ancestor. There is also a distinct lack of social stratification or classes.

The nuclear family is the basic unit of Aeta society but care is especially extended to widows and widowers. Relations between husband and wife are cordial, and both seem to share equal rights and responsibilities. Children are treasured and there is strong bonding between parents and children. The children, in return, respect their elders—parents, aunts, uncles, and grandparents.

Marriage practices have been affected by the culture of lowlanders. In the past, marriages were strictly arranged by elders. Now, they can be arranged by the couple themselves.

Monogamy is a widespread practice among the Aeta, although polygamy is acceptable in some groups. Exogamy, the practice of choosing spouses who belong to another group, has been observed as a custom among the Agta and may just as well be true for other groups. It follows that incest is taboo. However, among the Pinatubo Aeta, first cousins are married after a ritual of “separating the blood.”

Courtship as a custom has been observed among the Dumagat. A boy makes known his affection to a girl by dropping *ilad* or *tibig* leaves along the path where she fetches water. If she likes him, she puts bamboo leaves on the same spots. But if she does not, she places other leaves over the *ilad* or *tibig*. The next step is for the boy to serenade the girl in her home. If the girl is the younger one among sisters, the boy must give a gift in cash or kind (bolo or dress) to the parents.

A young man may marry by age 20 and a young woman by 16. The *bandi* or bride-price is mandatory. The family of the boy arranges a marriage by giving a portion of the *bandi* to the family of the girl. It may also be paid in the form of services rendered by the boy to the girl’s family. Succeeding installments may also be paid by the boy or by his family after the couple’s marriage.

Although the *kasal* (wedding) is celebrated by feasting and drinking among the Dumagat, it is less important than the *sakad*, a series of about three formal meetings

between the two kinship groups. Each Aeta group has its own peculiar wedding ceremony. Among the Abiyan, a cigarette of grass is rolled up, lighted, and given for the boy and girl to smoke; after this, the two are declared husband and wife before relatives of both parties. A variation of this Abiyan wedding is the preparation of a betel mix for boy and girl to chew.

After marriage, the girl stays in the boy's house. However, later studies show a change in the choice of residence. Newlyweds tend to live where there is available land for cultivation, whether or not the chosen place is near their parents.

Among the Pinatubo Aeta, trouble between families may arise due to the failure of the husband's family to pay the bandi—usually arrows, bows, bolo, cloth, homemade shotguns, and money. Another cause of conflict is elopement with someone not previously contracted.

Divorce is rare but can be arranged through mutual consent. Grounds for divorce may be laziness, cruelty, unfaithfulness, and the like. The issue is decided by a council from both the kin groups. The guilty spouse loses custody of the children. Both parties are free to remarry after divorce. If the woman is the guilty party, she must return the bandi.

Intermarriages with lowlanders are viewed by the Aeta groups as acceptable, since there is status to be gained from such unions. These are regarded as a way of lessening the physical differences between the Aeta and lowlanders, and—as observed in Negros island in 1974—are predominantly (98 percent) between lowland males and Aeta females. The Batak, however, seldom married Tagbanua (Warren 1964:65).

The Aeta love children. Thus, pregnant women are well protected and cared for in their society. There are restrictions which the pregnant woman should follow in order to protect her child. The Pinatubo Aeta believe that to prevent a difficult childbirth, she should refrain from stepping on cordage or tying knots. To avoid premature delivery, she must not be present when stored tubers are dug up. She must not eat twin bananas or any unusually shaped fruit which might cause the development of a freak.

Generally, Aeta women give birth easily and are able to resume work a few hours after delivery. Massaging is a universal practice. Aeta women of northern and eastern Luzon assume a sitting or kneeling position during delivery, unless there are great difficulties and lying down is a better position. Anybody is allowed to be present during the birth of the child. The umbilical cord is cut with the use of a sharp bamboo blade. The baby is wrapped in a small piece of cloth, placed by the mother's side, smeared with ashes, then cleaned off with a loincloth. This is related to the Aeta affinity with fire and ashes which are considered as protection from evil, sickness, or cold.

The umbilical cord and the placenta are symbolically treated in postnatal practices.

The umbilical cord may be burned to ashes and given as medicine in case the child gets ill. Sometimes it is hung in a package inside the house or buried under a tree. It may also be hung dry, then thrown into a stream to promote the child's growth. There are various ways of disposing the placenta, like burying it under the house or birthplace. Improper disposal of the placenta is believed to lead to sickness or death (Garvan 1964:113-114).

