

THE WESTERNIZATION OF THE "FILIPINO"¹ ETHNIC COMMUNITIES

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The term "Filipino" (cf. *supra*), acceptable nationally and internationally, refers today to the inhabitants of the Philippines² which was first placed on the world map and history (in the Western sense) after Ferdinand Magellan³ set foot on the islands in 1521. And, it was in Magellan's time when the seeds of Christianity were sown and the consequent westernization of the islands' peoples started. A few hundred years of Christian acculturation shall have passed before the majority of the islands' inhabitants, especially those of the northern islands, would acquire the consciousness of their unity as a people, and ultimately, clamor for independence.

At the arrival of the Spaniards only two "racial groups" were recognized by them — the black-skinned Negritos and the yellow-brown-skinned Malay. Some of the ethnic names (cf. *infra*) mentioned in early reports have also fallen into disuse and some have totally disappeared.

Ethnologist Ferdinand Blumentritt⁴ who, although was unable to visit the islands, did us great service by analyzing many of the Spanish reports. Two of his works are sources of the bulk of the names of the peoples and their locations. An attempt is made here to compare Blumentritt's list with present known lists. Such comparative study has these shortcomings:

1. The data were obtained mostly from the records during the colonization period: Records about pre-Spanish "Filipino" may exist in the annals of the traders, viz., Chinese, Japanese, Annamese, but technical difficulties prevented from consulting these sources;

2. Up to this writing many ethnic groups have not been scientifically studied, and hence, there are only a few comparative studies on them;

3. The ethnic groups' migration routes still have to be thoroughly investigated by ethnologists, pre-historians and archeologists;

4. The racial composition of the present Filipinos has still to be studied in detail for even in the past, i.e., American occupation, it has scarcely been studied.

EXPLANATION OF SOME TERMS USED

Some definitions will greatly help in understanding some cultural phenomena described and expressions used in this paper. These are listed as follows:

1. **Filipino.**⁵ It may be noted that the word "Filipino" is enclosed in quotation marks in the title of this article. This was done on purpose. Before the coming of the Spaniards, the word "Filipino" was not the collective name of the islands' inhabitants who were known, to a large extent (cf. *infra*) by their place of residence, viz. Sugbuanon for those in Cebu (Sugbu being the old name of Cebu), etc. In some instances, especially during the Spanish exploration period, the language spoken by a group was often used to name the ethnic group. Seldom were people asked what they called themselves, so that in many cases the names used may not be what they call themselves.

"Felipina," according to F. Blumentritt, was first used by Ruy Lopez de Villalobos in 1543 for eastern Samar, then called Ibabao by the natives. Villalobos' men called eastern Samar Tandaya or Tandaya in honor of the ruling *rajah*. But Villalobos preferred to name the place after the Spanish crown prince — then Don Felipe of Asturias. The name "Felipina," according to Blumentritt, was not intended to refer to the whole archipelago.⁶ Other writers, as quoted by Quirino, contended that Villalobos named the island of Leyte *Felipina*.⁷ It should be noted however that the term *Indio* was more popularly used then to refer to the local inhabitants. Hence, the term *Filipino* has more historico-political significance. The Filipinos today are divided into the cultural majority (actually the Christian and westernized groups) and the cultural minorities consisting of the island dwellers (some of whom

have become Christians, meanwhile) and the several Muslim groups, including the sea gypsies, the Badjaos,⁸ found mostly in the southern portion of the archipelago.⁹ The term Filipino should not be equated with the term *Filipino race*. There is no such race. It is also inaccurate to say that the present Filipinos are only of the Malayan stock; there has been much racial mixing since the arrival of the first ethnic groups to the islands.¹⁰

2. **Malays.**¹¹ The term "Malays" denotes the population groups encountered by early Spanish explorers. Malays were described as brown-skinned – varying from light to dark, with lank, brownish-black hair; slender or stocky, with a tendency to be rotund in face and body at middle age.

