



PAMBANSANG MUSEO NG PILIPINAS  
NATIONAL MUSEUM OF THE PHILIPPINES

# LUMAD



# MINDANAO

Cover image:

**Detail of a dagmai** (LM-109), the traditional Mandaya textile used as women's skirts. Abaca and natural dyes. Manorigao, Davao. 1914 | Collected by John M. Garvan. National Museum of the Philippines Collection.

Front cover portraits:

**1–Bagobo man.** *Kasaysayan ng Lahi*, Manila. 1974. NMP Ethnology Archives. • **2–“A Bagobo man**, age 21.” Adapted from Cole (1913, Plate III). Courtesy of the Field Museum (Image No. CSA13631). • **3–Mansaka girl.** *Kasaysayan ng Lahi*, Manila. 1974. NMP Ethnology Archives. • **4–“A Bagobo girl**, age 19.” Adapted from Cole (1913, Plate IV). Courtesy of the Field Museum (Image No. CSA13661). • **5–Mandaya woman.** *Kasaysayan ng Lahi*, Manila. 1974. NMP Ethnology Archives. • **6–“A Bagobo man**, age 20.” Adapted from Cole (1913, Plate IV). Courtesy of the Field Museum (Image No. CSA13624). • **7–Tau M'loy B'laan girl.** South Cotabato. Circa 1970. NMP Ethnology Archives. • **8–“Mandaya man.”** Adapted from Cole (1913, Plate LXIX). Courtesy of the Field Museum (Image No. CSA30451). • **9–T'boli man.** Circa 1980. NMP Ethnology Archives. • **10–“Bagobo woman** wearing the most prized ornaments.” Adapted from (Cole 1913, Plate LXVI). Photographed by Fay-Cooper Cole. Courtesy of the Field Museum (Image No. 34897). • **11–Mandaya Christine Palmera Banugan from Caraga, Davao Oriental.** NMP *Hibla ng Lahing Filipino* weaving demonstrations, Manila. 2014. MP Tauro/NMP Ethnology • **12–“Chief of the Kalanganes**, Davao, Mindanao (1901).” Courtesy of the Philippine Photographs Digital Archive (PHLA396), University of Michigan Library Digital Collections.

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# LUMAD MINDANAO



ETHNOLOGY DIVISION  
National Museum of the Philippines  
Manila  
2020

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**Figure 1**–“The clothing worn by both sexes is decorated with beads, shell disks and embroidery.” Adapted from Cole (1913, Plate IX). Courtesy of the Field Museum (Image Nos. CSA13668 [left] and CSA13631 [right]).

*Succeeding page:*

**Figure 2**–**Lake at the Mt. Apo crater.** Locally known as Apo Sandawa, Mt. Apo is a dormant volcano and the Philippines’ highest peak, straddling Davao City, North Cotabato and Davao del Sur, and a sacred ground among the Lumadnon of south central Mindanao, home to the war deity Mandarangan. It has been considered for nomination to the UNESCO World Heritage Sites for having one of the highest terrestrial floristic and faunal diversity per unit area in the country, before dramatic changes occurred in the area due to various exploitation activities, such as logging and poaching. Mt. Apo National Park was reopened to the public in April 2017 after it was closed on March 31, 2016 due to forest fires. May 2012. JRC Callado/NMP Botany.





# FOREWORD

JEREMY R. BARNS

*Director-General of the National Museum of the Philippines*

The *Lumad Mindanao* project is one of the significant programs of the National Museum of the Philippines (NMP) in fulfilling our mandate as the primary educational, scientific, and cultural institution of the Philippine Government to preserve and promote our national patrimony. It is part of our ongoing initiatives to revalidate, represent, and reconceptualize the exhibitions in the National Museum of Anthropology (NMA). This book, which is based on that project, is an effort to provide an accessible and updated reference for students, researchers, educators, and the general public focusing on Lumad and Mindanao studies.

In developing this feature for exhibition, the curatorial team encountered challenges including the issues on the portrayal of and sensitivity to their present situation. In 2015, we were very fortunate that several Lumad representatives accepted our invitation to preview the exhibition and share with us their insights as culture-bearers of their groups. We were able to gather more information about some of the objects from the National Ethnographic Collection (NEC) that are now on display in the *Lumad Mindanao* gallery at the NMA.

More than 200 ethnographic materials from 13 Lumad groups in the NEC are featured in this project; some of which are discussed in detail to emphasize the shared traditions and practices and its variations among the Lumadnon and with the neighboring Muslim communities such as betel-chewing, metalsmithing, basketry, and textile weaving. The Lumadnon relationship with their natural environment is also an important feature that has shaped their identity, spirituality and worldview. Similar to ecology-based cultural heritage of other indigenous peoples in the country, the Lumadnon are contributing significantly to climate change mitigation by sustainably using their land and coastal resources. In highlighting these topics, we hope to develop interest among the readers of this publication to engage in anthropological research and support institutions as well as the local communities that help preserve their cultural and natural heritage.

This project was made possible through the support of the Office of Senator Loren Legarda, the local governments in Mindanao, other partner institutions and individuals. It is a tribute to the Lumadnon as another collective indigenous group in southern Philippines, demonstrating their capacities in safeguarding their natural heritage and diversity of cultural expressions. With this publication and the *Lumad Mindanao* gallery at the NMA, we hope to narrow gaps in narratives about the Lumad from historical and anthropological perspectives so we may better understand their present situation.

*Succeeding page:*

**Figure 3–Mandaya woman.** *Kasaysayan ng Lahi*, Manila. 1974. NMP Ethnology Archives.



# MESSAGE OF SENATOR LOREN LEGARDA

*delivered on the inauguration of the LUMAD MINDANAO Exhibition,  
11 December 2015*

Let me start my message by thanking our Lumad brothers and sisters for gracing us with their presence, which makes this event more meaningful.

*Lumad* is a Visayan word meaning “born of the earth” and fittingly so because our indigenous peoples are the stewards of the earth, the true environmentalists who nurture our forests and natural resources.

It is, thus, lamentable that many of our Lumad communities have been living in uncertainty due to the reported displacement from their habitats and other alleged abuses.

I recognize the fact that even with the Indigenous Peoples’ Rights Act (IPRA), our IPs are yet to be fully accorded with the opportunities, services and share in decision-making due them.

Surely, we will not be able to resolve this complex issue today at the National Museum, but through this exhibit titled *Lumad Mindanao*, we make a strong argument on why we need to stop the violence and the harassment of our IPs.

Through this showcase of the arts and crafts, traditions and skills of our IPs presented by our able curators, we tell the rest of the country and the world about our indigenous peoples’ ingenuity and innate brilliance.

I congratulate the National Museum for putting up this permanent exhibition in which we are able to oppose, through art, the issues our IPs face today.

I, too, have made a tribute, a compelling statement, through a documentary series on indigenous peoples and culture titled *Dayaw*, which was shown last October at the ABS-CBN News Channel (ANC). It was my collaboration with the National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA) and ANC. It is a showcase of our indigenous culture and aims to educate and inspire Filipinos on the protection and preservation of the cultural and artistic treasures of the Philippines. The team has wrapped up its first season, but I will make sure that the NCCA and National Museum will have many more projects that highlight the brilliance of our IPs.

I also wish to share with you the good news that we are a step closer to the passage of the proposed IP Resource Centers Act after the Senate has approved the measure. This bill seeks to address the need to improve the delivery and accessibility of basic, social, technical and legal services to our IPs all over the country.

Moreover, these Resource Centers shall serve as venues to promote participatory programs and projects for IPs, to effectively deliver their responsibilities under the IPRA, and to ensure implementation of their respective Ancestral Domain Sustainable Development and Protection Plans.

We still have a long way to go in effectively protecting the rights of our IPs, but we should not lose hope. We must continue to work together and assure the role and significance of our IPs in our country.

As a lifelong commitment, I will never get tired of reminding our people the infinite reasons why our indigenous peoples and their culture, our national heritage, must thrive.



# CURATORIAL NOTE

ANA MARIA THERESA P. LABRADOR, PH.D.

*Deputy Director-General for Museums of the National Museum of the Philippines*

In October 2014, the Ethnology Division (then named the Anthropology Division), the Archaeology Division and a select group of academic anthropologists and archaeologists met to develop the Master Plan of the Museum of the Filipino People and set about transforming it into the National Museum of Anthropology (NMA), its national collections holdings and its divisions, contributing to making the Museum a more relevant, accessible and updated institution. In the 2016 Reorganization of the National Museum of the Philippines, the Maritime and Underwater Cultural Heritage Division was added to the NMA, to better understand our archipelagic relationships around our islands and their material, as well as intangible heritage.

The *Lumad Mindanao* exhibition project is one outcome of that 2014 meeting. Besides overhauling the *Kinahinatnan* Gallery, which evoked a timeline from *Pinagmulan* Gallery (featuring archaeological artifacts), it was placed contiguous with the *Bangsamoro* exhibition to show the complexity of relationships and similarities in practices of the two collective groups in the second largest island of the Philippines. To demonstrate this, their galleries were joined with their musical instruments and their ethnolinguistic maps. We also did away with the environmental-determinist and structural-functional approach to the previous exhibition that showed little of the inhabitants' agency and emphasized only of how their surroundings and organization shaped their customs.

The permanent gallery dedicated to the Lumad features the material culture of 13 of these major groups from Mindanao. We have been fortunate to be able to consult with umbrella organizations who come from different persuasions and perspectives before we opened the exhibition in December 2015 and this continues to this day, prompting us to regard it as work-in-progress. It was serendipitous that at the time we were installing the exhibition, a large contingent from Mindanao came to Manila to make their voices heard regarding their plight. Some of them agreed to share with us their knowledge and time to validate our curatorial themes. Moreover, out of more than 200 objects in the exhibition, many of them have been validated as belonging to their group and displayed for the first time.

As a National Museum with encyclopedic collections, we were also able to include objects from our other collections holdings, enabling us to create a more rounded, interdisciplinary exhibition to convey that the culture of the Lumad is dynamic and about living people, not of the ethnographic present that freeze them in an idealized time frame. Most notable among these are paintings of Lumad artists, clay secondary burial jars, and botanical and zoological specimens that indicate the Lumadnons' sustainable lifestyles.

This project has been a success largely due to the hard work and the participative research of our staff from the Ethnology Division led by its Curator Ms. Marites Paz-Tauro and the Lumad Mindanao Project Leader Ms. Jessica Marquinez. The exhibition was interpreted with an attractive and appropriate design by our creative team headed by our exhibition designer Mr. Marcelo Cercado. Special mention goes to Ms. Erika Robis whose attention to detail and scholarly perspective kept this publication and the exhibition focused and on an even keel. We cannot thank enough the Lumadnons and those who champion them for having helped us through this process. The exhibition and this publication are dedicated to them.

*Previous page:*

**Figure 4**—Detail of a *t'nalak* from the National Museum of the Philippines Collection (LM-114) showing the T'boli indigenous tri-color *ikat* design in black, red and white obtained through traditional dyeing processes. Abaca and natural dyes. Sta. Cruz, Lake Sebu, South Cotabato | T'boli. 1977.

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**Figure 5**—"A Manobo woman." Adapted from Cole (1913, Plate LXVIII). Courtesy of the Field Museum (Image No. CSA30966).

**Figure 6**—**Lake Sebu**, located within the T'boli ancestral domain and the largest of the three lakes (the other two are Lakes Seloton and Lahit) in the municipality of Lake Sebu in South Cotabato, is considered a vital watershed of Sultan Kudarat and South Cotabato. Its name, "Sebu" or "Sbu," means gushing, as it is believed that its waters gushed from a leaf-covered spring guarded by a mystical frog when Kludan and *Boi* Henwu, the couple who were informed of its location through a dream during a long period of drought, failed to return its leaf cover in place. Today, around 10% of its total 354-hectare area is used for tilapia (*Oreochromis niloticus*) aquaculture. This industry is considered as one of the main economic resources of the communities in the area. Recently, fish kills have become more frequent due to the depletion of oxygen supply caused by pollutants from fish cages and other human activities in the lake. 2016. JT Marquinez/NMP Ethnology.







## INTRODUCTION

The southern Philippines principally comprises the island of Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago (figure 7). The region is a majestic tapestry of both natural and cultural abundance unifying the thread of its ethnically diverse people across geographic boundaries. This book, and the exhibition at the National Museum of Anthropology which it accompanies, present the faces and countenances of the peoples of Mindanao collectively known as Lumad, who nurture and are nurtured by Mindanao's rich natural and cultural heritage.

Lumad [lɔ.'mad] (Lumadnon in plural form), a Visayan word meaning "born from the earth," refers to the indigenous, non-Moro or non-Muslim groups in Mindanao. The collective decision to use this term traces back to the political assembly of local and regional organizations of these indigenous groups in Cotabato on June 26, 1986 where issues in their struggle for cultural determination within their respective ancestral lands were discussed (Alejo 2000, 290-291; Rodil 2012, 50-51). Prior to this, anthropologists followed the linguistics-based categorization of Manobo and non-Manobo groups (Cruz 1986 in Acosta 1994, 70-71 [Table 1], 75; McFarland 1980; Reid 1981). As an ethnic category, "Lumad" was first acknowledged and put into use in Republic Act No. 6734, or the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao Organic Act, enacted in 1989, and since then, government, political and non-governmental organizations have collectively recognized the non-Moro groups of Mindanao as such. While the groups themselves perceive this term as a necessary political category (Acosta 1994; Paredes 2013; Quizon 2012), they have mostly maintained use of their distinct locative group names, a seemingly common practice among ethnolinguistic groups in the Philippines, which was also observed in Luzon (Labrador 1998).

While there were 15 ethnolinguistic groups involved in the 1986 congress, authors have noted around 20 to 40 non-Muslim major and sub-groups under the Lumad category (Acosta 1994; Cariño 2012; Rodil 2012). These numbers frequently shift, often depending on the organization interacting with them, or how they actually identify themselves within their own and their neighboring communities (Acosta 1994; Paredes 2013). Out of these, roughly 19 major Lumad groups have been identified: Ata, B'laan, Bagobo, Banwaon, Bukidnon, Dibabawon, Higaunon, Mamanwa, Mandaya, Manguwangan, Mansaka, Manobo, Matigsalug, Obo, T'boli, Tagakaolo,

Talaandig, Teduray and Subanen (Guillermo 2012). In the 2010 National Census, the Lumadnon comprised about 3.38% of the total Philippine population, or about 14.38% of the population in Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago (Gisselquist and McDoom 2015).

Their native languages belong to two microgroups in the Philippine language family, the Greater Central Philippines (GCP) and the Bilic (figure 8). The majority fall under the GCP microgroup, divided into three geographic-based sub-groups: Central Philippines (the Mamanwa and the Mansakan languages), Manobo, and Subanen (Blust 1991). Visayan or Binisaya, the Mindanao variety of the Cebuano and Hiligaynon languages, is widely spoken by most Lumad peoples as a second language to communicate with the now demographically dominant populations of Visayan settlers, as well as amongst themselves.

As indicated by the geographical nature of their language classification, the Lumadnon are scattered mostly in the upland and lowland areas of Agusan, Bukidnon, Cotabato, Davao, Maguindanao, Misamis, Sultan Kudarat, Surigao, Sarangani and Zamboanga (figure 9). Traditionally, they are mostly *kaingin* or swidden cultivators who also depend on hunting, fishing, gathering, and trade of forest products and locally manufactured items for subsistence (Acosta 1994, 61). While many have embraced other religious practices, particularly Christianity, the Lumadnon remain intimately tied to the land with their indigenous beliefs and traditions essentially reminiscent in their healing practices, customary laws and value systems in general (Acosta 1994, 76-77; Paredes 2006, 528).

The exhibition gallery *Lumad Mindanao* at the National Museum of Anthropology in Manila features the material culture of 13 of the Lumad groups from the National Ethnographic Collection, which, along with this monograph, aims to explore the significance of Mindanao natural reserves and resources to Lumad identity, as manifested in their social systems, and cultural beliefs and practices. Given that they have not been fully acknowledged as of yet in our country's history (Alejo 2000, 192; Duhaylungsod and Hyndman 1993, 70; Paredes 2000, 75; 2013, 6-7, 165), this recounts and unveils the Lumadnon identities based on a review of previous and recent historical and anthropological data. It will particularly present their experiences, encounters and established linkages and ties with neighboring groups and foreigners through the years, and their predicament in and for the 21st

century as the one other indigenous, inherent component of southern Philippines. In the process, the exhibition and this monograph attempt to give an insight into how perceptive the Lumad peoples

are of their place and purpose, and to facilitate an appreciation and a pragmatic grasp of their contemporary circumstances.

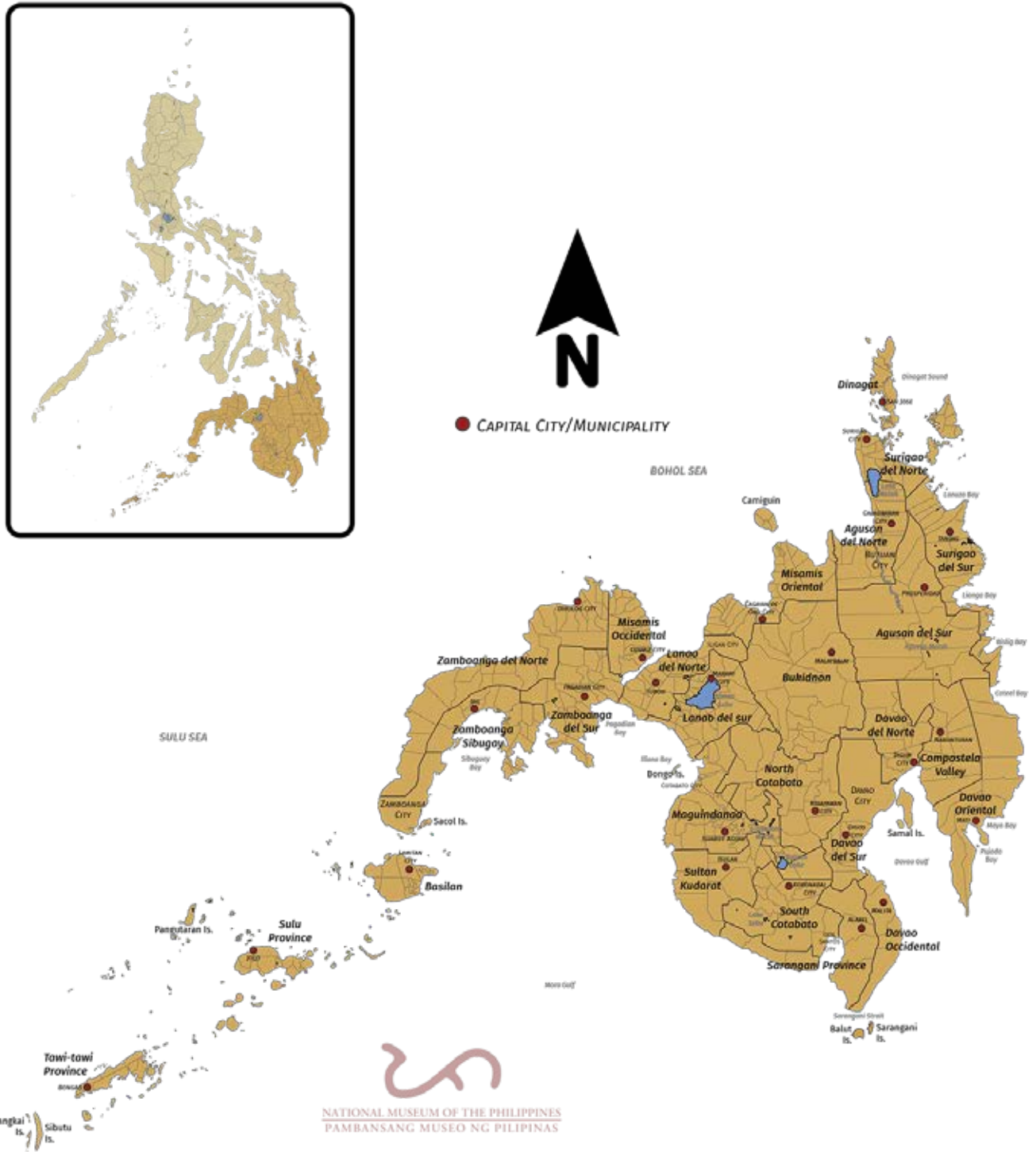


Figure 7–Location map and current provincial administrative divisions of Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago. Map not in scale. Base map courtesy of Aira 2008 | Wikimedia Commons.

## SOUTHERN PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES AND THE LUMAD IDENTITY

The Philippines has more than 175 languages, and, except Chavacano/Chabacano,<sup>†</sup> these are all siblings under the Austronesian language family. To determine how languages are related, historical linguists compare shared retentions and innovations of specific components, such as sounds and different structures, of particular languages within a specific period of time. In Philippine linguistics, the reflex (or earlier form) of the phoneme (or sound) /\*R/, called the uvular trill, is one of the distinguishing indicators of language change, and has been used as the basis for classifying the Philippine languages under the Austronesian family (Blust 1991; Conant 1911). For example, the Proto-Malayo-Polynesian term *\*daRat*, which refers to littoral waters, is “*dogot*” among the Teduray/Tiruray, “*dagat*” among the contemporary Western Bukidnon Manobo and Mansaka, and other Philippine language groups as well. Aside from sounds, shared changes in morphology (the structure and forms of words) and syntax (the structure of words in a statement) of languages are also looked into. For instance, the Sama-Bajaw languages spoken in southern Philippines and Borneo have syntactic differences between them, as well as with the other Philippine languages. Chavacano, a creole or naturalized language from the mixture of two languages, is unlike any other Philippine language; its lexical terms or vocabulary are in Spanish, while its

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<sup>†</sup>The different Philippine ethnolinguistic groups use multiple names and orthographies to identify themselves. Generally, the local group names are associated with the geophysical location of their respective villages, as discussed in the section “Sketching Lumad Identity.” Some of these group names were used during, and have appeared with minor alterations in accounts from the Spanish and American colonial periods. These were mostly adopted later by administrative officials, as well as “new” names that were given, such as with the PANAMIN (Griffin 1988, 11), as the Philippine nation-state was being established.

This book follows two specific orthographic conventions in pertaining to the different Philippine ethnolinguistic groups, especially among the Lumad. Throughout the text, the group names used were based on the most recent scholarly, specifically anthropological, publication(s) cited in the Bibliography. The initial reference to each group however will include their popular appellation and/or how they are referred to in the field of linguistics. In some cases, where specific ethnographical objects are mentioned and listed, the names used were based on the official catalog of the National Ethnographic Collection and associated archival materials.

This however does not intend to impose specific orthographies to the different Lumad group names, as well as designate “official” group names, but rather aims to minimize confusion for the readers and maintain consistency in referring to each group throughout the text.

syntax is from the Philippine languages.

The indigenous languages spoken in the southern Philippines belong to three microgroups in the Philippine language family, namely, the Greater Central Philippines (GCP), Bilic and Sangiric; and the Sama-Bajaw microgroup of the Greater Barito (figure 8). Although there are language groups that are exclusively spoken by each of the Lumad and Muslim groups (figure 9), there are common language features between them as well, because of their proximity within the geographical area of southern Philippines. For instance, there are languages of Lumad, Muslim and Christian Filipinos that are within the GCP, which covers a wide geographic range.

The majority of the Lumadnon languages fall under the GCP microgroups, divided into three geographic-based sub-groups: Central Philippines, Manobo, and Subanen (Blust 1991). The Lumad languages under the Central Philippines sub-group consist of the Mamanwa, and the Mansakan languages—Kamayo, Tagakaulo, Davawenyo, Mansaka, and Mandaya. The Manobo languages include Dibabawon, Agusan Manobo, Rajah Kabunsuwan Manobo, Ilianen, Western Bukidnon Manobo, Obo/Ubu Manobo, Ata-Manobo, Matigsalug, Cotabato Manobo, Tagabawa, Sarangani Manobo, Bukidnon/Binukid and Higaunon. The Subanen comprise Tuboy, Guinsalugan, Lapuyan, Sindangan and Siocon. The Bilic microgroup include the T'boli, Teduray, Bagobo/Giangan, and the B'laan languages of Koronadal and Sarangani.

The Moro languages under the GCP microgroup are Maguindanao, Maranao, and Iranun, within the Danao language sub-group. There are the Sangil and Sangir languages under Sangiric, and the Yakan, Mapun and the Sama languages under the Sama-Bajaw microgroup. While the groups Kolibugan/Kalibugan and Kagan Kalagan are linguistically related to the Subanen and the Central Philippines' Mansakan sub-groups, respectively, they have adopted Islamic practices and beliefs.

All ethnolinguistic groups indigenous to Mindanao are generally multilinguals, having adopted the Bisayan languages Cebuano and Hiligaynon as their lingua franca (McFarland 1980, 90). This may be traced in linguistic and geographic terms, where Cebuano and Hiligaynon of the Bisayan languages are also under the Central Philippines language sub-group, including the Surigaonon, Tandaganon and Butuanon languages spoken in eastern Mindanao (figures 8

and 9; Gallman 1997; Zorc 1977). Another reason is that earlier forms of the Bisayan languages may have been the main trade languages among the groups within this region since the prehistoric times (Paredes 2013, 27). Scott (1994, 161) also suggests that the coastal and interior communities in northern and eastern Mindanao were part of the Visayan cultural area. One such community is the P'u-tuan polity, located along the areas surrounding the Agusan River, now known as Butuan, which served as one of the large-scale trading ports of Philippine tributary missions to Chinese courts including Ma'i (Mindoro), Sulu and Maguindanao between the 8th through the 14th centuries (Junker 2000).

During the Spanish colonial period, the Recollect missionaries identified a distinct variant of Bisayan spoken by the indigenous population to communicate with outsiders; they adopted this language to carry out their evangelization efforts within the island (Bernad 1972, 255; Demetrio 1981, 519-520; Paredes 2013, 27; Schreurs 1994, 44-45). The Jesuit missionaries also had to learn Bisayan and other various indigenous languages, such as Teduray, when they resumed their missionary works in Mindanao in 1859 (Bernad 1972, 258). Ships from Manila stopping over in Iloilo before continuing on to Mindanao may be part of the reason for the increase of Hiligaynon or Ilonggo speakers in the late 18th century (Lipski 2001, 15). During the American colonial period, Bisayan-speaking people comprised 45% of the Mindanao population, residing mostly in the provinces of Agusan, Bukidnon, Lanao del Norte, Misamis and Surigao (Wernstedt and Simkins 1965).

In as much as language provides a people with a grasp to their ethnic identity and connection with their forebears and other kindred ties, it is also an important means of transmitting cultural values and knowledge (Hayase 2007, 6). Oral traditions clearly illustrate this, in addition to revealing how both language and culture have changed and adapted through time. For instance, the sacred epic *Ulahingan*, also known as *Ulegingen*, *Ulagin* or *Uweging*, of the different Manobo-speaking groups and Talaandig Bukidnon has been analyzed in both linguistic and ethnographic terms. The term "*ulahingan*" is derived from the word "*ulahing*," meaning "to chant in a particular style of poetry, language and music" (Maquiso 1977, 34), and the epic has been widely chanted particularly in the provinces of Cotabato, Bukidnon and Davao (Manuel 1963). *Ulahingan* narrates the mythological plight of the folk hero Agyu and his people towards freedom and immortality in

the place called Nalandangan or Nelendangan (Maquiso 1977; Saway-Llesis 2005). It is believed that the first *Ulahingan* was performed by Bayvayan or Baybayan, Agyu's son, as assigned to him by the supreme deity, committing to memory how Agyu and his people have ascended to the immortal realm (Cembrano 2005; Maquiso 1977).

Studies of the different accounts of Agyu among the different Manobo and Talaandig Bukidnon groups state that these are merely differences in linguistics and delivery; while various titles are given to the epic among the groups, culturally they are similar in terms of the basic plot and characters. Among the Talaandig Bukidnon, the narration of the epic *Ulagin* must be complemented by a vivid description of the activities, events, places and personalities which requires mastery of language and richness of vocabulary (Saway-Llesis 2005, 89). The sequence of events differs between each epic chanter among the Talaandig Bukidnon and the Manobo groups; similar characters and themes of tradition, religious beliefs and ideals, social systems and animosity against invading enemies are invoked with each telling (Cembrano 2005; Saway-Llesis 2005).

Studies of the literality of each version of this epic have revealed associations to existing places that have been noted as active elements in the contemporary Lumad culture (Paredes 2006, 536-537). One such study by Elena Maquiso (1977, 55-56) found that some versions indicate Camiguin-Cagayan-Bukidnon as the first settlement site of the original Manobo people before they dispersed throughout Mindanao. This supports linguist Richard Elkins' "proto-Manobo theory" (1974, 601), which attempts to explain the common origin and relationship between all Manobo groups. Margarita Cembrano (2005, 110) also documented places associated with elements in the epic *Ulagin* that are considered sacred by Manobo people, including the remains of the post of Agyu's *turugan* (house) that is believed to be found inside Camp Evangelista in Patag, Cagayan de Oro City; the stone formation at Dagae, across the Pantaron Mountain Range at Kabanglasan in Bukidnon, which is believed to be remnants of his farm; the rock formation known as Bagul Tagulayan in the Agusan del Sur side of Pantaron and Galong-galong mountain ranges, which bears the fist of the ugly giant Amakay; and the upstream tributary of Adgawan River at the foothills of Pantaron, where the shield of warrior Anilaw na Lisngadan is believed to have been left.

Other Lumadnon groups also have oral traditions with plots and themes similar to the *Ulahingan* such as the *Tuwaang* or *Tulalangan*



## MAP KEYS

Areas traditionally settled entirely by Lumad groups, 1576-1898 (Rodil 1994 • Acosta 1994 • Paredes 2013 • Manuel 1973)

Areas occupied by the Lumadnon with the Muslim groups, 1576-1898 (Rodil 1994 • Acosta 1994 • Casiño 1981)

Areas traditionally settled entirely by Muslim groups, 1576-1898 (Rodil 1994)

Approximate location of ethnolinguistic group settlement

## ETHNOLINGUISTIC GROUPS

(Lewis et al. 2015 • NM 1974 • \*Casiño 1976 • \*Eder 2010)

### LUMAD GROUPS

#### BILIC LANGUAGES

- K** KORONADAL B'LAAN (Eastern South Cotabato; Sarangani Province • Lutayan, Sultan Kudarat • Davao del Sur)
- S** SARANGANI B'LAAN (Sarangani Province • Gen. Santos City & northern area of South Cotabato • Davao del Sur)
- T** T'BOLI (Western & Mt. Busa areas of South Cotabato • Sarangani Province • Kraun area & Bagumbayan, Sultan Kudarat)
- T** TEDURAY (TIRURAY) (Datu Blah T. Sinsuat, North & South Upi, Maguindanao • Lebak, Sultan Kudarat)
- G** GIANGAN/BAGOBO (Davao City, Davao del Sur • eastern slopes of Mt. Apo)

#### SUBANON LANGUAGES

- N** TUBOY/NORTHERN SUBANEN (Zamboanga del Norte • Misamis Occidental)
- E** GUINSALUGNEN/EASTERN SUBANEN (Western slopes of Mt. Malindang, Don Victoriano Chiongban, Misamis Occidental • northeastern Zamboanga del Sur)
- S** LAPUYAN/SOUTHERN SUBANEN (Municipalities between Sibuguey & Illana Bays)
- C** SINDANGAN/CENTRAL SUBANEN (Central Zamboanga Peninsula • eastern half of Zamboanga del Norte • eastern Zamboanga del Sur • eastern Zamboanga Sibugay)
- W** SIOCON/WESTERN SUBANEN (Inlands of NW Zamboanga del Norte • western Zamboanga Sibugay)

#### MANSAKAN LANGUAGES

- K** KAMAYO (Between Marihatag & Lingig, Surigao del Sur • western borders of Agusan del Sur • between Lingig & Boston, Davao Oriental)
- kk** KAGAN KALAGAN (Near Digos City, Davao del Sur)
- T** TAGAKAULO (Digos City to Bugis, inlands and eastern shores, Davao del Sur • Colombio, Sultan Kudarat • Tampakan, South Cotabato)
- D** DAWAWENYO (Davao Oriental • Davao del Sur)
- ms** MANSAKA (West Baganga, Davao Oriental • central west Compostela Valley • Davao Oriental)
- md** MANDAYA (Manay, Caraga, Baganga & Cateel, Davao Oriental • Davao del Norte)

#### CENTRAL PHIL. LANGUAGE

- M** MAMANWA (Lake Mainit area in Agusan del Norte & Surigao del Norte, northeastern Mindanao)

#### MANOBO LANGUAGES

- D** DIBABAWON MANOBO (Upper Agusan River area, northern Compostela Valley • Boston & Cateel, Davao Oriental • Asuncion, Davao del Norte)
- M** AGUSAN MANOBO (Western Agusan del Sur & Norte • Lianga, Surigao del Sur • inlands of southern Surigao del Norte • northern borders of Compostela Valley & Davao del Norte • borders of Davao Oriental & Bukidnon)
- R** RAJAH KABUNSUWAN MANOBO (Northern border of Davao Oriental • Rajah Cabunguan & Lingig, Surigao del Sur • southeastern Agusan del Sur)
- O** OBO MANOBO (Northeastern slope of Mt. Apo, between Davao del Sur & North Cotabato)
- MA** MATIGSALUG MANOBO (South central Bukidnon • northeastern North Cotabato • northwestern Davao del Sur)
- A** ATA MANOBO (Northwestern Davao del Norte & Sur • southeastern Bukidnon • northwestern Compostela Valley)
- C** COTABATO MANOBO (Kalamansig, Palimbang & Ninoy Aquino, Sultan Kudarat • T'boli, South Cotabato)
- T** TAGABAWA (Slopes of Mt. Apo, between Davao City, Davao del Sur & North Cotabato)
- S** SARANGANI MANOBO (Jose Abad Santos, Davao Occidental • Governor Genoroso, Davao Oriental • Glan, Sarangani Province)
- IL** ILIANEN MANOBO (North central watershed of Mindanao River, North Cotabato • Kandingilan, Kibawe & Darnulong, Bukidnon • northern areas of Kambutalan & Datu Montawal, Maguindanao)
- W** WESTERN BUKIDNON MANOBO (Dangcagan, Don Carlos, Kitaotao & Maramag, Bukidnon • Banisilan, North Cotabato)
- B** BINUKID (North central Mindanao; north central Bukidnon • northeastern Lanao del Norte • Cagayan de Oro City to southwest of Gingoog Bay, Misamis Oriental)
- H** HIGAONON (Butuan River basin, north central Mindanao • south of Butuan City • Agusan del Norte • northwestern Agusan del Sur • Misamis Occidental)
- Ki** KINAMIGIN (Camiguin Island)
- Ka** KAGAYANEN (Balabak, Palawan)

### FILIPINO MUSLIM GROUPS

#### SAMA BAJAU LANGUAGES

- Y** YAKAN (Sulu Archipelago; Basilan • eastern Zamboanga • Zamboanga City)
- M** MAPUN (Cagayan de Sulu Island, \* Tawi-tawi • Rizal & Brooke's Point, Palawan\*)
- C** CENTRAL SAMA (Sulu • Tawi-tawi • Basilan • Zamboanga del Sur & Norte • Davao City • Cagayan de Oro City)
- B** BALANGIGI SAMA (Northeastern Jolo, Sulu • Zamboanga Peninsula • Basilan)
- S** SOUTHERN SAMA (Tawi-tawi)
- P** PANGUTARAN SAMA (Pangutaran Island, Sulu • southern Palawan\* • Cagayan de Sulu Island, \* Tawi-tawi)

#### DANAO LANGUAGES

- M** MAGUINDANAON (Maguindanao • south central Cotabato • central Sultan Kudarat • northern South Cotabato)
- M** MARANAO (Lanao del Sur • southern half of Lanao del Norte • northwestern Maguindanao • west central Bukidnon • northwestern Cotabato)
- I** IRANUN (Maguindanao • Sultan Kudarat • Alamada, Banasilan, Carmen, Libungan & Pigcawayan in North Cotabato • southeastern Lanao del Sur • Kalilangan, Bukidnon)

#### SANGIRIC LANGUAGES

- S** SANGIL (Davao del Sur to Balut Island)
- S** SANGIR (Sarangani Island, Davao Occidental)

#### SUBANON LANGUAGE

- K** KOLIBOGAN/KALIBUGAN SUBANEN (Inlands of Kabasalan to Ipil municipalities, Zamboanga Sibugay • Liloy & Siocon to Sibuco, Zamboanga del Norte • Zamboanga City)

#### MANSAKAN LANGUAGE

- K** KALAGAN (Southwestern Davao City; Davao del Norte • Compostela Valley • Davao Oriental highlands • Davao Gulf area in Davao del Sur & Oriental • North Cotabato)

#### CENTRAL PHIL. LANGUAGE

- T** TAUSUG (Sulu Archipelago • southern Palawan\* • Basilan • Zamboanga City)

#### PALAWANIC LANGUAGE

- M** MOLBOG (Balabak, Palawan\*)

### OTHER GROUPS

#### CENTRAL PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES

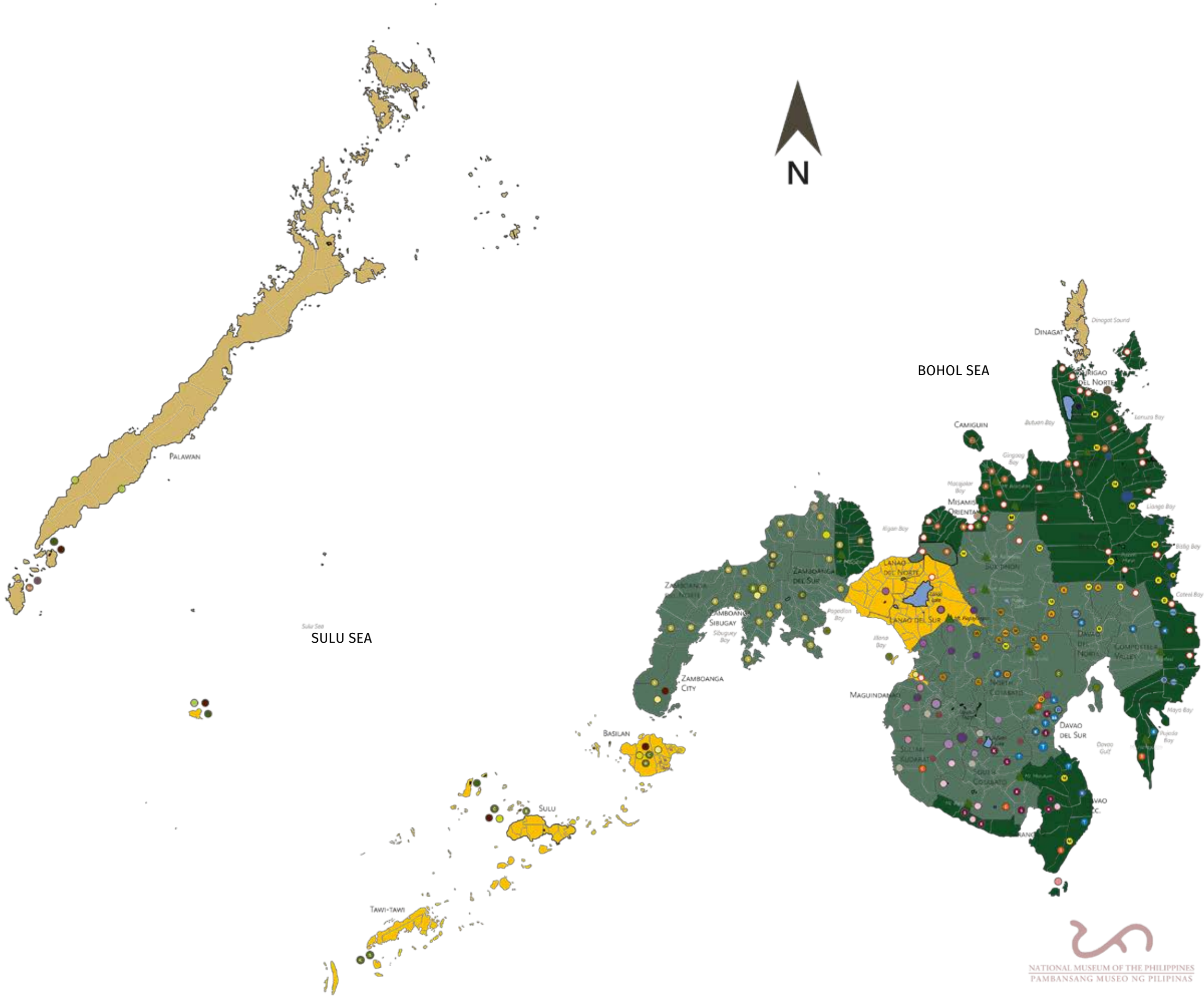
- S** SURIGAONON (Surigao del Norte; north Agusan del Norte • northern Surigao del Sur)
- T** TANDAGANON (Tandag, Tago, Bayabas & Cagwait, central Surigao del Sur)
- B** BUTUANON (Butuan City)
- C** CEBUANO (Dapitan & Dipolog City, Zamboanga del Norte • Cagayan de Oro City)
- H** HILIGAYNON (Central west & east Sultan Kudarat; northwestern South Cotabato; west of Lake Buluan, North Cotabato; south border area of Timbangan in Shariff Aguak, Maguindanao)

#### CREOLE LANGUAGE

- C** CHAVACANO/CHABACANO (Zamboanga Peninsula • Basilan • Cotabato City, Maguindanao)



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epic of the Bagobo and Kulaman Manobo, which tells the story of the warrior Tuwaang and his followers in the land of Kuaman and Tinanan, and their eventual ascension into the immortal realm of Katuasan (Manuel 2000; Maquiso 1977). The

Bukidnon also has the *Gugud* epic which covers the creation of the universe, their fight for survival and their subsequent ascension to paradise (Unabia 1985).

## LUMAD GEOGRAPHICAL AND NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

**M**indanao is the second largest island in the Philippines. Its total land area, including the Sulu archipelago, is 102,000 square kilometers, with a total forest land area of 61,000 square kilometers, which is about 52% of the total area of the country's national parks (Mindanao Database 2015). Included in these forested areas are Mt. Apo in Davao del Sur and North Cotabato, Mt. Kitanglad in Bukidnon (figure 10), Mt. Malindang in Misamis Occidental, and UNESCO World Heritage Site Mt. Hamiguitan in Davao Oriental. Ecologically significant wetlands are also found in Mindanao (figure 7), such as the nationally proclaimed protected areas of Agusan and Liguasan Marshes in the provinces of Agusan del Sur and Maguindanao, respectively. Lake Sebu in South Cotabato, Lake Mainit in Agusan and Surigao del Norte, Lake Lanao in Lanao del Sur, Lake Buluan in Maguindanao, Agusan River in the northeastern part of Mindanao, Pulangi River in the western part of Mindanao, as well as other natural lakes and rivers, are essential sources of food and water; they have been crucial in trading as well as in travelling to and reaching neighboring areas.

These sites are also home to a range of animal and plant species that are considered endangered, endemic, rare and economically important (Aribal and Buot 2009; Pendleton 1942). These include the Philippine eagle (*Pithecopbaga jefferyi*), Philippine cockatoo (*Cacatua haematuropygia*), the Mindanao bleeding-heart dove (*Gallicolumba crinigera*), the Philippine warty pig (*Sus philippensis*; LM<sup>†</sup>-311), Philippine crocodile (*Crocodylus porosus*), *Rafflesia schadenbergiana*, the world's largest flower, a diversity of insects and smaller forms of animal life; at least 30 species of rattan (*Calamus* spp.), and *Eucalyptus deglupta*, commonly known as Mindanao rainbow gum, that is found in the provinces of Zamboanga and Cotabato, among others (Aribal and Buot 2009; DENR AO No. 2004-15; Pendleton 1942).

For the Lumadnon, these areas are part of their ancestral domains, covering their sites of

habitation, and are tangible representations of their oral histories and connections to the spirits (Hayase 2007, 177-178). Hence, these natural landscapes form a significant part of not only the Lumadnon subsistence and trade economy, but also their cultural beliefs, religious traditions, and artistic expressions since the prehistoric times. Most of contemporary Lumad groups maintain collective ownership of the land through the oral customary law of usufructuary rights, as stewards in behalf of the spirit guardians (Gaspar 2000, 104). This system of ownership is also strengthened by the narratives in their oral history on the sacredness of particular landscapes found within their ancestral domains. Among these are the Pantaron Range where the sacred hunting ground of the Manobo is located; Mt. Sinaka, home to Manobo supreme deity Manama; Mt. Cantuan, the sacred ancestral domain of the Siocon Subanen; Mt. Feris, the sacred mountain of the Teduray; Mt. Matutum, the B'laan White Mountain and home of Subanen deity Apo Gumalang; Mt. Apo (or Apo Sandawa), home to Bagobo and different Manobo groups' war deity Mandarangan; among other landscapes (Gaspar 2011; Guéguen 2010; Masinaring 2014).

Today, Mindanao plays a significant role in the Philippine economic sector, supplying products that have mostly come from the expansion of commercialized forest land and agri-business plantations, fishing firms, and extensive mining operations (Tadem 2012). For already more than a century, these state development policies and the establishment of business-oriented firms in Mindanao have caused major disruptions and mostly irreversible changes to indigenous lifeways. Such changes include demographic transformations and disenfranchisement of the Lumadnon from their ancestral homes where their cultural and spiritual lives have evolved for a long time. Examples of documented land casualties due to these include the ancestral domains of Mamanwa communities in Siana, Surigao del Norte and the Bagobo and Manobo communities on the slopes of Mt. Apo following the establishment of the Siana Gold Mining

Previous pages:

**Figure 9**—The approximate settlement areas of the different ethnolinguistic groups—both Lumad and Moro—in southern and western Philippines, specifically Mindanao, the Sulu Archipelago and Palawan. These were collated from different historic, ethnohistoric, ethnographic and linguistic sources. Map not in scale. Base map courtesy of Aira 2008 | Wikimedia Commons.

Succeeding page:

**Figure 10**—Diversity of the floristic species in Mt. Kitanglad. Southern side of Mt. Kitanglad Range Natural Park, Lantapan, Bukidnon. 2016. ER Tadosa/NMP Botany.

<sup>†</sup>Refers to the Material Culture (MC) Index in this volume, beginning page 88.





Project and the Mt. Apo Geothermal Power Plant, respectively (Alejo 2000; Lucero 1988). Others involve the communities of the Teduray of Figel in Upi Valley, Cotabato (Schlegel 1976, 1999), the Manobo in Arakan Valley, Cotabato (Gaspar 2011), and the Bukidnon, Talaandig, Higaunon, and Matigsalug in Bukidnon (Edgerton and Edgerton 1982), following the encroachment of migrant settlers from the lowlands to their homelands (Gaspar 2000).

The Lumadnon, together with the people of Cordillera in northern Luzon, have represented the Philippine indigenous groups in the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Peoples (UNWGIP) since 1987, and in the Asia Pacific Nations' Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO) created in 1991, elevating their predicament to the international stage (Duhaylungsod and Hyndman 1993). Locally, recent collaborative efforts between Lumad groups and the development and civil society sectors have demonstrated common grounds between ancestral domain claims and community-based environmental conservation and protection that have encouraged working towards minimizing and responding to the impacts of socio-economic development on the environment. Documented case studies include the geothermal project of the Philippine National Oil Company-Energy Development Corporation (PNOC-EDC) within the Mt. Apo National Park (Alejo 2000, 251).

This project has set the possibilities for socially responsible and acceptable environmentally sustainable development projects that can be beneficial to the host community, having established the multi-sectoral, non-profit Mt. Apo Foundation, Inc. composed of national and local government agencies, non-governmental organizations, and the Cotabato Tribal Consultative Council (Ote and de Jesus 1995).

A more recent outcome asserting the Lumad's exceptional relationship with nature is the inscription of Mt. Hamiguitan Range Wildlife Sanctuary in 2014 as a UNESCO World Heritage Site. In its citation, UNESCO mentioned that, "The protection of the Mount Hamiguitan Range Wildlife Sanctuary is further strengthened by the engagement with and involvement of local and indigenous communities living in its periphery in the management of the property. Their lifestyles and spiritual beliefs are based on respect for the environment and its biodiversity and they have, over time, subtly molded their way of life to ensure the sustainable use of their resources" (UNESCO 2014).

Other similar examples of active engagement of local and indigenous communities include the collaborative management of Mt. Kitanglad Range National Park in Bukidnon (figure 10) and Mt. Malindang Natural Park in Misamis Occidental (Cairns 1997; Gomez 2006; Roxas 2006).

## SKETCHING LUMAD IDENTITY

Lumad groups are generally related to each other through kinship ties, by both blood and marriage. Inter-marriages between similarly ranked families were recorded in ethnohistorical accounts, such as those between the Bagobo of western Davao Gulf to the Manobo of central Mindanao (Cole 1913; Manuel 2000). As such, it is practically impossible to identify each Lumad group within the context of a "pure" genetic heredity and, in any case, they have since learned and preferred to self-ascribe group identity, depending on who they are interacting with (Eder 2010; Rosaldo 2003), a common practice among Philippine ethnolinguistic groups (Eder 2010). Such relationships have been recounted in the epics *Uweging* and *Gugud* of the Agusan Manobo and Bukidnon, respectively (Cembrano 2005; Unabia 1985). Lumad oral traditions have noted the various changes in Lumad society, and shared experiences that were consequences of colonial

intrusions and the influx of migrant settlers from neighboring provinces and other parts of the Philippines (Paredes 2013, 31).

### LUMAD SETTLEMENTS

Lumad groups occupy a relatively large land area, straddling many geographical and mainstream political boundaries. Contrary to early ethnographies where Lumad groups were often depicted as mountain dwellers (Paredes 2013, 31), they also inhabit lowland and coastal areas. *Ulaging*, an epic of the Agusan Manobo and Talaandig Bukidnon (Cembrano 2005; Saway-Llesis 2005), tells the story of the people as originally being coastal dwellers who transferred to mostly inland settlements due to a number of reasons, including natural disasters and encroachment (Gloria 1987, 58; Hayase 2007, 3, 146; Paredes 2013, 31; Schreurs 1981, 262).

The predominant highland-lowland relationship, however very simplified, is an important element

in examining the Lumadnon's experiences and outsiders' perception of them, towards a convergence of how they perceive themselves at the present time.

Each Lumad group generally identifies itself with the geo-physical location of its respective villages (Acosta 1994; Masinaring 2014). For example, the Mansaka originally called themselves *Managusan*, referring to those who live in the Agusan area, and *Mangaragan* for those living in the Karagan area (now Caraga in Davao Oriental). Among the Mandaya, upland communities were called *taga daya*, while those in the plains and coastal areas were called *taga lawud*. The B'laan highland residents were called *To Lagad*, those in the lowlands were called *To Gutna* or *To Datal*, and the coastal B'laan were

*To Baba* (Arcenas 1993, 4). Among the rainforest Teduray of Figel, mountain people such as themselves were called *etew rotor*, the coastal people were *etew dogot*, while the other Teduray groups from Tran and Awang were referred to as *etew teran* (Tran people) and *etew awang* (Awang people) (Schlegel 1970, 8).

To some extent, these highland-lowland-coastal references to their places of habitation have resulted to intra-population variations in their languages and customs, particularly due to their interaction with neighboring and visiting communities. For instance, the riverine Teduray have more contact with Christian and Muslim groups compared to the mountain-dwelling Teduray (Wood 1957). In particular, the Awang Teduray, who are also referred to as the people of



**Figure 11**—“Bila-an houses are perched on the hill-tops, far above the river,” photo from the Philippine Bureau of Science. After Cole (1913, Plate XLIX). Courtesy of the Field Museum (Image No. CSA20977).