As for rites of passage, the Aeta practice male circumcision, in which the foreskin is cut open, not cut off. The Dumagat call this type of circumcision *bugit*. Young males aged 11 to 16 are circumcised, an indication that a boy's role is changing and he may soon take a bride. Among the Agta of northeastern Luzon, a boy becomes a man the moment he has single-handedly hunted or trapped a wild animal. With this feat, the father declares that his son is already a man, and as such, is permitted to court a girl from another group.

For girls, the onset of menstruation signals the coming of age. The first menstrual cycle signifies that she may be courted, betrothed, and wed. When a girl in the family has had her first menstruation, the mother gives a red headband for the girl to wear.

Great grief is experienced by the Aeta during the death of one of its members. The different groups have different death and burial practices, but the following are the general aspects of the rituals: intense grief is experienced in all groups; burial is generally without a permanent coffin; there is a general fear of the spirit of the deceased; there is a belief that bad spirits haunt the grave site; to secure the dead's continuing goodwill, mourners leave material objects on or near the grave for the use of the deceased; and after the period of mourning, the burial site is abandoned (Garvan 1964).

Religious Beliefs and Practices

There are divergent views on the dominant character of the Aeta religion. Those who believe they are monotheistic argue that various Aeta tribes believe in a supreme being who rule over lesser spirits or deities. The Mamanua believe in Magbabaya while the Pinatubo Aeta worship Apo Namalyari.

According to anthropologist E. Arsenio Manuel, the Agta believe in a supreme being named Gutugutumakkan. Manuel notes other lesser deities of the Agta: Kedes, the god of hunting; Pawi, the god of the forest; and Sedsed, the god of the sea.

There are four manifestations of the "great creator" who rules the world: Tigbalog is the source of life and action; Lueve takes care of production and growth; Amas moves people to pity, love, unity, and peace of heart; while Binangewan is responsible for change, sickness, and death. These spirits inhabit the balete tree.

The Aeta are also animists. For example, the Pinatubo Aeta believe in environmental

spirits such as *anito* and *kamana*. They believe that good and evil spirits inhabit the environment, such as the spirits of the river, the sea, the sky, the mountain, the hill, the valley, and other places. The Ati of Negros island call their environmental spirits *taglugar* or *tagapuyo*, which literally means “from or inhabiting a place.” They also believe in spirits of disease and comfort (Noval-Morales and Monan 1979:79-80).

Their belief in environmental deities is seen in their respect for nature. They do not cut down trees unless absolutely necessary. They clear only what they can cultivate. They believe that to waste nature’s resources is to insult the spirits.

The Agta believe that humans, animals, and even plants, e.g., caryota palm, have *kalidua* or souls. Where the soul comes from is not clear, but all Agta agree that it enters the body during *lihe* or conception. The integration of the soul and the body occurs much later, when the baby reaches a certain age. When body and soul are integrated, the soul has the capacity to travel outside the body. But in *natay* or death, the soul finally leaves the body to go to the supernatural world. They believe in an afterlife, which is not like the Christian concept of heaven or hell. For them, the supernatural world is ever expanding because the souls of mortals continue to join eternal spirits. The Aeta who have lived near the lowlanders, particularly those along the coastline, have developed an idea of hell which they call *espidno* (infierno).

No special occasion is needed for the Aeta to pray, although there is a clear link between prayer and economic activities. The Aeta dance before and after a pig hunt. The night before Aeta women gather shellfish, they perform a dance which is half an apology to the fish and half a charm to ensure the catch. Similarly, the men hold a bee dance before and after the expeditions for honey.

There are other dances and rituals, like those which concern illness and disease. The Aeta of Negros perform the *daga* or *dolot* when a person has recovered from an illness. The *solondon* is resorted to when a father dies of drowning, so that his sons will not meet the same fate. The *sakayan* is a ceremony to prevent the spread of an epidemic, like cholera, flu, or dysentery. The *luya-luya*, done with ginger roots, is a ritual to cure a feverish child.

The *anituan* among the Pinatubo Aeta is a seance in which a *manganito* or a medium cures an illness by communicating with the spirit causing it. The ritual establishes close communication between the mortal and the supernatural world, so that misunderstandings between mortals and spirits may be resolved (Noval-Morales and Monan 1979:77-88).