In the last years of Spanish occupation and early American era, several race classifications emerged. Such terms (there are many) we use for our own convenience: primitive Malays, such as the Mangyans of northern Oriental Mindoro; old Malays such as the Manobos; young Malays such as the Bisayans. Other authorities suggest other terms such as Primitive Indonesian, Old Indonesian and Young Indonesian. Although population groups may be variously classified racially, they were in the Spanish era simply called Malayos or Indios.¹²

3. **Negritos.**¹³ The term "Negrito" refers to the small-bodied people-dark-skinned, kinky-haired, somewhat roundheaded. Several types have been recognized recently by various authorities but they were hitherto lumped under one name "Negrillos" or "Negritos" (meaning small Negroes in Spanish). But other anthropologists do not classify them as pygmies¹⁴ – whose kind inhabit Africa and New Guinea. In pre-Magellanic times these people were found in many parts of the archipelago (cf. *infra*). Today they are gradually disappearing, either by the natural process of extinction or by absorption into the the surrounding ethnic groups.

EARLY SPANISH LISTING OF "FILIPINO" ETHNIC GROUPS¹⁵

Malays¹⁶

Various names of the different ethnic groups were recorded by the explorers. The names were either given by the Spaniards or by the

inhabitants themselves. Sometimes one group gives a name to another.

The following are different ethnic groups known to the Spaniards:

1. **Tagalogs** (derived from *taga-ilog*¹⁷). They were the inhabitants of central Luzon provinces¹⁸ and outlying territory, what was called Manila, Laguna, Cavite, Batangas, Morong, Infanta, Tayabas, Bataan and Corregidor. They were later Christianized. Early reports considered the Tagalogs a major group due to their number, their intelligence and high degree of civilization. Reports in the 17th century describe the migration of many Tagalogs to the south by crossing over to Mindoro island where they settled, occupying most of the coastal areas and in some places, they were selected community leaders in chiefly Bisayan-occupied places, such as Marinduque Island.¹⁹ Some Tagalogs travelled as far north as the Zambales region.

2. **Pampangos**.²⁰ They were said to occupy the northern shores of Manila Bay. In early Spanish occupation they have been reported to have migrated to Porac, Tarlac, Pampanga, Bataan, Zambales, and Nueva Ecija. Of Malayan origin, they were said to possess a civilization of their own. During the 16th and 17th centuries the term *Pampangos* included the indigenous Luzon soldiers recruited by the Spanish military. The inclusion stemmed from the fact that Luzon soldiers were Pampangos.

3. **Zambales** (also referred to as Timos or Zambales).²¹ They reportedly populated the middle and southern areas of Zambales. They were mountain dwellers. Many had intermarried with the Negritos, producing offsprings called *remontados*. It is said that many of the Zambales were later converted to Christianity. Those who did not embrace the Christian faith were in later Spanish reports called "Igorrotes" or "Cimarrones" of Zambales.

4. **Pangasinanons**.²² They were found on the western and southern shores of the Lingayen Gulf, and even in the interior, in the territory later called La Union. Some Spanish reports show that the Pangasinanons occupied (ca. 19th century) almost the entire Pangasinan province and in some rancherias of Zambales, Nueva Ecija, Benguet and Porac(?). At the time of these reports were written, the Pangasinanons were already Christian converts. Earlier Spanish reports mentioned that these people had their own culture.

5. **Ilocanos.**²³ They were reportedly found along a small coastal stretch from Lingayen to Cape Borgeador. After their conversion to Christianity, they migrated further into the provinces of Abra, Ilocos Norte, Ilocos Sur, La Union, Benguet, Pampanga, Pangasinan, Cagayan, Zambales and Nueva Ecija. Their mobility explains their widespread distribution. The Ilocanos are noted for being hard-working. Their high level of culture has also been reported by early Spanish chroniclers.

6. **Ibanags (Cagayanons).**²⁴ They were said to be found in Cagayan Valley on the downstream banks of the Cagayan River. Some had migrated to Batanes and Babuyan Islands, which was called by the Spaniards *Isla de Ibanags*. In Ibanag phonetics, there is the /F/ sound which most other Filipino languages do not have.