Succeeding page, left to right and bottom:

**Figure 12**—“Housebuilding—the roof is made first and is then raised to the desired height.” Note the area where the house is being built. Adapted from Cole (1913, Plate XIII). Photographed by Fay-Cooper Cole. Courtesy of the Field Museum (Image No. CSA34857).

**Figure 13**—“Dwellings near the Mayo River.” See figures 7 and 9 for the approximate location of Mayo Bay. Adapted from Cole (1913, Plate LXXIV). Photographed by Fay-Cooper Cole. Courtesy of the Field Museum (Image No. CSA34953).

**Figure 14**—Settlements along the Gibong tributary of the Agusan River, Sabang Gibong, Talacogon, Agusan del Sur. 2015. DN Tandang/NMP Botany.



### **MATERIAL CULTURE IN FOCUS—LOCAL POTTERY**

Documented movement of prestige goods, such as highly valued Chinese ceramics, personal ornaments, textile and weaponry, between groups suggest a long-term and organized network of social interaction among the Lumadnon and between the Lumadnon and the Moro groups in Mindanao (Cembrano 1998; Fox 1957; Junker 2000). Consumption and distribution of domestic items like cooking pots, and local status goods such as elaborately decorated earthenware required in ritual and mortuary rites were facilitated by more informal or localized interactions between different Lumad groups as well as their other trading partners.

Among the Bagobo, their locally produced high quality knives and brassware were traded with cooking pots, salt, and other household item surplus produced by coastal and lowland groups (Cole 1913). The Teduray exchanged their forest products for household goods and non-domestic luxury goods from lowland Maguindanao maritime trading polity (Junker 1993). The Sama group appears to have established their technology for pottery as early as 800 C.E. (Common Era), and exchanged these and other trade goods with the Tausug, Yakan, Chavacano and Agusan locals (Cembrano 1998).

Historical accounts (Kieffer 1972; Mednick 1977; Spoehr 1973; Warren 1985) suggest that pottery manufacture and distribution among other domestic goods, such as textiles, woodworks and basketry, implicate technical development, craft specialization, social stratification, and local and foreign interactions (Junker 2000, 283-284). Archaeologist Laura Junker additionally suggests that ecological specialization in craft goods production was facilitated by the interior-coastal trade (2000, 302-303). Karl Hutterer (1977) posits from the Kalanay pottery complex in Masbate (Solheim et al. 1964) that these particular ceramics, that is, local pottery, were circulated through inter-island

prestige goods exchange. These homogenous types of jars and bowls have been found geographically widespread throughout the Philippine archipelago. Prehistoric archaeological evidence of local pottery production was also noted in the present-day Lumadnon settlement of Ambangan in Butuan, where a “bonfire-cum-dumpsite” that resembles an earthenware pottery workshop employing the paddle and anvil technique production adopted from the Sama pottery tradition, was found (Cembrano 1998). Among the commonly produced and utilized Sama potteries in this site include utilitarian and ceremonial vessels (pots, jars, large deep bowls, spouted vessels, big shallow bowls and trays), kitchen paraphernalia (stoves and cooking pans with two handles) and working tools (net weights and spindle whorls with curvilinear motifs) (Cembrano 1998, 27-28). Earthenware pots made exclusively by women are produced for general household utility (Christie 1909).

The shared value for pots extends beyond its practical functionality in the domestic and economic contexts of the Lumadnon society. Among the Teduray of Figel in Upi Valley, kurey (“pot”) is used synonymously to a household which is an independent, self-determining unit of the society composed of “a single nuclear family which eats from a common pot” (Schlegel 1970, 13). The Teduray custom of polygynous marriage entails that a man can be a member of as many pots as he has wives. Children, however, are expected to eat from a new pot when they marry as they are also bound to establish their own households in a separate house from their parents. In traditional Manobo interment, an earthen pot (ko-don) with a hole broken in the bottom filled with boiled rice and hung under the roof of the grave, is their last reflection of the deceased as they journey to the afterworld (Garvan 1931, 135).



**Figure 15—Different utilitarian pots.** Left to right: A Subanen jar (LM-188); two Tagakaolo cooking pots (LM-191 and LM-192), locally known as *kolun*; and a jar from the Teduray (LM-193). National Museum of the Philippines Collection.

## MATERIAL CULTURE IN FOCUS—BASKETRY

Baskets have been common in most Lumad households. Made in different shapes and sizes, these were used for various purposes; when gathering food items, forest products and harvests, carting meat of animals that have been caught, and keeping both personal and household items. These may also be used as receptacles of offerings during ceremonial rituals. Local vegetation such as bamboo (*Bambuseae spp.*), nito (*Lygodium circinnatum*), rattan (*Calameae spp.*), buri (*Corypha elata*), tikog (*Fimbristylis utilis*), and pandan (*Pandanus spp.*) are its primary raw materials. Usually, these are carried on top of their heads, shoulders or backs, while others are loaded on carts drawn by, or on the horses and carabaos themselves (Parker 1913).

Ingenuity and craftsmanship of basket-makers are reflected in various processes involved in basketry. Generally, these qualities form part of their social, cultural and ecological milieu. Various ethnohistoric accounts suggest that both men and women from the Bagobo, Manobo, Teduray, and Subanen societies are skilled in basketry (Benedict 1916; Cole 1913; Finley 1913; Garvan 1927, 1931; Wood 1957). Among the Manobo, men are generally involved in plait-work to make fishing, trapping and hunting gears (Garvan 1931). The B'laan, Manobo and T'boli are known for their soft-strip bamboo baskets in black and natural colors that were used as personal carrying baskets or, the larger ones, for gathering food items (Lane 1986). The Bukidnon were noted for their four types of weaves—checker and wickerwork, and diagonal and crossed weft—while the Higaunon of Bukidnon were traditionally skilled in all weave forms, particularly wickerwork, coiling and hexagonal weaving (Cole 1956; Lane 1986). The Obo baskets were noted for their domed cover with four points. The small covered boxed-type baskets are associated with the T'boli, which they use as storage for clothing and other personal items (Lane 1986).

Datu Rudy Ugking, during their preview of the Lumad Mindanao exhibition in November 2015, mentioned that their storage baskets are typically coated with tabon-tabon (*Atuna racemosa*; LM-

242) nut pulp or pitch that is mixed with lime for waterproofing, corroborating the ethnohistoric documentation in the early part of the 20th century, such as those of Cole (1913) and Garvan (1931). Some of these baskets are called binuta, in reference to the process of covering the holes to make them blind (buta) with the paste (Casiño 1981, 158).

The Manobo, Teduray, Bukidnon, Bagobo and T'boli baskets have been noted for a rather different aesthetics among the Lumad groups (Lane 1986, 187-96; Parker 1913, 81). For instance, the Manobo lime tubes and baskets are observed to have crude tracings and incisions (Garvan 1931). Some Bukidnon baskets were woven using strips of bamboo that have been dyed by applying banana blossom juice and smoking with burning resin; other baskets were woven by alternating inner “enameled” and outer dull strips (Cole 1956, 57). The Bagobo embellish their baskets, as well as their rattan-wrapped wooden scabbards with beads, bells and horsehair tassels. The T'boli weave their personal baskets using strips of bamboo subsequently overlaid with split nito for both reinforcement and aesthetic purposes (Lane 1986).

Commercialism has made an impact on Philippine basket-making, particularly at the turn of the 20th century. In the late 1960s, some Bontoc baskets intended for the tourist market were exchanged with Mindanao baskets through the Episcopalian Church network (Lane 1986). These resulted in notable changes in Teduray baskets, specifically their preference for fitting covers braided with split nito vine to serve as stoppers and finishing edge, and bamboo base (Lane 1986). Among the Lumadnon, the Teduray have been a key player in the advanced production and development of contemporary baskets for markets (Lane 1986, 187). An Obo community in South Cotabato has been a primary commercial source of woven bamboo baskets and, along with the Teduray (Nocheseda 2016), mats. These are sometimes decorated with split nito overlay, often used at home or sold in small-scale business enterprises by both T'boli and Visayan settlers in Lake Sebu.



Figure 16—Different utilitarian baskets. Left to right: A Subanen galupi (LM-176), or basket scabbard; a fish/meat carrying basket used by the Manguangan (LM-171); a Teduray tube-like basket (LM-182); and the decorated Bagobo kabil (LM-160) and binuta (LM-163), or carrying baskets. National Museum of the Philippines Collection.

Upi (*etew ufi*), have more internal social ranking and distinctive customs of Muslim origins as a result of their constant contact and establishment of a military alliance with the Maguindanao since before the colonial period (Schlegel 1970, 3; 1999, 2). Three Bagobo linguistic groups are also distinctly demarcated by the location of their settlements, namely the Tagabawa, Klata (also called the Ottow, Jangan or Guianga), and Obo (also Manuvu or Minobo) (Hayase 2007, 160).

The names used in the Spanish colonial accounts are somewhat similar to the local names. However, when referring to specific groups, the nearest areas that had been mapped have been used to denote the group; for instance, the Kagayanons of Cagayan River, Karaga of Caraga, among others (Paredes 2013, 21). During the American occupation, the groups' names were probably altered again, and it was also during this period that state administrative changes were legally put in place and implemented in Mindanao.

#### **LUMADNON LEADERSHIP**

Lumadnon villages and communities are headed by the *datu*, a male individual who shows natural leadership skills, especially in settling disputes, acting on their community's behalf, determining favorable conditions for peace and trade pacts, establishing alliances and even taking the lead in ritualized subsistence activities, particularly hunting and farming. In some Lumad societies, among the T'boli for instance, the leader is a female individual they call *boi*; they are generally expected to possess the same characteristics as the male *datu* (Duhaylungsod and Hyndman 1993, 70; Mora 2005, 36). The T'boli *boi* more often refers to the *datu's* wife, daughter or female relative that he has chosen as his counterpart, considered his equal and plays a complementary role to that of his (Duhaylungsod and Hyndman 1993). She should possess the highly valued T'boli skills and attributes such as beauty, intelligence, wealth, mild disposition, ability to command respect from others, and expertise in weaving, brass casting, embroidery, hat-making, and beadworks (Duhaylungsod and Hyndman 1993; Mora 2005, 36-37). Among the Manobo groups, the female leader is called *baqe*. She is chosen by a council of leaders and acts as community liaison between disputing parties to maintain peace and order (Cembrano 2005).

A council of several *datus* shares leadership duties among the Lumadnon of northeast Mindanao, particularly the Manobo. A prospective *datu* in Higaunon societies undergoes particular



Figure 17—"Datu Attos, turbaned Bagobo chieftain in formal attire" (1890/1907). Courtesy of the Philippine Photographs Digital Archive (PHLA297), University of Michigan Library Digital Collections.

training rites and requires the acceptance of the senior *datus* (Paredes 2013, 28-29). The Agusan Manobo have two levels of ceremonial recognition for the chosen *tumuay* or *datu*, called the *lugnat* or *pagtubuy* and the *pamaliskad* (Cembrano 2005, 99-102). Their respective communities and neighboring villages attend both ceremonies. It is also where he receives the instructions on his responsibilities, including upholding the oral customary laws and considering the welfare of the people at all times (Cembrano 2005).

The *datu* position is closely related with the *bagani* or *magani*, the warrior class (figure 17; Garvan 1931, 141; Paredes 2013, 29). They have an intimate relationship with the deity of war called *Talabusaw* by the Bukidnon, *Mandarangan* by the Bagobo, and *Mengilala*, *Terevusew*, *Menderangan*, *Tagbusau* and *Mandangan ng Talabosao* by the different Manobo groups, whom they feed with blood when they slay during raids and war (Demetrio 1994; Elkins 1993; Garvan 1931; Gloria 1987; Masinaring 2014; Unabia 1985). In the past, they were easily recognized through their clothing and the adornments, which, among *datus* who have earned the rank of chieftain warrior, include sacred items such as *timusu*, bronze bracelets symbolizing prudence; *kampilan*, a sword; and *tangkuyu* or *tangkulu*

(LM-021), a headcloth symbolizing wisdom and power (Cembrano 2005). The color red and the crocodile pattern were exclusively used by the Bagobo and Kulaman *magani* in the *tangkulo*; the color's intensity and the completeness of the pattern both indicate the number of lives they have individually taken (Benedict 1916; Cole 1913; Gloria 1987; Reyes 1992; Roces 1991; Worcester 1913; see *Hibla ng Lahing Filipino* 2016). Only the female ritual specialist, or *mabalian*, is protected by the deity *Bait Pandi* to do the *plangi* work involved in producing the *bagani's tangkulo* (Hamilton 1998b, 15). Today, these are only often worn during special occasions and events.

Most *bagani* assumed the role of *datu*, and the *pangayaw*, or raids, are important opportunities for Lumad males to work on being a *bagani*, eventually a *datu* (Paredes 2013, 30-31). Among the Mandaya, it is the *bagani* who serves as head of the community, leading most ceremonial activities over a rather large political territory (Yeyongan 1973). The Kulaman *mabalot* and *maiseq*, both warriors, respectively wore red and black *tritik*-designed clothing (Cole 1913). Having been converted to Christianity, Bagobo *datu*s in contemporary times have explicitly disassociated themselves from their warrior pasts, which they demonstrate through their unwillingness to wear *magani* clothes passed on to them (Roces 1991, 200-201). Bagobo males who have never killed a person or have no desire to fight is called *matalo*, a term which also refers to persons who prefer to stay home with the women (Gloria 1987, 41).

### **CLOTHING AND ADORNMENTS**

Similar to their Moro neighbors and most ethnolinguistic groups in the Philippines, the Lumadnon also have their traditional ensembles of clothing, personal adornments and bodily markers. The visual feast of colors, textures and patterns, these convey the combination of their own and adapted beliefs and practices, symbolizing their identity, ingenuity and indigenous milieu. These have been part of their trading and kinship dynamics—through exchanging or purchasing, borrowing and lending traditional clothes, ornamental pieces and designs—and eventually formed part of their cultural identity and legacy (Quizon 2007, 2012).

At around the age of puberty, male and female Bagobo, Bukidnon, Mandaya and Manobo customarily modify their teeth for aesthetic purposes (plate II-13; Benedict 1916; Cole 1956; Garvan 1927). Dental modification among the Bagobo and Western Bukidnon Manobo involve

cutting off and filing their teeth until only stumps are left, then blackened by rubbing (LM-006 and LM-007) black soot collected from a piece of metal or blade of knife or *bolo* that was previously exposed to the smoke of a burning bamboo or *bunggey* wood (Cole 1913; Gloria 1987, 33-34; Polenda 1989). They continuously do this for several days until the teeth stumps become shiny black. The Mandaya use small stones or unspecified “imported files” to shape their teeth, then they chew the roots of *anmoñ* vine, or apply soot collected from a steel blade left over a burning bark of *magawan* tree (Cole 1913). The Bukidnon either horizontally cut their incisors in half, or drill a hole which they inlay with brass or copper wire; they blacken these through betel chewing (Cole 1956). Teeth filing and blackening were only done by females among the Subanen (Christie 1909; Lebar 1975). Another form of dental modification was noted by Antonio Pigafetta on the chiefs of Butuan and Caraga, who had three gold spots on each tooth (Legaspi 1974; Winters 1977).

Tattooing, generally termed as *pang-o-túb* or *pangotub*, were also done by both men and women among the Ata, Manobo and Tagakaolo. These are usually in the form of black stripes across their torsos, arms and wrists (Cole 1913; Garvan 1931; Masinaring 2014). Among the Manobo, individuals were tattooed from the age of puberty onwards, by a woman, or an individual they consider a hermaphrodite, skilled in embroidery; the skin was punctured without prior drawings, then applied with soot collected from an *olla* or plate above a burning torch (Garvan 1931). In addition to aesthetics, the Manobo also use tattoos as permanent identification for slaves sold repeatedly during the Spanish period (Garvan 1931, 70).

Traditional clothing was commonly made from fabrics of woven abaca, decorated with elaborate and intricate designs. Lumad groups who are well-known weavers are the T'boli, Mandaya, Bagobo, B'laan and Kulaman. The Bagobo are known for their *plangi/pelang*i work (LM-107), setting the design through knotting and binding of cloth before dyeing (Gloria 1987, 37); the Kulaman for *tritik*, which involves sewing patterns with waxed thread; the Mandaya and T'boli for *ikat* (resist-dye) (LM-109 and LM-114), the latter of tri-color cloths (Hamilton 1998b). The Subanen and Bukidnon were also expert weavers of abaca but both had long discontinued this practice, the latter in the middle of the 19th century, while the Agusan Manobo learned weaving as captives of the



### **MATERIAL CULTURE IN FOCUS—T'NALAK: THE SACRED ART OF WEAVING**

T'nalak is the traditional T'boli cloth, particularly referring to woven abaca (*Musa textilis*) textiles with the indigenous three-color ikat designs in hitem (black), hulo (red) and bukay (white) colors. There are over a hundred traditional designs of t'nalak, varying from geometric patterns to plants, animals and human figures, of which the highest design is called bang gala/bangala (or a person secured inside his or her home) (Casal 1978, 149). Bukay is the natural color of abaca, which is retained through ikat or resist-dyeing that use tight knots as the rest of the fibers are dyed with black and red dyes, extracted respectively from k'nalum (*Diospyros* sp.) leaves and the fruits, and bark shavings of loko (*Morinda citrifolia*) roots. The dyed rolls are then set on a backstrap loom ready for weaving.

The t'nalak is highly valued in ritual performances and in the traditional T'boli barter system called seslong, where it is a valuable resource exchanged with gongs, betel nut boxes and swords of the B'laan, Obo and Maguindanao (Mora 2005; Santa Cruz Mission School 2004). T'nalak is traditionally used as men's upper garments and women's tubular skirts (Hamilton 1998b, 45). Kumu, a three-panel ceremonial

t'nalak (figure 18), serves as the bride's veil and is used to cover the couple during an important part of the wedding ritual (Hamilton 1998, 45). It also forms part of the bride wealth in traditional marriage arrangements, along with other gifts such as malongs (tubular skirts) and the female upper garments kegal nesif (embroidered blouse) and kegal bensewit (blouse with mother-of-pearl), and other properties of the families. Today, it is more often worn during special occasions and events outside their communities.

T'nalak weaving continues as a living tradition that remains tied to the cultural and spiritual beliefs of the T'boli of South Cotabato. It is performed exclusively by women, passed through the generations from mothers to daughters or to other female members of the family. The involvement of T'boli men are particularly limited to stripping abaca into kemalud or fibers, and polishing (semaki) the finished cloth. Weaving, among other highly valued T'boli skills, adds prestige to the status of a woman and her family in their society (Duhaylungsod and Hyndman 1993; Mora 2005).

Weaving reveals one of the exceptional relations between human and spirit world in T'boli society.



**Figure 18—Preparing the kumu** (abaca blankets made from t'nalak panels) as barriers of the bride's from the groom's family, relatives and guests, during a traditional T'boli marriage ceremony called *moninum*. South Cotabato. Circa 1980. NMP Ethnology Archives.

There are a number of skilled weavers but only few are gifted with *k'na*, or dreams from the abaca spirit *Fu Dalu* (Paterno et al. 2001). Through these dreams, *Fu Dalu* bestows weavers the inspiration for their bed or designs. These dreams must be translated by the weavers into intricate patterns on the loom within a fortnight, otherwise the spirits will be offended and the dreamer will be inflicted with sickness (Paterno et al. 2001). Before cutting down an abaca, a prayer and *demsu*, or ritual offering, are performed to appease the spirits and seek guidance to ensure the quality of the finished cloth. A prayer is also recited before the



**Figure 19**—T'nalak with the design called *s'lon* from the word '*slongen*,' which means 'useless' or 'nonsense,' woven by *Manlilikha ng Bayan* Lang Dulay. Abaca and natural dyes. Lake Sebu, South Cotabato | 1998. National Museum of the Philippines Collection.

weaving process. Weaving the t'nalak design *g'mayaw logi*, a male mythical bird, requires the weaver to abstain from sexual intercourse until the pattern is finished (larawan 52). Other taboos include attending wakes and funerals, harvesting vegetables, and eating *tikung* (fish) and shrimp that may cause fibers to break or distort the design.

In the 1960s, the Santa Cruz Mission School in Lake Sebu encouraged T'boli women to weave and hone their skills in other crafts such as beadworks and embroidery to augment their income (Tobias 1998). The textiles gradually gained popularity and found a niche in both local and international markets. This led to the commercialization of the cloth that introduced weavers to new designs and the use of synthetic dyes.

Today, many T'boli weavers are still engaged in the production of handwoven textiles that are sold by middlemen to shopping malls and fashion designers. Through the Lake Sebu School of Living Tradition and other weaving centers, they also participate in training the younger members of their families and community to help preserve one of the most important aspects of their culture for the future T'boli generations. T'nalak weaving is among the primary economic activities in Lake Sebu, which include farming, aquaculture, and furniture-making.

It remains a significant T'boli cultural heritage today through the assiduousness of Master Dreamweavers, represented by *Manlilikha ng Bayan* (National Living Treasure) Lang Dulay (1925-2015) (figure 20).



**Figure 20**—T'boli Master Dreamweaver and *Manlilikha ng Bayan* awardee Lang Dulay. 1998. Courtesy of the Gawad sa *Manlilikha ng Bayan* (GAMABA) Committee of the National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA).

Mandaya (Christie 1909; Cole 1956; Finley 1913; Garvan 1931; Worcester 1913). The Tagakaolo do not have weavers; their textiles have come from trade with the Muslims (Quizon 1998).

Due probably to their long-standing trade relations, Lumad clothing—skirts, shirts, pants, bags, headcloths—exhibits considerable similarities with those worn by the Muslim groups. These are often particularly perceived in terms of designs, such as geometric shapes, human and animal figures and motifs like crocodiles and python's skin, fringes, among others, which are obtained through skilled dyeing processes, embroidery, beadworks, *kalat* (shellworks) and appliqué called *tapong* (patches) or *ginontingan* (from the word *gunting* or scissors). The Bukidnon are known for their appliqué and embroidery techniques, while the B'laan, also for embroidery and zone-dyed skirts called *tabi nihok* (Hamilton 1998b). It has been noted that the general fit of the Bagobo men's pants indicate European influences, while the Mandaya women's blouses resemble those of the Visayans beginning the early 20th century, few of the several hints of Christianity among the Lumad (Hamilton 1998b, 50).

Personal ornamentation from head to feet, featuring extensive use of glass beads, shells,

vines, seeds, and locally made brass, further accentuate these colorful garments. They have hats (LM-045, LM-060, LM-063, LM-064 and LM-086), headcloths, earplugs and earrings (LM-003, LM-027, LM-030, LM-042 and LM-055), necklaces and pendants (LM-014, LM-022, LM-031, LM-052, LM-056, LM-057, LM-067 and LM-102), armbands and bracelets (LM-001, LM-008, LM-016, LM-017, LM-032, LM-033, LM-034, LM-061, LM-062, LM-069 and LM-091), leglets and anklets (LM-002, LM-009, LM-023, LM-024, LM-082, LM-096 and LM-097). Males also wear ivory or wooden earrings, while females have beaded combs (LM-026 and LM-080), earplugs, *baliog* (necklaces), *patina* (silver breast plates; LM-047 and LM-051) and brass belts (LM-025, LM-028, LM-081 and LM-101). Ivory and wooden earrings were worn by the Manobo, while the B'laan wore wooden earplugs, plainly by men and with brass inlays or shell plates by women (Gardner 1930; Gloria 1987; Llamzon 1978). Aside from wood, the Bagobo also fashioned earrings from beehives (Gloria 1987, 63). Bagobo, T'boli and Teduray women also wore girdles made of brass chains (LM-081) and embroidered cloth (Acosta 1994; Cole 1913).

These clothing ensembles are rarely worn today, often only during special occasions and events



**Figure 21**—Mandaya weaver Benverita Bayon Banugan and beadworker Nita Banugan Quizon of Caraga, Davao Oriental, wearing their traditional garments consisting of the *dagum* (intricately embroidered blouse) and *dagmay* (tubular skirt), which they accessorized with the *suwat* (comb), beaded earrings, *balyug* (beadwork breastpiece with coins and crocodile teeth), *pamulang* (shell and wood bracelets) and *tungkaling* (a waist piece made of beads, coins and tassels). This was taken during the weaving demonstrations at the NMP *Hibla ng Lahing Filipino* (Permanent Textile) Gallery, in partnership with the Office of Senator Loren Legarda. November 2014. MP Tauro/NMP Ethnology.

## MATERIAL CULTURE IN FOCUS—METALSMITHING

The Lumadnon are often characterized by their extensive collection of highly prized brass and silver ornaments, and bladed weapons. While there is sufficient evidence that they have a metal craft industry, this is a relatively recent introduction from their Muslim neighbors. The skills of the Lumad metal craftsmen are based on their geographic proximity to the Muslim settlements (Cole 1913). The Teduray, for instance, were taught by their Maguindanao neighbors who also made their first forge bellows (Schlegel 1970).

Blacksmiths play an important role in both secular and sacred aspects of the community. In 16th century Philippines, metalsmithing was considered a highly specialized and esteemed profession (Scott 1994, 55). The prestige of this work comes from the blacksmiths' access to trade networks and monopoly on the production of metal tools used in agriculture and warfare. It is also related to particular spirit gods who are the sources of creativity and production (Achanzar 2007).

Among the Lumadnon, the Bagobo and T'boli have distinctive metalwork traditions deeply embedded in their society, often demonstrated in the brass articles they wear in order to complete their traditional attires, such as chains, bells, bracelets, belts, anklets and bolo handles (figure 22; Casiño 1981). The Bagobo blacksmiths are closely tied with the spirit of the forge, Tulus ka Gomanan, who is the source of their creative powers (Achanzar 2007; Cole 1913). This power is bestowed only to one person acknowledged as a master tاراuman, or blacksmith, in the community (Achanzar 2007). The Bagobo smithing system (figure 23) consists of a pair of forge bellows called piopa,

usually made of bamboo, fitted with ploppok, or wooden pistons rimmed with feathers, alternately pumped in regular strokes. Air flows from the bellows through the conduit tayhop, secured directly above live coals called tam-mob-bak or subhanan that are surrounded by pliyop or huge stones, which help keep the heat concentrated. The piece of steel is tempered and beaten with a hammer over an anvil or landasa to achieve the desired shape. During the gomek-gomanan or annual pre-planting ritual, a ceremonial blessing of the forge and agricultural tools is observed to ensure the efficacy of tools in the fields and good harvest (Achanzar 2007; Gloria 1987, 39).

The metalwork tradition of the T'boli is associated with the deity Ginton (Casal 1977). They consider metals as gifts of Ginton to mankind. Copper and brass articles were produced from smelting and forging broken gongs and other pieces of metal. T'boli metals include the balatok or tempered steel, s'lad or the reddish copper from one centavo coins, blouon or brass-bronze, tambaga or gold, futi or silver, and tambla, an indeterminate alloy of silver (Casal 1977). T'boli men prepare the wax originals, while the women work on the clay molds; they work together in smelting and forging. The balatak, swords of tempered steel incised with geometric patterns and inlaid with brass and copper, is their most popular metalwork.

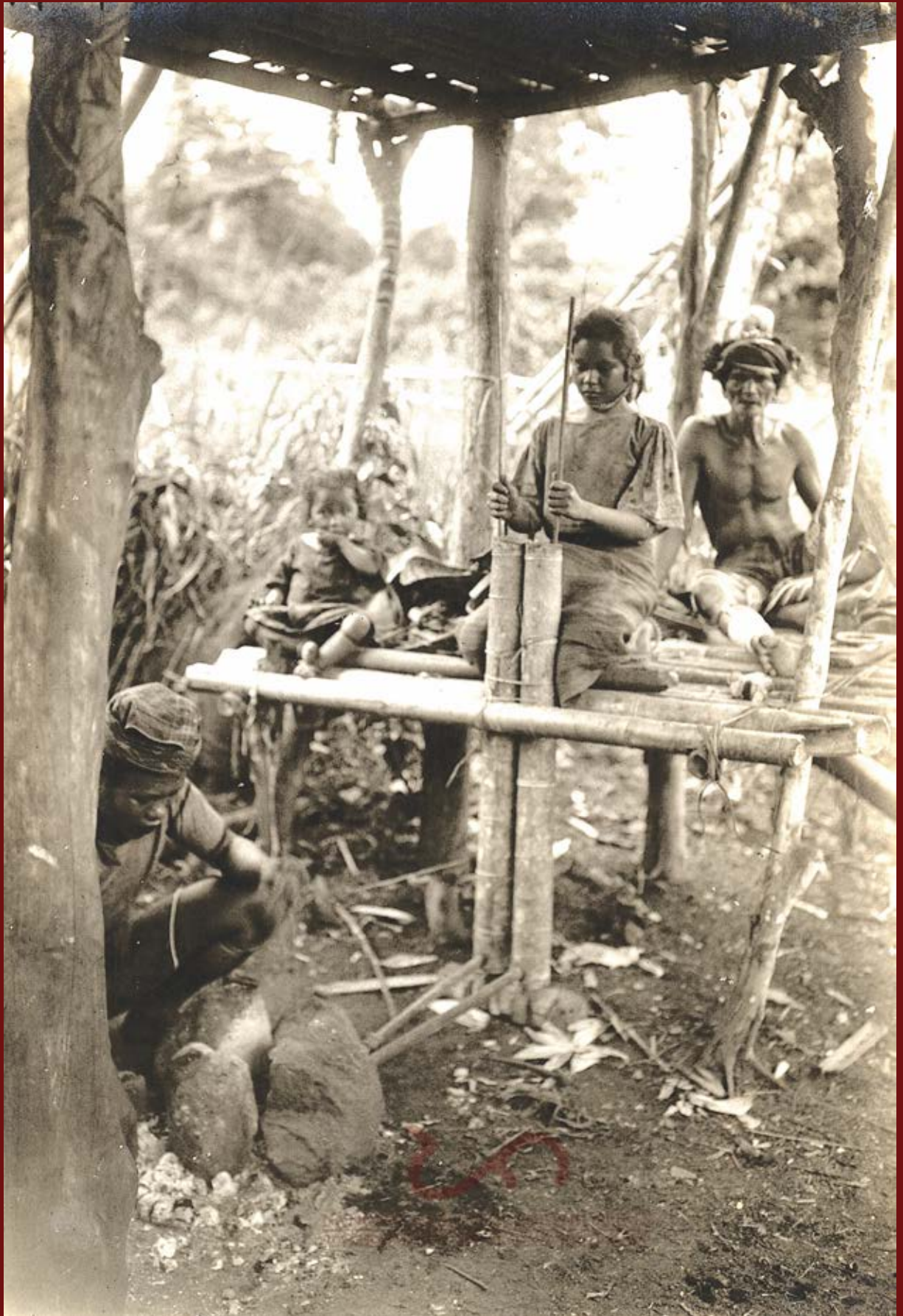
The Mandaya are known for their manufacture of silver plates and rings, while the B'laan for their metal bells. The Subanen manufactured small knives made of iron that had been obtained in trade for general household and farming purposes (Christie 1909).



**Figure 22—Locally made brass accessories.** Rings (LM-084, LM-085 and LM-083, respectively) and belt (LM-081) made and used by the T'boli, and a Bagobo leglet (LM-024) collected by John M. Garvan. National Museum of the Philippines Collection.

*Succeeding page:*

**Figure 23—“A Bagobo ‘brass makers’ forge in Cobilan,”** a settlement in the foothills of Mt. Apo. Adapted from Cole (1913, Plate XXVII). Photographed by Fay-Cooper Cole. Courtesy of the Field Museum (Image No. 34944).



within and outside their communities (figure 21), and in political assemblies the Lumadnon are involved in. Based on evidences of early contacts and local developments, individual identity and social ranking are derived from these attires. For instance, some elements of costuming and adornments in eastern Mindanao, particularly the Davao Gulf area, such as backloom abaca fiber weaving and ivory earplugs among other highly prized items, are considered suggestive of

connections with Moro communities in Celebes and Borneo (Fox 1957). The highly embellished blouses and necklaces of the T'boli women, inherited from their elders, also indicate their connection to their home place (Duhaylungsod and Hyndman 1993). Perhaps wearing these traditional clothing today, particularly in the political assemblies discussing their ancestral lands and their status as a people in the country, provides them with a stronger sense of representation.

## THE LUMAD WORLDVIEW

**A** number of Lumad activities and material culture indicate enduring ties to their ancient animist traditions. This probably helps keep generations after generations of Lumadnon descendants connected to the natural physical environment of their settlement (Duhaylungsod and Hyndman 1993), despite having been relocated through the centuries from their original coastal to now mostly inland habitation areas, as suggested by their oral traditions (Paredes 2013, 3). These traditions mostly include belief in spiritual beings through signs and omens that govern their rules of actions, conduct of sacrificial offerings, elaborate rituals and ceremonial gatherings.

### CONNECTIONS TO THE LUMAD COSMOS

For many Lumad communities, deities hold sway over supernatural forces, which determine the fate and well-being of an individual or a community. A great number of these spirits are associated with natural elements, including landscapes, bodies of water, plants and animals, while some are represented by inanimate objects, like the wooden effigies called *manang* or *manaug* (LM-201 to LM-211) of the Mandaya (Reyes 1992). The *manang* are human-shaped idols from head to chest, most often made of wood that they refer to as *bayug* and painted with *narra* sap; females are distinguished from males by the presence of haircombs (Reyes 1992; Schreurs 1994, 245). Their supreme deity is called *Manama* by both Ata and Bagobo; *Megbeveya* or *Nenlimbang* by Manobo communities; *Magbabaya* by the Mansaka, Mandaya, Higaunon and Subanen; *Taginiit* or *Magbabaja* by the Dibabawon; *Tulus* by the Teduray; *D'wata* by the Tagakaolo and Kulaman; *Mele* by the B'laan; and *Tahaw* by the Mamanwa (Cole 1913; Elkins 1993; Masinaring 2014; Reyes 1992; Tomaquin 2013). They communicate using different signs and omens, which the people anticipate at particular

occasions and seasons, especially during farming and hunting. These include the appearance of particular constellations, or the call of animals, insects and birds, especially the *limokon* (turtle dove) (Ambrosio 2010; Benedict 1916; Cole 1913; Gloria 1987; Hayase 2007; Masinaring 2014; Mora 1987). The Bagobo for instance, believes that the sound of the *limokon* is a message from the gods (Gloria 1987, 45), while among the T'boli, it is the voice of the spirits and their ancestors (Duhaylungsod and Hyndman 1993, 64).

*Kaingin*, or shifting cultivation, is the major source of subsistence among Lumad groups (figure 24, *larawan* 55 and 56; Acosta 1994, 77). Early to mid-20th century Philippine topographical maps of Mindanao have noted some of the areas where they generally cultivated their crops (NAMRIA 1956; figure 24). Since farming is seasonal and produces limited crops of upland dry rice, corn and root crops, majority of the groups also fish, gather and hunt, aided by horses and dogs, for relatively most of the year (Acosta 1994; Cole 1913; Masinaring 2014). Lumad groups have been noted in both Spanish and ethnographic accounts to check for the appearance of *balatik*, a group of stars shaped like a trap, before preparing for cultivation or hunting; *balatik* among the B'laan and Bagobo, *bayatik* among the Mandaya, *belatik* among the Manobo, *magbangal* among the Bukidnon, *blotic ehok* among the T'boli, and *seretar* among the Teduray (Ambrosio 2010; Duhaylungsod and Hyndman 1993; Forsberg 1988). The appearance of the constellations *Mamare* and *Buaya* in the month of June signals a good omen for sowing among the Bagobo (Gloria 1987, 39). Farming and hunting also entail elaborate ritual ceremonies that other subsistence forms do not require, such as pre-planting offerings, thanksgiving to the spirit gods *Hiluto* (Manobo), *Pagsawitan* (Mansaka), *Hinang* (Dibabawon), *Ginum Bonwa* (Subanen),



*Demsu* (T'boli), among others (Elkins 1993; Frake 1956; Hires and Headland 1977; Masinaring 2014; Mora 2005).

Most spirits are known to be kind to humans by nature, such as the Teduray chief spirit *Tulus*, while others are considered amicable unless they are angered or offended by humans (Schlegel 1971, 24). Those who are malevolent are believed to be the primary causes of diseases, natural disasters and other catastrophic events in the communities. These spirits, who also sometimes inhabit the bodies of animals and people, are known as *buso* (Bagobo) and *busau* (B'laan and Mandaya) (Reyes 1992). In such cases, they often use charms and amulets (LM-196 and LM-197) as protection, or refer to a shaman. Among the T'boli and Teduray, the human and spirit worlds share the same universe where spirits and humans are treated equally (Duhaylungsod and Hyndman 1993; Schlegel 1971).

#### **MEDIATING THE PAST AND PRESENT IN THE LUMADNON AND SPIRIT WORLDS**

Accordingly, actions and inactions pertaining to these signs and omens entail mortal consequences. During these times, the shaman—called *baylan* or *bailan* in Manobo and Mandaya, *balyan* in Mansaka, *mabalian* in Ata, B'laan and Bagobo, *bolian* in Subanen, *beliyan* in Teduray—acts as mediator between the spirit world and the people (Cole 1913; Masinaring 2014; Reyes 1992; Schlegel 1971). Elaborate rituals led by the *baylan* seek guidance, such as in establishing a *datu* or *bagani*, or before conducting raids; appeasement of malevolent spirits like the *buso* or *busau* among the Bagobo and B'laan in times of sickness, death or natural disasters; and expressing gratitude for prosperity and fertility (Cole 1913; Benedict 1916; Gloria 1987; Masinaring 2014; Reyes 1992). Among Bagobo groups, everyone, regardless of age and sex, participate in rituals (Reyes 1992). Fowls and pigs are sacrificed as offerings by the Manobo and most Lumad groups. For instance, during the year-end ritual of the Arumanen Manobo in the mountains of Pigkawayan in Maguindanao, the innards of the sacrificial animals provide predictions about the future, such as weather patterns (Gaspar 2018, pers. comm.). Before, they believed that the spirits were hungry for human flesh and blood, which only the *bagani* of the past could satiate. Major ceremonial rituals also comprise different elements such as gongs, betel chews, ceremonial liquors, personal ornaments, woven textiles and an assortment of agricultural products (Benedict 1916; Cole 1913; Masinaring

2014; Reyes 1992).

In some Lumad communities today, the *baylan* have become associated with millenarian and other forms of revitalization movements (Acosta 1994, 134; Paredes 2006, 530-534). The existence of these movements appear to have mostly been associated with social crises and changes brought by increased contact with the colonial and national governments, and growing external economic pressures (Hayase 2007, 174; McCoy 1982, 181). Compared with the Visayan and other groups' responses to social crises, "the Mindanao *babaylan* movements responded to social changes by retreating into the millennium" (McCoy 1982, 181).

For instance, during the advent of the American colonial era, American ethnographers Fay-Cooper Cole (1913) and John Garvan (1931) noted that a Manobo millenarian movement called *tungud* had a widespread reach in the southeastern region of Mindanao by 1908. This was instigated by Mapakla, whose religious pseudonym is Meskinan, a Manobo who was allegedly cured from terminal illness by the spirit *Magbabaya*. He later convinced the people to follow his instructions to survive the anticipated end of the world. In order to escape the approaching destruction, Meskinan ordered the construction of a religious building in each settlement, the practice of chastity and austerity, as well as his frequent worship through rituals and material offerings. The movement, which ended in 1910, spread among both Christianized and non-Christianized Manobo, Mandaya, Manguangan and Dibabawon (Garvan 1931). Subsequently, in two separate historical periods, 1941 and 1968, millenarian movements among the Bukidnon have also been documented. Both were led by local *baylans* who drove the people into believing that they would achieve eternal happiness and immortality by passing through an opening in the mountain and the forest, respectively (McCoy 1982).

Garvan (1931, 241) noted that similar religious movements occurred earlier in 1877, engineered by Moros in the east side of Davao Gulf, and in 1899, by a Manobo chief who was probably the source of news regarding public perils that time, such as contagious diseases or fear of invasions. On the west coast of Davao Gulf, with the aim of mounting a resistance against the American colonial administration, a new god called *Labi* was worshipped among Moro, Manobo, B'laan, Tagakaolo and Samal groups (Hayase 1985, 141-144; 2007, 174). These movements, to some extent, have been regarded as popular expressions

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**Figure 24—Mindanao Topographical Map Sheet 4037-II Burias, modified to show the *kaingin* clearings identified with different Lumad groups** (encircled in red), plotted between 1947 to 1953 by the Bureau of Coast and Geodetic Survey of the US Army. 1956. Courtesy of the National Mapping and Resource Information Authority (NAMRIA).



## MATERIAL CULTURE IN FOCUS—HUNTING AND TRAPPING GAMES

Hunting is part of the traditional subsistence system in most Lumad communities. The forests surrounding Lumad settlements provided considerable sources of meat such as birds, chickens, deer and wild boars. The hunters, usually male, are experts in different kinds of tools used in gaming and keeping hunting dogs trained to help locate and capture game.

Similar to farming, ritual ceremonies are also performed and spirits are invoked for the hunting expeditions, particularly those to be conducted on sacred grounds. Among the Manobo, a mangasoon (hunter) observes his dreams and, before hunting, offers a panubad (prayer) and betel chew to the spirit guardian of wild animals called Yakan (Masinaring 2014). Before they hunt, the Western Bukidnon Manobo offer betel chew, coins and cloth to Lelawag, the spirit guardian of wild game, seeking guidance and success (Polenda 1989). Hunting expeditions of the Teduray are considered fearful occasions where hunters are likely to encounter the segoyong or man-eaters, who are responsible for injuries, death and disappearances (cf. Schlegel 1994, 203; Wood 1957, 19).

In general, traps are considered as both “models of its creator (hunter),” acting as his substitute during the hunting, and “models of its victim (prey animal),” representing the parameters of the animal’s natural behavior (Gell 1996, 27). Likewise, animal behavior can also be deduced from the form of traps constructed. These features are found in various hunting paraphernalia commonly used by different Lumad groups.

The Bagobo and B'laan hunters own a set paraphernalia of wild chicken trap (figure 25) placed together in a carrying basket elaborately decorated with beads, feather, horsehair tassels, bells as well as a small bamboo tube or gourd used as storage of



Figure 25—A Bagobo chicken trap and basket (LM-121). Calinan, Davao | 1980. National Museum of the Philippines Collection.

seeds for bait. The trap itself is composed of small loops made of braided rattan, set out on wooden stakes in a three-sided pattern while a live chicken decoy is tied on the open side to help catch a wild chicken as its leg slides into the loops (Cole 1913, 72-73; Lane 1986, 192).

Bagobo and Mandaya hunters construct elaborate traps or set up decoys in places where animals usually pass. These include deadfalls and pits planted with sharpened bamboo sticks, rope loops hanging from trees, and a trap called balatik or bayatik which releases an arrow towards the prey animal once triggered (Cole 1913). Bagobo hunters also use wooden decoys that they tie to branches of trees or attach to nets set up between trees, or poles, to catch birds (LM-122) (Cole 1913; Gloria 1987).

For the Bukidnon, big games like deer and pigs are hunted on horseback using a long spear, a slip noose or leading them to deadfalls (Cole 1956). The Mamanwa have different snares and traps for specific animals, including the balatik and tibaw for pigs, kagong for birds, laog for monkeys, bayod for milo (civet cat, *Paradoxurus philippinensis*) and rats (Masinaring 2014). The B'laan have developed different types of arrows for different animal preys, specifically deer, pigs, monkeys, fish and birds (Cole 1913). Hunting implements used by the Teduray include spring snares (kotor, ambirut), spears (feliyad [LM-141]), spiked pits (kanseb), log falls (diran), bows (bohor) and arrow (banting; figure 26i), hunting spears (sebat), blowguns (lefuk), and homemade shotguns (faletik) constructed from galvanized iron pipe (Schlegel 1994). In particular, Teduray hunters use bamboo spring traps, bows, arrows and spears for monkeys, deer and pigs, while blowguns with poisoned darts are used for birds (Wood 1957).

There are several customary practices observed by Lumad groups during the preparation and distribution of carcasses of the game after successful hunting expeditions. In Manobo communities, hunting is an exclusive occupation of men, hence the preparation of the carcass, its distribution and cooking is also their responsibility (Manuel 2000, 110). Traditionally, the Western Bukidnon Manobo hunter cuts the carcass lengthwise in half then takes the right side portion for himself, cooking the other half for distribution to the rest of the community as a thanksgiving offering to Lelawag (Polenda 1989). It is common practice for the Bukidnon that all members of the hunting party share the kill equally, while the Teduray give one-half of the animal to the leader of the hunting party who supplied the dogs and weapons (Cole 1956; Wood 1957).



**Figure 26—Different Lumad bows and arrows.** *Left to right:* B'laan *buhol* (a, b; LM-118 and LM-119) and *fana* (c; LM-120), or bows and arrows, respectively; a Manguangan *inayon* (d; LM-128) or arrows and bow (e; LM-127); an Obo *buhol* (f; LM-134) or bow; T'boli bow (g; LM-138); Giangan *bisug* or bows (h; LM-123); and a Teduray arrow (i; LM-140). National Museum of the Philippines Collection.

## MATERIAL CULTURE IN FOCUS—MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Music is part of most ceremonial rituals and social gatherings of Lumad groups. The indigenous musical instruments of southern Philippines are composed of percussions, string and wind instruments made of brass, wood and bamboo. These often include gongs, drums, lutes, zithers, Jew's harps, and flutes, among others.

Two-stringed lutes, called *kutyapi* by the Bukidnon, are often played by male musicians; zithers, or *tangkol* among the Bukidnon and *saladay* among the Manobo, are often played by females (Manuel 1978). Among the T'boli, musical instruments are assigned or distinguished by the gender-specific symbols and aesthetic attributes of the ideal T'boli male and female; these categories are *lembang/lemnek*, or relatively high amplitude, and *megel/lemnoy*, or relatively low amplitude. *Lembang* and *megel*, or masculine instruments include the *agung* (gong), *t'nonggong* (drum) and *bogul k'lutang* (wooden percussion beam); *lemnek* and *lemnoy*, or feminine instruments are the *hegelung* (lute) and *s'ludoy* (zither), which can be played by both men and women (Mora 2005, 46).

Of these instruments, the knobbed gongs made of brass, bronze or iron, called *agung* or *agong* by the Bagobo, Bukidnon, Mandaya, Manobo and T'boli, are the most prominently used (figure 27; Benedict 1916; Cole 1913; Garvan 1931; Manuel 1978). The brass gong is a prized possession of Lumad datu; these are not manufactured locally, but obtained from trade and bartered between groups in the region or presented as part of the bride wealth (Benedict 1916; Garvan 1931). The Bagobo suspends the *agung*, with its head covered with rubber and cloth, through a rattan rod on a bamboo played by striking it with a short wooden stick called *tap-tap* (Benedict 1916, 84).

Double-headed drums are called *tambol* or *tambor* by the Bukidnon, *tagonggong* by the B'laan, *t'nonggong* by the T'boli, *gimbal* by the Kulaman



Figure 27—Bagobo gong (LM-224) from Calinan, Davao | 1960. National Museum of the Philippines Collection.

(Manobo), *guimbao* by the Mandaya, and *gimbar* by the Bagobo (Manuel 1978; Mora 2005; Schreurs 1994). These are often made of hollowed tree or palm trunks, covered with stretched pig or deer skin on both ends (LM-227 and LM-230) (Garvan 1931). A rhythmic fusion of beating drums called *gimbæ* and *agung* is commonly heard in the musical performances of the Bukidnon and Manobo (Buenconsejo 2000; Cole 1956).

The similarities of the instruments between the Lumad and Moro groups aesthetically and symbolically illustrate their social and cultural connections. For instance, both Lumad and Moro groups play the knobbed gongs during special occasions. While the Bagobo brass *agong* that consists of a set of seven or eight pieces are suspended vertically by loops of rattan from a bamboo where the player strikes them while standing, the Maranao gong set or *kulintangan*, also composed of seven or eight pieces, rests on niches along a rectangular frame with *okir* designs (Casiño 1981; Cole 1913). The two-stringed lutes of both southern Philippine Lumad and Moro communities are often similarly shaped as a boat, crocodile or *naga* (a mythical serpent); such as the Bukidnon *kutyapi* and the Maranao *kudyapi* or *kudiapi* (Casiño 1981; Cole 1913; Manuel 1978; Polenda



Figure 28—*Slumpe dal* (LM-223), or wooden beam percussion, acquired from the B'laan of Mt. Matutum in 1956. National Museum of the Philippines Collection.

1989). The Maranao also have double-headed drums and the Jew's harp, which they call *gandangan* and *kubing*, respectively (Manuel 1978).

Music-making is also an important component of Lumadnon social, cultural and spiritual life. Western Bukidnon Manobo elders believe that people learned to play the *kutyapi* (boat lute) by listening to the spirits dwelling on the *balete* (*Ficus stipulosa*) tree at night, while they play the *kutyapi*, *pulala* (bamboo flute) and *deyuzey* (violin made from a half coconut shell) (Polenda 1989).

In T'boli society, musical instruments and music-making are associated with their ancestral myth of origin and mythical figures, notably the courtship between Boi Henwu and Lemugot Mangay (Mora 1987). The myth tells the story of the first T'boli woman, Boi Henwu, who played a percussion beam before ascending to the sky to be with her lover, a celestial deity named Lemugot Mangay who invented musical instruments as a metaphor of his love for Boi Henwu. Hence, the *bogul k'lutang* (wooden percussion beam played with mallets) is linked to Boi Henwu; the *hegelung* (lute; figure 29), *s'ludoy* (bamboo polychordal zither), *kumbing* (Jew's harp), *d'wegey* (single stringed spiked fiddle) and *ketimbow* (an extinct instrument) are linked to Lemugot Mangay (Mora 1987, 190-192; 2005, 32-34). In relation to this, one of the traditional means of a T'boli community to prove the compatibility of a couple is a successful performance of the *seguyun*, a musical ensemble where the man plays the *hegelung* and the woman plays the *s'ludoy* (Mora 1987, 197).

The social and cultural aspects of T'boli music-making are further observed in the *sebelang*, an instrumental composition (*utom*) specifically performed during a *moninum* (marriage ceremony) which involves the simultaneous performance of different *utom* by the marriage parties; one plays the drum and percussion stick ensemble (*t'nonggong ne kemsal*), the other plays a suspended, bossed gong ensemble (*s'lagi*) (Mora 2005, 46). A T'boli woman's prowess in singing, music-making, or dancing brings not only social and economic prestige to her family but to her husband as well (Casal 1978; Mora 1987).

Aside from being used in ceremonial rituals and feasts, musical instruments in Lumadnon communities also facilitate systems of mutual assistance and renewal of culture. For example, the T'boli plays the *k'lutang* as a signaling instrument for various occasions such as the *sesolong* or bartering, a celebration of a successful hunt, and the *sebonok* or retribitional homicide which simultaneously marks the passage of the *loyof* (soul) of the avenged

victim into the *kayung* (upper realm) (Mora 1987, 205). Manobo and B'laan kinsmen used to beat their gongs to send messages or distress calls to receive assistance during adverse situations such as feuding or *pangayaw* (raiding) (Arcenas 1993; Garvan 1931; Manuel 2000). The sounds of gongs and drums that accompany the *Agusan Manobo lisag* (dance rhythm) help evoke spirits during the spirit-possession ritual or *séance* called *yana-an* (Buenconsejo 2000).