Architecture and Community Planning

The Aeta have an eye for good forest localities ideal for housing and encampments. Such places may sometimes be near a stream, on a slope of a hill or, during the rainy season, in the lee of a hill protected from rain and wind. The central space of

communities is cleared and left open about 10-30 meters.

Each family selects a spot under a large tree where the houses are built, forming a circle around the central clearing, which is used for dancing, socializing, and other activities. For example, the Agta of Ragay, Camarines Sur arrange their dwellings around a 12-meter circular clearing in the forest, each hut under a tree facing inwards (Garvan 1964).

In Mindanao, the Mamanua settlements around the Lake Mainit area in Surigao del Norte are either circular or quadrangular, with an open space at the center used for festivities and rituals. The Mamanua transfer site when the area seems to breed diseases, as indicated by the abundance of flies, or when the area no longer yields enough food for the band (Maceda 1964).

The lean-to is the early dwelling of the Aeta. The lean-to or *pinanahang* of the Agta of Palanan is described as a screen against wind, sun, and rain, built with strong but light branches and palm fronds. Yet it is an architectural wonder because its seemingly fragile structure can withstand storm and wind; it is constructed along the principle of a tripod. The lean-to of the Palanan Agta is a temporary shelter built next to streams, coastlines, or riverbanks during the dry months. This shelter is readily moved to higher areas and the floor elevated to knee-high level during the rainy season, as protection against wetness and humidity, and to allow better air ventilation (Dacanay 1988).

The Casiguran Dumagat live temporarily in lean-tos described as low, unwallled sheds which have floor spaces of more than 4.5 square meters. The Ebuked Agta of northeastern Luzon build more spacious and elaborate lean-tos than the downriver Agta. Sleeping areas are prepared by removing protruding rocks, levelling the earth, and making use of leaves as cushion placed under mats (Dacanay 1988).

The Mamanua of Mindanao build bigger versions of the lean-to which they use as communal houses. These houses are built by joining together windscreens to form an A-like tent, in which the center is left vacant for ritual dancing and other social activities. The Mamanua's simple windscreen (single-family houses) has materials such as wild banana, coconut fronds, grass, and bamboo for flooring. Rattan is used to tie the house together.

The *dait-dait* is the windscreen used by the Mamanua when hunting. It has no platform and the Mamanua use leaves and small branches for a bed. When they stay longer in a place, they modify the basic structure and build a platform. This same type of windscreen is also built by the Pinatubo and Panay Aeta (Maceda 1975). A typical *hawong* (lean-to) of the Pinatubo Aeta has no living platform and is usually constructed in the fashion of a "pup tent," a single ridgepole supported by forked limbs forming two sloping sides with one or both ends open (Fox 1952).

The lean-to is considered quite synonymous with the Aeta, a living symbol of their lifestyle. It is still very popular among Aeta groups, although the acculturized Aeta of

Pampanga and Zambales have started building more permanent homes, like the stilt houses with structures raised above the ground on wooden posts with thatched roof and walls.

Similarly, the houses of the Casiguran Dumagat have been affected by their transformation from hunter-gatherers to sedentary agriculturists. Many of the Casiguran Dumagat now live in low-walled houses which resemble those of lowlanders. The floor space of these dwellings range from 2.5 square meters to 9.3 square meters, compared to the traditional lean-to size of less than 2.3 square meters. They use such materials as cogon, coconut fronds for roofing, grasses, bark, unplanned lumber for walls, and flat wood for flooring. The houses are elevated from the ground and contain one or two rooms (Dacanay 1988).

Visual Arts and Crafts

Various Aeta traditional adornments have been described by Vanoverbergh (1937:914-921), Garvan (1964:36-50), Headland (1977), and Maceda (1975:51-52). The most common form of Aeta visual art is the etching found in their daily tools and implements. This is done on the outer surfaces of various household containers/utensils and ornaments. Bamboo combs are decorated with incised angular patterns. Geometric designs are etched on arrow shafts.

They are also skillful in weaving and plaiting. For example, the Mamanua, like other Aeta groups, produce excellent *nego* or winnowing baskets, *duyan* or rattan hammocks, and other household containers (Noval-Morales and Monan 1979:29-31). The weaving of the Aeta of northern Luzon has its own distinctive appearance different from those of the Ilocano, Cagayano, or Isneg. Their baskets are always double, while those of the others are single, never double. Their method of basketmaking is also very different: They always use an old basket as the mold of a new one. Their weaving is either twilled, strips 2 by 2 at the bottom and 1 by 1 at the sides; or checker close, strips of the warp 2 by 2, of the weft 1 by 1, at the sides; or open worked, strips 2 by 2, at the bottom.