7. **Igorots,**²⁵ **Buriks and Busaos.**²⁶ They reportedly lived near each other. The Igorots populated Benguet, Lepanto, Tiagan and Bontoc although later Spanish explorers reported their presence also in Abra, Nueva Vizcaya and Isabela. The Busaos were said to occupy the northern portions of Benguet, Lepanto, Tiagan and Bontoc. Scattered here and there in the same area were the Buriks. Some investigators, like Dr. Hans Meyer, failed to locate the Busao and Buriks. Blumentritt²⁷ has opined that the term Burik actually meant various colors, painted, or multi-colored ornamentation, and did not denote a population group. He cites Meyer's work as the basis of his opinion.

8. **Altasanons**²⁸ *and* **Llamuts (Alimut).**²⁹ They were earlier reported to be found in Nueva Ecija. However, later Spanish explorers – although they continued to report the ethnic names – could not ascertain their location. Some writers, such as Frs. Busetta and Bravo contended that these people were indigenous inhabitants of the western mountain ranges of Nueva Vizcaya. Others, such as the Spaniard Sinibaldo de Mas and the German explorer Dr. A. Bastian, used one name, Altabanos, for the two groups.

9. **Bujuanos.**³⁰ They were first reported by Dr. Scheidnagel. They were said to be found in the province of Isabela. Some authorities claimed that these people were related to the Igorots.

10. **Panui-puyes (Banipuyes).**³¹ They reportedly populated western Nueva Vizcaya and Isabela. Some authorities considered these people as a probable branch of the Mayoyaos (cf. *infra*). Their views are

contradicted, however, by later reports suggesting that Panuipuyes are to be considered as Igorots.

11. **Isinaya (Ysanay, Isinayas).**³² They were said to be in the territory of Rio de Agno, including some parts of the mountain Caraballo del Sur, as designated by Spanish explorers. Another ethnic group, called Jumangis, was reported by Spanish workers as a relative of these people, but Spanish sources gave no specific location for them. Later the name Jumangis was eliminated in Spanish reports.

12. **Abacas.**³³ They reportedly inhabited a small area of Caranglan of Nueva Ecija, south of Caraballo del Sur. A Spanish missionary, Fr. Mozo, noted that these people spoke a different language from their neighbors.

13. **Italaonon (Italones).**³⁵ According to early reports, they live in northern Caraballo del Sur and in southern Nueva Vizcaya. Later Spanish reports showed that Italaonons were found in great numbers in Lublub and Bayombong, and that they had formalized villages in Aritao and Dupax. The Italaonons were reportedly warlike and ferocious but many of them became Christians.

14. **Ibilaos.**³⁵ They were pinpointed by the Spanish authorities to have occupied the Nueva Vizcaya-Nueva Ecija border, from Caraballo del Sur to the north and northwest, and even to the environs of Caraballo del Baler. Workers described them as a mixed race — the admixture being mainly with Aeta blood. According to reports, they were ferocious. Some of them were headhunters. Economically, they are a poor ethnic group.

15. **Ilongots (Ilungot, Lingotes).**³⁶ They were said to be found in Nueva Vizcaya, Isabela and Principe, even as far as Nueva Ecija. But their main territory was in the Cordillera, between Baler and Casiguran. Of Malayan origin, they were and still are — reported to be ferocious people, some of whom were headhunters.

16. **Mayoyaos (may include the Salipanes, Panguianes, Panguianes, Quiangans, Bunganones).**³⁷ They were said to inhabit the Bontoc-Nueva Vizcaya border. They, however, inhabit mainly Nueva Vizcaya, but later reports mentioned them populating southeastern Isabela. They were said to be bloodthirsty and ferocious. Some Spanish reports

claimed that the Salipanes, Pungianes, Quianganes and Bunganenes may properly be considered as Ifugaos (cf. *infra*).

17. **Ifugaos.**³⁸ They were found on the left bank of the Magat River south and southwest from Furaio between Mayoyao (place name) and Camarang in Nueva Vizcaya. Later reports classified the Quianganes, Gilapanes, Ifumangis, etc. as Ifugao. As in Ibanag phonetics, the /F/ sound is present in Ifugao phonetics. Ifugaos were reported to be warlike.