This high valuation placed by the Manobo society on their musical instruments was further validated as "an icon of self-presentation" and "a real capital resource" of the cultural regeneration movement *Tuddok to Kalubbaran ni Apo Ayon Umpan*, initiated by a Manobo kin group during their reunion in Sayaban, Kidapawan City, North Cotabato (Alejo 2000, 98-99). The kin-based *Tuddok* movement went beyond obtaining and playing their own musical instruments for the succeeding gatherings, eventually revealing the political context of this activity as a means of harnessing their reuniting kin group as a critical and potential force in strengthening their ancestral domain claim, particularly on the areas of the Mt. Apo occupied by the Philippine National Oil Company (PNOC) geothermal plant (Alejo 2000, 104).

Among other traditional arts and crafts, the National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA) offers trainings and workshops on indigenous music conducted by living masters through its community-based informal schools found throughout the country, called the *School of Living Traditions* (SLT). Some of the established SLTs in Mindanao and Sulu communities include the *Buhangin Davao City SLT* (Ata Matigsalog performing arts), *South Cotabato SLT* (playing B'laan musical instruments), *Caraga, Davao Oriental SLT* (Mandaya musical instruments), *Bukidnon SLT* (Tigwahanon Matigsalog Manobo dances, songs and musical instruments), and *Zamboanga del Sur SLT* (Subanen musical instruments, songs and dances) (NCCA 2015).



Figure 29—*Hegelung* or lutes of the T'boli (LM-237 [top] and LM-238 [bottom]), acquired from South Cotabato in 1979. National Museum of the Philippines Collection.

of the syncretism of pre-Spanish and Christian beliefs, a local adaptation of Spanish Catholicism (Ileto 1979, 11-12). However, such revitalization movements among the Lumadnon may also be indicative of their assent to being part of a larger nation-state, and the *baylan* helped in facilitating this transition (Paredes 2006, 533; 1993, 113-134).

It has been observed that Catholicism has not penetrated deeply enough among the Lumad groups who had converted to it during the Spanish colonial period (Bernad 1972, 107; 2004, 47; Paredes 2006, 522); traditional rituals were still conducted up until the early years of the American colonial government, as observed by anthropologists and other members of the colonial government (e.g., Benedict 1916; Christie 1909; Cole 1913; Garvan 1927). While historian Miguel Bernad (1972, 132-133) notes that early Filipinos were predisposed to accept Christianity given that it has basic affinity to animist religions—including beliefs in a Supreme Being and the afterlife, reverence for ancestor spirits with the Catholic veneration of saints, and myths of creation, among others—a number of practical issues has affected the Lumad's acceptance of Christianity, such as the limited number of priests and missionaries; the logistical requirements to maintain their protection from the influence of Muslim power throughout Mindanao; anticlericalism among Spanish colonial administrators; among other matters within the colonial government (De la Costa 1961, 340; Schreurs 1994, 25; 1986, 87-88, 93, 95). Among Lumad groups, these include difficulties for the *datus* to cede their traditional authority and the recurrence of old disagreements and enmities between communities and groups (Demetrio 1981, 517-518; Schreurs 1986, 101, 110).

Religious differences and affinity to Islam or Christianity were mindsets unknown to the people until the 17th century, which perhaps made it easy for the Lumad communities to switch sides between the two (Hayase 2007, 57). Some may have equated either Islam or Christianity to their religion, but for most, religious conversion means adapting to the circumstances within their respective localities in order to protect themselves and maintain their settlements (Hayase 2007, 65; Tiu 2005, 68). For instance, the people in the east coast of Mindanao renounced the Catholic religion and voluntarily joined the Muslims when the Spanish-occupied Tandag fort in Caraga fell, while the Mandaya converted to Christianity to escape the Muslims (Hayase 2007, 143). Within this sense, historian Peter Schreurs notes “the enormous

capacity for change and adaptation” (1986, 111-112), and anthropologist Shinzo Hayase the “wisdom (adaptability and resiliency)” (2007, 57) of the Lumadnon. In addition, particularly during the early years of evangelization missions, it may have been difficult for the Lumad communities to understand the Catholic sacraments within their intended contexts (Bernad 2004, 47).

In contrast, a fundamentalist sect of Protestantism appears to have made recent headway among the Higaunon of northern Mindanao (Paredes 2006, 522), Bagobo of Davao (Gloria 1987, 103), and T'boli of South Cotabato (Duhaylungsod and Hyndman 1993, 102-103), among others. Anthropologist Oona Paredes posits that this, among the factors, appears to have been facilitated by the concept of *libung* in the epic *Ulahingan*, which complements the Bible's promise of Christ's return (2006, 549). Also, compared to the Catholic friars, the Protestant missionaries have accepted the presence of the evil spirit *busaw* and other spirits as real, contextualizing them as demons and fallen angels (Paredes 2006, 544).

Lumad rituals and gatherings are not only fundamental in acknowledging the spirits, but eating, drinking, dancing and reciting ceremonial chants during such occasions are also venues for conveying and passing on customary laws and traditions to the younger generation. For instance, during the *keligaan* ceremony, a healing ritual that enacts certain events in the epic *Ulegingen*, the Western Bukidnon Manobo perform the dance *legudas* to appease the spirits and heal a sick person (Polenda 1989). A group of men and women dance to the accompanying rhythm in a circle surrounding the *baylan* standing at the center, as they simultaneously chant to the spirits.

Though not by free choice, given the loss of their ancestral lands, most Lumad societies have since then shifted to cash economy through cultivation of cash crops and seeking of temporary wage labor in logging and mining companies. Hence, rituals to spirits for favors now appear out of context and have been mostly considered as an added expense against their dwindling resources (Paredes 2006, 544). For example, *moninum* is known as the grandest and most complex of T'boli ceremonial feasts, traditionally conducted through a series of six feasts over a period of a two- to six-year agricultural cycle, serving as affirmation of marriage and/or affinal ties between families and the community, and healing ritual for sick members of the family (Duhaylungsod and Hyndman 1993; Mora 2005). In an interview in November 2016 in Lake Sebu, *Boi* Rosie Sula expressed that even

wealthy T'boli families nowadays celebrate relatively modest marriage ceremonies over the long-drawn preparations and complex requirements of the traditional *moninum*.

### **BURIAL PRACTICES AND LUMAD ANCESTRAL DOMAINS**

Lumad groups have been noted for their fear of the spirits, not only of the *busau/busaw* but also of the dead (Finley 1913; Garvan 1931). Among the Manobo, offerings for appeasement include betel nut chews, chicken and pig, and drums and gongs played through the period of the wake to drive away evil spirits (Garvan 1931, 133). The family of a deceased Bagobo abandons their house after a human sacrifice because “the man has gone and his house must go too” (Gloria 1987, 44). Early 20th century accounts observed that the deceased, encased in a coffin made of hollowed tree trunks or wrapped in mats, were interred in burial grounds, hollowed trunks of large trees, sometimes under the house, or in higher grounds within two days after death (Cole 1956; Finley 1913; Garvan 1931; Gloria 1987; Guégen 2010, 49; Schreurs 1994, 42). Among the Subanen, interment may be in natural caves (Finley 1913). This also appears to be the case among the Manobo, who were observed to leave for the nearby caves on occasions when they need to appeal to their ancestors, particularly the burials before the 20th century (Garvan 1931).

Recent archaeological investigations substantiate these observations. For instance, the finds in Kulaman Plateau (914 meters above sea level [masl]) located in Cotabato included limestone urns (figure 30) with associated remains dated about 1450 years before present (BP) (Briones 1972; Kurjack and Sheldon 1970; Maceda 1964, 1965; Samson 2008). Both anthropomorphic and non-anthropomorphic earthenware vessels used as secondary burial jars (LM-219, LM-220 and LM-221) were also recovered from Pinol in Maitum, Sarangani, and, with associated finds, dated to be about 2020 BP (Cuevas and de Leon 2008; Dizon 1991; Dizon et al. 1992). Archaeologists also suggest that anthropomorphic covers depict local potters’ attempt to make portraits of the deceased (Dizon and Santiago 1996). According to Manobo Datu Angul, during their November 21, 2015 preview of the National Museum of the Philippines exhibition, anthropomorphic covers in the burial assemblage are regarded as a practice related to



**Figure 30**–Burial vessels from Kulaman in Lebak, North Cotabato (LM-217 and LM-218). National Museum of the Philippines Collection.

ancestor worship.

In burial sites located in Suatan, Butuan City, archaeological finds show that interment of the dead utilized coffins made of hollowed out *dongon* (*Heritiera littoralis*) logs, with bottoms and covers shut by wooden pegs; the personal belongings of the deceased were buried along with them (Burton 1977). Wooden coffins buried with associated tradeware materials dating to the 15th century in Butuan suggest that these sites first served as habitation areas, and were later used as burial places.

Due to lack of further studies, and the frequent migration of the Lumadnon noted in their oral history, it is not possible today to determine the populations who had settled in these archaeological sites during the given estimated dates. Today, these are known settlements of the Manobo, Teduray, T'boli and B'laan (BALC 1994 cited in Paredes 1997, 285; Briones 1972; Duhaylungsod and Hyndman 1993, 63-64).

The interment of Lumadnon ancestors is among the reasons why land is construed as the physical representation of their ethnicity (Paredes 2007, 31), and, it also embodies how they value life as manifested in their practices of cultivation, labor and sharing (Duhaylungsod and Hyndman 1993, 72). Some of these areas are also the tangible representations of their oral history (Duhaylungsod and Hyndman 1993, 72; Paredes 2013, 31).

## **EARLY LINKAGES AND ENCOUNTERS**

**T**he Lumadnon were active participants in trade, exchange and various other activities, as

their Muslim neighbors had been doing, in what is now the Southeast Asian region. Archaeological,

historical and ethnographic studies feature evidences from as early as pre-contact period to the early 20th century that suggest their involvement in multi-layered political and socio-economic engagements, in contrast to the prevailing sentiment that they are peoples with little to no history (Alejo 2000, 192; Duhaylungsod and Hyndman 1993, 70; Fox 1957, 2-3; Paredes 2000, 75; 2013, 6-7).

#### **PREHISTORIC LINKAGES, ENCOUNTERS AND ALLIANCES**

The Lumadnon had access to ecological resources found mostly in the inlands of Mindanao, which proved to be valuable, as these were exchanged for imported and highly prized commodities brought by foreign merchants and traders. To some extent, these served as the backbone of the local end of the extensive maritime trade network that the polities in Mindanao and Sulu were involved in. Trade pacts, intermarriages, and raids are among the significant evidences that indicate prehistoric Philippine communities have highly complex internal political structures, established to invite, maintain, and further expand alliances and access to external trade relations and goods (Fox 1957, 7; Junker 2000, 292-303; Scott 1994,

173-175).

Unquestionably, not only kin-based alliances have been established between Lumad groups, but also with the neighboring Moros. One such example would be the Manobo trading relation with the Matigsalug, Tavahawa (Tagabawa) and Jangan (Bagobo) from whom they had obtained prized articles including *pahiluma* blades, horses and abaca cloth (Gloria 1987; Manuel 2000). It was also noted that they had transacted with Muslim traders by way of the Pulangi River until the 19th century, acquiring blades, gongs and Chinese plates and bowls, which have now attained the *pusaka* (heirloom) status among their descendants (Manuel 2000). Through the Agusan River, the Higaunon and other Manobo groups also took part in the local aspect of the large-scale trade network of Butuan with China and Champa (the ancient Indochinese kingdom occupying southern Vietnam today) dated not earlier than the 10th century, which involved gold, beeswax, cinnamon, civet, rattan, abaca and other raw forest goods (Cembrano 1998; De la Costa 1965; Sy 1970).

Another such relationship was between the Teduray and Maguindanao, described in the shared folk history between Lumad and Moro



**Figure 31**–“Three Bagobo men,” Davao, Mindanao (1901). Courtesy of the Philippine Photographs Digital Archive (PHLA381), University of Michigan Library Digital Collections.

## MATERIAL CULTURE IN FOCUS—BETEL CHEWING



**Figure 32—The primary ingredients of *mamá***, clockwise from top left: betel leaf (LM-240), areca nuts (LM-239), lime and the Ata Manobo's lime container called *tagan inakal* (LM-244), *tabon-tabon* (LM-242) and tobacco leaf (LM-241). National Museum of the Philippines Collection.

Betel chewing is widely practiced by many ethnolinguistic groups across the Philippines. Among the Lumadnon, this custom is specifically noted among men and women of the Bagobo and the Manobo groups (Benedict 1916; Cole 1913).

Betel chew or *mamá* usually consists of about a quarter of areca nut (*Areca catechu*), buyo or piper betel leaf (*Piper betle*), a bit of lime (apog) or *tabon-tabon* (*Atuna racemosa*) and tobacco (*Nicotiana tabacum*) (figure 32). This produces red spittle when chewed. The Manobo and Higaunon chew betel nut and buyo together with powdered lime from burnt land snail shells (*Pila* spp.), tobacco and rattan fruit. The bark of *kalingang* (Mindanao cinnamon; *Cinnamomum mindanaense*) is sometimes added for flavor and aroma (Burton 1977; Cembrano 1998). Some prepare betel chew by mashing the ingredients together, using a small mortar and pestle, until it is reduced into a soft mass, such as commonly practiced by elderly Bagobo and Bukidnon men and persons with mutilated teeth (Cole 1913, 1956).

*Mamá* is usually kept for personal consumption, shared as a gesture of friendship or hospitality with visiting guests, who may be an acquaintance or a stranger, or used as part of a ceremonial offering. It is considered a necessity for eliciting and facilitating favorable conditions in dealing with both humans and those in the spirit world. Among the Western Bukidnon Manobo, the *mamá* provides a means of establishing rapport with other people, and comprises part of the ceremonial offerings used to evoke the deities when seeking their assistance (Polenda 1989).

Betel chew is also considered as a gift from the Supreme Being who provides immortality and physical strength. It is significant among the Bukidnon

Manobo as a form of medication. This is depicted in a scene of their *Ulahingan* or *Ulegingen* epic, where a leper woman named Mungan receives immortality and the final rites of shamanism by consuming a gold-striped areca nut from Nengazen after being cured by betel chew (Polenda 1989). Hence, betel nut offerings and betel chewing tradition continue among the Bukidnon Manobo.

Ceremonies that require offering of betel nut include the *yana-an* ritual of spirit-possession of the Agusan Manobo for the spirit helpers, and the pre-planting ritual of the Bagobo (*ginum*) and Bukidnon (*kaliga*), among others (Achanzar 2007; Buenconsejo 2000; Cole 1956; Gloria 1987). During the *Teduray setefungor* or marriage ceremony, the bride's mother presents the couple with betel chew which they keep until their deaths (Schreurs 1994, 40).

The ingredients for betel chewing are usually stored in brass boxes (figure 33; LM-253 and LM-254), or carried in elaborately decorated baskets or pouches when traveling (see figure 5). Betel chew brass containers usually come in sets of four or a single rectangular box with three or four compartments reserved for each ingredient. These can either be carried like cigarette cases or kept in the house for visitors (Casiño 1981). Brass betel boxes of the *Teduray* were obtained from the Maguindanao in exchange for forest products including rattan and beeswax, and, along with other goods such as kris, necklaces, gongs and spears, were used for bride price (Schlegel 1994). Bagobo men and women carry their betel nut and tobacco in sacks worn on the back or elaborately decorated bags and baskets (Cole 1913). Separate lime containers for the betel chew made of small bamboo tubes, gourds or shells are also used.



**Figure 33—Some containers used for betel chew ingredients**, clockwise from top left: the two-compartment Bagobo *sirikit* (LM-249, in closed and opened views); the *nito*-made *tang-ub* (LM-243) of the Ata Manobo of Upper Lasang in Davao; a three-compartment brass *mamaan* (LM-255, in open and closed views), also used by the Bagobo; and the wooden *luka binudai* (LM-260) for tobacco leaves of the Mandaya of Caraga, Davao. National Museum of the Philippines Collection.



groups during the arrival of the first Sultan of Maguindanao, Shariff Kabungsuwan (Eugenio 1996; Wood 1957), which features the brothers Tabunaoway and Mamalu of the Pulangi River, from whom the Maguindanao and Teduray have respectively descended. The younger brother Tabunaoway converted to Islam at the arrival of Shariff Kabungsuwan, while the elder Mamalu chose to remain true to their ancestors' beliefs. Both agreed to live separately—Mamalu moving to the mountains and Tabunaoway remaining in the lowlands—and trade goods (Schlegel 1972, 25; Wood 1957). This accounts for the exchange activities between these two groups from the 14th through the 19th centuries, recorded in both historical and ethnographic studies (Schlegel 1994, 19-21). The Teduray collected forest products such as beeswax, rattan and tree sap in exchange for textiles, metals, pottery, and salt, among others, which they used for bride wealth, warfare, and rituals, and as indicators of social status. The Maguindanao exchanged these forest goods at the Cotabato trading post (circa 1515, now Cotabato City) for porcelain, silk and other prestige goods (Junker 2000). The Teduray and Maguindanao also share this folk history of Tabunaoway and Mamalu with the Manobo (Casiño 2000, 305-311, note 13 in Hayase 2007, 76). The Sulu trading post in Jolo (circa 1450) was supplied by the Subanen of Zamboanga and Bagobo of Davao with varied marine and forest products through their Sama contacts (Junker 2000, 232).

The oral history featuring the brothers Balaoy and Belen is another narrative of the kin-based relations between the Lumad and Moro, from whom the Bukidnon and Maranao have respectively descended (Lao 1987, 23-31). It is believed that the sea-voyaging brothers landed in Mindanao in search of drinking water. They agreed to explore separately—the elder brother Belen went through what is now Lanao del Sur and reached what is presently known as the Upper Pulangi Valley, while Balaoy traced the path of a river towards the present location of the province of Bukidnon; Lake Lanao is visible from both sites.

Intermarriages and other pacts have also been recorded, not only between the different Lumad groups, but also with the Moros and the Visayans before the arrival of the Spaniards (Cole 1913; Fraiser 2001; Hayase 2007; Manuel 2000; Paredes 2013). A few of the noted Lumad groups that had affinal ties to the Moros are the Bagobo, Manobo and the Subanen, out of which interestingly the culturally Moro but linguistically Subanen-related group Kolibugan is said to have their roots (Christie

1909). This was primarily meant to secure political networks and allegiances that would have been particularly useful during *pangayaw* or raiding expeditions conducted to seek justice, capture slaves, or acquire socio-economic distinction (Cole 1913; Elkins 1993; Hayase 2007). The T'boli also engage in *sabila*, strong friendship ties between *datus* established through ritual gift exchanges and which last through their lifetime. They had entered such alliances with Muslim, Manobo and B'laan *datus* in the past (Duhaylungsod and Hyndman 1993, 70).

*Pangayaw* was conducted against other Lumad groups, for instance the Bagobo against the Ata, B'laan and Tagakaolo, the Ata against the B'laan, or against Moro groups (Cole 1913; Gloria 1987, 58). Groups associated with the Moros regularly assist in raiding expeditions as far as the Visayas, such as the case of the Karaga (probably the Mandaya living in Caraga, which is now part of Davao Oriental) with the Maguindanao (Paredes 2013, 27). Headhunting, as well as taking off other body parts, were commonly done by the Kulaman (Manobo), Bukidnon and B'laan, which they would keep only as proof of the slaying, or until they finished the ritual ceremony for Talabusao, the deity who looks after the Bukidnon *bagani* (Cole 1913, 1956; Wood 1957). Among the Bagobo, non-Bagobo individuals who had been taken in as slaves were sacrificed to appease evil spirits after natural disasters or a death of a *magani* or *datu* occurs (Benedict 1916; Gloria 1987, 18-19; Hayase 2007, 162).

### **THE SPANISH MISSIONS IN MINDANAO**

There are minor references to the Lumad groups during the Spanish period. One apparent reason for this was that the colonial government faced serious logistical challenges in attending to Mindanao as part of the colony, in addition to the extensive Moro oppositions (Bernad 1972, 107; Wernstedt and Simkins 1965). Recent archival studies however have revealed longer direct relations between Lumad peoples and the Recoletos (*Orden de los Agustinos Recoletos*) missionaries, particularly in northeast Mindanao, which lasted for about three centuries; they in turn hold Mindanao as an important part of their Order's foundations (Bernad 1972, 239; Paredes 2013, 43). Among the Lumadnon who had associated with the Recoletos were then known as the Kagayanons, Karaga and Tagoloanan, whose settlements were located in what is now Cagayan de Oro, Agusan del Sur and Davao Oriental (Paredes 2013, 65, 89, 125).

The Jesuits established the first mission in Butuan in 1596 (Arcilla 2013, 18; Bernad 1972, 215, 248; De la Costa 1961, 163). To some extent, they served as chaplains for the Spanish forces during anti-Muslim expeditions, and, for a time, administered the Spanish presence in the region; missionaries were sent to Mindanao from 1861 to 1899 to evangelize the remaining unbaptized people (Arcilla 2013). The Spanish missions generally resulted in the conversion of the Lumadnon to Catholicism, though it has been noted that there were *datus* who had chosen to not convert, but gave their cooperation instead (Paredes 2013, 77; Schreurs 1994, 212-213). Mission stations and forts were also constructed in areas including Tandag, Bislig, Butuan, Cagayan de Oro, Iligan, Dapitan, Zamboanga, Siargao and Linao (now Bunawan) (Wernstedt and Simkins 1965, 84).

Contemporary Higaunon *datus* deny that their ancestors were in any way subjugated by the Spanish colonials and missionaries, and with very few indications of Spanish influence among the Lumad, this is quite difficult to disprove (Paredes 2013, 2). Paredes however suggests that this may have been the case, given that Lumadnon communities were probably used to the presence of foreigners through the trade networks long before the arrival of the Spanish colonizers. The Spanish missionaries may have not been viewed as a risk, but instead represented new ideas that they had later sieved and adapted locally, which has been widely observed as a common characteristic among Southeast Asian communities (Andaya 1997, 398; Paredes 2013, 55-56, 165). Their conversion to Catholicism may have been later seen as a political tactic against Moro raiders and negotiations for tributaries, based on archival accounts on the Tagaloan Lumad dated 1722 (Paredes 2013, 123-124). At that time, alliances created through religious affiliations were dependent on how such circumstances would be advantageous to them; until the 17th century, religious differences were not an issue (Hayase 2007, 57, 65). However, there would be Lumad communities who were not amenable to establishing relations with Spain and had taken off further inland (Hayase 2007, 160; Paredes 1997, 167; Schreurs 1986, 100).

### **REDEFINING THE LUMADNON LANDS IN THE 20TH CENTURY**

Land is the physical and material representation of Lumadnon ethnicity, and some areas are seen as the tangible representations of their oral

history (Duhaylungsod and Hyndman 1993, 72; Gaspar 2000, 104; Paredes 1997, 31). In contrast to the Spanish colonists, the American colonial government and the subsequent administrations had physically taken over the land through migration and corporate organizations. This was vastly different from their previous experiences, such as raiding by the Muslim communities, after which the raiders would leave and the Lumadnon would return to these areas (Paredes 1997, 274). Among the Bagobo, for instance, in addition to losing their resources, this also meant losing their connection and means of appeasing the spirits should disasters happen (Hayase 2007, 177).

While collective ownership of land is the norm among the Lumadnon, based on their oral customary law, the American colonial government that took over the Philippines from Spain by virtue of the Treaty of Paris on December 10, 1898, declared all untitled lands as public lands that belonged to the state. Among the measures that affected the indigenous peoples of Mindanao were the creation of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes in 1901, the Land Registration Act of 1902 and the Public Lands Act of 1905, and their succeeding versions; these helped start the systematic state-sponsored resettlement of Luzon and Visayas migrants to the Mindanao "frontier" (Acosta 1994, 89; Duhaylungsod and Hyndman 1993, 74; Eder and McKenna 2004, 56-85; Wernstedt and Simkins 1965, 83).

They opened Mindanao for resettlement and homestead purposes particularly to Christian lowlanders who served as conduits for pacification and amalgamation of non-Christian communities. The largest number of homesteaders was recorded in the provinces of Agusan, Cotabato, Davao, Lanao and Zamboanga (Gaspar 2011). In addition, agricultural businesses were also allotted large tracts of land in Mindanao which produced export crops for the world market. These were pioneered by hemp (abaca), coconut and pineapple plantations, among others (figure 34; Gaspar 2000; Hayase 2007; Wernstedt and Simkins 1965). They expanded this further with the development of log and timber industries, as the United States evolved into a major player in the world market during its colonial rule in the Philippines. Non-American foreigners were not allowed to purchase or rent land for cultivation, but some acquired land through associations formed with the indigenous groups, such as the Japanese with the Bagobo lands in Davao used for hemp cultivation for which the Bagobo received about ten to twenty percent of their

yield as rent (Gloria 1987, 76-80; Hayase 2007, 176-177; Tiu 2005, 32-33). In turn, this resulted in the indigenous peoples' disenfranchisement from their ancestral lands, as well as the massive deforestation of Mindanao (Arcenas 1993, 52; Gaspar 2000; Tiu 2005, 38).

After the Second World War, the Commission on National Integration (CNI) was created in 1957 under Republic Act No. 1888, to promote and push the mainstream assimilation of non-Christian Filipinos (Eder and McKenna 2004). Under the CNI, disputes over ancestral domains remained unresolved as migrant settler occupations were legitimized and the indigenous communities were resettled in reservations (Acosta 1994). This issue remains on the agenda of the subsequent cultural minority-centered government agencies until today.

Through the course of the Martial Law years, the CNI was replaced by the Office of the Presidential Assistant on National Minorities (PANAMIN), initially established as a private non-profit foundation in 1968 and subsequently converted into a government agency in 1975 under Presidential Declaration No. 719 (Duhaylungsod and Hyndman 1993; Eder and McKenna 2004). In addition to taking full charge of indigenous communities throughout the country, they had the authority over expert knowledge that constructed

a new taxonomical and certification system of, and over the lands maintained respectively by the indigenous groups through P.D. No. 1414 (Duhaylungsod and Hyndman 1993; Espiritu 2014).

By 1977, around 2.6 million members of indigenous groups throughout the country were placed in 400 reservation settlements which were closely guarded, particularly those located in Mindanao (Duhaylungsod and Hyndman 1993, 77). This was part of the state integration policy intended to strategically keep them from organizing insurgencies against the state and, subsequently, incorporate minority-owned lands into the national economic development plans (Acosta 1994, 89). Indigenous communities were also used to augment the state military force against Muslims and the then newly organized New People's Army (NPA) (Acosta 1994, 93, 123; Duhaylungsod and Hyndman 1993, 101). PANAMIN also attempted to organize the Lumad communities through the creation of the Mindanao Highlanders' Association (MINDAHILA) but the excesses of minority exploitations related to PANAMIN activities only encouraged, specifically among the Manobo, their inclination towards other civil society groups opposing the Marcos regime (Gaspar 2011, 66). Post-Marcos era scholars argued that the agency, in its sixteen



**Figure 34**–“Animals heavily loaded with hemp, Bukidnon” (1912). Image courtesy of the Southeast Asian Studies Philippines Image Collection, University of Wisconsin-Madison (SEAIT.Philippines ph00242.bib).

years, “used the putative goal of ‘upholding the welfare of tribal Filipinos’ as a shield for nefarious and exploitative interests—both military and commercial—in the hinterlands of the country” (Acosta 1994, 146).

PANAMIN was eventually replaced in 1987, but its objectives and policies were not superseded until the ratification of the Indigenous Peoples’ Rights Act (IPRA) of 1997 (Republic Act No. 8371). Prior to this, there were land laws and issuances which attempted to recognize the rights of indigenous peoples such as the Republic Act No. 782 (Public Land Law of 1952), Republic Act No. 3872 (Manahan Amendment of 1964), Bureau of Forestry Administrative Order (AO) No. 11 (1970), Presidential Decree No. 410 (Ancestral Land Decree of 1974), and the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) AO No. 2 in 1993 which authorized the issuance of a Certificate of Ancestral Domain Claim (CADC) to qualified indigenous peoples (Gaspar 2000, 123-124). The passage of the IPRA Law concretized the amendments to the Philippine Constitution in 1987 which stipulates in Article 12, Section 5 that the “State...shall protect the rights of the indigenous cultural communities to their ancestral lands to ensure their economic, social, and cultural being” and that the “Congress may provide for the applicability of customary laws governing property rights or relations in determining ownership and extent of ancestral domain” (Gaspar 2011, 155).

The IPRA Law also created the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP), which to this day, has been critically regarded as compromised; according to critics, the State, for the most part, maintains the “native” stereotype and marginalization of indigenous peoples, as well as the generalized and homogenizing notions of indigenous tenure (Eder and McKenna 2004, 79-80; Gatmaytan 2007, 11; Okamura 1988, 43). In addition, the imposition of modern legal systems over customary law to identify ancestral lands places its claimants in a contentious position to appeal for their entitlements which have been traditionally recognized among Lumad societies by virtue of cultivation and occupation (Acosta 1994, 161). On the whole, the pluralistic treatment of the IPRA Law to the tenure problems of the Philippine indigenous peoples fails to address the

“salience of individual and collective interests, and the inherently divided character of [the] communities” (Gatmaytan 2007, 12).

The situation of indigenous people in many parts of the country remains critical today. In Mindanao, continuous incursions of agribusinesses and extractive industries into the Lumadnon ancestral lands threaten and endanger the environment and the way of life and cultural traditions of its indigenous communities. The legal and constitutional challenges place those affected Lumad communities in a vulnerable position and make it more difficult for them to assert their rights owing to the national land policy that enforces titling of their resource-rich lands into private properties (Leonen 2007, 46-47). This prevailing land policy enables corporations to get licenses from the government to exploit the natural resources mostly found in the ancestral lands for their own business interests at the expense of dispossessing the Lumad communities.

Logging operations and agribusiness plantations in Mindanao initiated by the Americans were taken over and expanded by the Filipino elites and other business concessionaires for decades, causing massive deforestation as well as the physical and cultural dislocation of the indigenous peoples from their ancestral territories (Gaspar 2000, 33-42). Likewise, reforestation projects of the government have pushed for commercial tree plantations of fast-growing trees like *falcata* and *gemelina*, satisfying commodities markets, which only resulted in further displacement of people from their homes (Gaspar 2000, 37-38). Large-scale mining operations continue to progress at present with more extractive industries destroying the lakes, mountains and sacred grounds of the Lumadnon like Lake Leonard in Compostela Valley and Mount Canatuan in Zamboanga del Norte. These realities are calling the State to join and support the Lumad peoples in protecting the local resources for both their physical and cultural survival from encroaching entities. Ultimately, it opens opportunities for negotiations that would harmonize the concept of land ownership and management of the State and the indigenous peoples and promote inclusive and sustainable development beneficial to both.

*Succeeding page:*

**Figure 35—Rubber tree plantation in Lake Sebu, South Cotabato.** As an alternative livelihood for the T'boli community, as well as to help rehabilitate the local watersheds, the Lake Sebu local government unit initiated the establishment of a rubber industry in the area. The South Cotabato Rubber-Based Multi-Purpose Cooperative manages the daily operations, while credit concerns are facilitated by the state-owned Land Bank of the Philippines. June 2016. JT Marquinez/NMP Ethnology.



## **ETHNOLINGUISTIC GROUP IN FOCUS—TASADAY**

The Tasaday case is an important narrative on the legal, theoretical, identity and ethical aspects of human and social development research concerning the Philippine indigenous peoples. This section provides an account of the conflicting views on the Tasaday since their “discovery” in the 1970s, and discusses this as a case study on power relations involving knowledge production on and about indigenous peoples, an important sector, who however remain marginalized in Philippine society.

The very public “discovery” of this group of hunter-gatherers living in the midst of the South Cotabato rainforests caused a stir in the academe, specifically in anthropology, and the world in general that resonates until today. The Tasaday documentaries have produced one of the best-selling issues for the National Geographic Magazine (NGS [December] 1971, “Fresh Glimpse of a Stone Age Tribe”), as well as books, *The Gentle Tasaday: A Stone Age People in the Philippine Rain Forest* (1975) by American journalist John Nance, which immediately drew the curiosity of the world to them. Aside from the Tasaday forum and exhibit in the University of the Philippines (UP) in commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the controversial 1986 Tasaday international conference, recent publications that include Douglas Yen’s *The Tasaday Environment: Seventeen Years On* (2002), Robin Hemley’s *Invented Eden: The Elusive, Disputed History of Tasaday* (2003) and Jessica Hagedorn’s *Dream Jungle* (2003) are reminders of the enduring Tasaday discourse and retrospection. The lives of the other indigenous peoples in the area have also been caught in the web of academic, journalistic and political investigations that seek for evidences substantiating the claims on and against Tasaday “authenticity.” This has also challenged how social scientists and policy-makers have dealt with the consequences of this issue, not only with the Lumad groups of South Cotabato, but as well as with the rest of the indigenous peoples throughout the country.

The case begins with the 23-page report on a “lost tribe” in the Philippines submitted to the Smithsonian Institution’s Short-Lived Phenomena Program in 1971 by the Presidential Assistant on National Minorities’ (PANAMIN) Manuel Elizalde Jr. and American anthropologist Robert B. Fox, based on their two brief encounters with the Tasaday early that year. The report describes a group of hunter-gatherers living in geographical and social isolation in their cave homes in the mountains of South Cotabato for over a long period of time, based on the information conveyed by Manobo Blit hunter, Dafal, who had a rare encounter

with the Tasaday in 1967 (Elizalde and Fox 1971). It was believed that their living practices and behavior were still anchored on ancient beliefs, and their use of metal-bladed tools, such as bolos and axe were only recently introduced by Dafal.

The “Tasaday” appellation comes from the mountain near their home in South Cotabato, which locals in the area call Tasaday (Nance 1975, 10). Fox (1972) postulates that they are part of the larger Manobo group who were forced to move in recent history to their remote habitation area in order to survive an epidemic known as fugu. Twenty-six Tasaday individuals were permanently occupying three limestone caves that time, relying on nearby streams and forests for subsistence, and using stone tool technology (Fernandez and Lynch 1972; Fox 1979; Yen and Nance 1976). These tools were composed of flake quartz scrapers, edge ground implements, hammers, non-hafted choppers and pounders; and the kalub or digging stick, which they use for extracting wild yams, their staple food (Fox 1976). The findings have suggested that the Tasaday are most likely descendants of original Stone Age peoples, supporting the hypothesis that a lithic tradition has transpired in the Philippines and Southeast Asia (Casiño 1976; Fox 1972; Lynch and Llamzon 1971).

Despite the cultural differences with their neighboring groups, some researchers believed that they share similarities linking them to a common ancestor some 1,000 years ago (Lynch and Llamzon 1971). One such evidence is the Tasaday language. It was established that their language belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian sub-group related to the neighboring Manobo Blit community, whom they had been most likely separated from only in the last 571-755 years (Llamzon 1971). Further studies using additional Tasaday wordlists also revealed their connection with Cotabato Manobo and T'boli groups (Elkins 1971; Fox 1979).

As the lead government agency responsible for the welfare of indigenous or minority communities in the Philippines, PANAMIN approved and supervised all Tasaday explorations from the early 1970s to the early 1980s. Selected journalists and experts in natural history and cultural studies, which included Fox, Elkins, Nance, Douglas Yen, Hermes Gutierrez, Carol Molony and Jesus Peralta, were given access. Both hype from the media and the academe resulted in a series of declarations restricting access to the vicinity of the Tasaday settlement. On April 6, 1972, the forested land of Mt. Tasaday was declared as a Philippine National Forest Reserve in order to prevent



**Figure 36**—Some of the images of the Tasaday in and by their cave habitation. Mt. Tasaday, South Cotabato. 1971. Photos taken by Dr. Jesus T. Peralta. NMP Ethnology Archives.

all possible forms of exploitation in the site through Proclamation No. 995. Under this proclamation, a total of 19,247 hectares of rainforest land where the Manobo Blit and the Tasaday reside and subsist was protected from “entry, sale, lease exploitation, or other disposition,” and placed under PANAMIN management. The PANAMIN also extended its jurisdiction among the T'boli through the creation of the Municipality of T'boli under Presidential Declaration No. 407, and the T'boli Reservation under Presidential Proclamation No. 697, with Mai Tuan who assisted the PANAMIN with the Tasaday, serving as its mayor (Duhaylungsod and Hyndman 1993, 90-92). A PANAMIN headquarters was strategically set up in Kemato, a barangay in T'boli, which served as the direct contact of Malacañan Palace in the area. On September 2, 1976, this was further expanded through

Presidential Decree No. 1017, which declared the area as a Tasaday-Manobo Reserve, providing protection to, and prohibiting unauthorized incursions to unexplored ancestral grounds of the Tasaday and other cultural communities in the Municipality of T'boli. Entry to the reserve was controlled by PANAMIN before it was shut by its replacement office, the Office of Southern Cultural Communities (OSCC), in 1983 (Hemley 2003).

These restrictions and the political climate (Martial Law was declared on September 21, 1972) at that time raised anthropological skepticism on the Tasaday. Ethnographies and press releases that had been published then are perceived as partial to PANAMIN interests, and were critiqued to lack scientific scrutiny (Duhaylungsod and Hyndman 1993; Salazar 1971, 1973). The scientists who were allowed to work in the

area were all restricted in the amount of time spent in the sites, the areas which they could study and the findings that could be reported (Headland 1992).

All these reservations on the Tasaday intensified and were further publicized after the Marcos administration was unseated, through a series of reports, and conferences led by journalists, academicians, and other "politically-driven" individuals (Engelberg 1987; Iten 1986; Lee 1988; Moses 1989; Mydans 1987; Salazar 1988). Among the leading proponents of the Tasaday hoax thesis were Swiss journalist Oswald Iten, and UP's Zeus Salazar and Jerome Bailen, whose analysis on Tasaday material culture, language and genealogy prove that their Stone Age association, as stated in the earlier Tasaday data, was inconclusive (Iten 1986; Molony 1988; Salazar 1988). Elizalde and colleagues were accused of coercing T'boli and Manobo individuals to pretend as "cavemen" in order to generate donations to fund PANAMIN-related projects and gain publicity for President Marcos (Berreman 1992; Duhaylungsod and Hyndman 1992, 1993; Hemley 2003).

Consequently, this generated various local and international debates which were reportedly met with legal and political harassments, threats, abductions and assassinations of those involved in these exposés (Duhaylungsod and Hyndman 1993; Hemley 2003). The International Anthropological Conference on the Tasaday Controversy and Other Anthropological Issues was initiated in 1986 at UP (Bailen 1986), which helped launch the congressional hearings on Tasaday "authenticity" at the House of Representatives in 1987 (Hemley 2003). This conference also led Elizalde and some Tasaday representatives to file for damages and seek declaratory relief against Salazar and Bailen before the Quezon City Regional Trial Court (Civil Case No. Q-99-1028, 1993). In 1988, during the First International Festival and Conference on Indigenous and Traditional Cultures in Manila, President Corazon Aquino announced "that the Tasaday tribe is indeed a genuine and separate tribal group" (Hemley 2003, 196). The congressional hearings concluded that the authenticity issues were better suited to a scientific, rather than a political forum (Hemley 2003).

In the November 1989 American Anthropological Association annual meeting, the panel "The Tasaday Controversy" was organized by Thomas Headland, a linguist with the University of Texas who extensively worked with the Philippine Negrito from 1962 to 1986, as an attempt to address the Tasaday issue (Headland 1992; Marshall 1989). The skeptics, which included Salazar, and anthropologists Headland and Gerald Berreman, whose research interests include human rights and research ethics, doubted the

centuries-long survival of the Tasaday in isolation. Their own assessment of previously collected data led them to the improbability of a wild yam diet, and to notice the absence of debris in the caves as well as question the quality of the stone tools used (Barnard 1998; Marshall 1989). Stanford University sociolinguist Molony, who was among those given access by PANAMIN, defended the original Tasaday research and maintains that language is key to the Tasaday's authenticity, as it would be improbable to fake a language, most especially by children. Filipino researchers Amelia Rogel-Rara and Emmanuel Nabayra also defended the earlier ethnographic reports against the claim that the Tasaday were only T'boli and Manobo impostors, as presented in Salazar's genealogical charts during the 1988 International Conference of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences in Yugoslavia. They noted that Salazar, who never went to the field, may have been misled by his informant into believing that the poseurs and the "real Tasaday" were identical, but they are in fact two separate sets of people based on their ethnographic fieldwork from August 1988 to May 1989 in 21 locations, including the Tasaday's *ilib fusaka* or "original cave" (Rara and Nabayra 1992, 89-103).

It seems that most of the speakers from the opposing sides of the issue agree that the Tasaday are not Stone Age people, but are probably a genuine ethnolinguistic group, separate from other groups, and have always lived in the general vicinity of where they were found in the 1970s (Headland 1992, 215). Additionally, using the taped Tasaday conversations from 1972, Austronesian language specialist Lawrence Reid, along with fellow specialist linguists on the Cotabato Manobo languages Clay Johnston, Ross Errington, Douglas Fraiser, Meg Fraiser and Richard Elkins, concluded that the Tasaday speak a language that is linguistically close to Cotabato Manobo than Manobo Blit (Headland 1992; Hemley 2003; Reid 1993).

The anthropological discourse of the Tasaday has been considered as a discourse of circumstance, which cannot be discussed without its historical and cultural contexts (Dumont 1988, 273). The issues are too complex and, until today, remain far from being settled. The opposing sides are both limited by inadequate and/or limited ethnographies, which have led to varying, and a rather biased, interpretation of the only available data from the early 1970s.

On the whole, it has left outstanding implications among social scientists and policy-makers regarding the ethics and politics in the construction of myths and images, the shaping and reshaping of cultural identity, and their role in communicating meanings





**Figure 37**—Some of the Tasaday males with bows and arrows. Mt. Tasaday, South Cotabato. 1971. Photo taken by Dr. Jesus T. Peralta. NMP Ethnology Archives.

of signs and symbols to the world (Barnard 1988; Kelly 2014; Palmer 2004; Yeyongan 1991), as well as in conducting fieldwork in the social sciences. As philosopher and author Jean-Paul Dumont opined (1988, 265), the Tasaday, with or without direct intention of the discoverer/inventor, served as “meaning-making machines” of the government, representing the ideal version of the Philippine nation in a state of equilibrium. The “enforced primitivism” perpetrated by PANAMIN among the Tasaday was postulated as a political strategy that enabled them to manipulate the resources of T'boli land. This was also adapted later on by the OSCC and the Santa Cruz Mission in promoting the fading T'boli culture of hunting and gathering to tourists, through arts and crafts (Duhaylungsod and Hyndman 1993, 56-57, 112-113).

In addition to this, Piers Kelly (2014, 20) in an ethnological analysis of the Tasaday case and the “lost tribe” of the Eskaya discovered in southeast Bohol in January 1980, advocated a “community-centric approach” to defining the term “community” itself; the concepts of indigeneity and non-indigeneity however remain ambiguous in its application in the Philippines. The ambiguousness

of studying humankind in general is further reflected in Dumont’s argument (1988, 273) that anthropology plays the contradictory roles of being a source of partial reality, and an ideology in itself.

The case of the Tasaday also reveals the marginal state of indigenous peoples in the Philippines, highlighting the power relations involved in the production of knowledge for the general public. For instance, some defenders of the Tasaday were determined to protect their identity in order to maintain control of their reserved land and prevent the encroachment of loggers and miners (Marshall 1989). On the other hand, the enforced view of the T'boli and Manobo as the primitive Tasaday was seen as a means of the government to end the autonomy of these people; after centuries of retreat and resistance from invading settlers, some other group has finally gained control over their territory (Duhaylungsod and Hyndman 1992, 68-69; 1993, 90-91; Hyndman 2002, 47). In the course of this issue, it seems that the T'boli/Tasaday/Manobo have been reduced as mere objects of scrutiny. Undeniably, the rights of the people at stake in this case have always been significantly bigger than the disputed history of the Tasaday itself.



## LUMAD IN THE 21ST CENTURY

It is for certain that the Lumad had actively taken part in the formation of what we now know as the Philippines. Archaeological data supports their participation in the pre-colonial trade network in the region. Historical archives also help us infer that in converting to Catholicism during the Spanish colonial period, Lumad peoples, particularly the groups in northern and eastern Mindanao, had invited, selected, adapted and localized certain European practices that represented aspects of modernity in their milieu, which is apparently a characteristic of many Southeast Asian societies (Andaya 1997; Paredes 2013). Later, they also used this relationship with the Spanish missionaries as a political tactic against raids and paying tribute to the dominant Muslim sultanates (Paredes 2013).

The American colonial experience presented a different “modernity” to the Lumad groups. Their lands were physically and systematically taken from them within the context of underutilization, through frontier settlements of mostly Visayan migrants, capital-based agricultural businesses, and natural resource exploitation. This continues until the present time, leaving the Lumad with a limited area for their settlements and subsistence activities. Migration policies gradually led to both demographic and political marginalization of the Mindanao indigenous peoples today (Paredes 2015).

Beginning in the 20th century, the notably non-confrontational Lumad groups led or participated in a number of uprisings against the American colonial administration, the national administration, and migrant settlers, making clear the intention of protecting their ancestral territories even as they had been continually pressured to move further into the interior areas of Mindanao. Under these circumstances, a “desire for pure Lumad organization” gradually took shape around the 1980s (Alejo 2000, 290). Supported by an ad hoc Christian group, Lumad Mindanao was formed in 1986 in Cotabato as a multi-sectoral organization that would help the Lumadnon collectively articulate goals of self-determination, rights to ancestral land domain claims, and resource control in the region. It was from this that the term “Lumad” gradually evolved into a generic name used widely today to refer to the different indigenous, non-Moro groups of Mindanao.

The legal basis to reclaim ancestral domains

of indigenous peoples across the Philippines was established by the IPRA and is implemented through the NCIP. Indigenous Filipinos’ claims to their ancestral domains remain difficult for both the concerned groups and the NCIP, particularly those in Mindanao, due to the strong economic potential of affected lands as seen by other interest groups (Eder and McKenna 2004). This has been pointed out as the common denominator of the circumstances of the Lumad peoples today with respect to their lands (Duhaylungsod and Hyndman 1993; Gaspar 2011; Paredes 1997). Their tie up with some environment-based NGOs may also be a concern, since their objectives are not the same (Eder and McKenna 2004, 80).

Another angle on the serious issues confronting Lumad groups with respect to ancestral domain is their claim on lands that are within the current area of the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM), intensified recently by the proposed Bangsamoro Basic Law. Other legal propositions of a similar nature may also happen in the future. As indigenous peoples of Mindanao, Lumad groups are recognized as having equal claims to territorial rights; however, their issues are given far less attention and media coverage than those of Muslim groups (Paredes 2015). Studies on Lumad and Moro prehistory and history have shown past alliances not only in trade, but also in peace pacts regarding territorial boundaries called *dyandi*, *sapa*, *tampuda hu balagun*, and *pakang*, among others (Rodil 2012). In view of these shared histories, Lumad groups and advocate organizations have reintroduced the agreement, established by their ancestors Mamalu and Tabunaaway, between the Lumad and the Moros, respectively. A five-point treaty was signed in 2012 with representatives of the advocates for the Bangsamoro in Bukidnon (Paredes 2015).

Lumad communities, in different degrees, have been caught in conflicts and active combat situations, in the past with colonial and Moro forces, and in more recent history up to the present, between the forces of the national government, the NPA, armed Islamic militants and agents of diverse political and economic interests. Long used to the routine dispersion and displacement that have frequently occurred through their history, in particular, their resettlement from the coasts to the inlands when their autonomy is threatened, as related in their oral history, it has taken time for a

Figure 38—Mamanwa children. Surigao. Circa 1980. NMP Ethnology Archives.

collective Lumad identity to evolve (Duhaylungsod and Hyndman 1993; Paredes 2013, 2015). Traditionally non-confrontational, the capacity for collective action among the Lumadnon of Mindanao and the southern Philippines remains rather weak, such that the very survival of their communities appears to be their only objective at

this point (Paredes 1997, 171-172).

The recent plight of the Lumad communities raises recurring issues of their past experiences, and the diversity of their cultural heritage remains under serious threat, perhaps more than ever before.



Figure 39—Lumadnon *datu*s at the NMP, previewing the preparations of the *Lumad Mindanao* exhibition gallery. November 2015. CA Santos/NMP Ethnology.

PLATE I—TRADITIONAL ENSEMBLES OF CLOTHING AND ADORNMENTS



PLATE II—CRAFTWORK

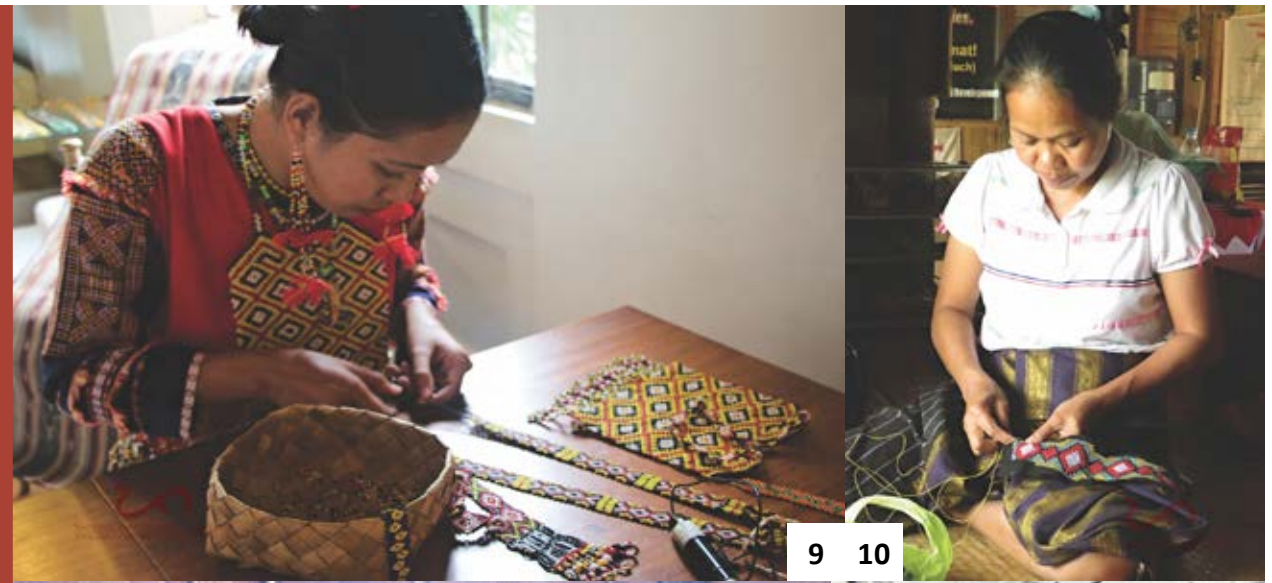


PLATE III—MUSIC AND DANCE



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PLATE IV—DWELLING, SETTLEMENT AND TRANSPORTATION



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PLATE V—NATURAL LANDSCAPES IN LUMADNON ANCESTRAL DOMAINS





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Previous pages:

**PLATE I—TRADITIONAL ENSEMBLES OF CLOTHING AND ADORNMENTS**

**1-Mandaya Nita Banugan Quizon from Caraga, Davao**

Oriental wearing their traditional garments consisting of *dagum* (intricately embroidered blouse) and *dagmay* (tubular skirt), which they accessorized with *suwat* (comb on the hairknot), *payutgut*, tight choker, *balyug* (breastpiece made of woven beadwork, coins and crocodile teeth), *pamulang* (a set of shell and wooden bracelets) and *tungkaling* (a waist piece made of a collection of beads, coins and tassels). NMP *Hibla ng Lahing Filipino* (Permanent Textile) Gallery, National Museum of Anthropology, Manila. November 2014. MP Tauro/NMP Ethnology.

**2-“A chief of the Atàs with his daughter,”** Davao, Mindanao (1901). Courtesy of the Philippine Photographs Digital Archive (PHLA377), University of Michigan Digital Collections.