Women exclusively weave winnows and mats. Only men make armllets. They also produce raincoats made of palm leaves whose bases surround the neck of the wearer, and whose topmost part spreads like a fan all around the body, except in front, at the height of the waistline.

Contemporary baskets woven by the Aeta of northern Luzon are still double walled and made mainly of banban, split by weavers into approximately 2 millimeters in width, and woven into simple one-over-one construction. Sizes vary from bowls measuring about 18-20 centimeters in diameter to large burden baskets which may be borne on the back. The baskets rise from a square-footed base to a round mouth. There is usually a heavy rim bound with rattan or nito lacing on the basket's mouth. The double walling is described as follows: The skin of the banban is shown on the

interior in a plain weave, resulting in a smooth surface. The exterior also shows the skin of the banban, woven entirely or in parts, with fine nito strips (Lane 1986:92-94).

A market basket with handle, produced by the Zambales Aeta during the 1970s, is made of smoked and natural bamboo. There is fine detail in the finishing braid around the rim, and the weaving of black and natural bamboo is symmetrically designed. The split rattan handle extends to the bottom of the basket to ensure sturdiness. It has a braided collar and wrapped handle for artistic embellishments (Lane 1986:97).

The Agta of northern Luzon very often carve the shaft of the bows, which is then colored by soot to produce a black-and-white design. The method of northern Luzon Agta is to first scrape with a bolo the surface of the patches that have to be colored black. The surface of the shaft is then besmeared with beeswax which adheres to the scraped surface, but is easily removed from the smooth part between them. Then the beeswax is covered with soot to make the carved surfaces black. This crude carving sometimes covers one third or one half of the space between the feathers and arrowhead beginning at the feathers. Sometimes it covers only the part in which the feathers will be attached.

The traditional clothing of the Negrito is very simple. Cloth wraparound skirts are worn by the women when young. Elder women wear bark cloth, and the elder men loincloths. The old women of the Agta wear a bark-cloth strip which passes between the legs, and is attached to a string around the waist. Today most Aeta who have been in contact with lowlanders have adopted the T-shirts, pants, and rubber sandals commonly used by the latter. Among the Pinatubo Aeta, the *anitu* or shaman use a red cotton G-string when performing ritual dances.

A traditional form of visual art is body scarification, as observed among the Aeta of Quezon, eastern Bulacan, Rizal, and Camarines. The Aeta cause wounds on the skin of the back, arms, breast, legs, hands, calves, and abdomen, and then irritate the wounds (in the course of healing) with fire, lime and other means to form scars, which are arranged symmetrically.

A scar on the right side of the body has a corresponding counterpart on the left. If the right one is horizontal, so is the one on the left. If oblique, the scars on the other side run in different directions. There is no definite rule as to the number of scars on any given part of the body. The Camarines Norte Aeta have elaborate scars, including a betrothal scar placed on the upper arms or upper thighs. Although body scarification is widely practiced, anthropologists believe it must have been derived from some other culture (Garvan 1964:48-49).

Other “decorative disfigurements” include the chipping of the teeth. With the use of a file, the Dumagat mutilate their teeth during late puberty; the purpose is to saw and flatten to the gums the top six incisors and canines. The teeth are dyed black for a few years afterwards. The Aeta voluntarily practice such disfigurements more for aesthetic than religious or magical reasons. Another decorative disfigurement traditionally done

in Camarines and Quezon is the boring of the nose. A hole is perforated on the septum, which is later decorated by a sliver of bamboo (Garvan 1964:47-48).

The Aeta generally use ornaments typical of peoples living in subsistence economies. Flowers and leaves are used as earplugs, usually for certain occasions and discarded when the need lapses. Girdles, necklaces, and neckbands of braided rattan are worn frequently, often incorporated with wild pig bristles.

The women wear necklaces of threaded seeds (*Croix lachryma*) where glass or stone beads are not available. The seeds may be black, white, or brown, or a mixture of any of the three colors to provide exciting contrasts. Ornamentation may also have a survival function. Thus, dried wild berries are threaded together, hung about the neck, and may be eaten if no meal is available.