18. **Gaddangs (Yogades in old reports).**³⁹ They were said to be scattered throughout Isabela, Nueva Vizcaya, Cabagan, Rio de Calao and Cagayan and were later reported to be also found in the Comandancia de Saltan, Bayombong and Bagabag. The Gaddangs of Bayombong and Bagabag were reportedly already Christianized while those of Comandancia were still pagans.

19. **Itatapanons (Itetapnes, Itetapaanes).**⁴⁰ They were reportedly scattered in small groups in Igorot territory and eastern Isabela. Mainly Malay, they were said to have an admixture of Negrito blood.

20. **Guinanons (Guinanes, Ginan, Quinaanes, Igorrotes de Abra).**⁴¹ Warlike, headhunting, they were reportedly found in Igorot territory (cf. *infra*), especially at Cordillera's eastern part which separates the provinces of Abra and Cagayan. They have also been sighted in Isabela.

21. **Galauas or Itaves (Itaues, Itanes).**⁴² They were found in areas from Sta. Cruz to along a tributary of Rio Chico de Cagayan in higher Malueg and in Nagsiping on the Rio Grande de Cagayan. They were reported to be a peaceful people. Their name in their own tongue, according to some writers, is Calaluas. Other writers claimed that Itaves is the language spoken by this tribe and it is different from the language of interior dwellers. Due to their nearness to Itaves territory, the Galauas' language has been called Itaves. Some writers infer that the Calaluas and Itaves are either one people or are related to each other, gleaning from the fact that Itaves is the spoken language of Malueg. Blumentritt commented that these two names may be different but writers have interchanged them frequently.

22. **Gamunang**⁴³ and **Bayabanan.**⁴⁴ They were reportedly found

in the mountains east and northeast from Tuao, Cagayan. The data on the Gamunang are meager, the last report dated 1842. The Bayabanans, according to Sinibaldo de Mas, had their own language. No other details were available.

23. **Dadayas (Dadaya).**⁴⁵ They speak a language all their own. They were said to inhabit the province of Cagayan, and in Cabagan. Blumentritt noted that this Malayan group is similar to the Dayaks of Borneo. No detailed descriptions were available about them.

24. **Nabayuganon (Nabauganes).**⁴⁶ They were said to be found west of Malaueg, Cagayan in the northernmost part of a tributary to the Rio Chico de Cagayan. In some reports they were confused with Guinaanes. Culturally, the Nabayuganons were still backward, early reports said.

25. **Aripas (Aribas, Aripanon, Aripanes).**⁴⁷ They were reported to have occupied the territory south of the junction of the Rio Grande de Cagayan and Rio Chico de Cagayan, in the watershed of Rio Chico de Cagayan and Rio Apayao, and also were in the *visita* of Aripa. They were reported to be a peaceful people.

26. **Calingas.**⁴⁸ They comprise the ethnic communities in Isabela, Cagayan, Nueva Vizcaya, and in the Cordillera southwest and northeast of Rio Grande de Cagayan and Abulug. C. Semper reported that Calingas referred to the inhabitants of northwestern Luzon who were said to be barbarous. He noted that the naming of Calingas could be a similar case as with the naming of Igorrot to designate all the people in the eastern region. The Calingas were considered relatives of the Aripas (cf. *supra* No. 25). Some writers, notably Dr. A. Schadenberg, reported that the Calingas had Chinese blood. Another worker, Semper, believes that the so-called Irayas are actually Calingas.

27. **Tinguians (Itanegas, Tinggianes, Itaueg, Tingnes, Itaveg, Itaves).**⁴⁹ They were reported to be found in a territory extending from Candon, Ilocos Sur to Mt. Pacsan on the Cagayan-Ilocos Norte boundary, Abra and in rancherias in La Union. The Tinguians have been totally Christianized and Ilocanized.

28. **Adang (Adangtas, Adangines, Adanes, Adamitas).**⁵⁰ They reportedly lived in settlements on the mountain of the same name. These people, who have their own language, possess racial characteristics that are not totally Malay. They may be related to the Apayaos. Besides their having settled in mountains, they were also in the town of Adang, Ilocos Norte. Up to 1720 they lived as barbarians, but later became Christians. Frs. Buzeta and Bravo say that they were half-breeds — results of Indian and Negrito racial miscegenation. Data about them are meager and so there has been no publication on their language.