**3-“A Bila-an *lebe* in a typical dress.”** Adapted from Cole (1913, Plate XLII). Courtesy of the Field Museum (Image No. CSA20932).

**4-Mansaka woman.** *Kasaysayan ng Lahi*. Manila 1974. NMP Ethnology Archives.

**5-“Bagobo Chief,”** Davao, Mindanao (1901). Courtesy of the Philippine Photographs Digital Archive (PHLA371), University of Michigan Digital Collections.

**6-“A Manobo man from Mindanao.”** Adapted from Cole (1913, Plate LXIX). Courtesy of the Field Museum (Image No. CSA30448).

**7- “Three Bagobo [wo]men,”** Davao, Mindanao (1901). Courtesy of the Philippine Photographs Digital Archive (PHLA148), University of Michigan Digital Collections.

**8-“A Mandaya woman from the headwaters of the Mayo River, wearing their prized ornaments.”** Adapted from Cole (1913, Plate LXVII). Photographed by Fay-Cooper Cole. Courtesy of the Field Museum (Image No. CSA34895).

**PLATE II—CRAFTWORK**

**9-Mandaya beadwork craft demonstration** by Christine Palmera Banugan of Caraga, Davao Oriental. NMP *Hibla ng Lahing Filipino* (Permanent Textile) Gallery, National Museum of Anthropology, Manila. November 2014. MP Tauro/NMP Ethnology.

**10-T'boli Inas Cone of Lake Sebu,** South Cotabato creates hand-embroidered wall decorations. 2016. JT Marquinez/NMP Ethnology.

**11-T'nalak weaving.** T'boli. Cotabato. Circa 1980. NMP Ethnology Archives.

**12-Subano making mat** in Sindangan (1926). Courtesy of the Southeast Asian Studies Philippines Image Collection, University of Wisconsin-Madison (SEAIT.Philippines ph00116.bib).

**13-“A youth having his teeth cut to points.”** Adapted from Cole (1913, Plate XII). Courtesy of the Field Museum (Image No. CSA20939).

**14-“Bracelet makers at work.”** Adapted from Cole (1913, Plate XXVII). Photographed by Fay-Cooper Cole. Courtesy of the Field Museum (Image No. CSA34855).

**PLATE III—MUSIC AND DANCE**

**15-Higaunon woman playing the zither.** *Kasaysayan ng Lahi*. Manila. 1974. NMP Ethnology Archives.

**16-Mandaya woman with tobacco.** *Kasaysayan ng Lahi*. Manila. 1974. NMP Ethnology Archives.

**17-T'boli dancer and weaver, Linda Usman,** during the 2016 Helobung festivities in Lake Lahit, Lake Sebu Municipality, South Cotabato. 2016. JT Marquinez/NMP Ethnology.

**18-Subanen dancers.** Zamboanga. Circa 1980. NMP Ethnology Archives.

**19-“Two Bagobo men with native guitars.”** Adapted from Cole (1913, Plate XLII). Courtesy of the Field Museum (Image No. CSA20919).

**20-Mamanwa musicians.** Agusan. Circa 1980. NMP Ethnology Archives.

**PLATE IV—DWELLING, SETTLEMENT AND TRANSPORTATION**

**21 and 22-Settlements along Agusan River, within the Agusan Marsh Wildlife Sanctuary.** Bunawan, Agusan del Sur. 2010. MJLA Bolunia/NMP Archaeology.

**23-Travelling on a raft along the Gibong tributary,** Caimpungan, San Francisco, Agusan del Sur. 2013. ER Tadiosa/NMP Botany.

**24-Fishing at the Agusan Marsh Wildlife Sanctuary.** Bunawan, Agusan del Sur. 2010. MJLA Bolunia/NMP Archaeology.

**25-A T'boli woman crossing Lake Sebu** on a boat, the water lilies (*Nymphaea rubra*) in full bloom. 2014. Courtesy of Paul Quiambao.

**PLATE V—NATURAL LANDSCAPES IN LUMADNON ANCESTRAL DOMAINS**

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**28-Peak of Mt. Hamiguitan Range Wildlife Sanctuary.** San Isidro, Davao Oriental. 2016. ER Tadiosa/NMP Botany.

**29-Hikong Alo falls in Lake Sebu Municipality, South Cotabato.** 2014. Courtesy of Paul Quiambao.

**30-Hikong Bente falls in Lake Sebu Municipality, South Cotabato.** 2014. Courtesy of Paul Quiambao.

**31 and 32-Mangroves of the Agusan Marsh Wildlife Sanctuary** in Talacogon, San Francisco, Agusan del Sur. 2015. DN Tandang/NMP Botany.

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**34-Mount Apo landscape,** Davao del Sur and North Cotabato. 2012. JRC Callado/NMP Botany.

**35-Aquaculture in Lake Sebu, South Cotabato.** 2016. JT Marquinez/NMP Ethnology.



## PANIMULA

Ang katimugang Pilipinas ay sumasaklaw sa Mindanao at kapuluan ng Sulu (larawan 40). Ito ay isang marilag na tapiseryang sagana sa likas at kultural na yamang pinag-iisa ng mga hibla ng magkakaibang pangkat etniko na sinasalansan ang mga hangganang heograpikal. Ang aklat na ito, at ang eksibisyon sa Pambansang Museo ng Antropolohiya kung saan ito hinango, ay nagtatampok ng mga anyo ng mamamayan ng Mindanao na pangkalahatang kinikilala bilang Lumad, lumilintang sa at nililintang ng kasaganaan ng pamanang likas at kultural ng Mindanao.

Ang *Lumad* [lʊ.'mad] (*Lumadnon* sa pangmaramihan), salitang Bisaya na nangangahulugang “isinilang mula sa lupa,” ay tumutukoy sa mga katutubong pangkat sa Mindanao na hindi nabibilang sa mga Muslim. Ang panlahatang desisyong gamitin ang katawagang ito ay matatalunton sa pagpupulong ng mga organisasyong lokal at rehiyonal ng mga pangkat etnikong ito sa Cotabato noong ika-26 ng Hunyo 1986, kung saan tinalakay ang kanilang pakikibaka para sa pagpapasiyang kultural sa loob ng kani-kanilang mga minanang lupang tinubuan (Alejo 2000, 290-291; Rodil 2012, 50-51). Bago ito, ibinilang sila ng mga antropologo sa pagitan ng mga pangkat na Manobo at hindi Manobo (Cruz 1986 kay Acosta 1994, 70-71 [Table 1], 75; MacFarland 1980; Reid 1981). Bilang kategoryang etniko, ang “Lumad” ay unang kinilala at ginamit sa Batas Bilang 6734, ang *Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao Organic Act*, na ipinasa noong 1989. Mula rito, ginagamit na itong pagkilala ng pamahalaan, pulitikal at *non-governmental* na mga organisasyon bilang pagkilala sa mga pangkat ng Mindanao na hindi Moro. Bagaman nauunawaan ng mga kabilang na pangkat na kinakailangan ang kategoryang pulitikal (Acosta 1994; Paredes 2013; Quizon 2012), nananatiling gamit nila ang kanilang mga pangalang panglunan, tila malawakang kasanayan sa mga etnolinggwistikong pangkat ng Pilipinas na na-observerhan din sa Luzon (Labrador 1998).

Kahima't 15 pangkat etnolinggwistiko ang kabilang sa kongreso noong 1986, mayroong 20 hanggang 40 pangunahin at mas maliliit na pangkat ang naitatala ng ilang may-akda na nakapaloob sa kategoryang Lumad (Acosta 1994; Cariño 2012; Rodil 2012). Kadalasang nagbabago ang mga bilang na ito, karaniwang batay sa organisasyong nakikipag-ugnayan sa kanila, o kung paano sila kilalanin ng mga karatig at maging kanilang sariling komunidad (Acosta 1994; Paredes 2013).

Mula rito, mayroong 19 na pangunahing pangkat ng Lumad na kinikilala—Ata, B'laan, Bagobo, Banwaon, Bukidnon, Dibabawon, Higaunon, Mamanwa, Mandaya, Manguwangan, Mansaka, Manobo, Matigsalug, Obo, T'boli, Tagakaolo, Talaandig, Teduray at Subanen (Guillermo 2012). Sa Pambansang Sensus noong 2010, ang Lumadnon ay sumasaklaw nang halos 3.38% sa kabuuang populasyon ng Pilipinas, humigit kumulang 14.38% ito ng populasyon ng Mindanao at kapuluan ng Sulu (Gisselquist at McDoom 2015).

Nabibilang ang wikang katutubo nila sa dalawang *microgroup* sa pamilya ng mga wika sa Pilipinas, ang Greater Central Philippines (GCP) at ang Bilic (larawan 41). Ang karamihan ay nabibilang sa GCP *microgroup* na nahahati sa mga sumusunod na pagpapangkat-heograpiko: Central Philippines (ang mga wikang Mamanwa at Mansakan), Manobo at Subanen (Blust 1991). Ang Bisaya o Binisaya, ang bersyon ng wikang Cebuano at Hiligaynon sa Mindanao, ay malawakan din nilang ginagamit bilang pangalawang wika sa pakikipag-ugnayan sa mga nandayuhang Bisaya, ang kasalukuyang nakararaming populasyon, maging sa pagitan nilang mga Lumad.

Batay sa katangiang heograpikal ng pag-uuri ng kanilang mga wika, ang mga Lumad ay karaniwang pulu-pulutong na matatagpuan sa mga matataas at patag na lugar ng Agusan, Bukidnon, Cotabato, Davao, Maguindanao, Misamis, Sultan Kudarat, Surigao, Sarangani at Zamboanga (larawan 42). Sila ay tradisyunal na nagkakaingin na nananangan din sa pangangaso, pangingsda, pangangalap at pangangalakal ng mga lokal na produktong mula sa kagubatan upang mabuhay (Acosta 1994, 61). Bagaman karamihan sa kanila ay tinanggap na ang ibang relihiyon, partikular ang Kristiyanismo, nananatili silang may malapit na kaugnayan sa lupa gawa ng kanilang mga katutubong paniniwala at tradisyon na gumugunita sa kanilang kasanayan sa paggamot, kinaugaliang kautusang-bayan at pangkalahatang mga tuntunin ng pagpapahalaga (Acosta 1994, 76-77; Paredes 2006, 528).

Ang eksibisyong *Lumad Mindanao* ng Pambansang Museo ng Antropolohiya sa Maynila na nagtatampok ng kalipunan ng kulturang materyal ng 13 sa pangunahing pangkat Lumad mula sa Pambansang Koleksiyong Etnograpiko, kasama ng aklat na ito, ay naglalayong siyasin ang kahalagahan ng panlaan at yamang likas ng Mindanao sa pagkakakilanlang Lumad na siyang naihayag sa kanilang tuntuning panlipunan, at kultural na paniniwala at kasanayan. Yamang

hindi pa sila lubusang kinikilala sa kasaysayan ng ating bansa (Alejo 2000, 192; Duhaylungsod at Hyndman 1993, 70; Paredes 2000, 75; 2013, 6-7, 165), isasalaysay at ipakikilala rito ang pagkakakilanlang Lumadnon batay sa pagsusuri ng mga nauna at kamakailang datos pangkasaysayan at antropolohikal. Partikular na ikukuwento ang kanilang mga karanasan, pakikipagmuok at itinatag na ugnayan sa mga karatig at dayuhang

pangkat sa matagal na panahon, at ang kanilang kalagayan ngayon at para sa ika-21 siglo, bilang isa sa dalawang pangunahing katutubong pangkat na bumubuo sa katimugang Pilipinas. Kasabay ng prosesong ito, nilalayan ng parehong eksibisyon at aklat na ipabatid ang kapang-unawaan ng mga Lumad sa kanilang kinalalagyan at layunin, at mapahalagahan at makatwirang maunawaan ang kasalukuyan nilang katayuan.



Larawan 40—Mapang lokasyon at kasalukuyang mga pampamahalaang panlalawigan ng Mindanao at kapuluan ng Sulu. Wala sa proporsyon ang mapa. Ang base map mula sa kagandahang-loob ni Aira 2008 | Wikimedia Commons.

## MGA WIKA SA KATIMUGANG PILIPINAS AT ANG PAGKAKAKILANLANG LUMAD

Ang Pilipinas ay mayroong higit sa 175 wika, at, maliban sa Chavacano/Chabacano,<sup>†</sup> ang mga ito ay magkakapatid sa ilalim ng wikang pamilya na Austronesian. Upang mapag-alaman ang pagkaka-ugnay ng mga wika, ipinaghahambing ng mga pangkasaysayang dalubwika ang mga naiwang magkakatulad na katangian at pagbabago sa mga ito sa loob ng isang tiyak na panahon. Sa linggwistika ng Pilipinas, ang *reflex* o pinanggalingan ng mas naunang anyo ng tunog na /\*R/, o *uvular trill*, ang isa sa mga nakapagpapahiwatig ng pagbabago, at ito ang batayan sa pagpapangkat ng mga wika sa Pilipinas sa ilalim ng pamilyang Austronesian (Blust 1991; Conant 1911). Halimbawa, ang salitang Proto-Malayo-Polynesian na \**daRat* na tumutukoy sa tabing dagat, ay “*dogot*” sa mga Teduray/Tiruray, “*dagat*” sa mga kontemporaryong Kanluraning Bukidnon Manobo at Mansaka, maging sa ibang pangkat ng wika ng Pilipinas. Maliban sa mga pagkakatulad at pagkakaiba ng mga tunog, tinitingnan din ang magkakasaping pagbabago at yaong napanatili sa morpolohiya (o istruktura ng mga salita) at *syntax* (nauunawaang pagkakaayos

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<sup>†</sup>Ang iba't ibang etnolinggwistikong Pilipino ay gumagamit ng maraming pangalan at paraan ng pagbaybay ng mga ito sa kanilang pagkakakilanlan. Karaniwang nauugnay ang mga lokal na pangalan ng pangkat sa heopisikal na lokasyon ng kani-kanilang mga panirahan, gaya ng tinatalakay sa bahaging “Pagdidibuho sa Pagkakakilanlang Lumad.” Ilan sa mga ito ay gamit at lumabas nang may kaunting pagbabago sa mga tala noong mga kolonyal na panahon ng Kastila at Amerikano. Ginamit din ang karamihan nito ng mga pampamahalaang opisyal, gayundin ang mga pangalang “bago,” tulad noong panunungkulan ng PANAMIN (Griffin 1988, 11), sa pagtatag ng Pilipinas bilang bansang estado.

Dalawang partikular na paraang ortograpiko sa pagtukoy ng mga pangkat etnolinggwistiko ng Pilipinas, higit sa mga pangkat Lumad, ang gamit sa aklat na ito. Sa kabuuan ng nilalaman nito, ang ginamit na mga pangalan ng pangkat ay batay sa pinakahuling publikasyong iskolar, partikular sa antropolohiya, na kasama sa bahagi ng *Bibliography*. Ngunit kasama sa unang pagbanggit ng mga pangkat na ito ang mas kilala nilang katawagan at/o kung paano sila tukuyin sa larangan ng linggwistika. Sa ilang pagkakataon kung saan nabanggit at nakalista ang mga kagamitang etnograpiikal, ang mga pangalang gamit ay batay sa opisyal na tala ng Pambansang Koleksiyong Etnograpiko at nauugnay na mga materyal mula sa arkibo nito.

Gayun pa man, hindi ito nangangahulugan ng pag-giit ng tiyak na mga paraan ng pagbaybay ng pangalan ng iba't ibang pangkat Lumad, maging ang pagtalaga ng “opisyal” na mga pangalan, kundi layon nitong bawasan ang kalituhan para sa mambabasa at panatilihing pareho ang pagtukoy sa bawat pangkat sa kabuuan nitong aklat.

ng mga salita) ng mga wika. Halimbawa, ang Sama-Bajaw na wikang gamit sa katimugang Pilipinas at Borneo ay may magkaibang *syntax*, ganoon din kung ihahambing ang mga ito sa ibang wika sa Pilipinas. Ang Chavacano, isang wikang *creole* o naturalisado na binubuo ng pinaghalong dalawang wika, ay natatangi sa Pilipinas; ang talasalitaan nito ay nasa wikang Kastila, habang ang *syntax* naman ay mula sa mga wika sa Pilipinas.

Nabibilang sa tatlong *microgroup* sa pamilya ng mga wika sa Pilipinas ang mga katutubong wika sa katimugang bahagi ng bansa, ang Greater Central Philippines (GCP), Bilic at Sangiric, at sa *microgroup* ng Sama-Bajaw ng Greater Barito (larawan 41). Bagaman may mga wikang natatangi sa bawat pangkat ng Lumad at Muslim (larawan 42), mayroon ding pangkaraniwang katangian sa pagitan ng mga ito dahil sa heograpikal na pagkakalapit nila sa katimugang Pilipinas. Halimbawa, mayroong mga wika ang Lumad, Muslim at Kristiyanong Filipino na nabibilang sa GCP na may malawak na saklaw heograpikal.

Karamihan sa mga wikang Lumad ay nasasailalim sa *microgroup* ng GCP, nahahati sa tatlong pangkat batay sa heograpika: Central Philippines, Manobo at Subanen (Blust 1991). Ang mga wikang Lumad sa Central Philippines ay ang Mamanwa, at iba't ibang wikang Mansakan—Kamayo, Davawenyoy, Mansaka, Mandaya, Tagakaulo, Kagan Kalagan at Kalagan. Kabilang sa mga wikang Manobo ang Dibabawon Manobo, Agusan Manobo, Rajah Kabunsuwan Manobo, Ilianen Manobo, Western Bukidnon Manobo, Obo/Ubu Manobo, Ata-Manobo, Matigsalug Manobo, Cotabato Manobo, Tagabawa, Sarangani Manobo, Bukidnon/Binukid, Higaonon, Kinamigin at Kagayanen. Ang Subanen ay binubuo ng Tuboy, Guinsalugnen, Lapuyan, Sindangan at Siocon. Ang *microgroup* ng Bilic ay kinabibilangan ng T'boli, Teduray, Bagobo/Giangan, at ng mga wikang B'laan ng Koronadal at Sarangani.

Ang mga wikang Moro na nasasailalim sa *microgroup* ng GCP ay ang Maguindanao, Maranao at Iranun na napapaloob sa *sub-group* na Danao. Sangil at Sangir ang mga wikang nakapaloob sa Sangiric, at ang mga wikang Yakan, Mapun at Sama ay nasa *microgroup* ng Sama-Bajaw. Bagaman ang wika ng mga pangkat ng Kolibugan/Kalibugan at Kagan Kalagan ay nabibilang sa Subanen at pangkat Mansakan ng *Central Philippines*, inangkop nila ang mga kasanayan at paniniwalang Islam.

Lahat ng katutubong pangkat etnolinggwistiko sa Mindanao ay karaniwang *multilingual* sa pag-angkop nila sa mga wikang Bisaya na Cebuano at Hiligaynon, bilang karaniwang wika sa rehiyon (McFarland 1980, 90). Maaaring matalunton ito sa mga tuntuning linggwistika at heograpika, kung saan ang Bisayang wika na Cebuano at Hiligaynon ay nakasailalim din sa *sub-group* na Central Philippines, kabilang ang Surigaonon, Tandaganon at Butuanon, mga wikang gamit sa silangang Mindanao (larawan 41 at 42; Gallman 1997; Zorc 1977). Isa pang dahilan ay maaaring ang mga sinaunang anyo ng wikang Bisaya ay nagsilbing wikang pangkalakalan sa pagitan ng mga pangkat sa rehiyon noong sinaunang panahon (Paredes 2013, 27). Minumungkahi rin ni Scott (1994, 161) na ang mga baybayin at ilang na komunidad sa hilaga at silangang Mindanao ay nabibilang sa rehiyong kultural ng mga Bisaya. Isang halimbawang komunidad ay ang pamahalaang P'u-tuan, matatagpuan sa paligid ng Ilog Agusan na kilala ngayon bilang Butuan, na nagsilbing isa sa mga naglalakihang daungang pangkalakalan ng mga misyong pagkilala ng Pilipinas sa mga pamahalaang Tsino, kasama ng Ma'i (Mindoro), Sulu at Maguindanao noong ika-8 hanggang ika-14 na siglo (Junker 2000).

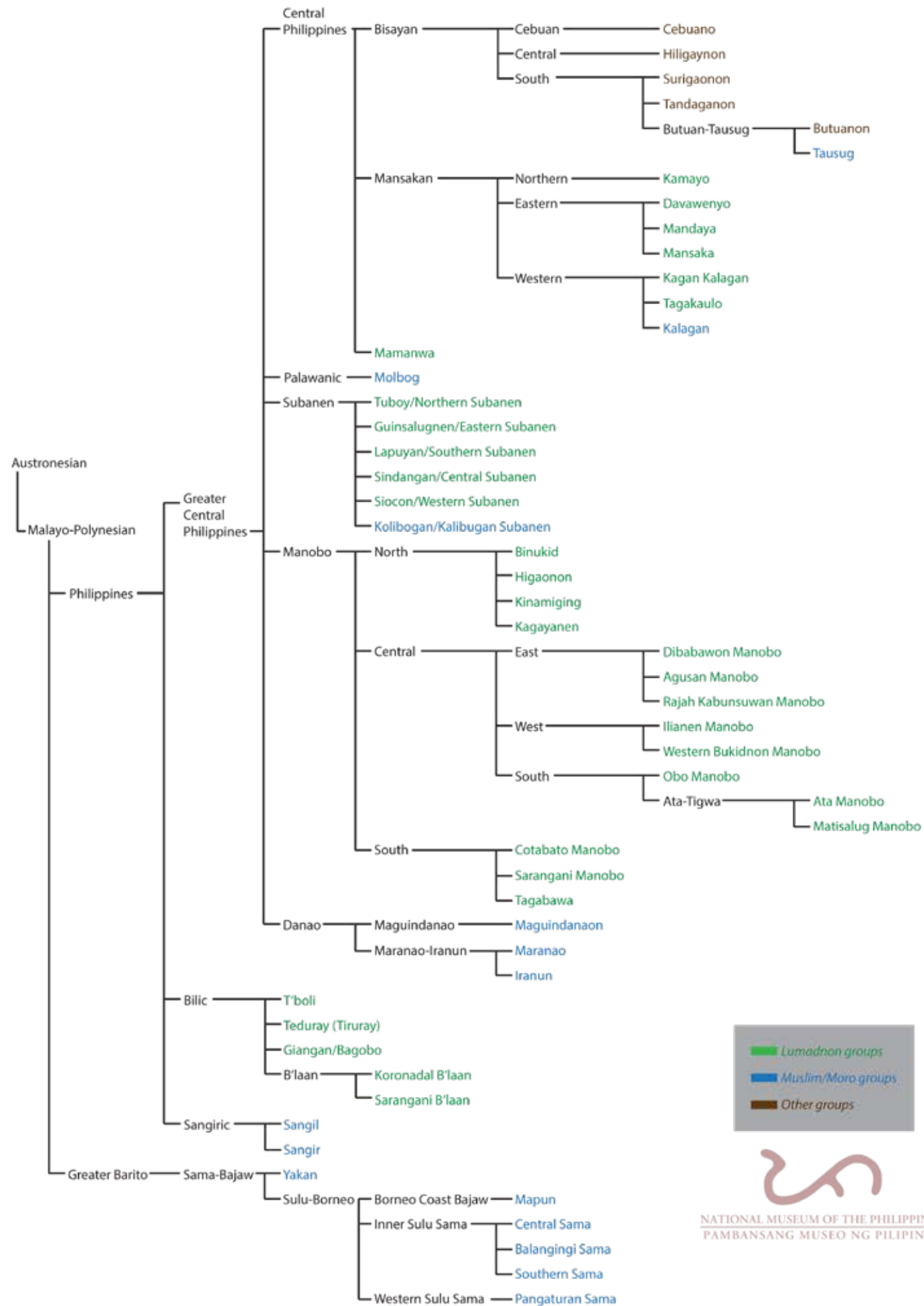
Noong kolonyal na panahon ng mga Kastila, naitangi ng mga misyonerong Recoletos ang isang uri ng wikang Bisaya na gamit ng mga katutubo sa pakikipag-ugnayan sa mga taga-labas; ginamit nila ito sa pagturo ng ebanghelyo sa pulo (Bernad 1972, 255; Demetrio 1981, 519-520; Paredes 2013, 27; Schreurs 1994, 44-45). Pinag-aralan din ng mga misyonaryong Heswita ang Bisaya at iba pang wikang katutubo, gaya ng Teduray, nang pinagpatuloy nila ang kanilang misyon sa Mindanao noong 1859 (Bernad 1972, 258). Ang paghinto ng mga barko mula Maynila sa Iloilo bago tumuloy sa Mindanao ay isa ring maaaring dahilan ng pagdami ng nakakapagsalita ng Hiligaynon o Ilonggo noong huling bahagi ng ika-18 siglo (Lipski 2001, 15). Sa ilalim ng panahong kolonyal ng mga Amerikano, tinatayang 45% sa kabuuang populasyon ng Mindanao ay binubuo ng mga Bisaya na karaniwang naninirahan sa mga lalawigan ng Agusan, Bukidnon, Lanao del Norte, Misamis at Surigao (Wernstedt at Simkins 1965).

Maliban sa pagbigay ng kaunawaan ng wika sa mga tao sa kanilang pagkakakilanlang etniko at koneksyon sa mga ninuno at iba pang pagkakamaganakan, mahalaga rin itong paraan sa paghatid ng mga pagpapahalaga at kaalamang kultural (Hayase 2007, 6). Maliwanag na naipakikita ito ng mga tradisyong pasalita, dagdag pa sa pagpapakita

kung paano nagbabago at umaangkop ang parehong wika at kultura sa pagdaan ng panahon. Halimbawa, pinag-aralan sa parehong tuntuning linggwistika at etnograpiya ang sagradong epiko na *Ulahingan*, kilala rin bilang *Ulegingen*, *Ulaging* o *Uweging* ng iba't ibang pangkat Manobo at Talaandig Bukidnon. Ang salitang *ulahingan* ay mula sa *ulahing* na nangangahulugang pag-awit sa isang partikular na estilo ng panulaan, wika at musika (Maquiso 1977, 34), at ang epikong ito ay malawakang inaawit sa mga lalawigan ng Cotabato, Bukidnon at Davao (Manuel 1963). Isinasalaysay ng *Ulahingan* ang alamat ng bayaning si Agyu at kanyang angkan tungo sa kalayaan at buhay na walang hanggan sa lugar na tinatawag na Nalandangan o Neledangan (Maquiso 1977; Saway-Llesis 2005). Pinaniniwalaang ang unang *Ulahingan* ay itinanghal ng anak ni Agyu na si Bayvayan o Baybayan, ayon sa atas sa kanya ng pinakataas-taasang diyos, bilang paggunita kung paano narating nila Agyu ang lugar ng buhay na walang hanggan (Cembrano 2005; Maquiso 1977).

Nabatid sa pag-aaral ng iba't ibang salin ng kuwento ni Agyu sa iba't ibang pangkat Manobo at Talaandig Bukidnon na ang pagkakaiba ng mga ito ay sa linggwistika at paraan ng pagtatanghal lamang; bagaman ipinahihiwatig sa iba't ibang pamagat, kultural na nagkakatulad ang mga ito sa balangkas at tauhan. Sa mga Talaandig Bukidnon, ang pagsalaysay ng epikong *Ulaging* ay kinapupunan ng masidhing paglalarawan ng mga pangyayaring naganap, lugar at tauhan na nangangailangan ng kadalubhasaan sa wika at mayamang talasalitaan (Saway-Llesis 2005, 89). Ang pagkakasunod-sunod ng mga pangyayari ay nagkaka-iba sa bawat mang-aawit ng epiko sa mga Talaandig Bukidnon at Manobo, bagaman parehong mga tauhan at tema ng tradisyon, panrelihiyong paniniwala at mga ideyal, sistemang panlipunan at poot sa mga mananakop ang tinutukoy sa bawat pagkuwento (Cembrano 2005; Saway-Llesis 2005).

Sa literal na pag-aaral ng bawat bersyon ng epikong ito, nabatid din ang pagkakaugnay nito sa mga naitatalang tunay na lugar at aktibong bahagi ng kasalukuyang kultura ng mga Lumad (Paredes 2006, 5, 36-37). Isa sa mga pag-aaral na ito ang kay Elena Maquiso (1977, 55-56) kung saan napag-alaman na tinutukoy ng ilang bersyon ang Cagayan de Oro sa hilagang Mindanao bilang unang panirahan ng mga kauna-unahang Manobo bago sila kumalat sa buong Mindanao. Itinataguyod nito ang teoryang *proto-Manobo* ni Richard Elkins (1974, 601) na tinatangkang ipaliwanag ang iisang pinagmulan at pagkakaugnay ng iba't



**Larawan 41**–Ang pagkakaugnay ng iba’t ibang mga wika sa Mindanao and kapuluan ng Sulu. Pinagbatayan: Blust 1991; Simons at Fennig 2017.

*Mga susunod na pahina:*

**Larawan 42**–Ang tinatayang panirahan ng iba’t ibang mga pangkat etnolinggwistiko—parehong Lumad at Moro—sa katimugan at kanlurang Pilipinas, partikular sa Mindanao, Kapuluan ng Sulu at Palawan. Mula ang mga ito sa tinipong tala sa kasaysayan, etnohistorika, etnograpiya at linggwistika. Wala sa proporsyon ang mapa. Ang *base map* mula sa kagandahang-loob ni Aira 2008 | Wikimedia Commons.

**Larawan 43**– Ang kagubatang *pygmy* ng Mt. Hamiguitan Range Wildlife Sanctuary, matatagpuan sa hilagang silangang bahagi ng bundok. 2016. DN Tandang/NMP Botany.

## MAP KEYS

Areas traditionally settled entirely by Lumad groups, 1576-1898 (Rodil 1994 • Acosta 1994 • Paredes 2013 • Manuel 1973)

Areas occupied by the Lumadnon with the Muslim groups, 1576-1898 (Rodil 1994 • Acosta 1994 • Casiño 1981)

Areas traditionally settled entirely by Muslim groups, 1576-1898 (Rodil 1994)

Approximate location of ethnolinguistic group settlement

## ETHNOLINGUISTIC GROUPS

(Lewis et al. 2015 • NM 1974 • \*Casiño 1976 • \*Eder 2010)

### LUMAD GROUPS

#### BILIC LANGUAGES

- K** KORONADAL B'LAAN  
(Eastern South Cotabato; Sarangani Province • Lutayan, Sultan Kudarat • Davao del Sur)
- S** SARANGANI B'LAAN  
(Sarangani Province • Gen. Santos City & northern area of South Cotabato • Davao del Sur)
- T** T'BOLI  
(Western & Mt. Busa areas of South Cotabato • Sarangani Province • Kraun area & Bagumbayan, Sultan Kudarat)
- T** TEDURAY (TIRURAY)  
(Datu Blah T. Sinsuat, North & South Upi, Maguindanao • Lebak, Sultan Kudarat)
- G** GIANGAN/BAGOBO  
(Davao City, Davao del Sur • eastern slopes of Mt. Apo)

#### SUBANON LANGUAGES

- N** TUBOY/NORTHERN SUBANEN  
(Zamboanga del Norte • Misamis Occidental)
- E** GUINSALUGNEN/EASTERN SUBANEN  
(Western slopes of Mt. Malindang, Don Victoriano Chiongban, Misamis Occidental • northeastern Zamboanga del Sur)
- S** LAPUYAN/SOUTHERN SUBANEN  
(Municipalities between Sibuguey & Illana Bays)
- C** SINDANGAN/CENTRAL SUBANEN  
(Central Zamboanga Peninsula • eastern half of Zamboanga del Norte • eastern Zamboanga del Sur • eastern Zamboanga Sibugay)
- W** SIOCON/WESTERN SUBANEN  
(Inlands of NW Zamboanga del Norte • western Zamboanga Sibugay)

#### MANSAKAN LANGUAGES

- K** KAMAYO  
(Between Marihatag & Lingig, Surigao del Sur • western borders of Agusan del Sur • between Lingig & Boston, Davao Oriental)
- kk** KAGAN KALAGAN  
(Near Digos City, Davao del Sur)
- T** TAGAKAULO  
(Digos City to Bugis, inlands and eastern shores, Davao del Sur • Colombio, Sultan Kudarat • Tampakan, South Cotabato)
- D** DAVAWENYO  
(Davao Oriental • Davao del Sur)
- ms** MANSAKA  
(West Baganga, Davao Oriental • central west Compostela Valley • Davao Oriental)
- md** MANDAYA  
(Manay, Caraga, Baganga & Cateel, Davao Oriental • Davao del Norte)

#### CENTRAL PHIL. LANGUAGE

- M** MAMANWA  
(Lake Mainit area in Agusan del Norte & Surigao del Norte, northeastern Mindanao)

#### MANOBO LANGUAGES

- D** DIBABAWON MANOBO  
(Upper Agusan River area, northern Compostela Valley • Boston & Cateel, Davao Oriental • Asuncion, Davao del Norte)
- M** AGUSAN MANOBO  
(Western Agusan del Sur & Norte • Lianga, Surigao del Sur • inlands of southern Surigao del Norte • northern borders of Compostela Valley & Davao del Norte • borders of Davao Oriental & Bukidnon)
- R** RAJAH KABUNSUWAN MANOBO  
(Northern border of Davao Oriental • Rajah Cabungsuwan & Lingig, Surigao del Sur • southeastern Agusan del Sur)
- O** OBO MANOBO  
(Northeastern slope of Mt. Apo, between Davao del Sur & North Cotabato)
- MA** MATIGSALUG MANOBO  
(South central Bukidnon • northeastern North Cotabato • northwestern Davao del Sur)
- A** ATA MANOBO  
(Northwestern Davao del Norte & Sur • southeastern Bukidnon • northwestern Compostela Valley)
- C** COTABATO MANOBO  
(Kalamansig, Palimbang & Ninoy Aquino, Sultan Kudarat • T'boli, South Cotabato)
- T** TAGABAWA  
(Slopes of Mt. Apo, between Davao City, Davao del Sur & North Cotabato)
- S** SARANGANI MANOBO  
(Jose Abad Santos, Davao Occidental • Governor Genoroso, Davao Oriental • Glan, Sarangani Province)
- IL** ILIANEN MANOBO  
(North central watershed of Mindanao River, North Cotabato • Kandingilan, Kibawe & Darnulong, Bukidnon • northern areas of Kambutalan & Datu Montawal, Maguindanao)
- W** WESTERN BUKIDNON MANOBO  
(Dangcagan, Don Carlos, Kitaotao & Maramag, Bukidnon • Baniisan, North Cotabato)
- B** BINUKID  
(North central Mindanao; north central Bukidnon • northeastern Lanao del Norte • Cagayan de Oro City to southwest of Gingoog Bay, Misamis Oriental)
- H** HIGAONON  
(Butuan River basin, north central Mindanao • south of Butuan City • Agusan del Norte • northwestern Agusan del Sur • Misamis Occidental)
- Ki** KINAMIGIN  
(Camiguin Island)
- Ka** KAGAYANEN  
(Balabak, Palawan)

### FILIPINO MUSLIM GROUPS

#### SAMA BAJAU LANGUAGES

- Y** YAKAN  
(Sulu Archipelago; Basilan • eastern Zamboanga • Zamboanga City)
- M** MAPUN  
(Cagayan de Sulu Island, \* Tawi-tawi • Rizal & Brooke's Point, Palawan\*)
- C** CENTRAL SAMA  
(Sulu • Tawi-tawi • Basilan • Zamboanga del Sur & Norte • Davao City • Cagayan de Oro City)
- B** BALANGIGI SAMA  
(Northeastern Jolo, Sulu • Zamboanga Peninsula • Basilan)
- S** SOUTHERN SAMA  
(Tawi-tawi)
- P** PANGUTARAN SAMA  
(Pangutaran Island, Sulu • southern Palawan\* • Cagayan de Sulu Island, \* Tawi-tawi)

#### DANAO LANGUAGES

- M** MAGUINDANAON  
(Maguindanao • south central Cotabato • central Sultan Kudarat • northern South Cotabato)
- M** MARANAO  
(Lanao del Sur • southern half of Lanao del Norte • northwestern Maguindanao • west central Bukidnon • northwestern Cotabato)
- I** IRANUN  
(Maguindanao • Sultan Kudarat • Alamada, Banasilan, Carmen, Libungan & Pigcawayan in North Cotabato • southeastern Lanao del Sur • Kalilangan, Bukidnon)

#### SANGIRIC LANGUAGES

- S** SANGIL  
(Davao del Sur to Balut Island)
- S** SANGIR  
(Sarangani Island, Davao Occidental)

#### SUBANON LANGUAGE

- K** KOLIBOGAN/KALIBUGAN SUBANEN  
(Inlands of Kabasalan to Ipil municipalities, Zamboanga Sibugay • Liloy & Siocon to Sibucu, Zamboanga del Norte • Zamboanga City)

#### MANSAKAN LANGUAGE

- K** KALAGAN  
(Southwestern Davao City; Davao del Norte • Compostela Valley • Davao Oriental highlands • Davao Gulf area in Davao del Sur & Oriental • North Cotabato)

#### CENTRAL PHIL. LANGUAGE

- T** TAUSUG  
(Sulu Archipelago • southern Palawan\* • Basilan • Zamboanga City)

#### PALAWANIC LANGUAGE

- M** MOLBOG  
(Balabak, Palawan\*)

### OTHER GROUPS

#### CENTRAL PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES

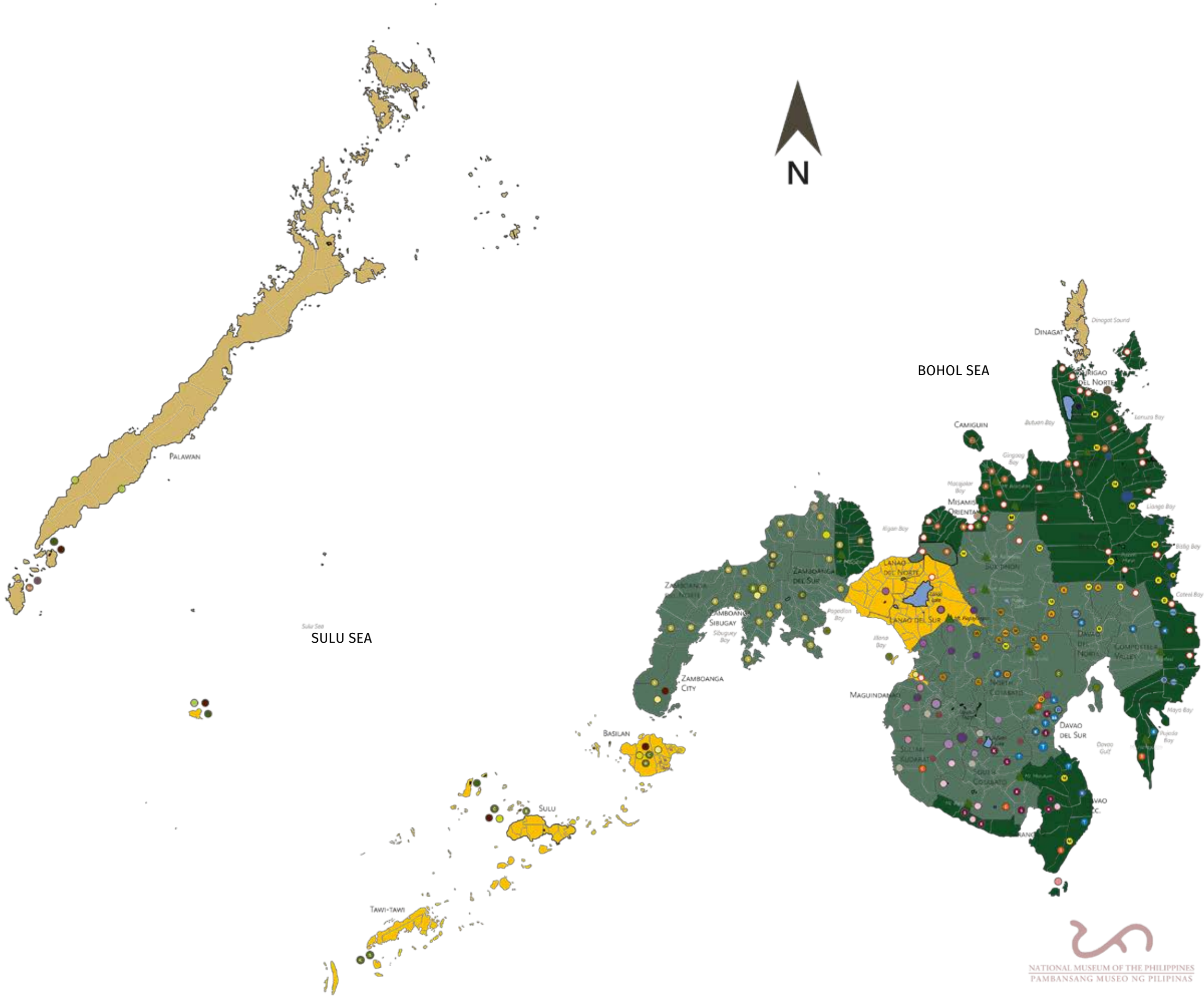
- S** SURIGAONON  
(Surigao del Norte; north Agusan del Norte • northern Surigao del Sur)
- T** TANDAGANON  
(Tandag, Tago, Bayabas & Cagwait, central Surigao del Sur)
- B** BUTUANON  
(Butuan City)
- C** CEBUANO  
(Dapitan & Dipolog City, Zamboanga del Norte • Cagayan de Oro City)
- H** HILIGAYNON  
(Central west & east Sultan Kudarat; northwestern South Cotabato; west of Lake Buluan, North Cotabato; south border area of Timbangan in Shariff Aguak, Maguindanao)

#### CREOLE LANGUAGE

- C** CHAVACANO/CHABACANO  
(Zamboanga Peninsula • Basilan • Cotabato City, Maguindanao)



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BOHOL SEA

Sulu Sea

PALAWAN

DINAGAT

DURIGAO DEL NORTE

CAMIGUIN

MISAMIS ORIENTAL

ZAMBOANGA DEL SUR

LANAO DEL SUR

MAGUINDANAO

DAVAO DEL SUR

DAVAO DEL NORTE

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COMPOSTELA VALLEY

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ibang wikang Manobo. Nagtala rin si Margarita Cembrano (2005, 110) ng mga lugar na nauugnay sa mga elemento ng epikong *Ulaging* na tinuturing na sagrado ng mga Manobo, gaya ng labi ng poste ng *turugan* (tahanan) ni Agyu na pinaniniwalaang nasa loob ng Camp Evangelista sa Patag, Lunsod ng Cagayan de Oro; ang kalipunan ng bato sa Daga, katapat ng Pantaron Mountain Range sa Kabanglasan, Bukidnon na pinaniniwalaang labi ng kanyang bukirin; ang kalipunan ng bato na kilala bilang Bagul Tagulayan sa bahagi ng mga kabundukan ng Pantaron at Galong-galong sa dako ng Agusan del Sur, nagtataglay ng kamao ng pangit na higanteng si Amakay; at sa pasalungat na sanga ng Ilog ng Adgawan sa mga burol ng Pantaron, kung saan pinaniniwalaang naiwan ang kalasag ng

mandirigmang si Anilaw na Lisngadan.

Mayroon ding iba pang mga tradisyong pasalita na natutulad sa balangkas at tema ng *Ulahingan* ang iba pang pangkat Lumad. Isang halimbawa ay ang epikong *Tuwaang o Tulalangan* ng mga Bagobo at Kulaman Manobo na ikinukuwento ang bayaning mandirigma na si Tuwaang at ang mga tagasunod niya sa Kuaman at Tinanan, at ang kalaunan nilang pag-akyat sa *Katuusan*, ang lugar ng buhay na walang hanggan (Manuel 1973; Maquiso 1977). Mayroon ding epikong *Gugud* ang mga Bukidnon na nagsasalaysay sa paglikha ng mundo, ang kanilang mga pakikibaka upang mabuhay, at ang kinalaunang pag-akyat sa paraiso (Unabia 1985).

## HEOGRAPIKAL AT LIKAS NA KAPALIGIRAN NG MGA LUMAD

Ang Mindanao ay pangalawang pinakamalaking pulo ng Pilipinas. Kabilang ang kapuluan ng Sulu, ito ay may kabuuang sukat na 102,000 kilometro kuwadrado, kung saan 61,000 kilometro kuwadrado nito ay kagubatan na bumubuo sa 52% ng kabuuang sukat ng mga pambansang liwasan (Mindanao Database 2015). Napapaloob dito ang Bundok Apo sa Davao del Sur at Hilagang Cotabato, Bundok Kitanglad sa Bukidnon, Bundok Malindang sa Misamis Occidental, at ang Bundok Hamiguitan (larawan 43) sa Davao Oriental na isang UNESCO *World Heritage Site*. Narito rin sa Mindanao ang mga lugar na idineklarang pambansang pangalagaan dahil sa kahalagahan ng mga ito sa ekolohiya, tulad ng mga latian ng Agusan sa Agusan del Sur at Liguasan sa Maguindanao (larawan 40). Ang Lawa ng Sebu sa Timog Cotabato, Lawa ng Mainit sa Agusan at Surigao del Norte, Lawa ng Lanao sa Lanao del Sur, Lawa ng Buluan sa Maguindanao, Ilog Agusan sa hilagang-silangan ng Mindanao, Ilog Pulangi sa kanluran, at ang iba pang mga likas na lawa, ilog at anyong tubig ay mahalagang pinagkukunan ng pagkain at tubig, naging mahalaga rin sa pangangalakal, maging sa paglalakbay at pag-aabot sa karatig na mga lugar.

Ang mga ito rin ay tirahan ng iba't ibang uri ng hayop at halaman na tinuturing na nanganganib, katutubo, hindi karaniwan, at may pang-ekonomiyang kahalagahan (Aribal at Buot 2009; Pendleton 1942). Kabilang sa mga ito ang *Philippine eagle* (*Pithecophaga jefferyi*), *Philippine cockatoo* (*Cacatua haematuropygia*), kalapating Mindanao *bleeding-heart* (*Gallinolumba crinigera*), *Philippine*

*warty pig* (*Sus philippensis*; LM<sup>†</sup>-311), *Philippine crocodile* (*Crocodylus porosus*), *Rafflesia schadenbergiana*, ang pinakamalaking bulaklak sa mundo, iba't ibang uri ng mga insekto at mas maliliit na anyo ng hayop; higit na 30 uri ng uway (*Calamus spp.*), ang *Eucalyptus deglupta* na kilala bilang Mindanao *rainbow gum*, at iba pa (Aribal at Buot 2009; DENR AO Blg. 2004-15; Pendleton 1942).

Para sa Lumadnon, ang mga lugar na ito ay bahagi ng minanang tinubuang lupa na sumasaklaw sa kanilang mga panirahan, at konkretong kumakatawan sa kanilang pasalitang kasaysayan at koneksyon sa ispiritwal na saklaw (Hayase 2007, 177-178). Sa gayon, ang mga anyong ito ng likas na kapaligiran ay bumubuo hindi lamang sa malaking bahagi ng ekonomiyang pangkabuhayan at kalakalan ng mga Lumad, kundi maging ng kanilang mga paniniwalang kultural, tradisyunal na pananampalataya, at sining mula pa noong unang panahon. Pinananatili ng karamihan sa mga pangkat ng Lumad ang kolektibong pag-aari ng lupa sa pamamagitan ng pasalitang kinaugaliang batas na nagsasaad ng karapatang malayang paggamit ng mga ito bilang tagapangalaga sa ngalan ng mga espiritu at ninuno (Gaspar 2000, 104). Ang sistemang ito ng pag-aari ay pinatitibay pa ng mga kasaysayang pasalita na nagsasalaysay ng pagiging sagrado ng partikular na mga lugar na napapaloob sa kanilang mga minanang tinubuang lupa. Kabilang dito ang Pantaron Range kung saan naroroon ang sagradong lugar

† Tumutukoy sa *Material Culture* (MC) *Index* sa aklat na ito, mula pahina 88.

*Susunod na pahina:*

**Larawan 44–Talon ng Hikong Bente sa Lake Sebu, South Cotabato.** Maliban sa pagturing bilang pook turismo, ang Hikong Bente ay pinagkukunan ng T'boli ng talukap ng mga *bivalve* sa tubig-tabang na ginagamit nila bilang *bio-mordant*, ang tagapagpamalagi o tagapagpanatili at tagapagpasidhi ng pulang pangkulay sa hibla ng abaka na gagawing *t'nalak*. 2014. Larawan mula sa kagandahang-loob ni Paul Quiambao.



na pinangangasuhan ng mga Manobo; Bundok Sinaka, tirahan ni Manama, ang pinakataata na diyos ng mga Manobo; Bundok Cantuan, ang sagradong tirahan ng mga ninuno ng mga Siocon Subanen; Bundok Feris, ang sagradong bundok ng mga Teduray; Bundok Matutum, ang Puting Bundok ng mga B'laan at tirahan ng diyos ng mga Subanen na si Apo Gumalang; Bundok Apo (o Apo Sandawa), tirahan ni Mandarangan, ang diyos ng digmaan ng mga Bagobo at Manobo; at iba pang lugar (Gaspar 2011; Guéguen 2010; Masinaring 2014).

Sa kasalukuyan, mahalaga ang papel ng Mindanao sa ekonomiya ng Pilipinas, nagtutustos ng mga produktong mula sa mga kagubatang komersyal na pinalawak at plantasyong *agri-business*, kompanyang pangisdaan, at malawakang pagmimina (Tadem 2012). Sa humigit kumulang na isang siglo, nagdulot ng malaking pagkalansag at di maibabalik na pagbabago sa pamumuhay ng mga katutubo ang mga polisiya ng pagpapaunlad at pagtatag ng mga pangnegosyong kompanya sa Mindanao. Kabilang dito ang pagbabago ng demograpiko at ang pag-agaw sa mga tahanang minana kung saan sumulong ang buhay kultural at espiritwal ng mga Lumadnon sa loob ng mahabang panahon. Ilan sa mga halimbawa ng naitalang naagaw na minanang tinubuang lupa ay sa mga komunidad sa Siana, Surigao del Norte ng mga Mamanwa, at sa dalisdig ng Bundok Apo ng mga Bagobo at Manobo gawa ng pagtatag ng Siana Gold Mining Project at Mt. Apo Geothermal Power Plant (Alejo 2000; Lucero 1988). Ang iba ay sa mga komunidad ng Teduray sa Figel, Upi Valley, Cotabato (Schlegel 1976, 1999), mga Manobo ng Arakan Valley sa Cotabato (Gaspar 2011), at mga Bukidnon, Talaandig, Higaunon at Matigsalug sa Bukidnon (Edgerton at Edgerton 1982), matapos ang pagpasok ng mga nanahang mga nandayuhan mula sa mga libis tungo sa kanilang mga lupang panirahan (Gaspar 2000).

Ang mga Lumadnon, kasama ng mga taga-Kordilyera ng hilagang Luzon, ay unang kumatawan sa mga katutubong pangkat ng Pilipinas sa United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Peoples (UNWGIP) mula 1987, at sa Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization ng Asia

Pacific Nations na binuo noong 1991, kung saan naiangat ang kanilang kalagayan sa pandaigdigang entablado (Duhaylungsod at Hyndman 1993). Dito sa bansa, mayroong pagtutulungan sa pagitan ng mga pangkat Lumad at sektor ng pagpapaunlad at lingkod-bayan na nagpapakita na may karaniwang saligan sa pagitan ng pag-angkin ng minanang lupang tinubuan at sa pangangalagang pangkapaligiran na nakahimpil sa komunidad. Ito ay humihimok sa pagpapatuloy ng mga gawaing tungo sa pagbawas at pagtugon sa epekto ng kaunlarang sosyo-ekonomiko sa kapaligiran. Kabilang sa mga naitalang kaso ay ang proyektong heotermal ng Philippine National Oil Company-Energy Development Corporation (PNOC-EDC) sa loob ng Mt. Apo National Park (Alejo 2000, 251). Itinatagda ng proyektong ito ang posibilidad ng gawaing pangkaunlaran na may pananagutan sa lipunan at kalikasan na kapaki-pakinabang sa tinutuluyang komunidad, sa pamamagitan ng pagtatag ng *multi-sectoral* at *non-profit* na Mt. Apo Foundation, Inc. na binubuo ng mga pambansa at lokal na pampamahalaang ahensya, organisasyong *non-government*, at ng Cotabato Tribal Consultative Council (Ote at de Jesus 1995).