The Agta of Palanan use perishable ornaments like flowers and leaves for earplugs, a cloth band swathed over the head and under the jaw, and braided rattan anklets. Palanan Agta men and women wear the *subeng* or shell-faced earplugs incised with designs (Peralta 1977:534-538).

Among the Aeta of Zambales, a plant known as bejuco (*Calamus siphonospatus*) is woven as *ayabun*, an anklet used by the men, and as a skintight bracelet or necklace. The anklet is interwoven with long bristles from wild boars such that when worn, these project out perpendicularly from the legs. This ornament is supposed to make the wearer as durable, strong, and fast as a wild boar. That is why portions of a wild boar's skin, complete with hair, are either tied or suspended from Aeta wrists or legs.

Aeta ornamentation is best exemplified by the comb, which is made from a section of bamboo, some 12.5 to 25 centimeters long and 5 to 7.5 centimeters wide. At one end, the teeth of the comb are meticulously carved. The outer convex surface is profusely etched with varied geometric designs or decorated with curvilinear incisions. The end opposite the teeth has attachments like plumes of long tail feathers of mountain cocks and other birds, or other attachments like fibers and strings (Peralta 1977:536- 538). **Literary Arts**

Aeta literary arts include riddles, folk narratives, legends, and myths preserved through oral tradition.

Riddles recorded among the Aeta of northern Cagayan province usually come in two lines with assonantal rhyme (Whittle and Lusted 1970):

Muminuddukam
A ningngijitam. (Pinnia)

It wears a crown but isn't a queen
It has scales but isn't a fish. (Pineapple)

Assini nga pinasco ni Apu

Nga magismagel yu ulu na? (Simu)

There is a cave with a bolo in it
Full of bones it isn't a grave. (Mouth)

*Ajar tangapacking nga niuk
Awayya ipagalliuk. (Danum)*

When you cut it
It is mended without a scar. (Water)

There is an Aeta creation legend which is also known to the Mangyan: In the beginning, there was no earth, only a vast ocean. A winged king named Manual escaped from captivity under his bitter enemy Tubluck Lawi. After the daring escape, he needed a place to rest. Tired of flying continuously, King Manual became angry against the sky and the ocean, who in turn retaliated with gigantic waves and ferocious winds. But the sky and ocean failed to punish Manual because he was very light and agile. The fighting raged on for years until all parties grew weary and gave in. King Manual then asked for light, which was granted in the form of thousands of fireflies. He asked for counselors and was given all types of birds. Because of his hunger, Manual ate the chicks, then the small birds. The remaining large birds, in turn, ate all the fireflies. Manual felt insulted by the actions of his large birds and gave vent to his fury against the owls. He replaced their eyes with huge ones and obliged them to stay awake all night as punishment. Meanwhile, the king of the air—angered by Manual's gluttony in eating his counselors—released his wrath by stamping his feet and vomiting lightning, thunderbolts, and winds. King Captan of the Higuecinas, the genius among the people of the sea, threw from the sky huge rocks and stones to crush Manual, but missed. Thus land was formed (Eugenio 1982:28-29).

There are myths about the moon and the sun among several Aeta groups. The Aeta of Aparri, Cagayan look upon the moon as a deity and the companion of the star. The Mamanua also consider the moon sacred, and reduce bright fires while the moon is rising. They make a lot of noise in order to frighten the serpent which is believed to have swallowed the moon or the sun during an eclipse. To recover the moon during an eclipse, the Aeta of Zambales also make a lot of noise.

According to the Mamanua, there was only one kind of people in the beginning. Then lightning struck the earth and set it on fire. Those who were singed black became the Mamanua. The Aeta of Capiz, Panay believe that their ancestor was the eldest of three sons who was cursed because he laughed at his sleeping father. The sun's heat turned his skin black and his hair kinky. The Aeta of Bulacan tell the story of a large ape who stole fire from the supreme being named Kadai and set the world on fire. The people who fled downstream became the Malays and those who were singed became the Negrito (Maceda 1964:114, 119-120).

Performing Arts

Some of the musical instruments found (Kroeber 1919) among the Aeta are the flute, the jew's harp made of a sliver of slit bamboo, a traded bronze gong, and the bamboo violin.