29. **Apayaos (Apayos, Apoyao, Mandaya(?)).**⁵¹ They were a people reportedly found in the region through which the Apayao river flows, in the eastern slopes of the mountain that separates the provinces of Cagayan and Ilocos Sur, and in the territory through which Rio Chico de Cagayan flows. Racially, according to Frs. Buzeta and Bravo, they were a mixture of Malayan and Negrito stocks. They were also headhunting people. A few writers believed that since very little is known about Apayaos, there exists Apayaos who speak a language called Mandaya(?).

30. **Catalanganon.**⁵² They were said to inhabit the territory of the Catalangan River, a tributary of Rio Grande de Cagayan, and some parts of Isabela. Reports tell that racially, they are a Mongoloid people and are quite peaceful.

31. **Irayas.**⁵³ They were reported to occupy the western side of the Cordillera of Panan and towards the south of the Catalanganes. Reports tell that they are half-breeds — offsprings of Malay-Negrito intermarriages. The Irayas speak a language similar to that of the Catalanganes. Some writers are inclined to include the Irayas in the Calingas ethnic group.

32. **Bicolanos (old name: of Ibalones).**⁵⁴ They reportedly peopled parts of southern Luzon, specifically Camarines (Camarines del Sur, Albay, Burias, Camarines del Norte and in the towns of Daet and Basud) and in Malanay, Tayabas. They are sometimes called Igorrotes of Isarog, of Iriga, of Buhi and of Camarines. They have also been called *cimarones*. It appears that they are high breed offsprings of *remontado* and Negrito marriages. They have all become Christians, according to

missionary reports.

33. **Catubanganes (Catabanganes).**⁵⁵ They reportedly were found in the mountain fastnesses of Guinayanagan in Tayabas. Because these people were said to be wild and hostile, very little is known about them.

34. **Manguianes** (some of their local names are **Bangot, Buquil, Tadianan, Dur'ugman, Beriberi, Buctulan, Tiron, Lactan, Bangot, Barnangan**).⁵⁶ They were reported to be found mainly in Mindoro, Romblon and Tablas. The name Mangulanes, according to some authorities, is collective. Ramon Jordana reported four Mangyan groups in Mindoro. Authorities say that the Buquils are a result of racial miscegenation between Malays and Negritos. Buquils from the Pinalayanan are said to be of Chinese origin. In general these people are peaceful.

35. **Mundos.**⁵⁷ They were reported to be the wild tribes which inhabited the interiors of Cebu⁵⁸ and Panay islands.⁵⁹ According to Frs. Buzeta and Bravo, they took to the mountains from the different towns. The Mundos are no longer found in Cebu island today.

36. **Carolanons.**⁶⁰ They reportedly were found in Buglas (Negros).⁶¹ Diaz Arenas in 1848 reported that there were 2,522 Carolanos in the mountains, even as far as Cauayanon. Blumentritt claimed that these people are racially related to the Malays found in Luzon Island.

37. **Bisayans (Pintaods).**⁶² They were the inhabitants of islands south of Luzon and of portions of northern Mindanao. They also inhabited the Bisayan Islands, the Mindanao bays in the north and the coasts up to Zamboanga and Cotabato. They were reported to be highly civilized. It has been claimed that during the Christianization period they were also found in southern Mindoro. Earlier reports labelled the Bisayans *pintados* for they had the custom of ornamenting their bodies with tattoos. Tattooing was also reported by Dutch corsairs who came to the islands about the 17th century. Bisayans had become Christians. They speak several languages, viz., Cebuano, Panauano, etc.

38. **Manobos (Manuba, Mansuba).**⁶³ They were reported to be found in different parts of Mindanao,⁶⁴ viz., in Caraga, Cotabato, Agusan, and others, occupying mainly from the Agusan river banks to Moncaya and Butuan. Manobo poblaciones were found on the penin-

sula extending from Balete up to Punta San Agustin along the Culaman coast in Davao. According to later reports, they were said to be found in eastern Davao but were not found in Cotabato. Some Manobo families were reported to be on the island of Tumanao or in Sarangani. On the eastern coast of Davao Manobos also inhabited the banks of Hijo and Caraga rivers. On the eastern Davao coasts, they were called Culama. Manobos belong to the Malayan racial stock. After their Christianization, they became a peaceful people.