Isang kamakailang kinahinatnan na nagpapahayag ng katangi-tanging ugnayan ng mga Lumad sa kalikasan ay ang pagtala ng Mt. Hamiguitan Range Wildlife Sanctuary noong 2014 bilang isang UNESCO World Heritage Site. Tinatangi ng UNESCO ang pakikipagtipan at paglahok sa pamamahala ng mga lokal at katutubong komunidad na nakatira sa paligid ng Mount Hamiguitan Range Wildlife Sanctuary bilang higit na pagpapatibay sa proteksyon nito. Dagdag dito, kinilala rin ang kanilang uri ng pamumuhay at paniniwalang ispiritwal na nababatay sa paggalang sa kapaligiran at sanlaksang buhay dito na sa paglipas ng panahon ay naihumla nila upang masiguro ang pangmatagalang paggamit ng kanilang pagkukunang yaman (UNESCO 2014).

Ilan pa sa mga halimbawa ng aktibong nilalahukan ng mga lokal at katutubong komunidad ang pagtutulungan sa pangangalaga ng Mt. Kitanglad Range National Park sa Bukidnon at Mt. Malindang Natural Park sa Misamis Occidental (Cairns 1997; Gomez 2006; Roxas 2006).

## PAGDIDIBUHO SA PAGKAKAKILANLANG LUMAD

**A**ng mga pangkat Lumad ay karaniwang may pagkakamag-anakang ugnayan sa parehong dugo at pag-aasawa. Nakatala sa

mga etnohistorikong salaysay ang pag-aasawa sa pagitan ng mga pamilyang magkakatulad ang panlipunang antas, gaya sa mga Bagobo ng

kanlurang bahagi ng Golpo ng Davao sa mga Manobo ng gitnang Mindanao (Cole 1913; Manuel 2000). Dahil dito, halos hindi posibleng makilala ang bawat isang pangkat Lumad sa konteksto ng purong henetikang pagmamana, at sa anumang pagkakataon, natutunan at minabuti nila ang sariling pagpapakilanlan ng kani-kanilang mga pangkat batay sa kung kanino sila nakikipag-ugnayan (Eder 2010; Rosaldo 2003), isang kasanayang karaniwan sa mga pangkat etnolingwistiko ng Pilipinas (Eder 2010). Ang mga koneksyong ito ay naisasalaysay sa mga epikong *Uweping* ng Agusan Manobo at *Gugud* ng Bukidnon (Cembrano 2005; Unabia 1985). Kasama sa pasalitang tradisyon ng mga Lumad ang iba't ibang pagbabago at magkakatulad na karanasan ng kani-kanilang lipunan gawa ng mga kolonyal na panghihimasok at pagdagsa ng mga mandarayuhan mula sa mga kalapit na lalawigan at ibang bahagi ng Pilipinas (Paredes 2013, 31).

### **MGA PANIRAHANG LUMAD**

Malawak ang panahanang lugar ng mga Lumad, sumasaklaw sa mga hangganang heograpikal at pulitikal. Salungat sa mga unang etnograpiya kung saan sila ay kadalasang naisasalarawan bilang tagabundok (Paredes 2013, 31), naninirahan din sila sa mga kapatagan at tabing dagat. Ayon sa *Ulaging*, isang epiko ng mga Agusan Manobo at Talaandig Bukidnon (Cembrano 2005; Saway-Llesis 2005), nakatira sa tabing-dagat ang mga pangkat Lumad noong una, kinalaunan lumipat ang karamihan sa ilaya dahil sa ilang dahilan, kabilang ang mga kalamidad at panghihimasok ng ibang populasyon (Gloria 1987, 58; Hayase 2007, 3, 146; Paredes 2013, 31; Schreurs 1981, 262).

Ang nangingibabaw na relasyong kabundukan-kapatagan, bagaman napakapayak, ay isang mahalagang elemento sa pagsusuri ng mga karanasan ng Lumadnon at pagkakakilala ng mga taga-labas sa kanila, tungo sa pagpisan kung paano nila kinikilala ang kanilang mga sarili sa kasalukuyan.

Kinikilala ng bawat isang pangkat Lumad ang kanilang sarili sa heograpikal at pisikal na lokasyon ng kani-kanilang panirahan (Acosta 1994; Masinaring 2014). Halimbawa, *Managusan* ang dating tawag sa mga Mansaka na nasa Agusan, at *Mangaragan* sa mga nakatira sa Karagan (ngayon ay

Caraga sa Davao Oriental). Sa mga Mandaya, *taga daya* ang mga komunidad mula sa kabundukan, samantalang ang mga nasa kapatagan at baybayin ay tinatawag na *taga lawud*. Ang mga B'laan na naninirahan sa kabundukan ay tinatawag na *To Lagad*, ang mga nasa kapatagan ay *To Gutna* o *To Datal*, at ang mga baybaying B'laan ay *To Baba* (Arcenas 1993, 4). Sa mga Teduray ng kagubatan ng Figel, ang mga tulad nilang naninirahan sa bundok ay tinatawag nilang *etew rotor*, *etew dogot* ang mga nasa tabing-dagat, at ang iba namang pangkat Teduray na nakatira sa Tran at Awang ay tinatawag nilang *etew teran* (mga tao mula sa Tran) at *etew awang* (mga tao mula sa Awang) (Schlegel 1970, 8).

Sa isang banda, ang mga sangguniang kabundukan-kapatagan-baybayin sa kanilang panirahan ay nagbunga ng pagkakaiba-iba sa wika at kaugalian sa loob ng populasyon, partikular mula sa kanilang pakikipag-ugnayan sa mga kalapit at bumibisitang komunidad. Halimbawa, ang mga Teduray sa tabing-ilog ay mas nakakaharap ang mga pangkat Kristiyano at Muslim kung ihahambing sa mga Teduray na nasa kabundukan (Wood 1957). Ang mga Teduray sa Awang na kilala rin bilang mga tao ng Upi (*etew ufi*) ay mas may pinaiiral na panlipunang pag-uuri at kaugaliang mula sa mga Muslim, gawa ng kanilang palagiang pakikipag-ugnayan at pagtatag ng alyansang militar sa mga Maguindanao mula pa noong sinaunang panahon (Schlegel 1970, 3; 1999, 2). Tatlong lingwistikong pangkat din ng Bagobo ang malinaw na nagkakahiwalay sa lokasyon ng kanilang panirahan, ang Tagabawa, Klata (tinatawag din na Ottow, Jangan o Guianga), at Obo (tinatawag din na Manuvu o Minobo) (Hayase 2007, 160).

Ang mga pangalang gamit sa mga tala ng kolonyalistang Kastila ay halos tulad sa mga lokal na pangalan, bagaman kapag tinukoy ang tiyak na pangkat, ang mga naisamapang lugar na pinakamalapit ang ginagamit na pantukoy sa pangkat; halimbawa, ang mga Kagayanon ng Ilog Cagayan, Karaga ng Caraga, at iba pa (Paredes 2013, 21). Maaaring muling nabago ang pangalan ng mga pangkat noong panahon ng Amerikano, at sa panahon ding ito naisalugar at naipatupad ang mga isinabatias na pagbabagong administratibo sa Mindanao ng estado.

*Susunod na pahina:*

**Larawan 45**–“Bahay ni Datu Tongkaling,” tagapamuno ng panirahang Bagobo sa Cibolan, matatagpuan sa silangang mga burol ng Bundok Apo na ngayon ay kabilang sa sakop ng hilagang Davao del Sur. Mula kay Cole (1913, Plates I [*frontispiece*] at XV). Mula sa kagandahang-loob ng Field Museum (Image No. CSA 34860).

**Larawan 46**–Ang *gono bong* o *longhouse* ng mga T'boli, Lake Sebu, Timog Cotabato. Hunyo 2016. JT Marquinez/NMP Ethnology.



## **PINAGTUTUUNANG KULTURAL NA MATERYAL—LOKAL NA PAGPAPALAYOK**

Ang mga naitalang paggalaw ng mga prestihiyosong kagamitang pangkalakal, gaya ng mahahalagang ceramic mula sa Tsina, palamuting personal, kayo at armas sa pagitan ng mga pangkat ay nagmumungkahi ng matatag at matagal nang ugnayang panlipunan sa pagitan ng mga Lumad at Moro sa Mindanao (Cembrano 1998; Fox 1957; Junker 2000). Sa kabilang dako, ang pagkonsumo at pamamahagi ng mga kagamitang pambahay gaya ng mga lutuang palayok, at mga lokal na produktong naghahayag ng panlipunang estado tulad ng mga palayok na may detalyadong palamuti para sa ritwal at paglilibing, ay napagyaman naman sa mga ugnayang di-pormal o lokalizado sa pagitan ng mga pangkat Lumad at iba pang kasangga sa kalakalan.

Ipinagpapalit ng mga Bagobo ang gawa nilang kutsilyo at kagamitang tanso na may mataas na kalidad sa mga lutuang palayok, asin at iba pang kagamitang pambahay ng mga pangkat sa baybayin at kapatagan (Cole 1913). Ipinagpapalit naman ng mga Teduray ang mga produktong mula kagubatan para sa mga kagamitang pambahay at mararangyang kagamitan mula sa kalakalang pandagat na pinamamahalaan ng mga taga-kapatagan ng Maguindanao (Junker 1993). Napagtatanto naman na naitatag noon pang 800 Common Era (CE) ng mga Sama ang teknolohiya nila ng pagpapalayo, at kasama ng iba pang mga kagamitan, ipinagpapalitan sa mga Tausug, Yakan, Chavacano at sa lokal ng Agusan (Cembrano 1998).

Iminumungkahi ng mga ulat pangkasaysayan (Kiefer 1972; Mednick 1977; Spoehr 1973; Warren 1985) na ang paggawa ng mga palayok at distribusyon ng iba pang mga lokal na kalakal, gaya ng kayo, gawaing kahoy at basket, ay nagpapahiwatig ng teknikal na pag-unlad, espesyalisasyon sa paggawa, panlipunang pag-uuri, at ugnayang lokal at sa mga dayuhan (Junker 2000, 283-284). Dagdag ng arkeologong si Laura Junker, ang espesyalisasyong batay sa ekolohiya sa paggawa ng mga kagamitang pangkalakal ay napagyaman sa pagpapalitan sa pagitan ng mga nasa ilaya at baybayin. Pinapalagay ni Karl Hutterer (1977) mula sa pag-aaral sa mga

palayok ng Kalanay sa Masbate (Solheim et al. 1964) na ang mga lokal na ceramic na ito ay naililipat-lipat sa pamamagitan ng pagpapalitan ng mga prestihiyosong kalakal sa pagitan ng mga pulo. Matatagpuan nang malawakan sa Pilipinas ang mga magkakatulad na uring ito ng tapayan at mangkok. Naitala ring arkeolohikal na ebidensiya ng lokal na produksyon ng palayok ang natuklasang lugar-sigaan at tambakan ng basura sa kasalukuyang panirahan ng Lumadnon sa Ambangan, Butuan. Nahahawig ito sa gawaang gumagamit ng pamalo at palihan mula sa tradisyon ng pagpapalayo ng Sama (Cembrano 1998). Kabilang sa mga ginagawa at ginagamit na palayok ng Sama mula rito ay ang mga sisidlan na pangkaraniwang ginagamit at pangseremonya (banga, gusi, malalaki't malalalim na mangkok, sisidlang may daluyan, at bandehado), kagamitang pang-kusina (kalan at kawaling may dalawang hawakan) at sa iba't ibang gawain (pabigat sa lambat at ikiran ng sinulid na may disenyong curvilinear) (Cembrano 1998, 27-28). Tanging kababaihan ang gumagawa ng mga palayok na gamit sa gawaing-bahay (Christie 1909).

Ang magkasaping pagpapahalaga sa mga palayok ay higit pa sa kapakinabangan nito sa kontekstong kabahayan at ekonomiya ng lipunang Lumadnon. Sa mga Teduray ng Figel sa Upi Valley, ang kurey (palayok) ay katumbas sa isang sambahayan na malayang nakapagpapasiya sa lipunan, binubuo ng isang pamilyang payak na kumakain mula sa iisang palayok (Schlegel 1970, 13). Sa tradisyong pag-aasawa ng mga Teduray na polygynous, katumbas sa dami ng kanyang asawa ang dami ng palayok kung saan kasapi ang ama. Ang mga anak ay inaasahang kumain mula sa bagong palayok kapag nag-asawa, bilang simula ng kanilang pagtatag ng sariling sambahayan na hiwalay sa kanilang magulang. Sa tradisyunal na paglilibing ng mga Manobo, isang palayok (ko-don) na may butas sa ilalim at may lamang lutong kanin, nakasabit sa bubungan ng libingan, ang huling paggunita sa yumao sa paglakbay nito sa kabilang buhay (Garvan 1931, 135).



**Larawan 47—Ilan sa mga uri ng kasangkapang palayok.** Kaliwa hanggang kanan: cuyun (LM-183) ng Mandaya mula sa Davao Oriental; palayok (LM-189) ng Subanen; at kadon (LM-187) ng mga Obo. Koleksiyon ng Pambansang Museo ng Pilipinas.

## **PINAGTUTUUNANG KULTURAL NA MATERYAL— PAGGAWA NG MGA BASKET**

Karaniwan ang mga basket sa maraming sambahayang Lumad. Gawa sa iba't ibang hugis at laki, marami itong pinanggagamitan; pangangalap ng pagkain, mga produktong mula sa kagubatan at produktong inani, pagdala ng karne ng mga nahuling hayop, at pag-iingat ng mga kagamitang personal at pambahay. Maaari ring gamitin ang mga ito bilang lalagyan ng mga alay tuwing may seremonyang panritwal. Ang mga lokal na panananim gaya ng kawayan (*Bambuseae* spp.), nito (*Lygodium circinnatum*), yantok (*Calameae* spp.), buri (*Corypha elata*), tikog (*Fimbristylis utilis*), at pandan (*Pandanus* spp.) ang pangunahin nitong mga materyales. Karaniwang nakapatong ito sa kanilang ulo, balikat o likod, habang ang iba naman ay nakakarga sa mga karitong hila, o mismong sa mga kabayo at kalabaw (Parker 1913).

Sinasalamin ang talino at kahusayan sa paglikha ng mga tagapaggawa ng basket sa iba't ibang prosesong napapaloob sa paggawa nito. Karaniwang bahagi ng kanilang panlipunan, kultural at ekolohikal na kapaligiran ang mga katangiang ito. Ang iba't ibang talang etnohistoriko ay nagpapahiwatig na ang mga kalalakihan at kababaihan sa lipunang Bagobo, Manobo, Teduray at Subanen ay parehong dalubhasa sa paggawa ng basket (Benedict 1916; Cole 1913; Finley 1913; Garvan 1927, 1931; Wood 1957). Sa mga Manobo, gawain ng kalalakihan ang pagtiritas sa mga kagamitang pangisda, patibong at sa pangangaso (Garvan 1931). Ang mga B'laan, Manobo at T'boli ay kilala sa kanilang mga basket na itim at may natural na kulay, gawa sa malalambot na pilas, ginagamit sa pagdala ng mga personal na kagamitan o sa pangangalap ng pagkain ang mas malalaki (Lane 1986). Kilala naman ang mga Bukidnon sa apat na uri ng lala—ang checker at wickerwork, at pahilig at magkasalungat na weft—habang ang mga Higaunon ng Bukidnon ay may tradisyunal na kasanayan sa lahat ng uri ng paglala, higit sa wickerwork, pag-ikid at hexagonal (Lane 1986; Cole 1956). Ang mga basket ng Obo ay kilala naman sa takip nilang mala-dome at may apat na tulis. Sa mga T'boli iniuugnay ang maliliit na mala-kahong basket na may takip, pinagtataguan nila ng damit at iba pang personal na kagamitan (Lane 1986).

Ayon kay Datu Rudy Ugking, sa kanilang paunang bisita sa eksibisyong Lumad Mindanao noong Nobyembre 2015, ang mga imbakang basket nila ay karaniwang pinapahiran ng sapal ng tabon-tabon (*Atuna racemosa*; LM-242) na hinaluan ng apog upang hindi ito pasukin ng tubig, nagpapatunay sa mga talang etnohistoriko noong unang bahagi ng ika-20 siglo, gaya ng kina Cole (1913) at Garvan (1931). Ang ilan sa mga ito ay tinatawag na binuta, tumutukoy sa proseso ng pagtakip ng mga butas, upang mabulag



**Larawan 48**—Isang uri ng basket na likha ng mga Subanen (LM-172) mula Zamboanga. Koleksiyon ng Pambansang Museo ng Pilipinas.

(buta) ng pandikit (Casiño 1981, 158).

Napansing naiiba ang estetiko ng mga basket ng Manobo, Teduray, Bukidnon, Bagobo at T'boli kung ihahambing sa ibang pangkat Lumad (Lane 1986, 187-196; Parker 1913, 81). Halimbawa, ang mga lalagyan ng apog at iba pang basket ng mga Manobo ay napunang may mga maligasgas na bakas at ukit (Garvan 1931). Ang mga basket naman ng Bukidnon ay nilala gamit ang mga pilas ng kawayan na kinulayan gamit ang katas ng bulaklak ng saging at pinausukan sa nasusunog na dagta; ang iba naman ay nilala nang magkahalili ang makinis na panloob at malamlam na panlabas (Cole 1956, 57). Pinapalamutian ng mga Bagobo ng manik, batingaw at palawit na buhok ng kabayo ang kanilang mga basket, maging ang mga kaluban na binalutan ng yantok. Nilalala naman ng mga T'boli ang mga personal nilang basket gamit ang mga pilas ng kawayan na kinakalupkupan nila ng biniyak na nito bilang pampatibay at sadyang estetiko (Lane 1986).

Naapektuhan ng komersyalismo ang gawaang basket ng Pilipinas, higit noong pagpasok ng ika-20 siglo. Noong huling bahagi ng 1960, gamit ang ugnayang likha ng Simbahang Episcopalian, ipinagpalit ang mga basket ng Bontoc sa mga basket ng Mindanao para sa merkadong turista (Lane 1986). Nagdulot ito ng ilang pagbabago sa mga basket ng Teduray, partikular sa kanilang pagtatangi sa akmang mga takip na may tiritas ng biniyak na nito upang magsilbing pasak at panggilid, at saligang gawa sa kawayan (Lane 1986). Sa Lumadnon, ang mga Teduray ang mga pangunahing kalahok sa pagpapasulong ng produksyon at pagpapa-unlad ng kontemporaryong mga basket para sa merkado (Lane 1986, 187). Ang komunidad ng Obo sa Timog Cotabato ay ang pangunahing pinagkukunan ng mga basket at, kasama ng mga Teduray (Nocheseda 2016), banig na gawa sa kawayan. Minsan ay may kalupkop na biniyak na nito ang mga ito, karaniwang gamit sa bahay o ipinagbibili ng mga maliliit na negosyong pagmamay-ari ng parehong T'boli at dayong Bisaya sa Lake Sebu.

### PAMUNUAN SA LIPUNANG LUMAD

Ang mga barangay at komunidad ng mga Lumad ay pinamumunuan ng *datu*, isang lalaking indibidwal na mayroong likas na kakayanan sa pamumuno, lalo na sa pag-aayos ng mga alitan, pagkakatawan sa ngalan ng kanilang komunidad, pagtitiyak sa mainam na pagtatag ng mga kasunduang pangkapayapaan at pangkalakalan, pakikipag-alyansa at maging sa pamumuno sa mga gawaing pangkabuhayan na kinakailangan ng ritwal, partikular ang pangangaso at pagbubukid. Sa ilang lipunang Lumad, halimbawa sa mga T'boli, ang namumuno ay isang babaeng indibidwal na tinatawag nilang *boi*; karaniwang inaasahang nagtataglay sila ng mga katangian ng lalaking *datu* (Duhaylungsod at Hyndman 1993, 70; Mora 2005, 36). Ang *boi* sa mga komunidad ng T'boli ay malimit na tumutukoy sa asawa, o babaeng anak o kamag-anak ng *datu* na napili niya bilang kapilas, itinuturing na kapantay at katugma niya sa kanyang tungkulin (Duhaylungsod at Hyndman 1993). Kinakailangang nag-aangkin siya ng mga pinagpapahalagahang kakayanan at katangiang T'boli gaya ng kagandahan, katalinuhan, yaman, malumanay na disposisyon, kakayahang mag-atas ng paggalang mula sa ibang tao, at dalubhasa sa paghabi, paghugis ng tanso, pagburda, paggawa ng sombrero, at pagmamanik (Duhaylungsod at Hyndman 1993; Mora 2005, 36-37). Sa mga pangkat Manobo, *baqe* ang tawag sa pinunong babae. Pinipili siya ng lupon ng mga pinuno at tumatayong tagapamagitan ng mga may alitan upang panatilihin ang kapayapaan at kaayusan sa komunidad (Cembrano 2005).

Sa mga Lumad ng hilagang-silangang Mindanao, partikular sa mga Manobo, isang lupon ng mga *datu* ang nagbabahaginan ng mga tungkulin sa pamumuno. Ang isang magiging *datu* sa mga lipunang Higaunon ay sumasailalim sa partikular na mga pagsasanay at nangangailangan ng pagtanggap ng mga nakatatandang *datu* (Paredes 2013, 28-29). Mayroong dalawang antas ng seremonya sa pagkilala ng piniling *tumuay/timuay* o *datu* sa mga Agusan Manobo, tinatawag na *lugnat* o *pagtubuy* at *pamaliskad* (Cembrano 2005, 99-102). Dinadaluhan ang parehong seremonya ng kani-kanilang komunidad at mga kalapit na panirahan. Dito rin niya natatanggap ang mga tuntunin ng kanyang panungkulan, kabilang ang pagpapatibay sa mga kinaugaliang pasalitang batas at pagsasaalang-alang sa kapakanan ng kanyang nasasakupan sa lahat ng pagkakataon (Cembrano 2005).

Ang posisyong *datu* ay naiuugnay sa *bagani* o *magani*, ang uring mandirigma (larawan



Larawan 49—“A Tagakaolo chief,” Davao, Mindanao (1901). Mula sa kagandahang-loob ng Philippine Photographs Digital Archive (PHLA379), University of Michigan Digital Collections.

49; Garvan 1931, 141; Paredes 2013, 29). Sila ay mayroong malapit na relasyon sa diyos ng digmaang kilala sa pangalang *Talabusaw* sa mga Bukidnon, *Mandarangan* sa mga Bagobo, at *Mengilala*, *Terevusew*, *Menderangan*, *Tagbusau* at *Mandangan ng Talabosao* ng iba't ibang pangkat Manobo, na kanilang inaalayan ng dugo tuwing makakikitil sila ng buhay sa mga pananalakay at digmaan (Demetrio 1994; Elkins 1993; Garvan 1931; Gloria 1987; Masinaring 2014; Unabia 1985). Noong una, madali silang nakikilala sa pananamit at palamuting gamit na tanging makikita lamang sa mga *datu* na nakamit na ang antas ng pagiging pinunong mandirigma. Kabilang dito ang mga sagradong bagay gaya ng *timusu*, mga tansong pulseras na sumisimbolo sa pagtitimpi; *kampilan*, isang uri ng tabak; at *tangkuyu* o *tangkulo* (LM-021), isang putong o *headcloth* na sumisimbolo sa karunungan at kapangyarihan (Cembrano 2005). Ang kulay pula at padron na buwaya ay gamit lamang ng mga *magani* ng Bagobo at Kulaman sa kanilang *tangkulo*; ang sidhi ng kulay at pagkakumpleto ng padron ay nagsasaad ng bilang ng kinitil nilang buhay (Benedict 1916; Cole 1913; Gloria 1987; Reyes 1992; Roces 1991; Worcester 1913; tingnan ang *Hibla ng Lahing Filipino* 2016).



Ang babaeng tagapag-ritwal, o *mabalian*, lamang ang may pangangalaga ng diyos na si *Bait Pandi* upang magawa ang *plangi* sa pagyari ng *tangkulo* ng *bagani* (Hamilton 1998b, 15). Sa kasalukuyan, isinusuot na lamang ang mga ito tuwing may espesyal na okasyon at pagdiriwang.

Karamihan ng mga *bagani* ay naluluklok na *datu*, at ang *pangayaw* o pagsalakay ay mahalagang pagkakataon para sa kalalakihang Lumad upang maging *bagani*, kinalaunan *datu* (Paredes 2013, 30-31). Sa mga Mandaya, ang *bagani* ang namumuno sa komunidad, nangunguna sa karamihan ng mga gawaing seremonyal sa manapa’y malawak na pulitikal na sakop (Yeyongan 1973). Ang *mabalot* at *maiseg*, parehong mandirigma ng Kulaman, ay may kasuotang pula at itim na may disenyong *tritik* (Cole 1913). Sa pagtanggap ng Kristiyanismo, ang mga *datu* na Bagobo sa kasalukuyan ay tahasang bumubukod sa kanilang nakaraan bilang mandirigma na ipinakikita sa hindi paggamit ng kasuotang *magani* na ipinamana sa kanila (Roces 1991, 200-201). *Matalo* ang tawag sa kalalakihang Bagobo na hindi pa nakapaslang o walang kagustuhang makipaglaban, tumutukoy din ang salitang ito sa mga taong mas gustong manatili sa

panahanan kasama ng kababaihan (Gloria 1987, 41).

### **KASUOTAN AT PAGGAYAK**

Tulad ng karatig nilang mga Moro at karamihan sa mga etnolinggwistikong pangkat ng Pilipinas, ang Lumadnon ay mayroon ding tradisyunal na kasuotan, personal na panggayak at mga tanda sa katawan (larawan 50). Piging sa paningin ang mga kulay, yari at padron, ang mga ito ay naghahatid ng kombinasyon ng sarili at halaw na mga paniniwala at pagsasanay, sinisimbolo ang kanilang pagkakakilanlan, kahusayan sa paglikha at katutubong kapaligiran. Ang mga ito ay naging bahagi ng kanilang masigasig na pakikipagkalakalan at pagkakamag-anakan—sa pamamagitan ng pakikipagpalitan o pagbili, paghiram at pagpapahiram ng mga tradisyunal na kasuotan, kagamitang panggayak at disenyo—na sa huli ay nagiging bahagi ng kanilang pagkakakilanlan at pamanang kultural (Quizon 2007, 2012).

Sa panahon ng pagbibinata at pagdadalaga, kinagawian ng kalalakihan at kababaihang Bagobo, Bukidnon, Mandaya at Manobo na halipan ang kanilang mga ngipin para sa mga layuning estetiko



**Larawan 50**—“Pangkat ng kababaihang Tiruraye,” Cotabato, Mindanao (1901). Mula sa kagandahang-loob ng Philippine Photographs Digital Archive (PHLA374), University of Michigan Digital Collections.

**PINAGTUTUUNANG KULTURAL NA MATERYAL—  
T'NALAK: ANG SAGRADONG SINING NG PAGHABI**

Ang t'nalak ang tradisyunal na kayo ng mga T'boli, partikular na tinutukoy ang mga habing abaka (Musa textilis) na binubuo ng disenyong ikat gamit ang katutubong tatlong kulay na hitem (itim), hulo (pula) at bukay (puti). Daan-daan ang tradisyunal na disenyo ng t'nalak, mula mga padrong heometriko hanggang anyo ng halaman, hayop at tao; ang bang gala/ bangala (nangangahulugang taong nasa seguridad ng kanyang tahanan) ang pinaka-pinahahalagahan sa mga ito (Casiño 1978, 149). Sa pamamagitan ng ikat o resist-dyeing, napapanatili ang natural na kulay ng abaka gawa ng mga mahihigpit na buhol, habang ang kalakhan ng mga hibla ay kinukulayan (larawan 51) ng itim at pula gamit ang sipi mula sa dahon at bunga ng k'nalum (*Diospyros* sp.) at pinagkatamang balakbak ng ugat ng loko (*Morinda citrifolia*). Sunod na inilalapat sa habihang backstrap ang mga nakulayang hibla, handa na sa paghabi.

Malaki ang pagpapahalaga sa t'nalak sa pagsagawa ng mga ritwal at seslong, ang tradisyunal na sistema ng pagpapalitan ng mga T'boli kung saan ito ay mahalagang yaman na pinagpapalit sa mga gong, lagayan ng nganga at tabak ng mga B'laan, Obo at Maguindanao (Mora 2005; Santa Cruz Mission School 2004). Tradisyunal ding gamit ang t'nalak bilang pantaas na kasuotan ng kalalakihan at pambabang kasuotan ng kababaihan (Hamilton 1998b, 45). Ang kumu, isang seremonyal na t'nalak na binubuo ng tatlong entrepanyo, ay nagsisilbing belo ng babaeng

ikakasal at ginagamit din bilang pantabing sa parehang ikinakasal sa isang mahalagang bahagi ng ritwal (Hamilton 1998b, 45). Kabilang din ito sa bride wealth sa tradisyunal na kasunduan sa pag-aasawa, kasama ng iba pang handog gaya ng mga malong at pantaas na kasuotan ng kababaihan na kegal nesif (blusang may burda) at kegal bensewit (blusang may nakar), at iba pang pag-aari ng mga pamilya. Sa kasalukuyan, karaniwang isinusuot ang mga ito tuwing may espesyal na okasyon at pagtitipon sa labas ng kanilang mga komunidad.

Nagpapatuloy na buhay na tradisyon ang paghabi ng t'nalak, nananatiling nakakawing sa mga paniniwalang kultural at ispirital ng mga T'boli ng Timog Cotabato. Tanging kababaihan ang nagsasagawa nito, pinapasa sa mga salinlahi ng mga ina tungo sa mga anak na babae at iba pang babaeng kasapi ng pamilya. Limitado ang paglahok ng kalalakihan sa pagbakbak ng abaka upang maging kemalud o hibla, at pagpapakintab (semaki) ng nayari ng tela. Ang paghabi, kasama ng iba pang pinahahalagahang kasanayan ng mga T'boli, ay nagbibigay prestihiyo sa katayuan ng isang babae at ng kanyang pamilya sa kanilang lipunan (Duhaylungsod at Hyndman 1993; Mora 2005).

Inilalahad ng paghabi ang isa sa mga bukod-tanging ugnayan sa pagitan ng mga tao at mundo ng espiritu sa lipunang T'boli. Marami ang mga may kasanayang manghahabi, ngunit iilan lamang ang may biyaya ng



Larawan 51—Paghahanda ng pagpapakuluan sa dahon ng halamang *k'nalum* (*Diospyros* sp.) na gagamiting itim na pangkulay sa mga hibla ng abaka. Circa 1980. NMP Ethnology Archives.

k'na, o panaginip mula sa espiritu ng abaka na si Fu Dalu (Paterno et al. 2001). Sa pamamagitan ng mga panaginip na ito, ipinagkakaloob ni Fu Dalu sa mga manghahabi ang inspirasyon para sa kanilang bed o disenyo. Kinakailangang maisalin nila sa habihan ang mga ito gamit ang kumplikadong padron sa loob ng labing-apat na araw, kung hindi man, masasaktan ang mga espiritu at magkakasakit ang manghahabi (Paterno et al. 2001). Bago pumutol ng abaka, nananalangin at isinasagawa ang demsu, o ritwal na pag-aalay upang suyuin ang mga espiritu at humingi ng paggabay upang matiyak ang kalidad ng matatapos na tela. Magdadasal muli bago simulan ang paghabi. Inaatas na mangilin ang manghahabi sa pakikipagtalik sa paghabi ng disenyong g'mayaw logi (larawan 52), lalaking ibon sa mga mito, hanggang matapos ang padron. Kabilang pa sa mga ipinagbabawal ang pagdalo sa mga lamay at paglibing, pag-ani ng gulay, at pagkain ng tikung (isda) at hipon na maaaring magdulot ng putol-putol na hibla o pagkasira ng disenyo.



**Larawan 52**–T'nalak na may disenyong g'mayaw logi, habi ni Boi Barbara Ofong, isang *dreamweaver*. Abaka at natural na mga pangkulay. Lake Sebu, South Cotabato. Koleksiyon ng Pambansang Museo ng Pilipinas.

Noong 1960, hinikayat ng Santa Cruz Mission School sa Lake Sebu ang kababaihang T'boli na maghabi at hasain ang kanilang kasanayan sa iba pang gawain gaya ng pagmamanik at pagbuburda bilang pandagdag sa kanilang kita (Tobias 1998). Nakilala kinalaunan ang mga tela at nakahanap ng angkop na lugar sa parehong lokal at pandaigdigang merkado. Nagbigay-daan ito sa komersyalisasyon ng tela at pagmumulat ng mga manghahabi sa bagong mga disenyo at paggamit ng sintetikong pangkulay.

Sa kasalukuyan, maraming manghahabing T'boli ang bahagi pa rin ng produksyon ng mga kayong habing-kamay na ipinagbibili ng mamamakyaw sa mga mall at fashion designer. Sa pamamagitan ng Lake Sebu School of Living Tradition at iba pang sentro ng paghahabi, nagsasanay din sila ng mga nakababatang kasapi ng kanilang mga pamilya at komunidad bilang tulong sa pagpapanatili ng isang mahalagang aspeto ng kanilang kultura para sa mga susunod na salinlahing T'boli. Kabilang sa pangunahing gawaing pang-ekonomiya ang paghabi ng t'nalak sa Lake Sebu, kasama ng pagsasaka, aquaculture at paggawa ng mga muwebles.

Nananatiling mahalagang pamanang kultural ng T'boli ang paghabi ng t'nalak sa kasalukuyan gawa ng tiyaga at sigasig ng mga Master Dreamweaver, na kinakatawan ni Lang Dulay (1925-2015), Manlilikha ng Bayan.



**Larawan 53**–Dreamweaver Hilda Ugay (kanan) at si Jenalyn Ipil sa Pambansang Museo ng Pilipinas noong pagtatanghal ng iba't ibang manghahabi sa kaakibat na programa sa eksibisyong *Hibla ng Lahing Filipino*. 2014. CA Santos/NMP Ethnology.



(plate II-13; Benedict 1916; Cole 1956; Garvan 1927). Ang paghahalip sa ngipin ng mga Bagobo at Kanluraning Bukidnon Manobo ay ginagawa sa pamamagitan ng pagputol at pagkikil sa mga ito hanggang sa tuod na lamang ang naiwan. Paiitiman (LM-006 at LM-007) ang mga ito gamit ang uling na tinipon mula sa piraso ng metal o talim ng kutsilyo o bolo na itinambad sa usok ng nasusunog na kawayan o kahoy na tinatawag nilang *bunggey* (Cole 1913; Gloria 1987, 33-34; Polenda 1989). Ilang araw nila itong tuloy-tuloy na isinasagawa hanggang ang mga ito ay makintab nang itim. Ang mga Mandaya ay gumagamit ng maliliit na bato o di natutukoy na uri ng inangkat na kikil upang hubugin ang kanilang mga ngipin, matapos ay ngunguyain nila ang ugat ng baging ng *anmoñ*, o lalagyan ng uling na tinipon mula sa bakal na talim na iniwan sa nasusunog na balakbak ng puno ng *magawan* (Cole 1913). Maaaring putulin nang pahalang ng mga Bukidnon ang ngipin sa harapan, o magbarena ng butas kung saan kinakalupkop ang alambreng tanso at tumbaga; pinaiitim nila ito sa pagganganga (Cole 1956). Ang pagkikil at pagpapaitim ng ngipin ay ginagawa lamang ng mga kababaihang Subanen (Christie 1909; Lebar 1975). Isa pang uri ng paghalip ng ngipin ay naitala ni Antonio Pigafetta sa mga pinuno ng Butuan at Caraga na mayroong tig-tatlong batik ng ginto sa bawat isang ngipin (Legaspi 1974; Winters 1977).

Ang pagtatatu, kadalasang tinatawag na *pang-o-túb* o *pangotub*, ay ginagawa rin ng parehong kalalakihan at kababaihang Ata, Manobo at Tagakaolo. Karaniwang nasa anyo ito ng itim na mga guhit sa ibayo ng kanilang mga katawan, bisig at galanggalangan (Cole 1913; Garvan 1931; Masinaring 2014). Sa mga Manobo, ginagawa ang pagtatu sa mga indibidwal na nagdadalaga at nagbibinata o indibidwal na itinuturing nilang *hermaphrodite* na dalubhasa sa pagbuburda; ang balat ay binubutas nang walang paunang pagguhit, saka nilalagyan ng uling na tinipon mula sa *olla* o pinggan na nasa taas ng sulong nasusunog (Garvan 1931). Karagdagan sa kagandahan, ginagamit din ng mga Manobo ang mga tatu bilang permanenteng pagkakakilanlan sa mga aliping ilang ulit nang naipagbili noong panahon ng Kastila (Garvan 1931, 70).

Karaniwang gawa sa mga kayo mula sa hinabing abaka ang kanilang tradisyunal na kasuotan, pinalamutian ng mga detalyado at mabusising disenyo. Sa mga pangkat Lumad, ang mga T'boli, Mandaya, Bagobo, B'laan at Kulaman (Manobo) ang tanyag na manghahabi. Kilala ang mga Bagobo sa kanilang mga gawang *plangi/pelang* (LM-107), kung saan ang disenyo ay itinatakda

sa pamamagitan ng pagbubuhol at pagtatali ng tela bago ito kulayan; ang mga Kulaman sa *tritik*, kung saan itinatahi ang padron gamit ang sinulid na may pagkit; ang kayong *ikat* (*resist-dye*) (LM-109 at LM-114) ay sa mga Mandaya at T'boli na gumagamit ng tatlong kulay (Hamilton 1998b). Ang mga Subanen at Bukidnon ay dalubhasa rin sa paghabi ng abaka ngunit matagal na nilang itinigil ito, ang huli noong ika-19 na siglo, samantalang natutunan namang maghabi ng mga Agusan Manobo habang bihag ng mga Mandaya (Christie 1909; Cole 1956; Finley 1913; Garvan 1931; Worcester 1913). Walang manghahabi ang mga Tagakaolo at Teduray; mula sa pakikipagkalakalan sa mga Muslim ang kanilang mga tela (larawan 49) (Quizon 1998; Schlegel 1979).

Marahil dahil sa kanilang matagal nang pangkalakalang relasyon, ang mga kasuotang Lumad—mga saya, kamiseta, pantalon, bag, putong o *headcloth*—ay nagpapakita ng pagkakahawig sa mga kasuotan ng mga pangkat Muslim, partikular sa mga disenyo, gaya ng mga heometrikong hugis, anyo at disenyong tao at hayop tulad ng buwaya at balat ng sawa, mga laylayan, at iba pa. Ginagawa ang mga ito sa pamamagitan ng ganap na kasanayan sa proseso ng pagkukulay, pagbuburda, mga gawaing manik, *kalat* (mga gawaing kabibe), at *appliqué* na tinatawag na *tapang* (itinatapal) o *ginontingan* (mula sa salitang gunting). Kilala ang mga Bukidnon sa kanilang kadalubhasaan sa *appliqué* at pagbuburda, habang ang mga B'laan ay sa mga sayang kinulayan sa paraang *tabi nihok* o *zone-dyeing* at pagbuburda rin (Hamilton 1998b). Naitala rin na ang kabuuang tabas ng pantalon ng kalalakihan ay nagpapakita ng impluwensiyang Europeo, samantalang ang mga blusa ng kababaihang Mandaya ay may pagkakahawig sa gamit ng mga Bisaya noong unang bahagi ng ika-20 siglo. Ito ay ilan sa mga pahiwatig ng impluwensiyang Kristiyanismo sa mga Lumad (Hamilton 1998b, 50).

Ang mga palamuting personal mula ulo hanggang paa na masinsinang ginagamitan ng mga manik, kabibe, baging, buto at lokal na tanso, ay higit na pinatitingkad ang mga makukulay na kasuotang ito. Mayroon silang mga sombrero (LM-045, LM-060, LM-063, LM-064 at LM-086), putong, *earplug* at hikaw (LM-003, LM-027, LM-030, LM-042 at LM-055), kuwintas at palawit (LM-014, LM-022, LM-031, LM-052, LM-056, LM-057, LM-067 at LM-102), at pulseras sa bisig (LM-001, LM-008, LM-016, LM-017, LM-032, LM-033, LM-034, LM-061, LM-062, LM-069 at LM-091), binti at bukong-bukong (LM-002, LM-009, LM-023, LM-024, LM-082, LM-096 at LM-097). Nagsusuot din

ang kalalakihan ng mga hikaw na yari sa garing o kahoy, samantalang ang kababaihan ay mayroong mga suklay na ginayakan ng manik (LM-026 at LM-080), *earplug*, *baliog* (kuwintas), *patina* (baluting pilak; LM-047 at LM-051) at sinturong tanso (LM-025, LM-028, LM-081 at LM-101). Ang mga hikaw na garing at kahoy ay sinusuot ng mga Manobo, habang ang mga B'laan ay nagsusuot ng mga kahoy na *earplug*, payak sa kalalakihan at mayroong mga kalupkop na tanso o kabibe sa kababaihan (Gardner 1930; Gloria 1987; Llamzon 1978). Maliban sa kahoy, gumagawa rin ang mga Bagobo ng hikaw mula sa bahay-pukyutan (Gloria 1987, 63). Nagsusuot din ang kababaihang Bagobo, T'boli at Teduray ng mga bigkis na yari mula sa kadenang tanso (LM-081) at telang binurdahan (Acosta 1981; Cole 1913).

Madalang nang gamitin ang mga ito sa kasalukuyan, karaniwan tuwing espesyal na mga okasyon at pagtitipon na lamang sa loob at labas ng kanilang mga komunidad, at sa mga pagpupulong pulitikal kung saan kasama ang

Lumadnon. Batay sa mga ebidensya ng sinaunang ugnayan at lokal na pagpapaunlad, ang indibidwal na pagkakakilanlan at panlipunang katayuan ay nagaganap sa paggayak ng mga ito. Halimbawa, ang ilang elemento ng kasuotan at paggayak sa silangang Mindanao, partikular sa rehiyon ng Golpo ng Davao, gaya ng paghabi ng abaka gamit ang *backloom* at mga garing na *earplug* at iba pang mahahalagang kagamitan, ay nagpapahiwatig ng mga koneksyon sa komunidad ng Moro sa Celebes at Borneo (Fox 1957). Sa kababaihang T'boli, ang mga pinalamutiang blusa at kuwintas ay ipinamana ng kanilang mga nuno, kung kaya't ipinamamalas din nito ang pagkakawing nila sa kanilang pinagmulan (Duhaylungsod at Hyndman 1993). Marahil sa paggamit ng mga tradisyunal na kasuotang ito sa kasalukuyan, lalo sa mga pagtitipong pulitikal kung saan tinatalakay ang kanilang minanang tinubuung lupa at estado nila bilang mamamayan ng bansa, nabibigyan sila ng mas matatag na diwa ng pagkakakilanlan.

## PANANAW NG MGA LUMAD SA SANDAIGDIG

Ilan sa gawain at materyal na kultura ng mga Lumad ay nagpapahiwatig ng kanilang walang maliw na relasyon sa kanilang sinaunang tradisyong animista. Maaaring nakatutulong ito upang panatilihin nakakawing sa likas na kapaligirang pisikal ng kanilang mga panirahan ang mga inapo ng salinlahing Lumad (Duhaylungsod at Hyndman 1993), sa kabila ng paglilipat-lipat nila sa matagal nang panahon mula sa baybayin hanggang sa kasalukuyang panirahan, gaya ng nakasaad sa kanilang tradisyong pasalita (Paredes 2013, 3). Kabilang sa mga ito ang paniniwala sa anyong ispiritwal sa pamamagitan ng mga palatandaan at pangitain na panuntunan sa kanilang gawain, pag-aalay ng sakripisyo, masikot na ritwal at pagtitipong seremonyal.

### MGA UGNAYAN SA KOSMOS NG LUMADNON

Sa maraming komunidad ng Lumad, ang mga diwata ang may kapangyarihan sa kapalaran at kapakanan ng isang tao o komunidad. Karamihan sa kanila ay mababakas sa mga elementong likas, kabilang ang tanawin, katubigan, halaman at hayop. May ilan naman na kinakatawan ng hindi buhay na bagay, gaya ng mga imaheng kahoy na tinatawag na *manang* o *manaug* (LM-201 hanggang LM-211) ng mga Mandaya (Reyes 1992). Hugis-tao mula ulo hanggang dibdib ang mga

*manang*, karaniwang gawa sa kahoy na *bayug* at pinahiran ng dagta ng nara; nakikilala sa suklay ang babae mula sa lalaking *manang* (Reyes 1992; Schreurs 1994, 245). Ang kataas-taasang diwata ay tinatawag na *Manama* ng parehong Ata at Bagobo; *Megbeveya* o *Nenlimbang* ng mga komunidad ng Manobo; *Magbabaya* ng mga Mansaka, Mandaya, Higaunon at Subanen; *Taginiit* o *Magbabaja* ng mga Dibabawon; *Tulus* ng mga Teduray; *D'wata* ng mga Tagakaolo at Kulaman; *Mele* ng mga B'laan; at *Tahaw* ng mga Mamanwa (Cole 1913; Elkins 1993; Masinaring 2014; Reyes 1992; Tomaquin 2013). Nakikipag-ugnayan sila gamit ang mga palatandaan at pangitain na inaabangan nila sa mga partikular na okasyon at panahon, lalo sa pagtatanim at pangangaso. Kabilang dito ang paglitaw ng partikular na mga konstelasyon, o tunog na gawa ng mga hayop, insekto at ibon, lalo ang huni ng *limokon* (punay) (Ambrosio 2010; Benedict 1916; Cole 1913; Hayase 2007; Masinaring 2014; Mora 1987). Ang mga Bagobo, halimbawa, ay naniniwalang ang tunog ng *limokon* ay mensahe ng mga diyos (Gloria 1987, 45), samantalang para sa mga T'boli, ito naman ay tinig ng mga espiritu at kanilang mga ninuno (Duhaylungsod at Hyndman 1993, 64).

Pagkakaingin ang pangunahing pinagkukunan ng ikinabubuhay sa mga pangkat Lumad (*figure* 24,

mga larawan 55 at 56; Acosta 1994, 77). Nakatala ang ilang mga lugar kung saan sila naglilining sa mga mapang topograpikal ng Mindanao na ginawa noong unang bahagi ng ika-20 siglo (NAMRIA 1956). Yamang may panahon lamang ang pagtanim at limitado ang naaani mula sa palay na hindi pang patubigan, mais at lamang-ugat, karamihan ng mga pangkat ay nangingisda, nagtitipon at nangangaso sa tulong ng mga kabayo at aso, sa halos buong taon (Acosta 1994; Cole 1913; Masinaring 2014). Naitala ng mga Kastila at sa mga etnograpiya ang paghintay ng mga pangkat Lumad sa paglitaw ng *balatik*, grupo ng mga bituin na nakaayos gaya ng bitag, bago simulan ang paghahanda sa paglilingang o pangangaso; tinatawag na *balatik* ng mga B'laan at Bagobo, *bayatik* sa mga Mandaya, *belatik* sa mga Manobo, *magbantal* sa mga Bukidnon, *blotic ehek* sa mga T'boli, at *seretar* sa mga Teduray (Ambrosio 2010; Duhaylungsod at Hyndman 1993; Forsberg 1988). Nagpapahiwatig ng magandang pangitain sa pagpupunla para sa mga Bagobo ang paglitaw ng mga konstelasyong *Mamare* at *Buaya* sa buwan ng Hunyo (Gloria 1987, 39). Ang pagtanim at

pangangaso ay nangangailangan din ng masikot na pagriritwal na hindi kinakailangan sa iba pang gawaing pangkabuhayan, gaya ng pagbigay ng mga alay bago ang pagtanim, pagpapasalamat sa mga espiritung diyos na sina *Hiluto* (Manobo), *Pagsawitan* (Mansaka), *Hinang* (Dibabawon), *Ginum Bonwa* (Subanen), at iba pa (Elkins 1993; Frake 1956; Hires at Headland 1977; Masinaring 2014; Mora 2005).

Kilala bilang mabait sa mga tao ang karamihan sa mga espiritu, gaya ng pangunahing diwata ng mga Teduray na si *Tulus*, habang ang iba naman ay tinuturing na mapayapa maliban kung may ikagalit o ikasakit ng kalooban gawa ng mga tao (Schlegel 1971, 24). Ang mga espiritung mapaghangad ng masama ay pinaniniwalaang pangunahing tagapagdulot ng mga sakit, likas na kalamidad at iba pang sakuna sa komunidad. Ang mga espiritung ito, na minsan ay pinananahanan ang mga katawan ng hayop at tao, ay kilala bilang *buso* (Bagobo) at *busau* (B'laan at Mandaya) (Reyes 1992). Sa mga ganitong pagkakataon, karaniwang gumagamit ang mga tao ng mga balani at anting-anting (LM-196 at LM-197) bilang proteksyon



**Larawan 55**—“A clearing in the jungle...found at no great distance from [the B'laan] dwellings and in them the people raise rice, corn, millet, camotes, sugar-cane, and a few banana and hemp plants,” hango kay Cole (1913, 132 at Plate L). Mula sa kagandahang-loob ng Field Museum (Image No. CSA34942).

*Sumunod na pahina:*

**Larawan 56**—Bahaging pinagtatamnan sa Lambak ng Allah, isang *Protected Landscape* sa pagitan ng mga lalawigan ng Timog Cotabato at Sultan Kudarat. Ito ay kuha mula sa Lamlahak, Lake Sebu, South Cotabato. 2016. ER Tadosa/NMP Botany.





o kaya ay lumalapit sa mga magriritwal. Sa mga T'boli at Teduray, magkabahagi ang mga daigdig ng tao at espiritu, kung saan ang mga espiritu at tao ay tinuturing na magkapantay (Duhaylungsod at Hyndman 1993; Schlegel 1971).

**PAMAMAGITAN SA NAKALIPAS AT KASALUKUYAN SA MGA DAIGDIG NG LUMADNON AT ESPIRITU**

Naaalinsunod na ang mga pagkilos o di pagkilos ukol sa mga palatandaan at pangitaing ito ay may kaukulang malubhang kahihinatnan. Sa mga panahong tulad nito, ang tagapag-ritwal na tinatawag na *baylan* o *bailan* sa Manobo at Mandaya, *baylan* sa Mansaka, *mabalian* sa mga Ata, B'laan at Bagobo, *bolian* sa Subanen, ang namamagitan sa daigdig ng mga espiritu at tao (Cole 1913; Masinaring 2014; Reyes 1992; Schlegel 1971). Ang mga ritwal na pinamumunuan ng *baylan* ay nanghihingi ng paggabay, gaya sa pagtatalaga ng *datu* o *bagani*, o bago magsagawa ng pagsalakay. Para rin ito magpalubag-loob sa napupoot na espiritu tulad ng *buso* o *busau* ng mga Bagobo at B'laan sa oras ng pagkakasakit, kamatayan o likas na sakuna, at pagpapasalamat sa kasaganaan at yabong (Benedict 1916; Cole 1913; Gloria 1987; Masinaring 2014; Reyes 1992). Sa mga pangkat ng Bagobo, lahat ay kalahok sa ritwal, di alintana ang gulang at kasarian (Reyes 1992). Sa mga Manobo at karamihan sa iba pang pangkat Lumad, iniaalay ang mga manok at baboy. Halimbawa, sa ritwal ng pagtatapos ng taon ng mga Arumanen Manobo sa kabundukan ng Pigkawayan sa Maguindanao, nagkakaloob ng maaaring mangyari sa hinaharap ang laman-loob ng mga inalay, gaya ng kalagayan ng panahon (Gaspar 2018, pers. kom.). Noon, pinaniniwalaan nila na ang mga espiritu ay sabik sa laman at dugo ng tao na mga *bagani* lamang ang makapagpapalugod. Sinasaklaw din ng iba pang elemento ang mga pangunahing seremonya ng pagriritwal, gaya ng gong, nganga, inuming seremonyal, panggayak na personal, hinabing kayo at iba't ibang produktong agrikultural (Benedict 1916; Cole 1913; Masinaring 2014; Reyes 1992).