Instruments were documented in 1931 by Norberto Romualdez (1973) among the Aeta groups. The *kullibaw* of the Aeta is a jew's harp made of bamboo. The *bansik* of the Aeta of Zambales is a four-hole flute made of mountain cane. The *kabungbung* of the Aeta of Bataan is a guitar made of one closed node of bamboo, from which two cords are slit loose from the outer skin of the bamboo and given tension by brides. A hole is cut into the bamboo under the two cords for resonance. The *gurimbaw* of the Aeta of Tayabas has a bow called *busog*, a bamboo joint called *bias*, a string called *gaka* made from fibers of the *lukmong* vine, and a coconut resonator called *kuhitan*. The *aydluing* of the Mamanua is a long guitar with several strings, similar to the kudyapi of other Mindanao groups.

Garvan (1964:149) found flutes, the bamboo guitar, and jew's harp in southwestern Zambales; the long bamboo drums in western Pampanga; the nose flute in Tayabas, Camarines, and Bataan; a bow-shaped instrument in northern Camarines; and a bamboo lute in midwestern Camarines.

The Agta of Peñablanca, Cagayan Valley in northeastern Luzon play several instruments during weddings and festivities. The *gassa* are flat bronze gongs which may be replaced by metal plates or basins. These are struck by the hand and usually accompanied by bamboo instruments like the *patagong*, a quill-shaped bamboo tube with a length of 4.5 centimeters and a diameter of 5 to 7.5 centimeters at the node. At the center of the bamboo tube, more than half of the bamboo is sliced away according to the vertical grain. The remaining section gradually narrows at the tip, forming a quill shape. The tapered tip shaped like a tongue is struck against two *patagong* held by the same player. It has a hole in its handle where the finger is placed to change pitch and timbre. The *patagong* is played along with the *tongtong*, a long and slender stamping tube, measuring 37.5 to 50 centimeters long and 5 to 7.5 centimeters in diameter. Its bottom is closed by a node and the top is left open. It is played by striking the base on a hard surface (wood, stone, or cement flooring) to produce a hollow sound (*Musical Instruments* 1986:4-11).

To express sadness or lessen it, the Peñablanca Agta play the *timawa*, a 42.5-centimeter-long musical bow made of a mature reed known as *bikal*. Its two strings come from a vine they call *lanut*. One end of the bow is placed in the player's mouth while he/she continuously strums the strings. The mouth serves as a resonator for the instrument. The player may also produce different pitches by changing the shape of the mouth or by blowing through the *timawa*.

In Palanan, Isabela, near Peñablanca, the Agta or Dumagat have a huge hunting bow called the *busog* which also functions as a musical instrument. Its body is 1.5 meters long, made of a palm tree trunk called *sakon*, while the string is from a vine called

dappig. To play the busog, one end of the instrument is attached to a winnower laid upside down on the ground serving as resonator. A tin or porcelain plate is placed between the string and the bow at the end, which is attached to the winnower. The player holds the bow 15 centimeters from the anchored end, while the thumb of the other hand strums the string rapidly.

Another Agta instrument is a transverse bamboo mouth flute known as the *plawta*; it measures about 30 centimeters, with a diameter of 1.9 centimeters. The end, near a hole through which the player blows, is a closed node, while the other end is open. The *plawta* has six fingerholes, and is usually played at night.

The Pinatubo Aeta have a guitar called *gitaha*, which is played as a drone to accompany all their dances. The Aeta have many types of songs which may be solemn, melodious, rapid, high, low, or soft, depending on the sentiments expressed. The singing may be performed standing or sitting, the singers in a circle facing one another, while those who manipulate the gong or other instruments sit outside (Noval-Morales and Monan 1979:148).

A song recorded in 1925 in northern Luzon is the *aliri*, an improvisatory courtship song. Although many strophes of this song have been fixed, the boy or girl may make up their own verses by themselves, or in answer to the verses of the other party. Fixed verses may be sung while working or resting, while walking through the forest or lying down at night (Noval-Morales and Monan 1979:115-116).

The Dumagat of Casiguran, Quezon perform the *ablon*, a song consisting of long-held vowels sustained on a single pitch while tapping the larynx. Their *magablon* is a chant calling upon the spirit *Limatakdig* to cure the sick. The *sebkal* is a song which begins on a long, high tone, then plunges in a tumbling contour down to monotonic chanting on a low-pitched note; this is sung rhythmically in strongly accented triplets (Pfeiffer 1975).

The Agta of Peñablanca, Cagayan Valley have different songs. The *aget* (“wild pig”) is a hunting song sung solo. It consists of four musical phrases, each ending in a pause. The flow of its melody is metrical (*Musical Instruments* 1986:12):

Umanga kitam didiya takawakanam
Nge kitam manggeyok ta aget
Ta isulit tam tatahiman tam
Ta wan kitam nga makaddimas nga Agta.