39. **Tagbaloy** (Tagbaloyos, Tagabelies, Taga-Balooyos, Tagabalu, Tagabuli, Tagabawas(?))⁶⁵ They were said to occupy the western coast of Mindanao, especially around what is now Bislig. Sinibaldo de Mas and Waitz called them Igorots and said that the Igorots [Tagbaloy] were of Japanese origin. Blumentritt also claimed that the observable Malayan racial traits of Tagbaloyos do not warrant the assertions of Sinibaldo de Mas and Waitz. He also said that "Tagbaloy" is an old appellation of the Mandaya or Tagabelies. Sometimes called Taga-Balu (living around lake Buluan), they were a brave, though not aggressive people.

40. **Bagobo** (Banobo?).⁶⁶ They were reported to have lived between Mt. Apo and the present Davao City. They were earlier reported to be bloodthirsty. They were later converted to Christianity by the missionaries.

41. **Guiangas** (Guanga, Gulanga).⁶⁷ They reportedly inhabited the region between Mt. Apo and in the north and northwest of the present province of Davao. They probably had mixed with the Bagobos. This Malayan group can hardly be differentiated from the Bagobos, except that they speak a language that is hard to understand. They were said to be wild and barbaric. They may have been split into the Manguagas, Maulangas and Delungas as known in southern Mindanao.

42. **Vilanons** (Vilanons, Buluanos, Bu-u-an, Vilanes Vilsanes).⁶⁸ They were found in Bagobo territory. Later Spanish missionary records reported that Vilanons lived around Lake Buluan, therefore their old name should have been Buluanon. They were also found in the cordillera of Butulan, and some have been reported to inhabit Sarangani

Island. Their language has the /F/ sound.

43. **Tagcaolos (Loac, Tagalaogos).**⁶⁹ They were reportedly found in southern Vilanon territory in the western shores of Davao gulf. They are of Malayan origins. Their settlements are seen around Davao gulf. As warriors, they are quite brave. A branch of these people are found high up in Mt. Haguimitan, where they are called Loac – meaning “inhabitants of the head-waters of rivers.”

44. **Sanguils.**⁷⁰ According to later Spanish reports, they were inhabitants of the peninsula that separated Sarangani Bay and Davao gulf. But Jesuit missionaries reported that there is no race of people answering to this name. They suspected that this name was used collectively for the Bilanes, Dulanganes and Manobos who inhabited the peninsula. Other writers said that Sanguil may be a derivation of the Sanguil or Sarangani volcano.

45. **Mandayas.**⁷¹ They were reportedly found in the coasts and interior of Surigao province (part of former Caraga). They were earlier said to also inhabit Butuan and the territory from Davao gulf to Liangan in northeastern Mindanao. Later reports mentioned they were a bloodthirsty and warlike people. Reports confirmed the Jesuit claim that the Mandayas had been converted to Christianity. The name “Mandayas” means they are dwellers of interior; especially of river upstreams.

46. **Subanos.**⁷² They were the reported inhabitants of the Zamboanga peninsula, a westerly extension of Mindanao. Their name indicates they live along the river banks. There are still a few wild Subanos groups in the western side of the peninsula in Sibugey, Zamboanga.

47. **Manguangas (Magulangas, Man-gulanges).**⁷³ They were reportedly found from Sugut to Lake Boayan or Maguindanao. A Jesuit missionary, Pablo Partells, said that they inhabited Cateel in eastern Mindanao. Another Jesuit missionary, Saturnino Urios, called them Magulangas, they inhabited the Christianized areas of del Pilar and Manat and Batutu rivers. In another report, Partells said the Manguangas and Magulangas (forest people) inhabited the upper Salug river. Blumentritt opined that the name, “Manguangas”, includes Dulangaes and Quangas since they probably belong to one racial group.