Sa ilang komunidad ng mga Lumad ngayon, ang *baylan* ay mas naitutumbas sa mga denominasyong milenaryan at iba pang anyo ng kilusang may kinalaman sa muling pagpapasigla ng buhay (Acosta 1994, 134; Paredes 2006, 530-534). Sa pangkalahatan sila ay karaniwang naiuugnay sa mga panahon ng krisis sa komunidad, at mga pagbabagong bunsod ng mas madalas na pakikipag-ugnayan sa pamahalaang kolonyal at pambansa, at kagipitang pang-ekonomiya mula sa labas ng komunidad (Hayase 2007, 174; McCoy 1982, 181). Kung ihahambing ang kanilang tugon

sa mga panlipunang krisis sa mga Bisaya at iba pang pangkat, ang mga kilusang *babaylan* ng Mindanao ay tumugon sa mga pagbabagong panlipunan sa pamamagitan ng pagbalik sa milenya (McCoy 1982, 181).

Gaya noong simula ng panahong kolonyal ng Amerika, naitala ng mga Amerikanong etnografo na sina Fay-Cooper Cole (1913) at John Garvan (1931) ang kilusang milenarya ng mga Manobo na tinatawag na *tungud*; malawak ang naabot nito noong 1908. Itinatag ito ni Mapakla, kilala rin sa pangalang Meskinan, isang Manobo na pinaniniwalaang pinagaling ni *Magbabaya* mula sa malubhang pagkakasakit na lumaong nanghikayat sa mga tao na sundin ang kanyang mga tagubilin upang makaligtas sa tinataya nilang paggunaw ng mundo. Upang makaligtas, ipinag-utos ni Meskinan ang pagtayo ng bahay sambahan sa bawat komunidad, pangingilin sa pakikipagtalik, pamumuhay nang payak, at palagiang pagsamba sa kanya sa pamamagitan ng pagriritwal at pag-aalay ng mga materyal na bagay. Nabuwag noong 1910, ang kilusan ay lumaganap sa mga Kristiyano at di-Kristiyanong Manobo, Mandaya, Manguangan at Dibabawon (Garvan 1931). Sa mga sumunod na taon, naitala rin sa magkahiwalay na pangkasaysayang panahon, noong 1941 at 1968, ang mga kilusang milenarya sa mga Bukidnon. Pareho itong pinamunuan ng mga *baylan* na humikayat sa mga tao na ang wagas na kaligayahan at kawalang kamatayan ay makakamit sa pagdaan sa isang bukana sa bundok at kagubatan (McCoy 1982).

Naitala rin ni Garvan (1931, 241) na may mga natutulad na kilusang panrelihiyon noong 1877 na itinatag naman ng mga Moro sa silangang bahagi ng Golpo ng Davao, at noong 1899, ng isang *datung* Manobo na ipinalalagay niyang pinagmulan ng mga balitang peligro sa publiko, tulad ng mga nakahahawang sakit at tangkang pananakop. Sa kanlurang baybayin ng Golpo ng Davao, kaakibat ng layuning manlaban sa kolonyal na administrasyong Amerikano, isang bagong diyos na tinatawag na *Labi* ang sinasamba ng mga Moro, Manobo, B'laan, Tagakaolo at Samal (Hayase 1985, 141-144; 2007, 174). Sa isang banda, itinuturing ang mga ito bilang pagsasanib ng paniniwalang katutubo bago ang pagdating ng mga Kastila at Kristiyanismo, isang pag-aangkop ng Kastilang Katolisismo (Ileto 1979, 11-12). Gayunpaman, nagsasaad din ang mga kilusang ito ng pag-ayon ng Lumadnon na maging bahagi ng mas nakakalaking pambansang estado, at napapangasiwaan ng *baylan* na mapagaan ang pagbabagong ito (Paredes 2006, 533; 1993, 113-

134).

Napansin na ang Katolisismo ay hindi nakapasok nang husto sa mga pangkat Lumad na nagpabagong-loob dito noong panahong kolonyal ng mga Kastila (Bernad 1972, 107; 2004, 47; Paredes 2006, 522); isinasagawa pa rin ang mga tradisyunal na ritwal noong mga unang taon ng pamahalaang kolonyal ng mga Amerikano, batay sa obserbasyon ng mga antropologo at iba pang miyembro ng pamahalaang kolonyal (hal., Benedict 1916; Christie 1909; Cole 1913; Garvan 1927). Bagaman naitala ng mananalaysay na si Miguel Bernad (1972, 132-133) na maaaring madaling matanggap ng mga sinaunang Filipino ang Kristiyanismo gawa ng pagkakahawig nito sa mga relihiyong animista—tulad ng paniniwala sa dakilang nilalang at sa kabilang buhay, paggalang sa mga espiritu ng ninuno sa pamimitagan ng Katolisismo sa mga santo, mga alamat ng paglikha, at iba pa—may ilang mga usaping praktikal na nakaapekto sa pagtanggap ng mga Lumad sa Kristiyanismo. Ilan sa mga ito ay ang limitadong bilang ng mga pari at misyonero; ang pangangailangan upang mapanatili ang proteksyon mula sa impluwensiya ng kapangyarihang Muslim sa buong Mindanao; antiklerikong mga Kastilang opisyal ng pamahalaan; kabilang ang iba pang mga usapin sa pamahalaang kolonyal (De la Costa 1961, 340; Schreurs 1994, 25; 1986, 87-88, 93, 95). Sa mga pangkat Lumad, dagdag dito ang pagkabahala ng mga *datu* sa pagsuko ng kanilang tradisyunal na awtoridad, at muling pag-usbong ng mga lumang alitan at pagkapoot sa pagitan ng mga komunidad at pangkat (Demetrio 1981, 517-518; Schreurs 1986, 101, 110).

Ang kaibhan at kaugnayan sa relihiyong Islam o Kristiyanismo ay lingid sa kaisipan ng mga tao hanggang ika-17 siglo, marahil kaya naging madali para sa mga komunidad ng Lumad na magpalipat-lipat sa pagitan ng dalawang relihiyon (Hayase 2007, 57). Maaaring naitutumbas ng ilan ang relihiyon nila sa Islam o Kristiyanismo, ngunit sa karamihan, ang pagtanggap sa isang relihiyon ay nangangahulugan ng pag-angkop sa kalagayan sa kanilang lokalidad upang bigyang proteksyon ang kanilang sarili at manatili sa kanilang panirahan (Hayase 2007, 65; Tiu 2005, 68). Halimbawa, tinalikuran ng mga naninirahan sa silangang baybayin ng Mindanao ang Katolisismo at kusang-loob na sumama sa mga Muslim nang magapi ang muog ng Tandag sa Caraga na pinanghahawakan ng mga Kastila, habang tinanggap naman ng mga Mandaya ang Kristiyanismo upang makaligtas mula sa mga Muslim (Hayase 2007, 143). Sa loob ng diwang ito, napuna ng mananalaysay na si Peter Schreurs “ang malaking kakayahan para



Larawan 57—Bahagi ng ritwal na *buklug* na isang tradisyunal na piging ng mga Subanen para sa mga yumao, pagpapagaling sa maysakit at pagpapasalamat sa masaganang ani. Gualac, Zamboanga del Norte. 1989. AC Barbosa/NMP Ethnology.

sa pagbabago at pag-aangkop” (1986, 111-112), at antropologong si Shinzo Hayase ang “dunong (kakayanan sa pag-aangkop at pagbagay sa mga kaganapan)” (2007, 57) ng Lumadnon. Dagdag dito, partikular noong mga unang taon ng pagturo ng ebanghelyo, maaaring naging mahirap para sa mga komunidad ng Lumad na unawain ang mga sakramento ng Katolisismo sa loob ng naturang konteksto nito (Bernad 2004, 47).

Salungat naman dito ang isang sektang *fundamentalist* ng Protestantismo na tinanggap ng mga Higaunon ng hilagang Mindanao (Paredes 2006, 522), Bagobo ng Davao (Gloria 1987, 103), at T'boli ng Timog Cotabato (Duhaylungsod at Hyndman 1993, 102-103), at iba pa. Pinapalagay ng antropologong si Oona Paredes na kabilang sa mga nakikitang salik na nagbigay-daan dito ay ang konsepto ng *libung* sa epikong *Ulahingan* na nahuhusto sa pangako ng Bibliya na pagbalik ni Kristo (2006, 549). Dagdag dito, kung ihahambing sa mga Katolikong pari, tinatanggap ng mga misyunaryong Protestante na totoo ang mga masamang espiritu na tinatawag na *busaw* na ipinalalagay nila bilang mga demonyo at nalugmok na mga anghel (Paredes 2006, 544).

## **PINAGTUTUUNANG KULTURAL NA MATERYAL— PANGANGASO AT PAGPAPATIBONG NG HAYOP**

Bahagi ang pangangaso ng tradisyunal na sistemang pangkabuhayan ng maraming komunidad ng Lumad. Maraming naibibigay na yaman ang mga kagubatan sa paligid ng panirahang Lumad, gaya ng mga ibon, manok, usa at baboy ramo. Ang mga mangangaso, karaniwang kalalakihan, ay dalubhasa sa iba't ibang kagamitang gamit sa pagsilo at pagpapanatiling handa ng mga kasama nilang aso na naghahanap ng huhulihing hayop.

Tulad sa pagtatanim, nagsasagawa rin ng mga seremonyang ritwal at nananawagan sa mga espiritu para sa ekspidisyong pangangaso, higit kung isasagawa sa sagradong mga lugar. Sa mga Manobo, minamatyagan ng mangasoon (mangangaso) ang kanyang mga panaginip at bago mangaso, nag-aalay ng panubad (dasal) at nganga sa espiritong nangangalaga ng mga hayop na si Yakan (Masinaring 2014). Bago sila mangaso, ang mga Kanluraning Bukidnon Manobo ay nag-aalay naman ng nganga, sinsilyo at tela kay Lelawag, ang espiritong tagapangalaga ng mababangis na hayop, humihiling ng paggabay at tagumpay (Polenda 1989). Ang mga ekspidisyong pangangaso ng Teduray ay itinuturing na nakakangambang pangyayari dahil maaaring makatagpo ng mga mangangaso ang segoyong, o nangangain ng tao, na dahilan ng mga pinsala, kamatayan at pagkawala ng mga tao (cf. Schlegel 1994, 203; Wood 1957, 19).

Sa kabuuan, ang mga patibong ay parehong itinuturing na modelo ng lumikha (mangangaso) nito, nagsisilbing kahalili niya sa oras ng pangangaso, at modelo ng biktima nitong hayop, kumakatawan sa hangganan ng likas na ugali nito (Gell 1996, 27). Gayundin, nahihinuha mula sa anyo ng mga ginawang patibong ang ugali ng hayop. Matatagpuan ang mga katangiang ito sa iba't ibang kagamitan sa pangangaso na karaniwang gamit ng iba't ibang pangkat Lumad.

Ang mga mangangasong Bagobo at B'laan ay nagmamay-ari ng iniayos na patibong ng labuyo, nakalagay sa isang basket (LM-121) na pinalamutian ng mga manik, balahibo, palawit na buhok ng kabayo, batingaw, at isang maliit na tubo ng kawayan o upo (gourd) na pinaglalagyan ng mga butong pangpa-in. Binubuo naman ng maliliit na silo na gawa sa tinirintas na yantok ang mismong patibong, inilalagay nang may tatlong gilid gamit ang mga kahoy na tulos kung saan nakatali ang bitag na manok sa bukana, upang makahuli ng labuyo sa pagpasok ng paa nito sa mga silo (Cole 1913, 72-73; Lane 1986, 192).

Ang mga mangangasong Bagobo at Mandaya ay gumagawa ng mga masalimuot na patibong o naglalagay ng bitag sa mga lugar kung saan

dumadaan ang mga hayop. Kabilang dito ang pinaghuhulugang bangin at hukay na nilagyan ng pinatalas na kawayang patpat, nakasabit na silong lubid sa mga puno, at ang patibong na tinatawag na balatik o bayatik na nagbibitiw ng palaso tungo sa huhulihing hayop sa sandaling makalabit ito (Cole 1913). Gumagamit din ng patibong na gawa sa kahoy ang mga Bagobo, itinatali sa mga sanga ng puno o ikinakabit sa mga lambat na inilagay sa pagitan ng mga puno o mga poste upang makahuli ng ibon (LM-122) (Cole 1913; Gloria 1987).

Para sa mga Bukidnon, hinuhuli gamit ang mahabang sibat, silo o hinahabol tungo sa paghuhulugang bangin ang malalaking hayop gaya ng usa at baboy damo (Cole 1956). Ang mga Mamanwa ay may iba't ibang silo at patibong sa partikular na hayop, kabilang ang balatik at tibaw para sa baboy, kagong sa ibon, laog sa unggoy, bayod sa milo (civet cat, *Paradoxurus philippinensis*) at daga (Masinaring 2014). Mayroon namang iba't ibang uri ng palaso ang mga B'laan para sa iba't ibang hayop, partikular sa usa, baboy, unggoy, isda at ibon (Cole 1913). Kabilang sa mga kagamitan ng mga Teduray sa pangangaso ay mga patibong na gawa sa paigkas (kotor, ambirut), sibat (feliyad; larawan 58a), mga hukay na tinaniman ng matutulis na kahoy (kanseb), pinahuhulog na troso (diran), pana (bohor) at palaso (banting; LM-140), pangasong sibat (sebat), blowgun (lefuk), at shotgun na gawang bahay (faletik) gamit ang tubong bakal (Schlegel 1994). Partikular na gamit ng mangangasong Teduray ang mga kawayang patibong na may paigkas, pana, palaso at sibat sa mga unggoy, usa at baboy, habang ang mga blowgun na may suliging na may lason ay para naman sa mga ibon (Wood 1957).

May ilan ding kinagawiang kasanayan ang mga pangkat Lumad sa paghahanda at pamamahagi ng mga nahuling hayop matapos ang matagumpay na pangangaso. Sa mga komunidad ng Manobo, dahil ang pangangaso ay gawain lamang ng kalalakihan, sila rin ang namamahala sa pamamahagi at pagluluto nito (Manuel 2000, 110). Hinahati naman nang pahaba ng mangangasong Kanluraning Bukidnon Manobo ang nahuling hayop, itinatabi ang kalahati para sa kanya, at niluluto at ipinamamahagi ang kalahati para sa komunidad bilang alay ng pasasalamat kay Lelawag (Polenda 1989). Karaniwang pantay namang pinaghahatian ng mga sumaping nangasong Bukidnon ang nahuli nila, habang ibinibigay ng mga Teduray ang kalahati sa namuno ng nangasong pangkat na nagtustos ng aso at sandata (Cole 1956; Wood 1957).



**Larawan 58**–Iba't ibang uri ng patibong at panghuli: Sibat (a; LM-141) ng Teduray mula Cotabato; ang *kungan* (b; LM-117) o pinagkukulungan ng nahuling ibon ng Ata Manobo sa Davao at mga inukit na ibong pangpa-in ng Giangan (c; LM-122) ng Ilog Talomo sa Davao, Subanen (d, e; LM-136, LM-137) at Manguangan (f; LM-126) ng Agusan; panghuli ng hipon (g; LM-139) ng mga Teduray sa Cotabato; kawit na gamit ng mga Subanen sa paghuli ng igat (h; LM-135); at dalawang uri ng panghuli ng isda (i, j; LM-125, LM-124) ng mga Higaunon sa Butuan. Koleksiyon ng Pambansang Museo ng Pilipinas.

## **PINAGTUTUUNANG KULTURAL NA MATERYAL— INSTRUMENTONG PANGMUSIKA**

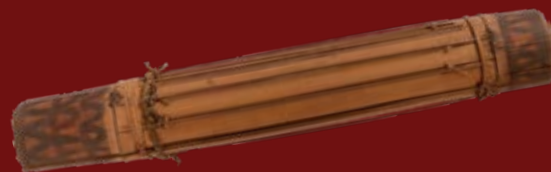
Ang musika ay bahagi ng karamihan sa mga seremonyang ritwal at panlipunang pagtitipon ng mga pangkat Lumad. Ang mga katutubong instrumentong pangmusika sa katimugang Pilipinas ay binubuo ng mga instrumentong percussion at instrumentong may kwerdas at hinihipan na gawa sa tanso, kahoy at kawayan. Karaniwang kabilang sa mga ito ang mga gong, tambol, lute, kudyapi, birimbaw, plauta, at iba pa.

Kutyapi ang tawag ng mga Bukidnon sa lute na may dalawang kuwerdas na karaniwang pinatutugtog ng lalaking musikero; ang kudyapi, o tangkol sa mga Bukidnon at saladay sa mga Manobo, ay karaniwan namang pinatutugtog ng babae (Manuel 1978). Sa mga T'boli, ang mga instrumentong pangmusika ay madalas na kinikilala gamit ang simbolong partikular sa isang kasarian at estetikong katangian ng ulirang lalaki at babaeng T'boli; lembang/lemnek, o may kataasang amplitude, at megel/lemnoy, o may kababaang amplitude, ang mga categoryang ito. Kabilang sa lembang at megel o panlalaking instrumento ang agung (gong), t'nonggong (tambol) at bogul k'lutang (tambol gawa sa kahoy na barakilan); lemnek at lemnoy, o pambabaeng instrumento naman ang hegelung (lute) at s'ludoy (kudyapi) na maaaring patugtugin ng kapwa lalaki at babae (Mora 2005, 46).

Sa mga ito, ang gong na may umbok na gawa sa tanso o bakal ang pinakakilala at ginagamit, tinatawag na agung o agong ng mga Bagobo, Bukidnon, Mandaya, Manobo at T'boli (LM-224) (Benedict 1916; Cole 1913; Garvan 1931; Manuel 1978). Mahalagang pag-aari ng mga datung Lumad ang tansong gong; hindi ito gawang lokal, kundi nagmula sa kalakalan at palitan sa pagitan ng mga pangkat sa rehiyon o bilang bahagi ng bride wealth (Benedict 1916; Garvan 1931). Isinasabit ng mga Bagobo ang agung nang may takip na goma at tela ang umbok, sa kawayan gamit ang yantok na baras, at pinatutugtog sa pagpalo ng maikling patpat, tinatawag na tap-tap (Benedict 1916, 84).

Tambol o tambor ang tawag ng mga Bukidnon sa tambol na magkabilaan, tagonggong ito sa mga B'laan, t'nonggong sa mga T'boli, gimbal sa mga Kulaman (Manobo), guimbao sa mga Mandaya, at gimbar sa mga Bagobo (Manuel 1978; Mora 2005; Schreurs 1994). Karaniwang yari ito sa mga troso o puno ng sasa na nilukab, tinakpan ng hinatak na balat ng baboy o usa sa magkabilang dulo (LM-227 at LM-230) (Garvan 1931). Ang pinagsanib na ritmo ng mga pinatutugtog na tambol na tinatawag na gimbae, at ang agung naman ay karaniwang naririnig sa mga musikang pagtatanghal ng mga Bukidnon at Manobo (Buenconsejo 2000; Cole 1956).

Ang pagkakatulad ng instrumentong musikal ng



*Larawan 59—Taguk, o kudyapi ng mga Bagobo (LM-228), mula sa Ilog ng Upper Talomo, Davao. Koleksiyon ng Pambansang Museo ng Pilipinas.*

mga Lumadnon at Moro ay nagpapakita ng estetiko at simbolikong aspeto ng kanilang panlipunan at kultural na ugnayan. Halimbawa, parehong tumutugtog ang mga pangkat Lumad at Moro ng gong na may umbok tuwing may espesyal na okasyon. Ang tansong grupo ng agong ng mga Bagobo na binubuo ng pito hanggang walong piraso ay isinasabit nang patayo sa silong gamit ang kawayan at mga yantok, pinapalo ng tagapagtugtog habang nakatayo; ang gamit naman ng mga Maranao, tinatawag na kulintang na binubuo rin ng pito hanggang walong pirasong gong, ay nakahiga sa mga buslot na inilagay sa parihabang kuwadro na may disenyong okir (Casiño 1981; Cole 1913). Ang lute na may dalawang kuwerdas ng parehong mga komunidad ng Lumad at Moro sa katimugang Pilipinas ay karaniwang parehong hugis bangka, buwaya o naga (kathang-isip na ahas); gaya ng kutyapi ng Bukidnon at kudyapi o kudiapi ng Maranao (Casiño 1981; Cole 1913; Manuel 1978; Polenda 1989). Mayroon ding magkabilaan tambol at birimbaw ang mga Maranao, tinatawag nilang gandangan at kubing (Manuel 1978).

Mahalagang bahagi rin ng buhay panlipunan, kultural at espiritwal ng Lumadnon ang paggawa ng musika. Pinaniniwalaan ng mga nakatatandang Kanluraning Bukidnon Manobo na natuto ang taong tumugtog ng kutyapi (lute na hugis bangka) sa pakikinig sa mga espiritung naninirahan sa puno ng balete sa gabi, habang nagpapatugtog sila ng kutyapi, pulala (plutang kawayan) at deyzey (byolin na gawa sa kalahating bao) (Polenda 1989).

Sa lipunang T'boli, iniuugnay ang mga instrumentong pangmusika at paggawa ng musika sa kuwento ng kanilang pinagmulan at mga bayani, partikular ang ligawan sa pagitan nila Boi Henwu at Lemugot Mangay (Mora 1987). Ayon dito, nagpatugtog ang unang babaeng T'boli, si Boi Henwu, ng tambol na barakilan bago umakyat sa langit upang makasama ang kanyang mangingibig, ang diyos na si Lemugot Mangay na lumikha ng mga instrumentong pangmusika bilang talinghaga ng kanyang pag-ibig kay Boi Henwu. Sa gayon, ang bogul k'lutang (ang barakilang tambol na pinatutugtog gamit ang malyete) ay iniuugnay kay Boi Henwu; ang hegelung (lute; LM-237 at LM-238), s'ludoy (kudyaping kawayan na maraming kuwerdas), kumbing (barimbing),

d'wegey (byolin na patusok na may isang kuwerdas) at ketimbow (instrumentong ngayon ay wala na) ay iniuugnay naman kay Lemugot Mangay (Mora 1987, 190-192; 2005, 32-34). Nauugnay rito ang isa sa mga tradisyunal na paraan sa komunidad ng T'boli upang patunayan ang pagkakasundo ng magkapareha, ang matagumpay na pagtatanghal ng seguyun, isang pangkat pangmusika kung saan lalaki ang nagpapatugtog ng hegelung at babae naman na s'ludoy (Mora 1987, 197).

Makikita rin ang panlipunan at kultural na aspeto ng paggawa ng musika ng mga T'boli sa sebelang, isang komposisyong instrumental (utom) na itinatanghal lamang tuwing moninum (seremonya ng kasal), kung saan sabayang nagtatanghal ng magkaibang utom ang magkabilang partido ng ikakasal; ang isang utom ay nagpapatugtog ng tambol at grupo ng instrumentong percussion (t'nonggong ne kemsal), ang isa naman ay nagpapatugtog ng nakasabit na grupo ng gong na may umbok (s'lagi) (Mora 2005, 46). Gayundin, nagbibigay ng panlipunan at pang-ekonomiyang prestihiyo hindi lamang sa kanyang pamilya, kundi sa kanya ring asawa, ang isang babaeng T'boli na mahusay sa pag-awit, paggawa ng musika, o pagsayaw (Casal 1978; Mora 1987).

Maliban sa mga seremonyang ritwal at pagpipiging, pinapadali rin ng instrumentong musikal ng mga komunidad ng Lumadnon ang sistemang pagtutulongan at pagpapanumbalik ng kultura. Halimbawa, pinatutugtog ng mga T'boli ang k'lutang bilang hudyat sa iba't ibang okasyon gaya ng sesolong o pagpapalitan, sa pagdiriwang ng matagumpay na pangangaso, at sebonok o paghiganting pagpaslang, kung kailan sabay ding hinuhudyat ang pagtungo ng ipinaghiganting loyof (kaluluwa) sa kayung (mas nakatataas na lugar) (Mora 1987, 205). Pinapalo ng mga kamag-anakang Manobo ang kanilang mga gong upang magpaabot ng mensahe o humingi ng tulong tuwing may pag-aaway o pangayaw (Arcenas 1993; Garvan 1931; Manuel 2000). Tumatawag naman ng espiritu ang tunog ng mga gong at tambol na saliw sa lisag (ritmong sayaw) ng mga Agusan Manobo tuwing ritwal ng pagkawala ng malay o yana-an (Buenconsejo 2000).

Ang mataas na pagpapahalaga ng lipunang Manobo sa kanilang mga instrumentong pangmusika ay

mas pinagtibay pa bilang kinatawan ng pagpapakilala sa sarili at tunay na pinagkukunang puhunan para sa kultural na pagbabagong-buhay ng kilusang Tuddok to Kalubbaran ni Apo Ayon Umpan, binuo ng kamag-anakang Manobo noong muling pagsasama nila sa Sayaban, Lunsod ng Kidapawan, Hilagang Cotabato (Alejo 2000, 98-99). Higit sa pagkamit at pagtugtog ng kanilang mga instrumentong pangmusika sa mga susunod na pagtitipon ang ginawa ng kilusang Tuddok. Inilahad nila kalaunan ang kontekstong pulitikal ng gawaing ito, ang muling pagsasama-sama ng kamag-anakan nila bilang puwersang kritikal at potensyal na magpapalakas sa muling pag-angkin ng karapatan upang panghawakan ang tinubuan nilang lupa, partikular sa mga lugar sa Bundok Apo na okupado ng heotermal na planta ng Philippine National Oil Company (PNOC) (Alejo 2000, 104).

Kasama ng iba pang mga tradisyunal na sining at kasanayan, ang Pambansang Komisyon para sa Kultura at Sining (NCCA) ay nag-aalok ng pagsasanay at workshop sa katutubong musika na isinasagawa ng mga buhay pang maestro sa di-pormal na paaralan sa mga komunidad sa buong bansa, kilala bilang School of Living Tradition (SLT). Ilan sa mga naitatag na SLT sa Mindanao ay ang Buhangin Davao City SLT (sining pagtatanghal ng Ata Matigsalog), South Cotabato SLT (pagtugtog ng instrumentong musika ng B'laan), Caraga, Davao Oriental SLT (instrumentong pangmusika ng Mandaya), Bukidnon SLT (sayaw, awit at instrumentong pangmusika ng Tigwahanon Matigsalog Manobo) at Zamboanga del Sur SLT (instrumentong pangmusika, awit at sayaw ng Subanen) (NCCA 2015).



Larawan 60—Mga manunugtog ng hegelung noong Helobung Festival sa Lake Sebu, South Cotabato. Nobyembre 2016. JT Marquinez/NMP Ethnology.

Ang mga pagritwal at pagtitipon ng mga Lumad ay hindi lamang mga saligan ng pagkilala sa mga espiritu, ngunit sa mga ito nabibigyan ng pagkakataong maihatid at mabigyang-kahulugan ang mga nakaugaliang alituntunin at tradisyon sa pamamagitan ng pagkain, pag-inom, pagsayaw at pagbigkas ng awit pang-seremonya ng mga nakababatang salinlahi. Halimbawa sa seremonyang *keligaan*, isang ritwal ng pagpapagaling na nagbibigay-buhay sa ilang bahagi ng epikong *Ulegingen*, sinasayaw ng mga Kanluraning Bukidnon Manobo ang *legudas* upang magpalubag-loob sa mga espiritu at pagalingin ang may sakit (Polenda 1989). Ang pangkat ng kalalakihan at kababaihan ay sumasayaw nang nakapalibot sa *baylan* sa saliw ng ritmo, kasabay ang pag-awit sa mga espiritu.

Bagaman hindi sa paraan ng malayang pagpili, gawa ng pagkawala ng kanilang minanang tinubuang lupa, karamihan ng mga lipunang Lumad ay ginawang umakma sa ekonomiyang pananalapi sa pamamagitan ng paglilalang ng pananim na maipagbibili at paghahanap ng panandaliang sahurang paggawa sa pagtotroso at minahan. Sa gayon, ang pagritwal sa mga espiritu upang humingi ng tulong ay taliwas na sa kasalukuyang konteksto at karaniwang itinuturing bilang karagdagan gastusin sa kanilang nauubos nang pinagkukunang-yaman (Paredes 2006, 544). Halimbawa, ang *moninum* ay kilala bilang pinakamaringal at pinakamasikot na seremonyang pagpipiging ng mga T'boli, karaniwang binubuo ng serye ng anim na pagpipiging sa loob ng dalawa hanggang anim na taon sa siklong agrikultural, nagsisilbi bilang pagpapatibay ng pag-aasawa at/o ugnayan mula sa pag-aasawa sa pagitan ng mga pamilya at komunidad, at ritwal ng pagpapagaling sa mga maysakit na kamag-anakan (Duhaylungsod at Hyndman 1993; Mora 2005). Sa isang panayam noong Nobyembre 2016 sa Lake Sebu, pinahayag ni *Boi Rosie Sula* na maging ang mga mayamang pamilya ng T'boli sa kasalukuyan ay mas payak ang pagdiriwang ng kasalan kaysa isagawa ang matagal na paghahanda at masalimuot na atas ng tradisyunal na *moninum*.

#### **PAGLILIBING AT ANG MGA MINANANG TINUBUANG LUPA**

Naisama sa mga tala ang kapuna-punang takot ng mga pangkat Lumad sa espiritu, hindi lamang sa *busau* kundi pati sa yumao (Finley 1913; Garvan 1931). Sa mga Manobo, ang alay na pampalubag ay nganga, manok at baboy, habang ang tambol at gong ay pinatutugtog sa buong hanggan ng lamay upang bugawin ang mga masasamang espiritu (Garvan 1931, 133). Nililisan ng pamilya ng pumanaw na Bagobo ang kanilang bahay

matapos magsakripisyo ng tao dahil “wala na ang tao at nararapat ding mawala na ang bahay niya” (Gloria 1987, 44). Nilalaman ng mga tala noong unang bahagi ng ika-20 siglo na ang mga yumao na nakapaloob sa trosong hinungkab o nakabalot sa mga banig, ay inililibing nang nakabaon sa lupa, sa hinungkab na punongkahoy, minsan sa ilalim ng bahay, o matataas na lugar sa loob ng dalawang araw mula pagkamatay (Cole 1956; Finley 1913; Garvan 1931; Gloria 1987; Guérgen 2010; Schreurs 1994, 42). Napansin na naglilibing sa natural na kuweba ang mga Subanen (Finley 1913). Lumalabas na ganito rin sa mga Manobo na nakitang nagtutungo sa mga kalapit na kuweba sa okasyong kinakailangang magsumamo sa mga ninuno, partikular ang mga libing bago ang ika-20 siglo (Garvan 1931).

Pinagtitibay ang mga ito ng kamakailang arkeolohikal na pagsisiyasat. Halimbawa, kabilang sa mga natuklasan sa talampas ng Kulaman (914 meters above sea level [masl]) sa Cotabato ay ang mga urnong apog (LM-217 at LM-218) na may kasamang labi na pinapalagay mula noong 1450 taon bago ang kasalukuyan (BP) (Briones 1972; Kurjack at Sheldon 1970; Maceda 1964, 1965; Samson 2008). Ang parehong antropomorpiko at di antropomorpikong sisidlang yari sa luwad na ginamit bilang pangalawang libingang banga ay natagpuan din sa Pinol, Maitum, Sarangani (larawan 61), at, gamit ang mga kasamang labi, pinapalagay mula noong 2020 BP (Cuevas at de Leon 2008; Dizon 1991; Dizon *et al.* 1992). Iminungkahi rin ng mga arkeologo na ang takip na antropomorpiko ay nagpapakita ng pagtangka ng mga magpapapalayok na maisalarawan ang yumao (Dizon at Santiago 1996). Ayon kay Datu Angul, isang Manobo, noong ika-21 ng Nobyembre, 2015 sa kanilang paunang pagbisita sa eksibisyong ito, ang mga antropomorpikong takip na bahagi ng kabuuan ng mga kagamitang panlibing ay isang kagawiang nauugnay sa pagsamba sa mga ninuno.

Sa mga lugar na pinaglibingan sa Suatan, Lungsod ng Butuan, nakita sa mga arkeolohikal



**Larawan 61**—Mga takip na *anthropomorphic* ng libingang banga mula sa Kuweba ng Ayub sa Maitum, Sarangani Province (kaliwa hanggang kanan: LM-221, LM-220 at LM-219). Koleksiyon ng Pambansang Museo ng Pilipinas.

na paghuhukay na ang mga yumao ay inililibing sa mga kabaong na nilukab na trosong *dongon* (*Heritiera littoralis*) na may pansarang paltak; kasama ng labi ang personal na kagamitan ng yumao (Burton 1977). Ang mga kabaong na kahoy na may kasamang kagamitang pangkalakalan na pinapalagay mula noong ika-15 siglo sa Butuan ay nagpapahiwatig na unang naging panirahan ang mga ito, kinalaunan ay pinaglibingan.

Dahil sa kakulangan ng mas malalim na pag-aaral at malimit na pandarayuhan ng Lumadnon na nasasaad sa kanilang kasaysayang pasalita, hindi posibleng matukoy ang mga populasyong nanahan sa pook arkeolohikal sa mga tantiyang petsa na nabanggit. Sa kasalukuyan, ang mga

lugar na ito ay kilalang panirahan ng mga Manobo, Teduray, T'boli at B'laan (BALC 1994 kay Paredes 1997, 285; Briones 1972; Duhaylungsod at Hyndman 1993, 63-64).

Ang paglilibing ng Lumadnon ay isa sa mga dahilan kung bakit ang lupa ay itinuturing na pisikal na kinatawan ng kanilang pagkakakilanlang etniko, dagdag pa, dito rin inihahayag ang kanilang pagpapahalaga sa buhay na makikita sa kanilang kasanayan sa paglilinang, paggawa at pagbabahaginan (Duhaylungsod at Hyndman 1993, 72; Paredes 2007, 31). Ang ilan sa mga lugar na ito rin ang konkretong representasyon ng kanilang pasalitang kasaysayan (Duhaylungsod at Hyndman 1993, 72; Paredes 2013, 31).

## SINAUNANG MGA UGNAYAN AT TAGPO

Ang mga Lumad ay masigasig na kalahok sa kalakalan, palitan at iba pang mga gawain sa rehiyong ngayon ay tinatawag na Timog-Silangang Asya, gaya ng karatig nilang mga Muslim. Mula sa mga pag-aaral sa arkeolohiya, kasaysayan at etnograpiya, mayroong mga ebidensya mula sa panahong *pre-contact* hanggang sa unang bahagi ng ika-20 siglo na nagmumungkahi na ang iba't ibang pangkat Lumad ay nakasusong sa mga kasunduang pulitikal at sosyo-ekonomiko, salungat sa nananaig na sila ay mga taong babahagya ang kasaysayan o walang kasaysayan (Alejo 2000, 192; Duhaylungsod at Hyndman 1993, 70; Fox 1957, 2-3; Paredes 2000, 75; 2013, 6-7).

### SINAUNANG PAKIKIPAG-UGNAYAN, PAKIKIPAGMUOK AT MGA ALYANSA

Ang mga Lumad ay mayroong kapamaraan upang makakuha ng mga ekolohikal na yamang karaniwang matatagpuan sa mga ilaya ng Mindanao. Napatunayang mahalaga ang mga ito bilang pamalit sa mgaangkat at mamahaling mga kalakal mula sa mga banyagang negosyante. Sa isang banda, nagsilbi itong lakas ng lokal na bahagi ng malawakang sistema ng kalakalang pandagat kung saan ang mga pamunuan sa Mindanao at Sulu ay kabilang. Mayroong mga mahalagang ebidensiya ng masikot na istrukturang pulitikal sa mga komunidad ng Pilipinas na itinatag upang mag-anyaya, panatilihin, at lalong palawigin ang mga ugnayan at paglahok sa relasyon at kalakalang panlabas, katulad ng mga ulat at tala ng mga kasunduan sa pakikipagkalakalan, pag-aasawa at pagsalakay (Fox 1957, 7; Junker 2000, 292-303; Scott 1994, 173-175).

Walang pag-aalinlangang mayroong mga

kasunduang naitatag sa pagitan ng mga pangkat Lumad na hindi lamang batay sa pagkakamaganakan, maging sa kalapit na mga Moro. Isang halimbawa nito ay ang kalakalang relasyon ng mga Manobo sa mga Matigsalug, Tawahawa (Tagabawa) at Jangan (Bagobo) na pinagkukunan nila ng mga talim na *pahiluma*, kabayo at kayong abaka (Gloria 1987; Manuel 2000). Naitala rin na sila ay nakikipagpalitan sa mga mangangalakal na Muslim sa Ilog ng Pulangi hanggang ika-19 na siglo. Dito nila nakuha ang mga talim, gong, pinggan at mangkok mula Tsina na nagiging *pusaka* o pamana ng mga ninuno sa mga kasalukuyang populasyon ng kanilang inapo (Manuel 2000). Sa Ilog ng Agusan naman kalahok ang mga Higaunon at iba pang pangkat Manobo sa lokal na bahagi ng malawakang kalakalan ng Butuan sa mga taga-Tsina at Champa (ang sinaunang kahariang Indochina na sakop ngayon ng timog Vietnam) na kinabibilangan ng ginto, pagkit kanela o *cinnamon*, *civet*, yantok, abaka at iba pang kalakal mula sa kagubatan mula pa noong ika-10 siglo (Cembrano 1998; De la Costa 1965; Sy 1970).

Isa pang natutulad na relasyon ay ang Teduray at Maguindanao na inilalarawan sa isang pasalitang kasaysayan ng parehong Lumad at Moro noong pagdating ng unang Sultan ng Maguindanao na si Shariff Kabungsuwan (Eugenio 1996; Wood 1957). Tungkol ito sa magkapatid na sina Tabunaoway at Mamalu, mga nuno ng mga Maguindanao at Teduray, na nakatira sa pook ng Ilog ng Pulangi. Umanib ang mas nakababatang si Tabunaoway sa Islam pagdating ni Shariff Kabungsuwan, samantalang ipinagpatuloy ng mas nakakatandang si Mamalu ang minanang paniniwala. Nagkasundo silang magbukod—si Mamalu ay lumipat sa



## PINAGTUTUUNANG KULTURAL NA MATERYAL— PAGNGANGANGA

Ang pagnganganga ay malawakang isinasagawa sa iba't ibang pangkat etnolinggwistiko sa Pilipinas. Sa Lumadnon, kilalang kaugalian ito ng kababaihan at kalalakihang Bagobo at Manobo (Benedict 1916; Cole 1913).

Ang nganga o mamá ay karaniwang binubuo ng ikapat ng bungang areca (*Areca catechu*; LM-239), kasama ang buyo o dahon ng ikmo (*Piper betle*; LM-240), kaunting apog o tabon-tabon (*Atuna racemosa*; LM-242) at tabako (*Nicotiana tabacum*; LM-241). Lumilikha ng pulang dura ang pagnguya nito. Sabay na nginunguya ng Manobo at Higaunon ang nganga at buyo kasama ang apog mula sa sinunog na talukap ng panlupang suso (*Pila spp.*), tabako at bunga ng yantok. May mga pagkakataong naglalagay din ng balakbak ng kalingang (Mindanao cinnamon; *Cinnamomum mindanaense*) para sa karagdagang lasa at amoy (Burton 1977; Cembrano 1998). Gamit ang maliit na pandikdik, dinudurog naman ng iba ang mga sangkap hanggang pino na ito, gaya ng karaniwang ginagawa ng matatandang kalalakihan na Bagobo at Bukidnon, at mga indibidwal na may ginawang pagbabago sa ngipin nila para sa layuning estetiko (Cole 1913, 1956).

Karaniwang itinatabi ang mamá para sa sariling pagkonsumo, binabahagi bilang pahayag ng pagkakaibigan o mabuting pakikitungo sa mga bisita na maaaring kakilala o dayuhan, o gamit bilang bahagi ng isang seremonyal na pag-aalay. Itinuturing din itong pangangailangan upang matamo ang parehong kanais-nais na kalagayan sa pakikitungo sa tao at nasa mundo ng espiritu. Sa mga Kanluraning Bukidnon Manobo, ang mamá ay paraan upang makapagtatag ng kaugnayan sa ibang tao, at nagsisilbing bahagi ng mga seremonyal na pag-aalay upang pukawin ang mga diyos sa paghingi ng kanilang tulong (Polenda 1989).

Ang nganga ay itinuturing din na handog mula sa Kataastaasang Nilalang na nagbibigay ng walang-hanggang buhay at lakas ng pangangatawan.

Mahalaga ito sa mga Bukidnon Manobo bilang anyo ng gamot. Makikita ito sa isang eksena sa epiko nilang Ulahingan o Ulegingen, kung saan ang isang babaeng may ketong na pinagaling ng nganga, nanggangalang Mungan, ay tumanggap ng walang-hanggang buhay at bilang huling hakbang sa pagiging ganap na shaman, kumonsumo ng bunga ng areca na may guhitang ginto mula kay Nengazen (Polenda 1989). Sa gayon, patuloy ang tradisyon ng pagnganga sa mga Bukidnon Manobo.

Kabilang sa mga seremonya na nangangailangan ng pag-aalay ng nganga ay ang ritwal ng pagmamay-ari ng espiritu o yana-an ng mga Agusan Manobo para sa mga tumutulong sa espiritu, at bago ang pagtanim sa mga Bagobo (ginum) at Bukidnon (kaliga), at iba pa (Achanzar 2007; Buenconsejo 2000; Cole 1956). Sa setefungor o seremonya ng pag-aasawa ng mga Teduray, naghahandog ng nganga sa ikinakasal ang ina ng babae na itinatago nila hanggang kanilang kamatayan (Schreurs 1994, 40).

Ang mga sangkap ng nganga ay karaniwang itinatabi sa mga kahong gawa sa tanso, o dala-dala sa mga pinalamutiang basket o lukbutan sa paglalakbay (larawan 62; LM-249 at LM-255; tingnan ang figure 5). Ang mga tansong pinaglalaman ng nganga ay karaniwang may bilang na apat o isang parisukat na kahong hinati sa tatlo o apat para sa bawat sangkap. Maaaring dalhin ito gaya ng lalagyan ng sigarilyo o itago sa tahanan para sa mga bisita (Casiño 1981). Ang lalagyang tanso ng mga Teduray ay nakuha mula sa mga Maguindanaon, kapalit ng produkto mula sa kagubatan, gaya ng yantok at pulot na kasama ng iba pang kalakal tulad ng kris, mga kuwintas, gong at sibat; ginagamit ito bilang bride price (Schlegel 1994). Dinadala naman ng kalalakihan at kababaihang Bagobo ang nganga at tabako sa mga sakong nakasabit sa kanilang likod, o pinalamutiang mga bag at basket (Cole 1913). Gumagamit din ng hiwalay na lalagyan ng apog para sa nganga na gawa sa maliliit na tubong kawayan, upo (gourd) o talukap.



**Larawan 62—Iba't ibang uri ng lagayan ng nganga at tabako.** Kaliwa hanggang kanan: Buka binudai (LM-261) para sa tabako ng Mandaya mula sa Caraga, Davao. Binuta (LM-252) ng mga Bagobo ng Ilog Talomo, Davao. Ankub (LM-245) para sa nganga ng kababaihang B'laan mula sa Padada, Davao. Pinalamutiang bakat (LM-258) para sa nganga ng Mandaya mula sa Agusan Valley. Mga *mamá* (LM-253 at LM-254) ng Bagobo na gawa sa brass, mula sa Calinan, Davao. Koleksiyon ng Pambansang Museo ng Pilipinas.



Larawan 63—“An Atá young man,” Davao, Mindanao (1901).  
Mula sa kagandahang-loob ng Philippine Photographs  
Digital Archive (PHLA400), University of Michigan Digital  
Collections.

kabundukan at si Tabunaoway ay nanatili sa kapatagan—at magkalakalan (Schlegel 1972; Wood 1957). Ipinaliliwanag nito ang komersyo sa pagitan ng dalawang pangkat mula pa noong ika-14 hanggang ika-19 na siglo na nakatala sa mga pangkasaysayan at etnograpihong pag-aaral (Schlegel 1994, 19-21). Nangangalap ang Teduray ng pangkalakal mula sa kagubatan tulad ng pagkit, yantok at dagta ng puno kapalit ng kayo, metal, palayok at asin na gamit nila bilang *bride wealth*, para sa pakikidigma, mga ritwal at bilang tanda ng katayuan sa buhay. Ipinagpapalit ng Maguindanao ang mga ito sa itinalagang lugar ng pagpapalitan sa Cotabato (humigit kumulang taong 1515, ngayon ay Lungsod ng Cotabato) para sa porselana, sutla at iba pang mga mamahaling kalakal (Junker 2000). Kabahaginan din ng Teduray at Maguindanao sa kasaysayang ito nina Mamalu at Tabunaoway ang Manobo (Casiño 2000, 305-311, tala bilang 13 kay Hayase 2007, 76). Tinustusan ng Subanen ng Zamboanga at Bagobo ng Davao ang itinalagang lugar ng pagpapalitan sa Jolo (humigit kumulang taong 1450) ng mga kalakal mula sa dagat at kagubatan sa pamamagitan ng mga Sama (Junker

2000, 232).

Isa pang salaysay ng pagkakamag-anak ng mga Lumad at Moro ang pasalitang kasaysayan na nagtatampok sa magkapatid na sina Balaoy at Belen na ninuno ng mga Bukidnon at Maranao (Lao 1987, 23-31). Pinaniniwalaang ang magkapatid na naglalakbay sa karagatan ay dumating sa Mindanao sa paghanap ng inuming tubig. Nagkasundo silang maggagalugad nang hiwalay—binagtas ng mas nakatatandang si Belen ang kinikilala ngayon bilang Lanao del Sur at umabot sa kasalukuyang Upper Pulangi Valley, samantalang sinundan ni Balaoy ang ilog tungo sa kasalukuyang lalawigan ng Bukidnon; tanaw mula sa dalawang lugar na ito ang Lawa ng Lanao.

Naitala rin ang pag-aasawa at iba pang mga sanduguan hindi lamang sa pagitan ng iba't ibang pangkat Lumad, kundi maging sa pagitan ng mga Lumad, Moro at Bisaya bago pa dumating ang Kastila (Cole 1913; Fraiser 2001; Hayase 2007; Manuel 2000; Paredes 2013). Ilan sa pangkat Lumad na mayroong ugnayan sa Moro sa pag-aasawa ay ang Bagobo, Manobo at Subanen, kung saan sa huling pangkat sinasabing nagmula ang Morong pangkat ng Kolibugan na may wikang nahahalintulad sa Subanen (Christie 1909). Ang pangunahing layunin ng mga kasunduang ito ay tiyakin na mapakinabangan ang ugnayang pulitikal na ito tuwing *pangayaw* o pananalakay na isinasagawa upang matamo ang katarungan, makabihag ng mga alipin, o magkamit ng pagkilalang sosyo-ekonomiko (Cole 1913; Elkins 1993; Hayase 2007). Ang mga T'boli ay mayroon ding kasunduang tinatawag nilang *sabila*, matibay at panghabambuhay na pagkakaibigan sa pagitan ng mga *datu* na itinatag sa ritwal ng pagpapalitan ng mga handog. Sa ganitong paraan naitatag ang kanilang alyansa sa mga *datung* Muslim, Manobo at B'laan noong unang panahon (Duhaylungsod at Hyndman 1993, 70).

Ang *pangayaw* o pagsalakay ay isinasagawa sa pagitan ng mga pangkat Lumad, halimbawa, Bagobo laban sa Ata, B'laan at Tagakaolo, Ata laban sa B'laan, o laban sa mga pangkat Moro (Cole 1913; Gloria 1987). Kadalasang tumutulong sa *pangayaw* na pinamumunuan ng Moro ang kaugnay nilang pangkat Lumad hanggang sa Visayas, gaya ng Karaga (maaaring mga Mandaya na naninirahan sa Caraga, ngayon ay bahagi ng Davao Oriental) sa mga Maguindanao (Paredes 2013, 27). Ang pagpugot ng ulo, maging ng iba pang bahagi ng katawan, ay karaniwang gawain ng Kulaman (Manobo), Bukidnon at B'laan, pinanghahawakan bilang pagpapatunay ng pagkitil ng buhay, o hanggang maisagawa ang

seremonyang ritwal para kay Talabusao, ang diyos na lumilingap sa mga *bagani* ng Bukidnon (Cole 1913, 1956; Wood 1957). Sa mga Bagobo, ang mga aliping di-Bagobo ang isinasakripisyo upang magpalubag sa mga espiritu sa pagkakataong may kalamidad o pumanaw ang isang *magani* o *datu* (Benedict 1916; Gloria 1987, 18-19; Hayase 2007, 162).

### **MGA MISYONG KASTILA SA MINDANAO**

Kakaunti lamang ang pagbanggit tungkol sa mga Lumad noong panahon ng Kastila. Isang malinaw na dahilan nito ang noong hinaharap na hamong organisasyunal ng pamahalaang kolonyal sa pagpapalakad sa Mindanao bilang bahagi ng kolonya, karagdagan sa malawakang oposisyon ng mga Moro (Bernad 1972, 107; Wernstedt at Simkins 1965). Gayunman, ipinakikita ng kamakailang mga arkibal na pag-aaral ang matagal nang relasyon sa pagitan ng mga pangkat Lumad at misyonerong Recoletos (*Orden de los Agustinos Recoletos*) na nagtagal ng humigit-kumulang tatlong siglo partikular sa hilagang-silangan ng Mindanao; sa kabilang banda, kinikilala nila ang mahalagang bahagi ng Mindanao sa pagkakatatag ng kanilang Orden (Bernad 1972, 239; Paredes 2013, 43). Kabilang sa mga Lumad na may kaugnayan sa Recoletos ay kilala bilang mga Kagayanon, Karaga at Tagoloan na ang mga panirahan ay matatagpuan sa ngayong Cagayan de Oro, Agusan del Sur at Davao Oriental (Paredes 2013, 65, 89, 125).

Taong 1596 nang maitatag sa Butuan ng mga Heswita ang kanilang unang misyon (Arcilla 2013, 18; Bernad 1972, 215, 248; De la Costa 1961, 163). Sa isang banda, nagsilbi silang pari sa mga pwersang Kastila noong kasagsagan ng ekspedisyon laban sa mga Muslim at, sa maikling panahon, pinangasiwaan din nila ang pamunuang Kastila sa rehiyon; ipinadala sila sa Mindanao mula 1861 hanggang 1899 upang ipabatid ang ebanghelyo sa mga naiiwang hindi binyagang populasyon (Arcilla 2013). Sa kabuuan, nagbunga ng pagbabagong-loob ng mga Lumad tungo sa Katolisismo ang misyong Kastila, bagaman lumilitaw na mayroong mga *datu* na piniling hindi magbagong-loob, sa halip nakipagtulungan na lamang sila (Paredes 2013, 77; Schreurs 1994, 212-213). Itinayo ang himpilan ng misyon at kuta sa mga lugar kabilang ang Tandag, Bislig, Butuan, Cagayan de Oro, Iligan, Dapitan, Zamboanga, Siargao at Linao (ngayon ay Bunawan) (Wernstedt at Simkins 1965, 84).