Brother come,
Let's hunt wild pig,
To barter for something good,
So that we will not be hungry.

The *kakanap* is a question-and-answer game song sung by two Agta. Each musical phrase of the *kakanap* has six syllables. Performer 1 and performer 2 sing the phrases

alternately, but the last phrase is sung together. The following is a Christian kakanap (*Musical Instruments* 1986:13):

*Eeyoy, eeyoy
Anu oy, anu oy
Itta ay kofun ko
Had en o, had en o
Awem ay maita
Atsi o, atsi o
Te itta in teyak
Had en o, had en o
Apagam, apagam
On man tu, on man tu
Ayagam, ayagam
On mina, on mina
Petta kofun hapa
Anu kan ngagan na
Hesus kan Hesus kan
Onay o, onay o
Kofun tam hapala
Onay o, onay o.*

My friend, my friend,
What? What?
I have a new friend
Where? Where?
This one you can't see.
Why? Why?
He is with me here.
Where? Where?
Try to look for him
Where then? Where then?
Now you call him.
I wish I could.
So you can be friends too.
What's his name?
Jesus is his name
Is it? Is it?
Jesus is our friend.
O yes! O yes!

The *magwitwit* is an Agta fishing song sung solo in metrical rhythm (*Musical Instruments* 1986:14):

*Angay nge taka
alapan nga magwitwit tahayaw
Tahikaw posohang ku
nga magwitwit tayaw
Tatoy dimumemat nga
ibayku magpawitwit
Tahikaw pasohang ku
nga magwitwit tahayaw*

Brothers come
let's go fishing
because someone came to ask a favor
that I catch fish.
I would want you to help
come help me catch fish,
because someone came to ask a favor
that I catch fish.

An example of a lullaby is the *adang* sung by the Agta of Palanan, Isabela. The soloist sings the *adang* accompanied by the busog. Rendered in verse with eight syllables per melodic phrase, the song has an arpeggiated melody in ascending and descending contour (*Musical Instruments* 1986:12-26).

*Annin ne annin annin
bemahana a pala pala
Guduhunga ipagtatoy
unduhunga tema tema
Guduhunga tama tama
nungsuhunga palagi da
Lakahana pagi pagi
Wanahaney anni anin
Bamahana Nene, Nene, Neneheneng
Annine, anni, annin
bemahana lallakbayan
Bankahana nema nema
Cuduhunga ema ema
Nungsuhunga Nene, Nene, Neneheneng.*

Oh! Oh! Oh!
My! the waves.
The child went boating
in the sea.
The shield traveled
because she was left alone
so she left
far away, oh! oh!
My! Nene, Nene, Neneng!
Oh! Oh! Oh!
My! she traveled
by boat alone
The child traveled o'er the big waves
Nene, Nene, Neneng!

The Aeta Magbukun, a small Aeta group in Limay, Bataan have few surviving traditional vocal music. The *uso* is a melody structure which is also used in *talinhagan*, a song which expresses the last words and wishes of the dying, and the *kagun* or a ritual to cure the sick. The *amba* is the song used in a marriage ceremony as the participants circle around a fire. The *ingalu* is a lament for the dead. There is a song consisting of a shout from a parent which is used to call their children for an errand.

The Aeta Magbukun also sing popular songs learned from lowlanders, but translate these into their language.

The uso has a free meter consisting of three short musical phrases. These musical phrases are sung repeatedly but in different sequences. The uso may be sung in different occasions, and could speak of a number of topics (Prudente 1978:165-175; all translated from Tagalog by R. Matilac):

*Inan uning kulalu ung'
Ha ko ha ay takay laman ningbunlong
Hua ay iya makukokabukilan
tamaangwaking a gong ditan
Hako ay naluluwa ikon nako pon nanangan
Ha ay papatulo talon ti hua mata
Pa-rung hm hm
Pampanikibat na-an ay
Sumaukan laos ti kaya kong pakidungo no lu ako ay
ako'y magpapa a ganbag song kahit ta malantong
Kaya kong ipagpalit apunan un
Kungi kong diling masakit ti lalamunan ay
ibularlar ko alaw ay iniong ay atong*

The birds are chirping
I ate a foul-smelling bagoong
Hay
I am going to the mountains to get *ubod*,
which I will barter for my dinner.
I am hungry, I have not eaten
If only my throat weren't aching
I will tell.
Oh, mother, oh, father,
will spank you
Hay
I think my body is exhausted.