48. **Sameacas.**⁷⁴ They were said to be found in the mountain fastness of Basilan. They are believed to be aborigines of Basilan but are not related to the Muslim Yakans. D. Claudio Montero y Guy reported that they were a barbaric tribe.

49. **Guimbas (Guibajanes, Guimbanes, Quimpanes, Guimbas).**⁷⁵ They were said to be found in the mountain fastness of Jolo. Reports said that the Guimbas earned their name from their practice of beating the *guimbas* (drum) in battles. D. P. A. de Pazos reported them to be found in Loo[k] and Carandan and were discriminated against by the Muslims.

50. **Caragas (Caragueños, Caragenes, Calagneas).**⁷⁶ They were found from north in Surigao, to south in Cape San Agustin. These warlike people were first mentioned by Dutch and English voyagers. After conversion to Christianity, according to Spanish reports, they came to live in coastal towns of northeastern Mindanao. Blumentritt asserted, albeit with uncertainty, that they have their own language. He also cited a possibility of Caragas mixed with Christian-Manobos and Mandayas found in the old towns of Caraga, Cateel and Lianga who became Visayanized.

51. **Cagayans.**⁷⁷ They were of Malayan origin and were said to be found along the Rio Grande de Cagayan, Cagayan province and in the islands of Babuyan and Batanes. Some English writers took them to be aborigines of Babuyan and Batanes. Other writers claimed that they are related to the Caragas.

52. **Capitanons.**⁷⁸ They reportedly inhabited the shores of a closely hemmed-in strait between the islands of Bohol and Panglao. According to some writers, they probably are of Bisayan origin, offsprings of conquerors from Bohol. Blumentritt said that an analysis of records showed that the name was given by Spaniards to the Visayan people that lived in the commandancia of Dapitan, a district of Misamis, in the 16th century.

53. **The so-called "pirate groups".** The term is used – as stated in the old reports – of Mindanao and Sulu. There were ten ethnic groups under this category:

Joloanons (Sologs, according to the Dutch; Souluan, as mentioned by the French; and the Germans called them Sulus and Suluaner).⁷⁹

They were the reported inhabitants of Jolo. Their language is Joloano. Dr. Montano reported that this language was spoken by all the Muslims. Blumentritt, however, did not agree with Montano. He asserted that Joloano is only one of the dialects. His comparative study notes there were many variations in Montano's publications, also in the Jesuit reports on the Magindanao, and in the publication, *Joloano Balanguingui*.

Camucenes (Camocenes).⁸⁰ They were the inhabitants of the islands south of Tawi-Tawi. Later reports said that this name referred to piratical Muslims who lived in the islands between Tawi-Tawi and Borneo.

Tirones. They were reportedly the inhabitants between Tawi-Tawi and Borneo. The name was also given to the coastal inhabitants of Borneo and the adjacent islands. Variations of the name were Tiron, Tedon or Tidong.

Moros of Balabac and Samals (Samal-Laut).⁸¹ They were names for the inhabitants of the islands south of Basilan and east of Jolo. Pablo Cavalleria, S.J., reported that they were also called Samales-Laut. Blumentritt asserted that probably they were the same people.

Basilanes and Jacnes (variant Yacanes).⁸² They were the people reported to inhabit Basilan. Later reports however, did not mention the Basilanes, but still mentioned Yakanos. It is probable that both names referred to the same people in the past.

Illanos (Lanon, Lanaos, Llanos, Malanao).⁸³ They were identified to be the inhabitants of Illana Bay. They were reportedly Muslims when the Spaniards came.

Lutao (Lutayo).⁸⁴ They were said to inhabit Zamboanga peninsula, even occupying Illano territory.

Later Spanish reports noted that the Lutaos were Muslims. Blumentritt, said that due to their Malayan vocabulary the Lutaos may be grouped under the name Orang-Laut.

Malanaos (Maranaos, Manalaos).⁸⁵ They reportedly inhabited around Lake Lanao and were probably relatives of the coastal dwelling Illanos. They were also Muslims, according to missionary reports (cf. note No. 6).