Pinagkakaila ng mga kasalukuyang *datung* Higaunon na nasupil ng kolonyalista at misyonerong Kastila ang kanilang mga ninuno, at

gawa ng kakaunting pahiwatig ng impluwensiyang Kastila sa mga Lumad, mahirap itong pabulaanan (Paredes 2013, 2). Iminumungkahi ni Paredes na maaaring ganito nga ang nangyari, dahil sanay na ang mga komunidad ng Lumad sa pakikipagharap sa dayuhan mula sa ugnayang kalakalan bago pa man dumating ang kolonyalistang Kastila. Maaaring hindi nila nakita bilang panganib ang mga misyunaryong Kastila, sa halip kumatawan sila sa mga bagong ideya na sa kinalaunan ay sinala at iniangkop ng mga Lumad, isang katangian na napansing karaniwan sa mga komunidad na nasasakupan ng Timog-Silangang Asya (Andaya 1997, 398; Paredes 2013, 55-56, 165). Ang pagbabagong-loob nila tungo sa Katolisismo ay maaaring nakita bilang taktikang pulitikal laban sa Morong mananalakay at para sa negosasyon sa mga tributaryo, batay sa mga talang arkibal tungkol sa pangkat Lumad na Tagaloan noong 1722 (Paredes 2013, 123-124). Noong panahong iyon, ang pag-aalyansang likha ng pagsapi sa relihiyon ay nababatay sa kung paano ito magiging kapakipakinabang sa kanila; hanggang ika-17 na siglo, hindi usapin ang pagkakaiba ng relihiyon (Hayase 2007, 57, 65). Gayon pa man, mayroon pa ring mga komunidad ng Lumad na hindi umayon sa pagtatatag ng ugnayan sa Espanya at piniling tumungo sa higit pang ilaya (Hayase 2007, 160; Paredes 1997, 167; Schreurs 1986, 100).

### **MULING PAGTATAKDA NG MGA LUPAING LUMADNON SA IKA-20 SIGLO**

Ang lupa ay pisikal at materyal na kumakatawan sa pagkakakilanlang etniko ng mga Lumad, at ang iba sa mga lugar na ito ay ang pagpapatunay sa kanilang pasalitang kasaysayan (Duhaylungsod at Hyndman 1993, 72; Gaspar 2000, 104; Paredes 1997, 31). Salungat noong panahong kolonyal ng Kastila, ang kolonyal na pamahalaang Amerikano at mga sumunod pang pamunuan ay pisikal na inangkin ang lupaing ito sa pamamagitan ng pandarayuhan at organisasyong korporasyon. Malaki ang pagkakaiba nito sa kanilang karanasan, gaya ng pagsalakay ng mga komunidad ng Muslim kung saan ang mananalakay ay umaalis din kinalaunan at binabalikan ng Lumad ang mga lugar na ito (Paredes 1997, 274). Sa mga Bagobo naman, dagdag sa pagkawala ng pinagkukunan ng kabuhayan, kawalan din ito ng kaugnayan at paraan upang palubagin ang mga espiritu sa pagkakataong may naganap na kalamidad (Hayase 2007, 177).

Habang ang kolektibong pag-aari ng lupa ang kinagawian nila batay sa kanilang pasalitang

kinaugaliang batas, ang pamahalaang kolonyal ng Amerikano na pumalit sa mga Kastila sa ilalim ng Kasunduang Paris noong ika-10 ng Disyembre 1898, ay nagpahayag na lahat ng lupang walang titulo ay pampublikong lupa na pag-aari ng estado. Kabilang sa panukalang nakaapekto sa mga katutubong pangkat ay ang paglikha ng Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes noong 1901, ang Land Registration Act ng 1902 at ang Public Lands Act ng 1905, at ang mga humaliling salin nito; sa mga ito nagsimula ang sistematiko at pinanukalang pagpapatira ng estado sa “*frontier*” ng Mindanao ng nandarayuhang taga-Luzon at Visayas (Acosta 1994, 89; Duhaylungsod at Hyndman 1993, 74; Eder at McKenna 2004, 56-85; Wernstedt at Simkins 1965, 83).

Binuksan nila ang Mindanao bilang panirahan ng mandarayuhan, partikular ang mga Kristiyanong taga-kapatagan na tumulong sa pagpapapayapa at pakikipag-isa ng mga hindi Kristiyanong komunidad; ang pinakamalaking bilang ng panirahan ay naitala noon sa mga lalawigan ng Agusan, Cotabato, Davao, Lanao at Zamboanga (Gaspar 2011). Dagdag pa rito, binahaginan din ng malalaking sukat ng lupa sa Mindanao ang negosyong agrikultural kung saan mula ang mga inangkat na ani para sa pandaigdigang merkado. Sinimulan ito ng pagtatag ng plantasyon ng abaka, niyog, pinya, at iba pa (*figure 34*; Gaspar 2000; Hayase 2007; Wernstedt at Simkins 1965). Lumawak pa ito sa pag-unlad at pagpasok ng Amerika sa pandaigdigang merkado ng industriya ng pagtotroso sa kahabaan ng pamumunong kolonyal nito sa Pilipinas. Hindi pinapayagang magmay-ari o umupa ng lupa ang mga banyagang di-Amerikano, kung kaya't ang paggamit nila ng lupa ay bunga ng pakikipag-ugnayan nila sa mga katutubong pangkat, tulad ng mga Hapon sa lupaing Bagobo sa Davao na pinaglilingan ng abaka; kung saan tumatanggap ang mga Bagobo ng 10 hanggang 20 bahagdan ng kanilang ani bilang upa (Gloria 1987, 76-80; Hayase 2007, 176-177; Tiu 2005, 32-33). Nagdulot ito ng kawalan ng karapatan ng mga katutubo mula sa kanilang minanang tinubuang lupa at malawakang pagkakalbo ng kagubatan ng Mindanao (Arcenas 1993, 52; Gaspar 2000; Tiu 2005, 38).

Matapos ang Ikalawang Digmaang Pandaigdig, ang Commission on National Integration (CNI) ay itinatag noong 1957 upang itaguyod at itulak ang paglalagom ng mga hindi Kristiyanong Filipino sa pangkalahatan (Eder at McKenna 2004). Sa ilalim ng CNI, nanatiling walang solusyon ang alitan tungkol sa minanang lupang tinubuan matapos gawing lehitimo ang panirahan ng mga dayo at

ang mga katutubong komunidad ay inilipat sa mga reserbasyon (Acosta 1994). Nananatili pa rin ang isyung ito bilang pangunahing paksa ng mga kasunod na ahensyang pampamahalaan para sa kultural na minoridad hanggang ngayon.

Sa panahon ng Batas Militar, ang CNI ay pinalitan ng Tanggapan ng Presidential Assistant on National Minorities (PANAMIN), unang itinatag bilang pribadong *non-profit foundation* noong 1968 na ginawang pampamahalaang ahensya noong 1975 sa ilalim ng Presidential Declaration Bilang 719 (Duhaylungsod at Hyndman 1993; Eder at McKenna 2004). Dagdag sa kabuuang pamamahala ng mga katutubong komunidad ng bansa, mayroon silang kapangyarihan sa ekspertong kaalaman na nagbuo ng bagong sistema sa pag-uuri at sertipikasyon, at sa mga lupaing pinanghahawakan ng mga katutubong pangkat batay sa P.D. Bilang 1414 (Duhaylungsod at Hyndman 1993; Espiritu 2014). Sa taong 1977, humigit-kumulang 2.6 milyong indibidwal sa mga katutubong pangkat ng buong bansa ay inilagak sa mahigit 400 na reserbasyong panirahan na binabantayang mahigpit, partikular ang nasa Mindanao (Duhaylungsod at Hyndman 1993, 77). Bahagi ito ng polisiyang pagsasama-sama ng estado na istrategiya rin upang hadlangan ang pag-organisa ng paghihimagsik at, kinalaunan, isama ang kanilang lupain sa pambansang plano tungo sa kaunlarang pang-ekonomiya (Acosta 1994, 89). Sa halip ginamit ang mga katutubo upang palakihin ang pwersang militar ng estado laban sa mga Muslim at ang noo'y bagong tatag na New People's Army (NPA) (Acosta 1994, 93, 123; Duhaylungsod at Hyndman 1993, 101). Tinangka rin ng PANAMIN na organisahin ang mga komunidad ng Lumad sa pamamagitan ng paglikha ng Mindanao Highlanders Association (MINDAHILA) ngunit ang kalabisan dulot ng gawaing kaugnay ng PANAMIN ay naghikayat lamang, partikular sa mga Manobo, ng pakikimuok sa mga pangkat lingkod-bayan na tumututol sa rehimeng Marcos (Gaspar 2011, 66). Iginigiit ng mga iskolar sa *post-Marcos era* na sa loob ng 16 na taon, pangahas na ginamit ng ahensya ang layunin nitong itaguyod ang kapakanan ng katutubong Filipino bilang panakip sa pansariling interes—parehong militar at komersyal—sa mga ilang na lugar sa bansa (Acosta 1994, 146).

Pinalitan ang PANAMIN noong 1987, bagaman ang mga layunin at patakaran nito ay noon lamang sa ratipikasyon ng Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act ng 1997 (IPRA, o Batas Pambansa Bilang 8371) napalitan. Bago ito, mayroon nang mga batas at pagpapalabas tungkol sa lupain

na nagtangkang kilalanin ang karapatan ng mga katutubo, gaya ng Batas Pambansa Bilang 782 (Public Land Law of 1952), Batas Pambansa Bilang 3872 (Manahan Amendment of 1964), Bureau of Forestry Administrative Order (AO) Bilang 11 (1970), Presidential Decree Bilang 410 (Ancestral Land Decree of 1974), at ang Kagawaran ng Kapaligiran at Likas-Yaman (DENR) AO Bilang 2 noong 1993 na pinahintulutan ang pagkaloob ng Certificate of Ancestral Domain Claim (CADC) sa mga nararapat na katutubo (Gaspar 2000, 123-124). Sa pagpapatibay ng IPRA ay ipinatupad ang pagsususog sa Konstitusyon ng Pilipinas noong 1987 na nagsasaad sa Artikulo 12, Seksyon 5 na pangangalagaan ng Estado ang karapatan ng mga kultural na katutubong komunidad sa kanilang minanang tinubuang lupa upang masiguro ang kanilang kabutihang pang-ekonomiya, panlipunan at pang-kultura, at isasaalang-alang ng Kongreso ang kinaugaliang batas tungkol sa karapatan sa pagmamay-ari o relasyon nito tungkol sa pagtukoy ng pagmamay-ari at lawak ng minanang katutubong lupa (Gaspar 2011, 155).

Ang Batas IPRA ay nagbigay-daan din sa pagtatatag ng National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP) na batay sa mga pagsusuri hanggang ngayon ay sinasabing nakompromiso; ayon sa mga kritiko, napananatili ng malaking bahagi ng estado ang tatak na “katutubo” ng mga pangkat na dapat nitong pinangangalagaan, maging sa pangkalahatan at pinag-iisang kaunawaan ng panunungkulan (Eder at McKenna 2004, 79-80; Gatmaytan 2007, 11; Okamura 1988, 43). Dagdag dito, sa paglagak ng mga modernong ligal na sistema sa kabila ng kinaugaliang batas sa pagtukoy ng minanang tinubuang lupa, nalalagay sa alanganing posisyon ang mga Lumad sa pag-apila para sa kanilang karapatan sa lupa na, batay sa tradisyon, ay kinikilalang sila ang may-ari gawa ng kanilang paglinang at pagtira rito (Acosta 1994, 161). Sa kabuuan, hindi nabibigyang pansin ng IPRA ang “litaw na kahalagahan ng mga indibidwal at kolektibong interes, at likas na hating katangian ng mga komunidad” (Gatmaytan 2007, 12) sa kanilang pagtalakay ng mga suliranin sa kapangasiwaan ng mga katutubong pangkat sa Pilipinas bilang pangkalahatan.

Ang kalagayan ng mga katutubo sa iba't ibang bahagi ng bansa ay nananatiling kritikal

sa kasalukuyan. Sa Mindanao, ang tuluy-tuloy na pagpasok ng mga negosyong agrikultural at industriyang *extractive* sa lupang ninuno ng Lumadnon ay nagbabanta at nagdudulot ng panganib sa kapaligiran, paraan ng pamumuhay at kultural na tradisyon ng mga komunidad na ito. Inilalagay ng mga paghamong legal at konstitusyunal sa alanganing posisyon ang mga apektadong komunidad ng Lumad sa paggiit ng kanilang karapatan sa kanilang mayayamang lupain gawa ng pambansang patakarang nagpapatupad ng pagsasatitulo bilang mga pribadong ari-arian (Leonen 2007, 46-47). Ito ay nagpapahintulot sa mga korporasyon na makakuha ng lisensya mula sa pamahalaan upang pagsamantalahan ang likas na yamang matatagpuan sa mga lupang ninuno para sa interes ng negosyo na nagbunga naman ng kasalatan ng mga komunidad ng Lumad.

Ipinagpatuloy at pinalawak ng mayayamang Filipino at iba pang negosyante ang pagtotroso at mga plantasyong agrikultural sa Mindanao na pinasimulan ng mga Amerikano sa pagdaan ng panahon. Nagdulot ito ng malawakang pagkakalbo ng kagubatan at paglayong pisikal at kultural ng mga katutubo mula sa kanilang lupang ninuno (Gaspar 2000, 33-42). Gayundin, ang pampamahalaang proyekto ng muling pagtaguyod ng kagubatan ay nagsulong ng plantasyong komersyal ng mga mabilis lumagong puno tulad ng *falcata* at *gemelina*. Nakinabang dito ang merkado subalit nagbunga naman ito ng karagdagang paglisan ng mga tao mula sa kanilang tahanan (Gaspar 2000, 37-38). Sa kasalukuyan, nagpapatuloy ang malawakang pagmimina na sumisira sa mga lawa, bundok at sagradong lugar ng Lumadnon, tulad ng Lawa ng Leonard sa Compostela Valley at Bundok Canatuan sa Zamboanga del Norte. Nananawagan ang pangyayaring ito sa Estado na makiisa at suportahan ang mamamayang Lumad sa pagprotekta sa lokal na yamang likas para sa kanilang kaligtasang pisikal at kultural mula sa lupong nanghihimasok. Sa huli, nagbibigay-daan ito para sa negosasyon sa pagitan ng Estado at mga katutubong mamamayan tungo sa pagtutugma sa kanilang konsepto ng pagmamay-ari at pamamahala ng lupa, gayundin ang pagtataguyod ng kapabilangan at napananatiling pag-unlad na kapaki-pakinabang sa magkabilang panig.

## **PINAGTUTUUNANG ETNOLINGGWISTIKONG PANGKAT–TASADAY**

Ang usaping tungkol sa mga Tasaday ay mahalagang salaysayin sa pambatas, teoretikal, pagkakakilanlan at etikal na aspeto ng pananaliksik sa pantao at panlipunang kaunlaran ng mga katutubong pangkat ng Pilipinas. Isasalaysay ng bahaging ito ang magkakatunggaling pananaw sa Tasaday mula sa kanilang “pagkakatuklas” noong dekada 70, at tatalakayin ito bilang isang pag-aaral sa mga relasyon ng kapangyarihang may kinalaman sa paglikha ng kaalaman tungkol sa mga katutubong pangkat, isang mahalagang sektor ng lipunan sa Pilipinas, bagaman nananatiling nakalagak sa isang tabi.

Nagdulong ng pagkabagabag sa akademya, partikular sa antropolohiya, at daigdig ang nasasapublikong “pagkakatuklas” sa pangkat na ito ng mangangaso at mangangalap na nakatira sa gitna ng kagubatan ng Timog Cotabato, at patuloy itong umaalingawngaw hanggang ngayon. Ang mga dokumentaryo sa Tasaday ay lumikha ng isa sa mga pinakamabiling lathalain ng National Geographic Magazine (NGS [Disyembre] 1971, “Fresh Glimpse of a Stone Age Tribe”), maging ng mga aklat, gaya ng *The Gentle Tasaday: A Stone Age People in the Philippine Rain Forest* (1975) ng Amerikanong mamamahayag na si John Nance, kagyat na inakit ang pag-usisa ng mundo sa pangkat. Maliban sa talakayan at eksibisyong gumunita sa ika-20 anibersaryo ng ginanap na pandaigdigang pagpupulong noong 1986 sa Unibersidad ng Pilipinas (UP) tungkol sa Tasaday, ang kamakailang mga publikasyong kinabibilangan ng *The Tasaday Environment: Seventeen Years On* (2002) ni Douglas Yen, *Invented Eden: The Elusive, Disputed History of Tasaday* (2003) ni Robin Hemley at *Dream Jungle* (2003) ni Jessica Hagedorn, ay nagpapaalala rin ng walang maliw na diskurso at pagbabalik-tanaw dito. Ang buhay ng iba pang katutubong pangkat sa lugar na iyon ay nasangkot din sa salasalabit na pagsusuring akademiko, pagpapahayag at pulitikal upang makamit ang ebidensyang magpapatibay tungkol sa “pagiging tunay” ng mga Tasaday. Hinamon din nito kung paano papanghawakan ng mga dalubhasa sa agham panlipunan at tagapaggawa ng mga patakaran ang kinahinatnan nito, hindi lamang sa mga pangkat Lumad ng Timog Cotabato, kundi maging sa pangkalahatan ng mga katutubo sa Pilipinas.

Nagsimula ang talakayan sa 23-pahinang ulat tungkol sa isang “nawawalang tribo” na ipinasa sa programang Short-Lived Phenomena ng Smithsonian Institution noong 1971 nina Manuel Elizalde ng Presidential Assistant on National Minorities (PANAMIN) at Robert Fox, isang Amerikanong antropologo. Batay ito sa dalawang beses nilang pakikitagpo sa mga Tasaday sa unang bahagi ng taon. Nilalarawan ng ulat ang isang grupong naninirahan nang nakahiwalay sa mga aspetong heograpikal at panlipunan, at

nananahan sa mga kuweba ng bundok sa Timog Cotabato nang matagal nang panahon, mula sa impormasyon ni Dafal, isang mangangasong Manobo Blit na nagkaroon ng pambihirang pagkakataon noong 1967 na makatagpo ang mga Tasaday (Elizalde at Fox 1971). Pinaniniwalaang nakaugat pa sa sinaunang paniniwala ang kanilang mga kasanayan at kaugalian, at ang paggamit nila ng mga kasangkapang metal, gaya ng bolo at palakol, ay kamakailan lang, ayon sa pahayag ni Dafal.

Ang pangalang “Tasaday” ay mula sa bundok na malapit sa kanilang panirahan, tinatawag na Tasaday ng mga lokal (Nance 1975, 10). Pinapalagay ni Fox (1971) na bahagi sila ng mas malaking pangkat ng Manobo na napilitang lumipat kamakailan sa kasaysayan tungo sa kanilang liblib na panirahan upang makaligtas sa epidemikong tinatawag na fugu. Dalawampu't anim na indibidwal ang permanenteng nananahan sa tatlong kuwebang limestone noong panahong iyon, umaasa sa malapit na batis at kagubatan para sa kanilang pagkain at gumagamit ng kasangkapang mula sa teknolohiyang bato (Fernandez and Lynch 1972; Fox 1979; Yen and Nance 1976). Binubuo ang mga ito ng pangkiskis na flake quartz, kagamitang edge ground, martilyo, non-hafted na palakol at mabigat na pandurog; at ang kalub o patpat na panghukay sa mga ligaw na tugi, ang pangunahin nilang pagkain (Fox 1976). Ipinapahiwatig ng mga kagamitang ito na ang mga Tasaday ay maaaring mula sa orihinal na tao noong Kapanahunang Bato (Stone Age), itinataguyod ang haka-hakang mayroong tradisyong lithic sa Pilipinas at Timog-Silangang Asya (Casiño 1976; Fox 1972; Lynch at Llamzon 1971).

Sa kabila ng pagkakaibang kultural, may mga mananaliksik na naniniwalang may pagkakatulad sila sa ibang pangkat na nag-uugnay sa kanila sa iisang ninuno may 1,000 taon nang nakalipas (Lynch at Llamzon 1971). Isang ebidensya nito ang wikang Tasaday. Napagtibay na ang kanilang wika ay sa pangkat Malayo-Polynesian na kinabibilangan ng kalapit na komunidad ng Manobo Blit, at maaaring noong huling 571-755 taong nakalipas lamang sila nagkahiwalay (Llamzon 1971). Ang karagdagang pag-aaral gamit ang listang salita ng Tasaday ay nagpakita rin ng kanilang kaugnayan sa mga pangkat ng Cotabato Manobo at T'boli (Elkins 1971; Fox 1979).

Bilang pangunahing ahensya ng pamahalaan na may kapanagutan sa kapakanan ng mga katutubong komunidad sa Pilipinas, PANAMIN ang nagbibigay ng pahintulot at nangangasiwa sa lahat ng eksplorasyon sa Tasaday mula sa unang bahagi ng 1970 hanggang unang bahagi ng 1980. Piling mga mamamahayag at eksperto sa likas na kasaysayan at kultural na pag-aaral, kabilang sina Fox, Richard Elkins, Nance, Yen, Hermes Gutierrez, Carol Molony at Jesus Peralta, ang



**Larawan 64**—Ilan sa mga kasapi ng komunidad ng Tasaday sa *ilib fusaka*, o orihinal nilang panirahan. Mt. Tasaday, Timog Cotabato. 1971. Mga larawang kuha ni Dr. Jesus T. Peralta. NMP Ethnology Archives.

binigyan ng pahintulot. Ang pagkatanyag nila sa parehong media at akademya ay nagdulot ng serye ng mga deklarasyong naghihigpit ng pagpasok sa lugar malapit sa panahanang Tasaday. Noong ika-6 ng Abril 1972, ang kagubatan ng Bundok Tasaday ay idineklara bilang Philippine National Forest Reserve sa pamamagitan ng Proklamasyon Bilang 995 upang pigilan ang lahat ng anyo ng pananamantala sa lugar. Sa ilalim ng proklamasyong ito, may kabuuang 19,247 hektarya ng kagubatan kung saan nananahan at kumukuha ng ikinabubuhay ang mga Manobo Blit at Tasaday ang prinotektahan mula sa pagpasok, pagbenta, pagpa-upa o iba pang paraan ng pamamahagi, at inilagay sa pamamahala ng PANAMIN. Pinalawak din ang nasasakupan ng PANAMIN sa mga T'boli sa paglikha ng Bayan ng T'boli sa ilalim ng Presidential Declaration Bilang 407, at ang T'boli Reservation sa ilalim ng Proklamasyon Bilang 697; si Mai Tuan na tumulong sa PANAMIN kaugnay sa mga Tasaday ang nagsilbi bilang alkalde nito (Duhaylungsod at Hyndman 1993, 90-92). Nagtalaga ng punong-tanggapan ng PANAMIN sa Kemato, isang

barangay sa T'boli, na nagsilbing tagapagbatid sa Palasyo ng Malacañan. Mas pinalawak pa ito noong ika-2 ng Setyembre 1976, sa pamamagitan ng Presidential Decree Bilang 1017 na nagtalaga rito bilang Tasaday-Manobo Reserve, at nagbigay ng proteksyon at pagbabawal sa walang pahintulot na pagpasok sa mga hindi pa nagagalugad na bahagi ng panahanang Tasaday at ibang kultural na komunidad sa bayan ng T'boli. Nasa pamamahala ng PANAMIN ang pagpasok sa lupang laan bago ito isara ng kapalit nitong Office of Southern Cultural Communities (OSCC) noong 1983 (Hemley 2003).

Ang mga paghihigpit na ito at ang pulitikal na klima (idineklara ang Batas Militar noong ika-21 ng Setyembre 1972) noong panahong iyon ay nagbigay-daan sa pag-aalinlangang antropolohikal sa Tasaday. Pinalalagay na ang mga etnograpiya at pahayag na inilathala ay nakakiling sa interes ng PANAMIN, at nasukat na nagkukulang sa siyentipikong pagsisiyasat (Duhaylungsod at Hyndman 1993; Salazar 1971, 1973). Pinaghigpitan din sa oras ang mga pinag-aaralang lugar, lugar na maaaring pagsagawaan ng pag-aaral,



**Larawan 65–Pagdating ng PANAMIN** lulan ng *helicopter* malapit sa panahanan ng mga Tasaday. Mt. Tasaday, Timog Cotabato. 1971. Larawang kuha ni Dr. Jesus T. Peralta. NMP Ethnology Archives.

at pag-ulat sa mga natuklasan ang mga mananaliksik na pinahintulutang magtrabaho rito (Headland 1992).

Umigting ang pasubali sa Tasaday at karagdagan naisapubliko ito matapos mapatalsik ang administrasyong Marcos, gamit ang serye ng mga pag-uulat at pagpupulong na pinangunahan ng mga mamamahayag, akademiko at iba pang indibidwal na may “pulitikal na paghihimok” (Engelberg 1987; Iten 1986; Lee 1988; Moses 1989; Mydans 1987; Salazar 1988). Kabilang sa pangunahing tagapagtaguyod na kalinlangan ang Tasaday sina Oswald Iten, isang Swisong mamamahayag, at Zeus Salazar at Jerome Bailen ng UP. Batay sa pagsusuri ni Salazar sa kultural na materyal, wika at kamag-anakan ng Tasaday, hindi napapatibay ng mga ito ang pahayag sa unang datos na mula sa Kapanahunang Bato ang mga Tasaday (Iten 1986; Molony 1988; Salazar 1988). Inakusahan sina Elizalde na pinagpanggap ang ilang mga T’boli at/o Manobo na indibidwal bilang mga “taong kuweba” upang magkamal ng donasyong gagamitin sa proyekto ng PANAMIN at magkamit ng mas malawak na publisidad para kay Pangulong Marcos (Berreman 1992; Duhaylungsod at Hyndman 1992, 1993; Hemley 2003).

Kalaunan, lumikha ang mga ito ng iba’t ibang lokal at pandaigdigang pagtatalo na umano ay sinalubong ng legal at pulitikal na panliligalig, pagbabanta, pagdukot at pagpaslang ng mga kasangkot sa pagbubunyag na ito. Ang International Anthropological Conference on the Tasaday Controversy and Other Anthropological Issues ay pinasimulan noong 1986 ng

UP (Bailen 1986). Ginamit ito sa paglunsad ng pagdinig ukol sa “pagiging tunay” ng Tasaday sa Kapulungan ng Kinatawan ng Pilipinas noong 1987 (Hemley 2003). Nagbigay-daan ang pagpupulong na ito kina Elizalde at ilang kinatawang Tasaday na maghain ng kaso para sa pinsala at magtamo ng declaratory relief laban kina Salazar at Bailen sa Panrehiyong Hukuman ng Paglilitis ng Lunsod Quezon (Civil Case Bilang Q-99-1028, 1993). Noong 1988, sa unang International Festival and Conference on Indigenous and Traditional Cultures sa Maynila, ipinahayag ni Pangulong Corazon Aquino na ang Tasaday ay tunay at nahihwalay na pangkat (Hemley 2003, 196). Napagpasyahan din sa pagdinig sa Kongreso na ang isyu ng pagiging tunay ng Tasaday ay mas akmang matalakay sa siyentipiko, kaysa pulitikal na talakayan (Hemley 2003).

Sa taunang pagpupulong ng American Anthropological Association noong Nobyembre 1989, binuo ang lupon na “The Tasaday Controversy,” bilang tangkang pagtalakay sa usaping Tasaday, sa pamumuno ni Thomas Headland, isang dalubwika ng University of Texas na may malawak na karanasan sa mga Negrito ng Pilipinas mula 1962 hanggang 1986, (Headland 1992; Marshall 1989). Ang may pag-aalinlangan tulad nina Salazar at antropologong sina Headland at Gerald Berreman na ang interes ay kinabibilangan ng karapatang pantao at etika sa pananaliksik, ay nagdudang namuhay ang mga Tasaday nang nakabukod sa pangkalahatan nang napakatagal na panahon. Mula sa pagtatasa ng nakolektang datos, napagtanto nila na malayong



mangyari na ligaw na tugi ang kanilang karaniwang pagkain, napansin nila ang kawalan ng basura sa mga kuweba, at pinagdudahan nila ang kalidad ng mga kasangkapang bato (Barnard 1998; Marshall 1989). Ipinagtanggol ni Molony, isang sosyolinggwistika ng Stanford University na kabilang sa binigyang pahintulot ng PANAMIN, ang orihinal na pananaliksik at pinaninindigan niya na wika ang susi sa pagiging tunay ng Tasaday; hindi maaaring madaya ang wika, higit ng mga bata. Ipinagtanggol din ng Filipinong mananaliksik na sina Amelia Rogel-Rara at Emmanuel Nabayra, ang naunang ulat mula sa pahayag na ang Tasaday ay mga impostor na T'boli at Manobo, gaya ng ipinakita ni Salazar gamit ang tala ng pagkakamaganak sa International Conference of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences noong 1988 sa Yugoslavia. Binanggit nila na maaaring nalinlang ng mga kinapanayam niya si Salazar na hindi nakapunta sa panahanan ng mga Tasaday, at napaniwalang iisa lamang ang mga nagpanggap at "tunay na Tasaday." Ngunit sa katunayan, dalawang magkahiwalay na pangkat ito, batay sa kanilang etnograpihong fieldwork mula Agosto 1988 hanggang Mayo 1989 sa may 21 lokasyon, kabilang ang ilib fusaka o "orihinal na kuweba" ng mga Tasaday (Rara at Nabayra 1992, 89-103).

Lumalabas na karamihan ng mga tagapagsalita mula sa magkabilang panig ay nagkakasundong hindi mula sa Kapanahunang Bato ang mga Tasaday, kundi isang tunay na pangkat etnolinggwistikong nahihwalay sa ibang pangkat, at namuhay nang matagal na panahon sa pangkalahatang lugar kung saan sila natagpuan noong dekada 70 (Headland 1992, 215). Dagdag dito, ang pagsusuring muli sa pag-uusap sa wikang Tasaday noong 1972 sa pangunguna ng espesyalista sa wikang Austronesian na si Lawrence Reid, kasama ng iba pang espesyalista sa wikang Cotabato Manobo na sina Clay Johnston, Ross Errington, Douglas Fraiser, Meg Fraiser at Richard Elkins, ay nakapagpatibay na ang wikang Tasaday ay nalalapit sa Cotabato Manobo kaysa Manobo Blit (Headland 1993; Hemley 2003; Reid 1993).

Ang antropolohikal na diskurso sa Tasaday ay maituturing na diskurso ng pangyayari na hindi maaaring talakayin nang wala sa kontekstong pangkasaysayan at kultural (Dumont 1988, 273). Lubhang masalimuot ang mga isyu, at hanggang ngayon, nananatiling hindi napagkakasunduan. Kapwang nalilimitahan ng hindi sapat na etnograpiya ang magkabilang panig, nagbigay-daan sa magkakaiba at manapa'y may pagkiling na interpretasyon ng datos na mula noong unang bahagi ng dekada 70.

Sa pangkalahatan, nag-iwan ito ng matinding implikasyon tungkol sa etika at pulitika ng pagbuo ng mga mito at paglalarawan, paghubog ng pagkakakilanlang kultural, at ang papel nito sa paghatid ng kahulugan ng mga tanda at sagisag sa

daigdig sa mga dalubhasa sa agham panlipunan at tagapaggawa ng mga patakaran (Barnard 1988; Kelly 2014; Palmer 2004; Yeyongan 1991), gayundin ang pagsasagawa ng fieldwork sa agham panlipunan. Ipinapalagay ng pilosopo at manunulat na si Jean-Paul Dumont (1988, 265) na ang Tasaday, mayroon man o walang layon ang nakatuklas, ay nagsilbi bilang "makinang lumilikha ng kahulugan" para sa pamahalaan, kumakatawan sa ideyal na bansang Pilipinas na nasa estado ng pagiging balanse. Ang "pilit na pagiging primitibo" ng PANAMIN sa Tasaday ay pinapalagay din na isang paraang pulitikal na nagbigay sa kanila ng kakayanang panghawakan ang yaman sa lupain ng mga T'boli. Ginamit din kalaunan ito ng OSCC at Santa Cruz Mission sa pagtaguyod ng kumukupas na turismo ng kulturang T'boli sa pangangaso at pangangalap para sa mga turista, gamit ang sining (Duhaylungsod at Hyndman 1993, 56-57, 112-113).

Dagdag pa rito, hinimok sa ginawang pagsusuring etnolohikal ni Piers Kelly (2014, 20) sa usaping Tasaday at ng "nawawalang tribo" ng Eskaya na natuklasan sa timog-silangang Bohol noong Enero 1980, ang "community-centric approach" upang ipaliwanag ang mismong salitang "komunidad;" ngunit nananatiling hindi maliwanag ang paggamit sa Pilipinas ng konsepto ng katutubo at hindi pagiging katutubo. Ang pangkalahatang hindi kaliwanagan sa pag-aaral ng sangkatauhan ay higit na sinasalamin ang katwiran ni Dumont (1988, 273) na ang antropolohiya ay mayroong ginagampanang magkasalungat na papel, bilang pinagmumulan ng bahagyang katotohanan at pagiging mismong ideolohiya.

Ang usapin ng Tasaday ay nagpapakita rin ng pagsasantabi sa Pilipinas ng mga katutubong pangkat, at binibigyang-diin ang mga relasyon ng kapangyarihang kasangkot sa paglikha ng kaalaman para sa pangkalahatang publiko. Halimbawa, ang ilang tagapagtanggol ng Tasaday ay determinadong protektahan ang kanilang pagkakakilanlan upang mapanatili nila ang pangangasiwa sa laang lupa, at iwasan ang panghihimasok ng magtotroso at magmimina (Marshall 1989). Sa kabilang dako, ang sapolitang pananaw na ang T'boli at Manobo ay mga Tasaday na primitibo ay nakikita bilang paraan ng pamahalaan na tapusin ang awtonomiya ng mga ito; matapos ang ilang siglo ng pag-urong at pagtutol sa nanghihimasok na mandarayuhan, nakuha ng ibang pangkat ang pangangasiwa ng kanilang teritoryo (Duhaylungsod at Hyndman 1992, 68-69; 1993, 90-91; Hyndman 2002, 47). Sa kurso ng isyung ito, lumalabas na ang mga T'boli/Tasaday/Manobo ay itinuturing bilang mga bagay lamang para siyasatin. Hindi mapagkakaila na ang karapatan ng mga taong nasa gitna ng usaping ito ay higit na mas malaki kaysa pinagtutunggaliang kasaysayan ng mga Tasaday.

## LUMAD SA IKA-21 SIGLO

Natitiyak na masigasig na kalahok ang mga Lumad sa pagbuo ng kasalukuyang Pilipinas. Itinataguyod ng arkeolohikal na datos ang kanilang papel sa sinaunang kalakalan sa rehiyon. Mahihinuha rin sa pangkasaysayang arkibo na sa pagbabagong-loob tungo sa Katolisismo noong panahon ng Kastilang kolonyal, ang mga Lumad ay namili, iniangkop at nilokalisa ang ilang mga kasanayang Europeo na kumatawan sa aspetong makabago sa kanilang panahon at kapaligiran, isang karaniwang katangian ng mga lipunan sa Timog-Silangang Asya (Andaya 1997; Paredes 2013). Ginamit din nila ang relasyon sa mga Kastilang misyonero bilang taktikang pulitikal laban sa mga pagsalakay at pagbubuwis ng mas nananaig na sultanatong Muslim (Paredes 2013).

Ang karanasan bilang kolonya ng Amerika ay nagbigay ng ibang uri ng “kamabaguhan” sa mga pangkat Lumad. Pisikal at sistematikong kinuha sa kanila ang lupain sa konteksto na hindi nila ginagamit ang mga ito sa kagyat na panahong iyon. Sa pamamagitan ng bunsod na panirahan ng mga mandarayuhang Bisaya, negosyong agrikultural na batay sa kapital, at pagsasangkapan ng yamang likas, nalimitahan ang lugar panirahan ng mga Lumad, at patuloy ito hanggang ngayon. Ang mga patakarang pandarayuhan ay unti-unting humantong sa pagsasantabi ng mga katutubong populasyon ng Mindanao (Paredes 2015).

Simula noong ika-20 siglo, ang kapansin-pansing hindi karaniwang nakikipagsagupaang mga pangkat Lumad ay namuno o lumahok sa ilang mga pag-aaklas laban sa kolonyal na pamahalaang Amerikano, pambansang pamahalaan, at mga nandarayuhan. Maliwanag na ang kanilang pakay ay ipagtanggol ang minana at tinubuan nilang lupain, bagaman napipilitan silang lumipat sa mga ilaya ng Mindanao. Sa ilalim ng ganitong pangyayari, nabuo ang pagnanais na magkaroon ng isang dalisay na samahan ng mga Lumad noong mga 1980 (Alejo 2000, 290). Sa pagtulong ng isang natatanging pangkat Kristiyano, nabuo ang Lumad Mindanao noong 1986 sa Cotabato bilang isang samahang *multi-sectoral* na magtataguyod ng nagkakaisang adhikain ng mga Lumad tungo sa pagkakakilanlang pansarili, karapatan sa pag-angkin ng minanang tinubuang lupa, at pamamahala ng pinagkukunang yaman sa rehiyon. Mula rito unti-unting naiangkop ang salitang “Lumad” bilang pangngalang tumutukoy sa iba't ibang katutubo at hindi Morong pangkat ng Mindanao.

Ang pagsasabatas ng pagbawi ng minanang lupaing sakop ng mga katutubong pangkat

sa buong bansa ay naitatag lamang sa Batas Pambansa Bilang 8371 o IPRA na ipinatutupad ng Pambansang Komisyon para sa mga Katutubo (NCIP). Nananatiling mahirap pa rin ang pagbawi ng kanilang mga minanang lupang tinubuan, higit sa Mindanao, dahil sa malakas na ekonomikong potensyal ng mga naaapektuhang lupain sa pagtingin ng mga pangkat na may interes dito (Eder at McKenna 2004). Ito ang natukoy na karaniwang dahilan ng kasalukuyang kalagayan ng mga pangkat Lumad kaugnay ng kanilang lupain (Duhaylungsod at Hyndman 1993; Gaspar 2011; Paredes 1997). Ang pakikisama nila sa mga NGO para sa kapaligiran ay maaaring nakababahala rin dahil hindi sila nagkakapareho ng layunin (Eder at McKenna 2004, 80).

Isa pang anggulo sa talakayan ng minanang lupain na kinahaharap ng mga pangkat Lumad ay ang mga lugar na kasalukuyang napapaloob sa Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) sa napipintong pagsasapatupad ng Bangsamoro Basic Law. Maaaring magkaroon ng iba pang natutulad na panukalang batas sa hinaharap. Bilang katutubo sa Mindanao, kinikilala ang pagkakaroon ng pantay na karapatang teritoryal ng mga Lumad; subali't ang kanilang pagtaguyod nito ay hindi nabibigyan ng sapat na pansin at *media coverage* pagtularin sa mga pangkat Muslim (Paredes 2015). Ipinakikita ng mga sinauna at pangkasaysayang pag-aaral ng mga Lumad at Moro na mayroon silang nabuong alyansa hindi lamang sa kalakalan, kundi maging sa kasunduang pangkapayaan sa hangganan ng lupaing sakop, tinatawag na *dyandi, sapa, tampudo hu balagun, pakang*, at iba pa (Rodil 2012). Sa magkabahaging kasaysayang ito, muling ipinakilala ng mga pangkat Lumad at tagapagtaguyod na mga samahan ang kasunduang itinatag ng kanilang ninunong sina Mamalu at Tabunaoway sa pagitan ng mga Lumad at mga Moro. Isang limang puntong kasunduan ang nilagdaan sa Bukidnon noong 2012 ng mga kinatawan ng tagapagtaguyod ng Bangsamoro (Paredes 2015).

Ang mga komunidad ng Lumad, sa iba't ibang antas, ay nasangkot sa mga sagupaan at matahas na labanan, noon sa mga puwersang kolonyal at Moro, at sa kamakailang kasaysayan hanggang sa kasalukuyan, sa pagitan ng mga puwersa ng pambansang pamahalaan, New People's Army (NPA), armadong militanteng Islamiko at mga kinatawan ng iba't ibang pulitikal at ekonomikong interes. Nasanay sa malimit na kalakarang pagkalat at pag-alis sa mahabang panahon, partikular

ang paglipat ng panirahan mula sa baybayin tungo sa ilaya kapag ang kanilang pagsasarili ay napagbantaan, gaya ng nabanggit sa kanilang pasalitang kasaysayan, matagal bago lumago ang nagkakaisang pagkakakilanlang Lumad (Duhaylungsod at Hyndman 1993; Paredes 2013, 2015). Tradisyunal na hindi nakikipagsagupaan, ang kakayanan sa sama-samang paggalaw sa mga Lumad ng Mindanao at katimugang Pilipinas

ay nananatiling mahina, sa punto na ang buhay-kaligtasan lamang ng kanilang mga komunidad ang layunin nila sa ngayon (Paredes 1997, 171-172).

Iniaangat ng kamakailang kalagayan ng mga komunidad ng Lumad ang paulit-ulit na suliranin ng kanilang nakaraang karanasan. Ang sari-saring uri ng kanilang pamanang kultural ay nananatiling nanganganib, marahil higit pa kaysa dati.



Larawan 66—Mga kinatawan ng pangkat Mansaka noong *Kasaysayan ng Lahi*. Manila, 1974. NMP Ethnology Archives.

# LUMAD MINDANAO MATERIAL CULTURE INDEX

3F, National Museum of Anthropology | Inaugurated December 11, 2015  
 Dimensions—L (length), H (height), W (width), D (diameter)—in CM

## CLOTHING AND ADORNMENTS (LM-001 to LM-102)



**LM-001**

**Baling/bali-ug**  
**Bracelet**  
 Ata Manobo | Magus River,  
 Davao | 1914  
 Glass, seed beads, metal button  
 L 41.0 E-ATA-D-0041



**LM-007**

**Sigi**  
**Teeth cleaner / blackener**  
 Ata Manobo | Upper Talomo  
 River, Davao | 1914  
 Boar's hair, commercial cotton  
 cloth, beads  
 L 23.0 W 3.0 E-ATA-D-0059



**LM-002**

**Leglet**  
 Ata Manobo | Upper Lasang,  
 Davao | 1913  
 Brass  
 D 11.0 E-ATA-D-0048



**LM-008**

**Bracelet**  
 Ata Manobo | Upper Calinan,  
 Davao | 1979  
 Shell  
 H 5.5 D 6.0 E-ATA-D-0066



**LM-003**

**Pakawang/pakau-ang**  
**Ear plug**  
 Ata Manobo | Magus River,  
 Davao | 1914  
 Beads, wood  
 L 30.5 E-ATA-D-0049



**LM-009**

**Tikus**  
**Leglet**  
 Ata Manobo | Magus River,  
 Davao | 1914  
 Nito, glass beads  
 D 12.0 E-ATA-D-0082



**LM-004**

**Sugkad**  
**Comb**  
 Ata Manobo | Upper Lasang,  
 Davao | 1913  
 Bamboo  
 L 25.0 W 2.6 E-ATA-D-0052



**LM-010**

**Suang-suang**  
**Headdress**  
 Ata Manobo | Malagos, Davao  
 | 1952  
 Commercial cotton cloth,  
 synthetic dyes, plastic buttons,  
 sequins  
 W 47.0 H 76.0 E-ATA-D-0085



**LM-005**

**Sugkad**  
**Comb**  
 Ata Manobo | Upper Lasang,  
 Davao | 1913  
 Bamboo  
 L 7.5 W 7.0 E-ATA-D-0055



**LM-011**

**Sadak**  
**Bag**  
 Ata Manobo | Davao  
 Buri, commercial cotton cloth,  
 synthetic dyes, plastic button  
 L 57.0 W 20.0 E-ATA-D-0087



**LM-006**

**Sigi**  
**Teeth cleaner / blackener**  
 Ata Manobo | Upper Lasang,  
 Davao | 1913  
 Hair, commercial cotton cloth  
 L 13.0 W 5.5 E-ATA-D-0058



**LM-012**

**Bakus**  
**Girdle**  
 Ata Manobo | Davao  
 Commercial cotton cloth, dyes  
 L 162.8 W 9.0 E-ATA-D-0089



**LM-013**

**Kiau it**  
Belt  
B'laan | Padada, Davao | 1914  
Abaca, natural dye, brass rings  
L 63.0 D 10.0 E-BIL-0022



**LM-019**

**Saol/saul**  
Upper garment  
B'laan | Padada, Davao | 1914  
Abaca, natural dyes  
H 33.0 L 106.0 E-BIL-0072



**LM-014**

**Nabing bai**  
Pendant  
B'laan | Padada, Davao | 1914  
Bamboo, boar's hair, beads,  
rattan  
L 46.0 E-BIL-0025



**LM-020**

**Saol/saul**  
Upper garment  
B'laan | Davao | 1979  
Commercial cotton, dye, shell  
H 39.0 L 109.0 E-BIL-0075



**LM-015**

**Suat**  
Comb  
B'laan | Davao del Sur | 1979  
Bamboo, metal wire  
L 9.0 W 5.5 E-BIL-0031



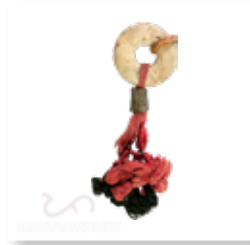
**LM-021**

**Tangkola/tangkulo/tunkulu**  
Headdress  
B'laan | Padada, Davao | 1914  
Commercial cotton cloth,  
natural dyes, beads  
L 90.0 W 90.0 E-BIL-0087



**LM-016**

**Luas pankis**  
Bracelet  
B'laan | Davao | 1903  
Brass  
H 2.0 D 5.7 E-BIL-0036



**LM-022**

**Pendant**  
B'laan  
Shell, cotton, beads, *nito*, metal  
L 11.0 D 3.5 E-BIL-0110



**LM-017**

**Luas pankis**  
Bracelet  
B'laan | Davao | 1903  
Shell (*Trochus niloticus*)  
D 11.0 E-BIL-0037



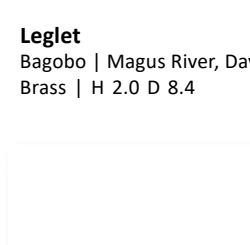
**LM-023**

**Leglets**  
Bagobo | Talomo River, Davao  
| 1914  
Brass  
D 9.0; 10.0 E-BAG-0088



**LM-018**

**Saol/saul**  
Male upper garment  
B'laan | Sta. Cruz, Davao | 1914  
Collected by John M. Garvan  
Abaca, cotton threads, natural  
dyes  
H 57.0 L 136.0 E-BIL-0065



**LM-024**

**Leglet**  
Bagobo | Magus River, Davao | 1914  
Brass | H 2.0 D 8.4

*Figure 22*  
E-BAG-0094



**LM-025**

**Ceremonial belt**  
Bagobo | Calinan, Davao | 1970  
Beads, brass, abaca,  
commercial cotton cloth  
L 79.0 W 10.5 E-BAG-0106



**LM-026**  
**Sud Comb**  
 Bagobo | Talomo River, Davao | 1914  
 Bamboo, hair, brass bells, beads  
 L 25.0 W 8.0 E-BAG-0120



**LM-032**  
**Bracelet**  
 Bukidnon | Agusan Glass  
 D 11.0 E-BUK-0020



**LM-027**  
**Sampad Ear plug**  
 Bagobo | Davao | 1914  
 Beads, wood  
 L 80.5 D 9.0 E-BAG-0130



**LM-033**  
**Bracelet**  
 Bukidnon | Agusan Glass  
 D 10.0 E-BUK-0023



**LM-028**  
**Ullun Belt**  
 Bagobo | Davao | 1979  
 Beads, brass bells, abaca, commercial cotton cloth  
 L 58.0 W 21.0 E-BAG-0136



**LM-034**  
**Armlet**  
 Bukidnon | Agusan Coconut shell  
 D 9.0 E-BUK-0030



**LM-029**  
**Pipe**  
 Bagobo | Davao | 1952  
 Clay, wood, bead  
 L 11.0 W 2.5 D 2.5 E-BAG-0170



**LM-035**  
**Pipe**  
 Bukidnon | Agusan Valley Wood  
 L 5.0 W 1.0 E-BUK-0039



**LM-030**  
**Pamarang/sampad Earplug/ear disc**  
 Bagobo | Davao | 1994  
 Ivory, beads  
 L 41.7 D 5.0 E-BAG-0230



**LM-036**  
**Pipe**  
 Bukidnon | Agusan Wood  
 L 8.5 W 2.5 E-BUK-0040



**LM-031**  
**Necklace**  
 Bagobo | Malita, Davao del Sur | 1994  
 Seeds, beads, brass bells  
 L 30.0 E-BAG-0235



**LM-037**  
**Pouch**  
 Bukidnon | Agusan Cotton, natural dye, stone, wood  
 L 12.0 W 7.5 E-BUK-0043



**LM-038**

**Bag**  
Bukidnon | Agusan  
Commercial cotton, synthetic dyes, abaca  
H 59.5 W 55.0 E-BUK-0049



**LM-044**

**Bakuta Pouch**  
Mandaya | Cateel, Davao | 1914  
*Buri*, cotton, synthetic dyes  
H 16.0 W 14.0 E-MAND-0025



**LM-039**

**Headdress**  
Bukidnon | Agusan  
Commercial cotton cloth, synthetic dyes, abaca, wood  
H 39.0 W 57.0 E-BUK-0051



**LM-045**

**Lidong Hat**  
Mandaya | Caraga, Davao | 1914  
Palm, abaca, paint/resin  
L 37.0 W 29.0 E-MAND-0033



**LM-040**

**Headdress**  
Bukidnon | Puntian, Bukidnon  
Commercial cotton cloth, synthetic dyes  
H 22.5 W 45.5 E-BUK-0054



**LM-046**

**Banca Cane**  
Mandaya | Baganga, Davao Oriental | 1970  
Wood, paint  
L 148.0 D 4.5 E-MAND-0067



**LM-041**

**Blouse**  
Bukidnon | Puntian, Bukidnon  
Commercial cotton cloth, dyes  
H 33.0 L 100.0 E-BUK-0069



**LM-047**

**Patena/patina/payatina Breast plate**  
Mandaya | Davao Oriental | 1979  
Silver  
D 11.9 E-MAND-0070



**LM-042**

**Pla'bag Ear discs**  
Giangan | Upper Talomo River, Davao | 1913  
Wood, shell  
L 2.2 D 3.5 E-GIA-0029



**LM-048**

**Sugkad Comb**  
Mandaya | Davao | 1952  
Bamboo, *nito*  
L 7.0 W 9.0 E-MAND-0072



**LM-043**

**Toe ring**  
Giangan | Magus River, Upper Davao | 1914  
Brass  
H 4.0 D 2.5 E-GIA-0061



**LM-049**

**Sugkad/suat Comb**  
Mandaya | Davao | 1952  
Bamboo, *nito*  
L 5.0 W 5.5 E-MAND-0081



**LM-050**

**Girdle**  
Mandaya | Mindanao | 1952  
Hair, cotton, synthetic dyes,  
beads  
L 75.0 E-MAND-0084



**LM-056**

**Necklace**  
Mandaya | 1994  
Beads, teeth  
L 27.0 E-MAND-0166



**LM-051**

**Patena/patina/payatina**  
**Breast plate**  
Mandaya | Davao Oriental |  
1989  
Silver  
D 17.3 E-MAND-0100



**LM-057**

**Necklace**  
Mandaya | 1994  
Beads, teeth  
L 52.0 E-MAND-0170



**LM-052**

**Paud-gud**  
**Necklace**  
Mandaya | Upper Manorigao,  
Davao | 1914  
Shell, beads, coins, cloth  
L 33.0 W 19.0 E-MAND-0102