The following is an excerpt from an amba (Prudente 1978:175-178):

*Ho wa ay kay ti ho ni ko panghuyutan
Ay yo hay yo
pan yambutan nining alimungan
yabi ya bing ya saunghaay
kay ti ing panghuyutan
pam yam butan alimungan
ng u mi ya aw kulyawan
Ay-yay pangambutan alimungan*

This is where she caught up
Ay, hay.
My love caught up with me.
Late in the night did I go
to our meeting place.
Ay, hay, love caught up with me.

When the *kulyawan* cried
my love caught up with me.

The *ingalu* or lament for the dead is sung during the wake (Prudente 1978:179-180):

Haqaroq
Aruq uy baking ka iq nang
Hanggaang ta tala as tasa ay
Aruy hinlunabing ing ka long au lo
Lin bak nuq ay ti a rap ti a anang diok.

Aru,
Why mother?
She said,
You are pitiful.

The anituan or curing seance among the Aeta of Pampanga, Bataan, Zambales, and Isabela is a ritual that has similar versions among the different Aeta groups. The anituan is a dramatic performance in which the medium, in a trance, also casts a hypnotic spell over the audience. Later, a dialogue ensues between the audience and the “captured” spirit causing the disease.

Generally, dancing is a frequent pastime among all Aeta groups. A beautiful moonlit night may be enough reason for dancing, with the women forming a ring, and the men a larger ring enclosing female dancers. While moving around in opposite directions, both men and women dance rhythmically to the sound of musical instruments.

Dances of the Aeta may be categorized into two types: festive dancing and ceremonial dancing. Festive dancing may be held when meeting friends, after a good hunt, or when there is a group feeling of happiness. This includes the *binabayani* of the Pinatubo Aeta, the *borokil* of the Agta, and the war dances of the Iriga Aeta. Religious dancing, almost always held during the full moon, lasts into the wee hours of the night.

The Abiyan of Camarines Norte have two dances for the dead: the *hayang* and *sayang*, which are ring dances performed by the entire community around a bonfire near the grave during the *katapusan*, a date equivalent to the 40th day after a Christian burial (Obusan 1991).

The Aeta have many mimetic dances imitating various activities. In the potato dance, which has survived among the Aeta of Zambales, the performers pretend to be stealing potatoes from a patch. The Aeta bee dance, called *pinahug* among the Agta of Camarines and *pinapanilan* among the Aeta of Zambales, is a comic dance about overzealous honey gatherers who get stung by bees. Its steps include frenzied leaps.

Other mimetic dances are the Aeta duel dance with bolo, bows, and arrows; the Aeta torture dance where an imaginary captive is tied to a tree while a group of warrior dancers move slowly and rhythmically around the victim, whom they eventually

“pierce” with spears; and the Aeta lovers’ dance. In the latter, the man encircles the woman who pays no attention and dances away from him (Orosa-Goquingco 1980).

The *talek* of the Aeta of Pampanga, Bataan, and Zambales, mimics the animals in their environment. Variations of the *talek* are the *talek bake* (monkey), *talek lango* (fly), *talek barak* (monitor lizard), and *talek paro* (shrimp). The *talek barak* is a unique invitation of two lizards slithering over bamboo poles, trellises and fences, skillfully clinging to trees and rocks, and finally resting after a day’s work.

Aeta music, dance, drama, and visual arts are combined in festivals, such as the Dumagat folk festival in Norzagaray, Bulacan. Here, the men wear colorful woven loincloths and strips of cloth tied around their arms for ornaments; and the women wear loose blouses, colorful wraparound skirts, and small pieces of wood and flowers for earrings. The festival starts with a *subkal*, a chanted song with no definite lyrics and which depends on spontaneous emotions. The melody, called *pandango*, is unchanged throughout the song and is accompanied by a native guitar in 3/4 time signature. After the *pandango*, *arnis-arnisan*, a war dance from an ancient form of *arnis* or self-defense, is performed. Using rattan rods measuring 60 centimeters, warriors move slowly at first. Then as the music builds up, movements become faster. The audience cheers the warriors who have delivered deadly blows, or warriors who have successfully blocked or evaded the blows of their opponents. • R. Matilac with notes from E.A. Manuel/Reviewed by S.G. Padilla Jr. **References**

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