**LM-058**

**Sawa**  
**Trouser**  
Manobo | East Mindanao  
Abaca, cotton threads, synthetic  
dyes  
L 101.0 W 82.0 E-MANO-0024



**LM-053**

**Baligkasan**  
**Trouser**  
Mandaya | Upper Salug, Davao  
| 1910-1915  
Commercial cotton cloth, dyes,  
cotton threads, abaca, beads  
L 68.0 W 51.7 E-MAND-0114



**LM-059**

**Kabo/umpak**  
**Jacket**  
Manobo | Agusan Valley  
Abaca, cotton threads,  
natural and synthetic dyes  
H 50.0 L 40.3 E-MANO-0001



**LM-054**

**Jacket**  
Mandaya  
Commercial cotton cloth and  
threads, synthetic dyes  
H 46.0 L 132.0 E-MAND-0145



**LM-060**

**Sadok**  
**Hat**  
Manobo | Upper Salug, Davao  
| 1914  
Palm, abaca, wood, beads,  
paint/resin  
L 44.0 W 16.0 H 12.0  
E-MANO-0044



**LM-055**

**Earrings**  
Mandaya | 1994  
Wood, silver, beads, cotton,  
plastic buttons  
L 15.0 E-MAND-0159



**LM-061**

**Baklao**  
**Armlet**  
Manguangan | Pilar, Upper  
Agusan | 1914  
*Nito*  
D 10.9 E-MANG-0024





**LM-062**

**Pugnut Bracelet**  
Manguangan | Compostela, Agusan | 1914  
*Nito*  
H 2.5 D 6.0 E-MANG-0026



**LM-068**

**Bagakis Girdle**  
Manobo | Upper Salug, Davao | 1914  
Hair, abaca, natural dyes, beads  
L 45.0 E-MANO-0108



**LM-063**

**Sadok Hat**  
Manobo | Agusan Valley | 1910  
Palm, abaca, wood, paint/resin  
L 38.0 W 13.0 H 8.0  
E-MANO-0046



**LM-069**

**Tikus Bracelet**  
Manobo | Loreto River, Umayam | 1914  
*Nito*, beads  
D 11.5 E-MANO-0109



**LM-064**

**Sadok Hat**  
Manobo | Veruela, Agusan Valley | 1910  
Palm, beads, cotton, wood, paint/resin  
L 42.0 H 13.0 E-MANO-0047



**LM-070**

**Kusing Belt/girdle**  
Obo | Digos, Davao | 1914  
Abaca, metal bottle cap  
L 149.0 E-OBO-0025



**LM-065**

**Sugkad Comb**  
Manobo | Baglasan, Upper Salug, Davao | 1914  
Bamboo  
L 6.0 W 9.0 E-MANO-0072



**LM-071**

**Kusing Belt/girdle**  
Obo | Digos, Davao | 1914  
Abaca, metal  
L 99.0 E-OBO-0026



**LM-066**

**Sugkad Comb**  
Manobo | Kalamansig, Sultan Kudarat | 1964  
Bamboo, metal, cotton threads, dye  
L 10.0 W 7.0 E-MANO-0075



**LM-072**

**Sulang-sulang Headdress**  
Obo | Upper Talomo, Davao | 1914  
Commercial cotton cloth, synthetic dyes, abaca, beads  
H 31.5 W 54.8 E-OBO-0030



**LM-067**

**Paliot Necklace**  
Manobo | Hagimitan, Agusan | 1914  
*Tamarindus indicus* seeds  
L 36.2 E-MANO-0102



**LM-073**

**Umpak Jacket**  
Obo | Upper Talomo River, Davao | 1914  
Abaca, natural dye, beads, shell discs  
H 37.0 L 133.5 E-OBO-0031



**LM-074**

**Umpak**  
Upper garment  
Obo | Upper Talomo River,  
Davao | 1914  
Commercial cotton cloth, dyes  
H 38.0 L 125.0 E-OBO-0033



**LM-080**

**Su-wat**  
Comb  
T'boli | Sta. Cruz, Lake Sebu,  
South Cotabato | 1977  
Wood, brass wire, beads  
L 15.0 D 14.0 E-TIB-0012



**LM-075**

**Umpak**  
Jacket  
Obo | Padada, Davao | 1914  
Abaca, cotton threads, natural  
and synthetic dyes, beads,  
sequins  
H 40.0 L 117.0 E-OBO-0036

**Belt**  
T'boli | Lake Sebu, South Cotabato  
Brass | L 71.0 W 20.0

**LM-081**

Figure 22

E-TIB-0014



**LM-082**

**Anklet**  
T'boli | Lake Sebu, South  
Cotabato | 1979  
Brass  
D 12.0 E-TIB-0024



**LM-076**

**Bag**  
Obo | 1914  
Abaca, natural dyes  
H 56.5 W 9.0 E-OBO-0041

**Ring**  
T'boli  
Brass | H 1.7 D 1.8

**LM-083**

Figure 22

E-TIB-0026



**LM-077**

**Baling**  
Girdle  
Subanen  
Abaca, natural dyes  
L 256.5 W 9.0 E-SUB-0077

**Ring**  
T'boli  
Brass | H 2.1 D 2.0

**LM-084**

Figure 22

E-TIB-0026



**LM-078**

**Kantyu**  
Trouser  
Subanen  
Commercial cotton cloth,  
plastic buttons, metal, sequins  
L 121.6 W 41.3 E-SUB-0080



**LM-086**

**S'laong**  
Hat  
T'boli | Lake Sebu, South  
Cotabato | 1980  
Bamboo, nito, beads, horse's  
hair, abaca, paint, cloth  
H 60.0 D 34.8 E-TIB-0030



**LM-079**

**Soblibon**  
Jacket  
Subanen | 1913  
Commercial cotton cloth, plastic  
buttons  
H 44.7 L 166.0 E-SUB-0084



**LM-087**

**Kegal nesif**  
Blouse  
T'boli  
Commercial cotton, synthetic  
dyes  
H 46.0 L 136.0 E-TIB-0044



**LM-088**

**Kegal nesif**  
**Blouse**  
 T'boli  
 Commercial cotton, synthetic dyes  
 H 45.0 L 134.0 E-TIB-0045



**LM-094**

**Impok kalate**  
**Jacket**  
 Tagakaolo  
 Abaca, natural dye, shell discs  
 H 41.0 L 114.5 E-TAGA-0038



**LM-089**

**Pamitai/bagun-us**  
**Aromatic herb**  
 Tagakaolo | Malalag, Davao | 1914  
 Herbs, abaca, natural dyes  
 L 35.5 W 4.5 E-TAGA-0016



**LM-095**

**Impok kalate**  
**Upper garment**  
 Tagakaolo  
 Commercial cotton cloth, synthetic dyes, beads  
 H 40.0 L 126.0 E-TAGA-0045



**LM-090**

**Bagun-us**  
**Aromatic herb**  
 Tagakaolo | Lida Creek, Malalag, Davao | 1914  
 Herbs, abaca, natural dyes  
 L 20.0 W 4.0 E-TAGA-0017



**LM-096**

**Sangkil**  
**Anklet**  
 Tiruray | Cotabato | 1909  
 Brass  
 D 11.0 E-TIR-0026



**LM-091**

**Tikus-boko-on**  
**Bracelet**  
 Tagakaolo | Malalag, Davao | 1914  
 Brass  
 D 8.0 E-TAGA-0032



**LM-097**

**Sangkil**  
**Anklet**  
 Tiruray | Cotabato | 1902  
 Brass  
 D 10.0; 10.5 E-TIR-0029



**LM-092**

**Pubic shield**  
 Tagakaolo | Davao  
 Coconut shell, abaca  
 L 27.0 W 7.0 E-TAGA-0033



**LM-098**

**Fe-leng-ka-ser**  
**Arm protector**  
 Tiruray | Cotabato | 1909  
 Wood  
 H 5.0 W 6.7 E-TIR-0044



**LM-093**

**Pubic shield**  
 Tagakaolo | Davao  
 Coconut shell, commercial cotton cloth  
 L 26.0 W 5.0 E-TAGA-0034



**LM-099**

**Fe-leng-ka-ser**  
**Arm protector**  
 Tiruray | Cotabato | 1909  
 Wood  
 H 5.0 W 6.9 E-TIR-0047



**LM-100**

**Leget basak**  
**Seed belt**  
 Tiruray | Cotabato | 1909  
 Job's tears' seeds, coconut shell,  
 wood, string  
 L 75.0 W 7.0 E-TIR-0056



**LM-102**

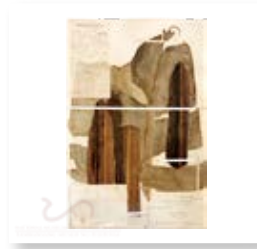
**Necklace**  
 Tiruray  
 Beads, hair, plastic button, shell  
 L 39.5 E-TIR-0124



**LM-101**

**Leget basak**  
**Belt**  
 Tiruray | Cotabato | 1909  
 Brass, beads  
 L 40.0 W 8.0 E-TIR-0059

**TEXTILE AND WEAVING (LM-103 to LM-115)**



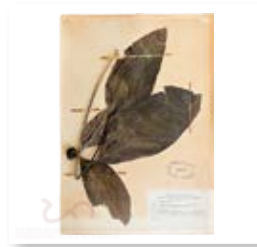
**LM-103**

**Musa textilis**  
**Abaca**  
 Mayon Volcano, Albay



**LM-107**

**Panapisan**  
**Handwoven cloth**  
 Bagobo | Davao | 1979  
 Abaca, natural dyes  
 L 341.0 W 78.0 E-BAG-0030



**LM-104**

**Morinda bracteata**  
 Sta. Cruz Island, Zamboanga |  
 1969



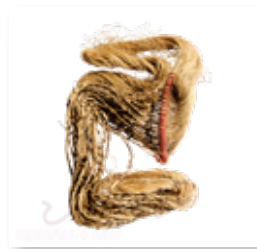
**LM-108**

**Lanot**  
**Abaca fiber**  
 Mandaya | Caraga, Davao |  
 1914  
 Abaca, natural dye  
 L 205.0 E-MAND-0035



**LM-105**

**Morinda citrifolia**  
**Ninó/Bangkoro**  
 Butuan, Agusan del Norte



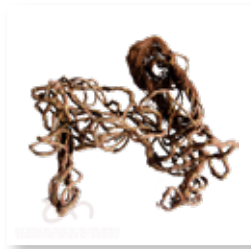
**LM-106**

**Binudbud**  
**Unfinished abaca belt**  
 B'laan | Melilla, Davao | 1914  
 Abaca, cotton  
 L 94.0 E-BIL-0019



**LM-109**

**Dagmai**  
**Skirt**  
 Cover (detail)  
 Mandaya | Manorigao, Davao  
 | 1914  
 Abaca, natural dyes  
 L 377.0 W 72.0 E-MAND-0150



**LM-112**

**Color pattern**  
 Subanen  
 Abaca, natural dye  
 L 95.0 E-SUB-0058



**LM-110**

**Umpak**  
**Unfinished jacket**  
 Manobo  
 Abaca  
 L 75.0 W 25.5 E-BIL-0019



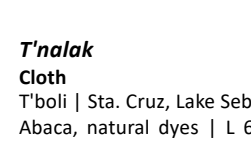
**LM-113**

**Backstrap loom**  
 T'boli | Lake Sebu, South  
 Cotabato | 1980  
 Bamboo, wood, rattan  
 L 198.0 W 87.0 E-TIB-0040



**LM-111**

**Dagmai**  
**Skirt**  
 Manobo  
 Abaca, natural dyes  
 L 359.0 W 70.0 E-MANO-0023



**LM-114**

**T'nalak**  
**Cloth**  
 T'boli | Sta. Cruz, Lake Sebu, South Cotabato | 1977  
 Abaca, natural dyes | L 664.0 W 75.0 E-TIB-0003  
*Figure 4 (detail)*



**LM-115**

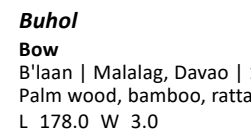
**Unfinished textile in loom**  
 Tiruray | Cotabato | 1909  
 Abaca, natural dyes, wood  
 L 198.0 W 87.0 E-TIR-0101

**SUBSISTENCE (LM-116 to LM-141)**



**LM-116**

**Kungan**  
**Bird cage**  
 Ata Manobo | Upper Lasang,  
 Davao | 1913  
 Rattan, bamboo  
 L 61.5 D 30.7 E-ATA-D-0036



**LM-118**

**Buhol**  
**Bow**  
 B'laan | Malalag, Davao | 1914  
 Palm wood, bamboo, rattan, beeswax, abaca  
 L 178.0 W 3.0 E-BIL-0045  
*Figure 26*

**Kungan**  
**Bird cage**  
 Ata Manobo | Upper Lasang, Davao | 1913  
 Rattan, bamboo  
 L 59.5 D 30.3

**LM-117**

*Larawan 58*  
 E-ATA-D-0037



**LM-119**

**Buhol**  
**Bow**  
 B'laan | Malalag, Davao | 1914  
 Bamboo, rattan, abaca, hair, beeswax  
 L 127.0 W 4.0 E-BIL-0046  
*Figure 26*

**Fana**

**Arrow**

B'laan | Malalag, Davao | 1914  
Bamboo, rattan | L 85.0 - 186.0

**LM-120**

Figure 26

E-BIL-0056



**LM-121**

Figure 25

E-BAG-0154

**Chicken trap and basket**

Bagobo | Calinan, Davao | 1980  
Rattan, beeswax, beads, brass bells, wood, horse's hair,  
animal bone and teeth  
L 34.0 W 28.0 H 15.0

**LM-122**

Larawan 58

E-GIA-0051



**Bird decoy**

Giangan | Upper Talomo River, Davao | 1914  
Wood | L 33.0 W 10.0 H 9.5

**LM-123**

Figure 26

E-GIA-0053

**Bisug**

**Bows**

Giangan | Magus River, Upper Davao | 1914  
Palm wood | L (average) 166.0 W 3.0



**LM-124**

Larawan 58

E-HIG-0004

**Fish trap**

Higaunon | Butuan | 1980  
L 77.0 D 24.0

**LM-125**

Larawan 58

E-HIG-0005

**Fish trap**

Higaunon | Butuan | 1980  
Rattan | L 95.0 D 18.0



**LM-126**

Larawan 58

E-MANG-0014

**Mandagit**

**Votive bird**

Manguangan | Pilar, Upper Agusan | 1914  
Wood, paint  
L 22.0 W 8.5 H 7.0

**LM-127**

Figure 26

E-MANG-0015

**Bow**

Manguangan | Compostela, Davao | 1914  
Wood | L 147.5 W 2.5 - 3.0

**LM-128**

Figure 26

E-MANG-0017

**Inayon**

**Arrow**

Manguangan | Compostela, Davao | 1914  
Bamboo, nito | L 95.0 - 97.4 W 2.5 - 3.0



**LM-129**

**Kunungan**

**Bird cage**

Manobo | Loreto River,  
Umayam | 1914  
Rattan, wood  
H 47.8 D 21.0 E-MANO-0032

**LM-130**

**Kunungan**

**Bird cage**

Manobo | Loreto River,  
Umayam | 1914  
Bamboo  
L 133.5 D 18.5 E-MANO-0033

**LM-131**

**Mouse trap**

Obo | Upper Talomo, Davao |  
1914  
Wood, abaca, rattan  
L 19.0 W 17.0 E-OBO-0018

**LM-132**

**Stake**

Obo | Upper Talomo, Davao |  
1914  
Wood  
L 40.0 W 2.0 E-OBO-0022

**LM-133**

**Stake**

Obo | Upper Talomo, Davao |  
1914  
Wood  
L 43.0 W 2.3 E-OBO-0023

**LM-134**

Figure 26

**Buhol**

**Bow**

Obo | Upper Padada, Davao | 1914  
Wood, rattan, beeswax  
L 152.0 W 2.9 E-OBO-0040

**LM-135**

Larawan 58

**Eel hook**

Subanen | Wood, metal, cord  
L 32.0 D 3.5 E-SUB-0029

**LM-136**

Larawan 58

**Votive bird**

Subanen | Talomo River, Davao  
Wood, paint | L 20.5 W 3.5 H 5.0 E-SUB-0038

**LM-137**











Larawan 58

**Votive bird**

Subanen | Talomo River, Davao  
Wood, bead | L 28.5 W 8.0 H 9.0 E-SUB-0039

<p><b>Bow</b> T'boli   South Cotabato Bamboo, rattan, hair L 162.0 W 4.0</p>	<p><b>LM-138</b> <i>Figure 26</i>  E-TIB-0041</p>	<p><b>Arrow</b> Tiruray   Cotabato   1980 Bamboo, metal, abaca, natural dye L 139.9 W 3.0</p>	<p><b>LM-140</b> <i>Figure 26</i>  E-TIR-0118</p>
<p><b>Shrimp catcher</b> Tiruray   Cotabato   1909 Rattan   H 44.0 W 43.0</p>	<p><b>LM-139</b> <i>Larawan 58</i>  E-TIR-0098</p>	<p><b>Spear</b> Tiruray   Cotabato Bamboo, cord, metal, beeswax L 152.0</p>	<p><b>LM-141</b> <i>Larawan 58</i>  E-TIR-0121</p>

**HOUSEHOLD IMPLEMENTS (LM-142 to LM-157)**

	<p><b>LM-142</b>  <b>Lua</b> <b>Plate holder</b> Ata Manobo   Tamugan River, Davao   1914 Rattan H 9.0 D 21.6 E-ATA-D-0011</p>		<p><b>LM-147</b>  <b>Saboi</b> <b>Water container</b> Manguangan   Compostela, Upper Agusan   1914 Gourd H 8.0 D 7.0 E-MANG-0012</p>
	<p><b>LM-143</b>  <b>Lu'a</b> <b>Spatula</b> Bagobo   Talomo River, Davao   1914 Wood, paint L 44.0 W 9.5 E-BAG-0171</p>		<p><b>LM-148</b>  <b>Luag</b> <b>Spatula</b> Manobo   Moncayo, Davao   1914 Wood L 46.5 W 3.5 E-MANO-0039</p>
	<p><b>LM-144</b>  <b>Lu'a</b> <b>Spatula</b> Bagobo   Davao   1914 Wood L 52.0 W 10.3 E-BAG-0173</p>		<p><b>LM-149</b>  <b>Sakadu</b> <b>Water container</b> Manobo   Kalamansig, Sultan Kudarat   1964 Bamboo H 51.0 D 7.0 E-MANO-0034</p>
	<p><b>LM-145</b>  <b>Titikan</b> <b>Strike-a-light container</b> Bagobo   Calinan, Davao   1980 Rattan, beeswax, rock, metal L 18.8 W 7.5 H 4.0 E-BAG-0180</p>		<p><b>LM-150</b>  <b>Luag</b> <b>Spatula</b> Manobo   Pilar, Upper Agusan   1914 Wood, paint L 39.0 W 3.5 E-MANO-0040</p>
	<p><b>LM-146</b>  <b>Luag</b> <b>Spatula</b> Mandaya   Compostela, Davao   1914 Wood, paint L 39.8 W 3.5 E-MAND-0046</p>		<p><b>LM-151</b>  <b>Luag</b> <b>Spatula</b> Manobo   Pilar, Upper Agusan   1914 Wood, paint L 38.0 W 3.3 E-MANO-0041</p>



**LM-152**  
**Luag**  
**Spatula**  
 Manobo | Pilar, Upper Agusan  
 | 1914  
 Wood, paint  
 L 41.0 W 3.5 E-MANO-0042



**LM-155**  
**Paddle**  
 Subanen  
 Wood  
 L 29.5 W 5.5 H 1.2 E-SUB-0027



**LM-153**  
**Bato hasaan**  
**Whetstone holder**  
 Manobo | La Paz, Agusan Valley  
 Rattan, stone  
 L 35.0 W 9.0 E-MANO-0054



**LM-156**  
**Kampul**  
**Ladle**  
 Tagakaolo | Malalag, Davao |  
 1914  
 Wood  
 L 49.5 W 11.0 E-TAGA-0003



**LM-154**  
**Sanduk**  
**Ladle**  
 Subanen | Sindangan Bay,  
 Zamboanga  
 Coconut shell, wood, rattan  
 L 49.0 W 8.5 E-SUB-0025



**LM-157**  
**Ladle**  
 Tiruray | Cotabato | 1909  
 Wood, bamboo, paint  
 L 41.0 W 5.0 E-TIR-0100

**BASKETS (LM-158 to LM-182)**



**LM-158**  
**Panit**  
**Basket**  
 Ata Manobo | Magus River,  
 Davao | 1913  
 Rattan, beeswax, soot  
 H 21.0 D 35.0  
 E-ATA-D-0001



**LM-161**  
**Basket**  
 Bagobo | Talomo River, Davao  
 | 1980  
 Rattan, beeswax, beads, cotton  
 cloth  
 H 11.0 W 16.0 E-BAG-0142



**LM-159**  
**Panit**  
**Basket**  
 Ata Manobo | Magus River,  
 Davao | 1914  
 Rattan, wood, beeswax, soot,  
 abaca  
 H 20.4 D 21.5 E-ATA-D-0003



**LM-162**  
**Basket**  
 Bagobo | Davao | 1979  
 Rattan, abaca, beads, horse  
 hair, *nito*, soot  
 H 42.0 W 22.0 E-BAG-0144

**LM-160**  
**Kabil**  
**Carrying bag**  
 Bagobo | Sta. Cruz, Davao | 1914  
 Rattan, beeswax, commercial cotton cloth and dyes,  
 horse hair, beads  
 H 11.0 W 15.5 E-BAG-0139  
*Figure 16*

**LM-163**  
**Binuta**  
**Basket**  
 Bagobo | Talomo River, Davao | 1914  
 Rattan, beeswax, abaca, commercial cotton cloth, beads,  
 horse hair, cotton balls  
 H 22.2 W 16.0 E-BAG-0149  
*Figure 16*





**LM-164**

**Basket**  
Mandaya | Lupon, Davao  
Oriental | 1979  
Rattan, abaca, feathers  
H 47.8 D 45.0  
E-MAND-0001



**LM-170**

**Container basket**  
Mandaya | 1994  
Bamboo, rattan, beeswax  
H 12.5 D 8.0 E-MAND-0158



**LM-165**

**Kapogong Basket**  
Mandaya | Upper Cateel, Davao  
| 1914  
Rattan  
H 28.0 D 18.0 E-MAND-0007



**Meat/fish basket**  
Manguangan | Compostela, Davao | 1914  
Rattan, beeswax  
H 43.0 D 17.0

**LM-171**  
*Figure 16*

E-MANG-0001



**LM-166**

**Basket**  
Mandaya | Lupon, Davao  
Oriental | 1979  
Rattan, wood, beeswax,  
abaca, beads, natural dyes  
H 24.0 D 21.5 E-MAND-0008



**Basket**  
Subanen | Zamboanga  
Rattan, wood, abaca  
L 21.0 W 13.0 H 22.0

**LM-172**  
*Larawan 48*

E-SUB-0001



**LM-167**

**Bakuta Basket**  
Mandaya | Veruela, Agusan  
del Sur | 1911  
Rattan, bamboo, beeswax,  
abaca, cotton, dyes  
H 30.0 D 12.8 E-MAND-0012



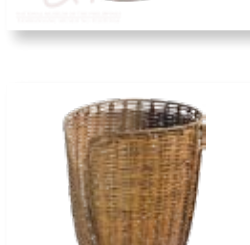
**Beta sedlai Basket**  
Subanen | Zamboanga  
Rattan, wood, *nito*, cord, resin  
H 17.0 D 18.0 E-SUB-0004

**LM-173**



**LM-168**

**Bakuta Basket**  
Mandaya | Upper Cateel,  
Davao | 1914  
Rattan, bamboo, beeswax,  
abaca, dyes  
H 28.5 D 14.0 E-MAND-0013



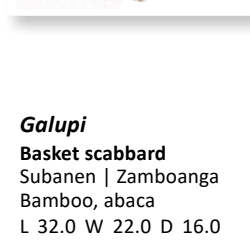
**Basket**  
Subanen | Sindangan Bay,  
Zamboanga  
Rattan, *nito*  
H 17.0 D 28.0 E-SUB-0006

**LM-174**



**LM-169**

**Panganan Basket**  
Manobo | Manuga River,  
Upper Agusan | 1914  
Rattan, wood, resin  
H 29.7 D 32.0  
E-MANO-0026



**Galupi Basket scabbard**  
Subanen | Zamboanga  
Bamboo, abaca  
L 32.0 W 22.0 D 16.0

**Basket**  
Subanen | Zamboanga  
Rattan, wood  
H 47.5 W 29.0 E-SUB-0012

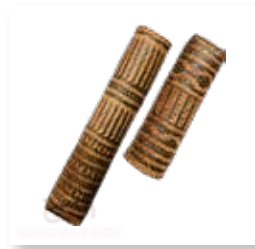
**LM-175**

**LM-176**  
*Figure 16*

E-SUB-0014



**LM-177**  
**Buun**  
**Basket**  
 Tagakaolo | Malagal, Davao |  
 1914  
 Rattan, nito  
 H 16.0 D 23.0 E-TAGA-0001



**LM-180**  
**Basket**  
 Tiruray | Cotabato | 1909  
 Rattan, soot  
 H 49.0 D 9.0 E-TIR-0075



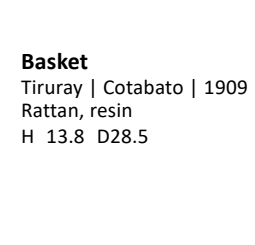
**LM-178**  
**Sis**  
**Basket**  
 Tiruray | Cotabato | 1909  
 Rattan, wood  
 H 51.0 W 40.0 E-TIR-0064



**LM-181**  
**Basket**  
 Tiruray | Cotabato | 1909  
 Rattan, nito, soot  
 H 13.8 D 28.5 E-TIR-0079



**LM-179**  
**Basket**  
 Tiruray | Cotabato | 1909  
 Bamboo strip, rattan, soot  
 H 18.0 D 16.0 E-TIR-0070



**LM-182**  
**Basket**  
 Tiruray | Cotabato | 1909  
 Rattan, resin  
 H 13.8 D28.5  
*Figure 16*  
 E-TIR-0080

**POTTERY (LM-183 to LM-193)**

**Cuyun**  
**Pot**  
 Mandaya | Sitio Naga, Davao Oriental | 1970  
 Earthenware  
 H 17.5 D 22.0

**LM-183**  
*Larawan 47*  
 E-MAND-0143



**LM-186**  
**Jar**  
 Manobo  
 Earthenware  
 H 22.0 D 25.0 E-MANO-0189



**LM-184**  
**Jar**  
 Manobo | Upper Salug, Davao  
 | 1977  
 Earthenware  
 H 36.0 D 41.0 E-MANO-0114

**Kadon**  
**Pot**  
 Obo  
 Earthenware  
 H 12.5 D 16.5

**LM-187**  
*Larawan 47*  
 E-OBO-0024



**LM-185**  
**Jar**  
 Manobo  
 Earthenware  
 H 38.0 D 37.0 E-MANO-0186

**LM-188**  
*Figure 15*  
 E-SUB-0141

**LM-189**  
*Larawan 47*  
 E-SUB-0142



**LM-190**  
**Kolun**  
**Pot**  
 Tagakaolo | Malalag, Davao | 1914  
 Earthenware  
 H 11.0 D 16.0 E-TAGA-0004

**LM-192**  
**Kolun**  
**Pot**  
 Tagakaolo | Malalag, Davao | 1914  
 Earthenware  
 H 20.0 D 22.0 E-TAGA-0006

**LM-192**  
 Figure 15

**Kolun**  
**Pot**  
 Tagakaolo | Malalag, Davao | 1914  
 Earthenware  
 H 16.0 D 19.0 E-TAGA-0005

**LM-191**  
 Figure 15

**LM-193**  
**Jar**  
 Tiruray  
 Earthenware  
 H 17.0 D 30.0 E-TIR-0126

**LM-193**  
 Figure 15

**BELIEFS (DEATH, RITUALS, IDOLS, AMULETS) (LM-194 to LM-221)**



**LM-194**  
**Ritual object**  
 Ata Manobo | Upper Lasang, Davao | 1913  
 Wood, animal mandible, plant herbs, beads, brass bells, betel nut, cord  
 L 69.0 W 24.0 H 14.0 E-ATA-D-0039



**LM-198**  
**Hupa**  
**Tuba container**  
 Giangan | Magus River, Upper Davao | 1914  
 Bamboo, rattan, soot  
 H 51.0 D 8.5 E-GIA-0035



**LM-195**  
**Idol**  
 Bagobo | Calinan, Davao | 1980  
 Stone  
 H 19.0 W 16.0 E-BAG-0220



**LM-199**  
**Supa**  
**Tuba container**  
 Giangan | Upper Talomo River, Davao | 1914  
 Bamboo, soot  
 H 45.0 D 13.0 E-GIA-0036



**LM-196**  
**Anting-anting**  
**Fetish/amulet**  
 Bukidnon | Melilla, Davao | 1914  
 Plant materials, stones, shells  
 L 7.0 E-BUK-0062



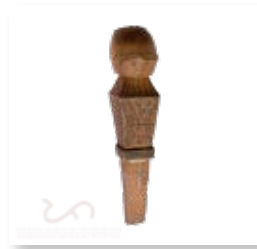
**LM-200**  
**Sinapa**  
**Tuba container**  
 Giangan | Upper Talomo River, Davao | 1914  
 Bamboo, soot  
 H 19.0 D 13.0 E-GIA-0038



**LM-197**  
**Anting-anting**  
**Amulet**  
 Bukidnon | Puntian, Bukidnon  
 Abaca, wood, bones, shell, rattan  
 D 13.0 E-BUK-0063



**LM-201**  
**Manang**  
**Idol**  
 Mandaya | Dugmanon River | 1914  
 Wood  
 H 7.3 W 2.5 E-MAND-0039



**LM-202**  
**Manang Idol**  
 Mandaya | Caraga, Davao | 1910-1914  
 Wood  
 H 13.0 W 3.0 E-MAND-0040



**LM-208**  
**Manang Idol**  
 Manobo | Loreto River, Umayam | 1914  
 Wood  
 H 27.0 W 3.2 E-MANO-0049



**LM-203**  
**Manang Idol**  
 Mandaya | Sitio Naga, Davao Oriental | 1970  
 Wood  
 H 19.7 W 3.0 E-MAND-0041



**LM-209**  
**Manang Idol**  
 Manobo | Loreto River, Umayam | 1914  
 Wood  
 H 24.5 W 3.5 E-MANO-0050



**LM-204**  
**Manang Idol**  
 Mandaya | Cateel, Davao | 1914  
 Wood  
 H 13.7 W 2.2 E-MAND-0042



**LM-210**  
**Manang Idol**  
 Manobo | Loreto River, Umayam | 1914  
 Wood  
 H 25.5 W 5.5 E-MANO-0051



**LM-205**  
**Manang Idol**  
 Mandaya | Compostela, Davao | 1914  
 Wood  
 H 64.0 W 18.0 E-MAND-0044



**LM-211**  
**Manang Idol**  
 Manobo | Upper Salug, Davao | 1914  
 Wood, soot  
 H 35.5 W 6.0 E-MANO-0052



**LM-206**  
**Manang Idol**  
 Mandaya | Compostela, Davao | 1914  
 Wood  
 H 56.0 W 15.0 E-MAND-0045



**LM-212**  
**Tag-on-on Sacrificial boat**  
 Manobo | Davao | 1957  
 Wood  
 L 53.0 W 6.0 H 3.5  
 E-MANO-0053



**LM-207**  
**Manang Idol**  
 Manobo | Loreto River, Umayam | 1914  
 Wood  
 H 15.7 W 3.0 E-MANO-0048



**LM-213**  
**Gita Cup**  
 Subanen | Zamboanga | 1957  
 Coconut shell, paint  
 H 6.5 D 8.6 E-SUB-0021



**Gita Cup**  
Subanen | Zamboanga | 1957  
Coconut shell, lime  
H 6.5 D 8.0 E-SUB-0023

**LM-214**

**Limestone urn**  
Kulaman Plateau, Lebak, North Cotabato  
H 57.0 D 33.0

**LM-217**  
*Figure 30*  
77-B-22



**Pang Grave marker**  
Subanen | Zamboanga Peninsula  
Wood  
H 122.0 D 10.4 E-SUB-0046

**LM-215**

**Limestone urn**  
Kulaman Plateau, Lebak, North Cotabato  
L 34.0 W. 34.0 H 73.0

**LM-218**  
*Figure 30*  
87-A-8



**Pang Grave marker**  
Subanen | Zamboanga Peninsula  
Wood  
H 75.0 W 8.5 E-SUB-0048

**LM-216**

**Burial jar cover**  
Ayub Cave, Maitum, Sarangani Province | 1991  
Clay | H 16.0 W 15.0

**LM-219**  
*Larawan 61*  
XI-1991-R-25

**Burial jar cover**  
Ayub Cave, Maitum, Sarangani Province | 1991  
Clay | H 20.0 W 19.0

**LM-220**  
*Larawan 61*  
XI-1991-R-39

**Burial jar cover**  
Ayub Cave, Maitum, Sarangani Province | 1991  
Clay, paint | H 30.0 W 20.0

**LM-221**  
*Larawan 61*  
XI-1991-P2-139

**MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS (LM-222 to LM-238)**



**Kumbing Flute**  
Ata Manobo | Magus River, Davao | 1914  
Bamboo  
L 23.0 D 2.5 E-ATA-D-0030

**LM-222**



**Drumbeater**  
Bagobo | Calinan, Davao | 1980  
Wood, rubber  
L 26.0 W 4.5 E-BAG-0161

**LM-225**

**Slumpe dal Drum**  
B'laan | Mt. Matutum | 1956  
Wood, rattan, iron nails  
L 210.0 D 21.0

**LM-223**

*Figure 28*

E-BIL-0017



**Drumbeater**  
Bagobo | Calinan, Davao | 1980  
Wood, rubber  
L 27.0 W 6.0 E-BAG-0162

**LM-226**

**Gong**  
Bagobo | Calinan, Davao | 1960  
Brass, brass bells, beads, abaca  
H 14.0 D 32.0

**LM-224**

*Figure 27*

E-BAG-0155



**Tambur Drum**  
Bagobo | Calinan, Davao | 1980  
Wood, animal skin, rattan, abaca  
H 27.0 D 25.0 E-BAG-0163

**LM-227**

**Taguk**  
**Zither**

Giangan | Upper Talomo River, Davao | 1913  
Bamboo, paint, rattan, cotton threads, synthetic dyes  
L 62.2 D 10.2 E-GIA-0030



**LM-228**  
Larawan 59



**LM-233**  
**Togo**  
**Zither**  
Manobo | Kalamansig, Sultan  
Kudarat | 1964  
Bamboo  
L 73.0 D 8.5 E-MANO-0038

**Bunabun**  
**Flute**

Mandaya | Lukatan, Caraga,  
Davao | 1970  
Bamboo  
L 8.3 D 2.0 E-MAND-0056

**LM-229**



**LM-234**  
**Tag-on-on**  
**Pestle**  
Manobo | Agusan  
Wood  
L 128.0 D 6.0 E-MANO-0055



**LM-230**  
**Drum**  
Mandaya | Lupon, Davao  
Oriental | 1979  
Wood, animal skin, rattan,  
abaca, brass bells  
H 33.0 D 32.8 E-MAND-0098



**LM-235**  
**Katimbuk**  
**Percussion**  
Tagakaolo | Malalag, Davao |  
1914  
Bamboo  
L 31.0 D 5.18 E-TAGA-0012



**LM-231**  
**Kudlong**  
**Guitar**  
Mandaya | River Cadia,  
Compostela Davao | 1914  
Wood  
L 111.0 W 10.0 H 7.0  
E-MAND-0066



**LM-236**  
**Katimbuk**  
**Percussion**  
Tagakaolo | Padada, Davao |  
1914  
Bamboo  
L 23.5 D 5.25 E-TAGA-0013



**LM-232**  
**Togo**  
**Zither**  
Manobo | Kalamansig, Sultan  
Kudarat | 1964  
Bamboo  
L 59.0 D 8.5 E-MANO-0037

**LM-237**  
**Hegelung**  
**Guitar**  
T'boli | Surallah, South Cotabato | 1979  
Wood | L 106.0 W 14.0 H 5.5  
E-TIB-0038

**LM-238**  
**Hegelung**  
**Guitar**  
T'boli | 1979  
Wood | L 125.0 W 16.0 H 9.5  
E-TIB-0039

**BETEL CHEWING PARAPHERNALIA (LM-239 to LM-267)**

**Areca catechu**  
**Bunga**  
Camp 6, Tuba, Benguet | 2015

**LM-239**  
Figure 32

**Nicotiana tabacum**  
**Tabako**  
Camp 6, Tuba, Benguet | 2015

**LM-241**  
Figure 32

**Piper betle**  
**Ikmo/buyo**  
Camp 6, Tuba, Benguet | 2015

**LM-240**  
Figure 32

**Atuna racemosa**  
**Tabon-tabon**

**LM-242**  
Figure 32

**Tang-ub**

**Betelnut container**

Ata Manobo | Upper Lasang, Davao | 1913  
Nito, beeswax | L 17.0 W 10.0 D 5.0

**LM-243**

Figure 33

E-ATA-D-0015

**Tagan inakal**

**Lime container**

Ata Manobo | Upper Calinan, Davao | 1979  
Shell (*Conus litteratus*), lime  
H 3.0 D 3.5

**LM-244**

Figure 32

E-ATA-D-0027

**Ankub**

**Betel bag for women**

B'laan | Padada, Davao | 1914  
Wood, rattan, abaca, natural dyes  
H 17.0 D 14.0

**LM-245**

Larawan 62

E-BIL-0004



**Kabil**

**Betel bag for women**

B'laan | Sta. Cruz, Davao | 1914  
Wood, rattan, commercial  
cotton, dye  
H 21.0 W 21.0

**LM-246**

E-BIL-0002



**Kabil**

**Betel bag**

B'laan | Sta. Cruz, Davao | 1914  
Wood, rattan, abaca, natural  
dyes  
H 21.0 W 13.0

**LM-247**

E-BIL-0003



**LM-248**

**Lime container**

Bukidnon  
Bamboo, rattan  
H 20.0 D 3.8

E-BUK-0045

**Sirikit**

**Betelnut container**

Bagobo | Davao | 1974  
Brass | L 18.5 W 9.0 H 7.0

**LM-249**

Figure 33

E-BAG-0158



**LM-250**

**Mortar**

Bagobo | Davao  
Brass  
H 9.5 D 7.3

E-BAG-0168



**LM-251**

**Tagan**

**Lime container**

Bagobo | Talomo River, Davao  
| 1914  
Bamboo, rattan, beeswax  
H 32.0 D 4.0

E-BAG-0178

**Binuta**

**Basket**

Bagobo | Talomo River, Davao | 1914  
Bamboo, wood, beeswax  
H 8.5 D 13.0

Larawan 62

E-BAG-0181

**Mamaan**

**Betelnut container**

Bagobo | Calinan, Davao | 1980  
Brass | L 15.0 W 7.0 H 6.0

Larawan 62

E-BAG-0183

**Betelnut container**

Bagobo | Davao | 1974  
Brass | L 21.4 W 7.5 H 9.0

Larawan 62

E-BAG-0185

**Mamaan**

**Betelnut container**

Bagobo | Calinan, Davao | 1980  
Brass | L 14.5 W 7.5 H 7.0

Larawan 62

Figure 33

E-BAG-0186



**LM-256**

**Pouch**

Bukidnon | Agusan Valley  
*Buri*, commercial cotton,  
synthetic dyes  
L 10.0 W 4.0

E-BUK-0041



**LM-257**

**Lime container**

Bukidnon | Agusan Valley  
Gourd  
L 16.0 W 7.0

E-BUK-0044

**Bakat**

**Betelnut basket**

Mandaya | Agusan Valley  
Rattan, wood, beeswax, commercial cotton and dyes, beads  
H 12.9 D 15.7

Larawan 62

E-MAND-0009



**LM-259**

**Bakuta**  
**Betelnut container**  
 Mandaya | Upper Cateel, Davao  
 | 1914  
 Rattan, bamboo, beeswax  
 H 8.5 D 7.0 E-MAND-0016



**LM-264**

**Bintang**  
**Betelnut basket and tray**  
 Manobo | Libagonon River,  
 Davao | 1910  
 Wood, rattan, bamboo, beeswax  
 H 11.5 D 27.5 E-MANO-0131

**Luka binudai**  
**Tobacco container**  
 Mandaya | Caraga, Davao | 1914  
 Wood | H 13.0 D 15.0

**LM-260**

Figure 33

E-MAND-0019



**LM-265**

**Kapipis**  
**Tobacco container**  
 Obo | Upper Talomo, Davao |  
 1914  
 Wood, beeswax, commercial  
 cotton cloth  
 W 13.5 H 16.0 E-OBO-0006

**Buka binudai**  
**Tobacco container**  
 Mandaya | Caraga, Davao | 1914  
 Nito, wood | L 14.5 W 4.0 H 6.0

**LM-261**

Larawan 62

E-MAND-0020



**LM-266**

**Lime container**  
 Obo | Upper Talomo, Davao |  
 1914  
 Shell, lime  
 H 4.5 D 7.5 E-OBO-0009



**LM-262**

**Binuta**  
**Tobacco container**  
 Manguangan | Upper Talomo,  
 Davao | 1914  
 Bamboo, rattan, beeswax  
 H 22.0 D 8.0 E-MANG-0002



**LM-263**

**Luka binuta**  
**Tobacco container**  
 Manguangan | Compostela,  
 Upper Agusan | 1914  
 Bamboo, rattan, beeswax  
 H 12.0 D 6.0 E-MANG-0003

**WEAPONRY (LM-267 to LM-294)**



**LM-267**

**Kulasag**  
**Shield**  
 Ata Manobo  
 Wood, rattan, resin  
 H 108.0 W 44.0 E-ATA-D-0040



**LM-268**

**Spear**  
 Bukidnon | Jamindan, Bukidnon  
 | 1913  
 Metal, wood  
 L 240.0 W 6.5 E-BUK-0066





**LM-269**

**Ilap  
Knife**  
Bagobo | Davao  
Metal, wood, rattan, beeswax,  
abaca, beads, shell, brass bells  
L 30.0 W 15.0 E-BAG-0159



**LM-276**

**Kiping  
Knife with sheath**  
Bagobo | Calinan, Davao | 1979  
Metal, rattan, wood, twine  
L 28.0 W 13.0 E-BAG-0209



**LM-270**

**Bells**  
Bagobo  
Brass  
H 9.0 W 6.0 E-BAG-0164



**LM-277**

**Kiping  
Knife with sheath**  
Bagobo | Davao | 1971  
Metal, wood  
L 41.0 W 20.0 E-BAG-0210



**LM-271**

**Bell**  
Bagobo  
Brass  
L 9.5 W 7.5 E-BAG-0165



**LM-278**

**Kiping  
Knife with sheath**  
Bagobo | Davao | 1971  
Metal, wood  
L 35.0 W 15.0 E-BAG-0211

**Arienda  
Horse guide**  
Bagobo | Calinan, Davao | 1979  
Brass | L 10.5 W 5.0

**LM-272**

*Larawan 54*

E-BAG-0167



**LM-279**

**Bolo with sheath**  
Bagobo | 1969  
Metal, wood  
L 82.0 W 12.5 E-BAG-0214



**LM-273**

**Sheath**  
Bagobo | Davao | 1903  
Wood, metal, abaca, beads,  
commercial cotton, dyes  
L 37.0 W 10.0 E-BAG-0200

**Bolo**  
Bagobo | Davao | 1979  
Metal, wood, brass bells, crocodile tooth  
L 62.0 W 15.0 E-BAG-0215

**LM-280**

*Larawan 54*



**LM-274**

**Sheath**  
Bagobo | Davao | 1903  
Wood, metal, abaca, beads,  
commercial cotton, dyes  
L 37.0 W 8.5 E-BAG-0203



**LM-281**

**Bolo with sheath**  
Bagobo | Davao | 1976  
Metal, wood, abaca, beads,  
hair, natural dye, commercial  
cotton cloth  
L 68.0 W 14.0 E-BAG-0216

**Kiping  
Knife with sheath**  
Bagobo | 1971  
Metal, rattan | L 42.0 W 15.0

**LM-275**

*Larawan 54*

E-BAG-0208



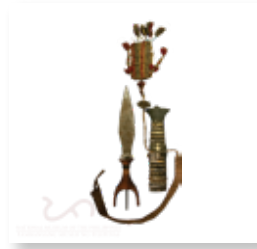
**LM-282**

**Bolo with sheath**  
 Bagobo | 1952  
 Metal, wood  
 L 69.0 W 12.0 E-BAG-0217



**LM-288**

**Shield**  
 Mandaya  
 Wood, rattan  
 H 104.0 W 21.0 E-MAND-0107



**LM-283**

**Badao**  
**Dagger/sheath**  
 Mandaya | Eastern Mindanao  
 | 1952  
 Wood, metal, abaca, cotton,  
 natural and commercial dyes  
 L 34.0 W 6.0 E-MAND-0060



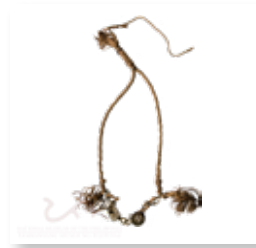
**LM-289**

**Kasag**  
**Shield**  
 Manobo | Buay, Upper Agusan  
 | 1914  
 Wood, hair  
 H 104.5 W 19.0 E-MANO-0065



**LM-284**

**Badao**  
**Knife with sheath**  
 Mandaya | Eastern Mindanao  
 | 1952  
 Wood, metal, rattan, abaca  
 L 31.0 W 5.0 E-MAND-0062



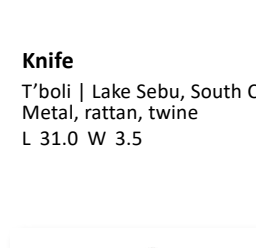
**LM-290**

**Kakang**  
**Horse bridle**  
 Obo | Balutikun, Digos, Davao  
 | 1914  
 Rope, metal  
 L 135.0 W 10.0 E-OBO-0014



**LM-285**

**Likud-likud**  
**Bolo**  
 Mandaya | 1910-1915  
 Metal, wood  
 L 55.0 W 13.0 E-MAND-0064



**LM-291**

**Knife**  
 T'boli | Lake Sebu, South Cotabato | 1980  
 Metal, rattan, twine  
 L 31.0 W 3.5 E-TIB-0032



**LM-286**

**Shield**  
 Mandaya  
 Wood, horse hair  
 H 101.0 W 40.5 E-MAND-0105



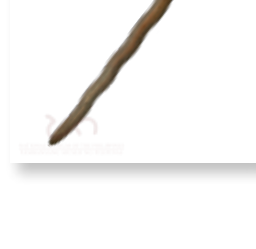
**LM-292**

**Knife**  
 T'boli | Lake Sebu, South  
 Cotabato | 1980  
 Wood, metal, plastic twine,  
 rubber  
 L 29.0 W 4.8 E-TIB-0033



**LM-287**

**Shield**  
 Mandaya  
 Wood, rattan  
 H 92.0 W 23.0 E-MAND-0106



**LM-293**

**Lipang**  
**Kris**  
 Tagakaolo | Malalag, Davao |  
 1914  
 Metal, wood  
 L 59.0 W 7.5 E-TAG-0007



**LM-294**

**Shield**  
Tiruray  
Wood, hair, resin  
H 91.0 W 28.0 E-TIR-0107

**METALSMITHING (LM-295 to LM-302)**



**LM-295**

**Bulai nan turak**  
Wax  
B'laan | Padada, Davao | 1914  
Beeswax  
W 4.0 E-BIL-0006



**LM-299**

**Crucible**  
T'boli  
Clay, wax  
H 11.0 D 8.0 E-TIB-0035



**LM-296**

**Crucible**  
Mandaya  
Clay  
H 2.5 D 4.0 E-MAND-0144



**LM-300**

**Crucible**  
T'boli  
Clay, wax  
H 16.0 D 13.0 E-TIB-0036



**LM-297**

**Beeswax**  
Subanen  
L 8.0 W 6.0 E-SUB-0036



**LM-301**

**Wax rolling pin**  
T'boli  
Clay, wax  
H 12.0 D 7.9 E-TIB-0037



**LM-298**

**Bellow with piston**  
T'boli  
Wood, metal, feathers  
H 116.0 D 15.0 E-TIB-0014A



**LM-302**

**Bellows with piston**  
T'boli  
Wood, rattan, feathers  
Bellows: H 114.0 - 115.0  
D 26.0 - 27.0  
Pistons: H 137.0 - 141.0

**ZOOLOGICAL SPECIMEN COLLECTION (LM-303 to LM-311)**



**LM-303**

***Pinctada margaritifera***  
**Blacklip pearl oyster**  
Pambilan, Alabat Island, Quezon  
2011  
D 13.0



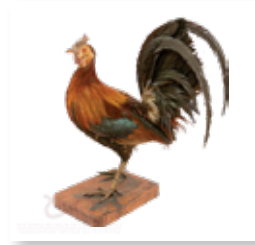
**LM-308**

***Crocodylus mindorensis***  
**Philippine crocodile**  
*Palvos* | Manobo  
*Cayman* | Bisaya  
*Buwaya* | Tagalog  
L 146.0 W 16.0 H 7.0  
PNMNH-030



**LM-304**

***Pinctada maxima***  
**Goldlip pearl oyster**  
Morocborocan, Monreal,  
Ticao Island, Masbate  
1998  
D 22.0



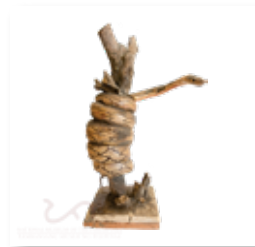
**LM-309**

***Gallus gallus philippensis***  
**Red jungle fowl**  
*Anok abnas* | B'laan  
*Manok ihalas* | Bisayan  
*Labuyo* | Tagalog  
H 35.0 W 28.0



**LM-305**

***Cuora amboinensis***  
**Malayan box turtle**  
*Pannu* | Bagobo  
*Pagong* | Tagalog  
L 24.0 W 12.0 H 5.0  
NMZAM-094



**LM-310**

***Malayopython reticulatus***  
**Reticulated python**  
*Sawe* | B'laan  
*Bakusan* | Manobo  
*Sawa* | Tagalog



**LM-306**

***Cuora amboinensis***  
**Malayan box turtle**  
*Pannu* | Bagobo  
*Pagong* | Tagalog  
L 22.0 W 14.0 H 6.0  
NMZAM-096



**LM-311**

***Sus philippensis***  
**Philippine warty pig**  
*Magin talunan* | Manobo  
*Baboy talon* | Subanen  
*Baboy damo* | Tagalog  
L 15.0 W 26.0 H 56.0  
NMZAM-117



**LM-307**

***Chelonia mydas***  
**Green sea turtle**  
*Baoo* | Manobo  
*Pawikan* | Tagalog  
L 59.0 W 35.0 H 12.5  
PNMNH-228

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