Mindanao (Maguindanao).⁸⁶ They were Muslims reported to be found at the Mountain of Rio Grande de Mindanao, from Pollok to the

southern tip of the island and as far as Pulangi river. A Jesuit missionary, Quirico More, said that the name included the Muslim populace of Sarangani Islands and the islands of Davao Gulf.

Tegurays (Teduray, Tinivayanes, Tirulay, Tegurayes).⁸⁷ They were said to inhabit the territory through which the Rio Grande de Mindanao flows, particularly at the corner below Pulangi River. Earlier they were reported to be a wild pagan tribe but those in Temontaca were Christianized by Jesuits. Some of them reportedly embraced Islam. Another group called Tinivayanes (Teruray?) were reportedly found on the banks of Rio Grande de Mindanao. As earlier mentioned, the ethnic groups enumerated were those listed down by the early explorers.

A later listing showed that there were some groups that either disappeared or were never found anymore. In the later listing, there were about 48 – about 50 or exactly 48 Malay ethnic groups, which are later enumerated thus:

Abunlun.⁸⁸ They were reported to be a wild tribe found in the mountains of Zambales. They are claimed to have a mixture of Malayan and Negrito blood.

Agutainos.⁸⁹ They were identified as inhabitants of Agutaya island in the Cuyo Islands group in Calamianes province. They were said to have their own language and were of Malayan extraction.

Alibabon (Alibabaun).⁹⁰ According to Blumentritt, the name probably did not refer to an ethnic group but to a Muslim principalia in Davao Gulf. He did not however discount the possibility that the name may also refer to an ethnic group.

Alimut (cd. *supra*). The name referred to a group classified as Igorots. They were reportedly warlike and were found in Quiangan and the tributaries of Alimut River.⁹¹

Atas (Ataas, Itaas).⁹² They were a numerous people found in the high altitudes of Davao, Tagumay [Tagum?] and Libaganon and ranged as far as the northeastern area occupied by the Bukidnons. Their name is derived from the fact that they live in high altitudes (“Itaas”). Racially, it is claimed that Atas are the product of inter-marriages between the Malays and the Negritos, whose blood predominates. During the Spanish mission work, they were relatively an

unknown population group. They were said to speak a language of their own.

Baganis. Early writers used it to name an ethnic group. But Blumentritt disagreed. He said that this is the name of a Manobo and Mandaya warriors who have killed at least seven persons.

Bangal-Bangal.⁹³ This was a name reportedly given by the Dulanganes of Davao to some of their Muslim neighbors.

Banuaan.⁹⁴ Reportedly they were Manobo tribe of new Christian converts in barrio Amparo in lower Agusan. This name was cited in the letters of Jesuits (Vol. VI).

Batan.⁹⁵ They reportedly peopled Batanes and Babuyan Islands and had been classified as relatives of the Ibanags or Cagayanos. D. T. H. Pardo de Tavera reported however, that the Batan language is distinct from the Ibanag's. The Batan language is interesting and unique: it has the /ch/ and a vowel sound similar to the French *eu*. Although they have been Christianized, they still lead a primitive way of life.

Baybonan.⁹⁶ According to reports, they were a little known people. Probably they were of Malayan extraction. They were reported inhabiting in the whole length of the mountains of eastern Tuao in Cagayan. Sinibaldo de Mas reported that they have their own language.

Bouayanon.⁹⁷ They were identified as a wild tribe said to be found in the interior of Paragua Island. They were mentioned in the reports of the French explorer A. Marche.

Bungananes.⁹⁸ They were reported to be a wild tribe of Malayan extraction found either in Nueva Vizcaya or Isabela in Luzon. Practically nothing is known of them, except their name.

Buquidnon.⁹⁹ They were Malaysians, who inhabited eastern Misamis, between Iligan and Point Diuata, and Tagolan river. Their territory extended as far as the headwaters of Rio Grande de Mindanao. Many Buquidnons are Christians but a larger number have remain pagans. The Spaniards called them *Monteses* (mountain dwellers). Blumentritt preferred to call them Bukidnon.

Buquitnon.¹⁰⁰ This ethnic group was mentioned in a "Porvenir de Visayas" in the magazine *La Oceania Española* (August 9, 1889, No. 181). The article's author referred to them as Buquitnon or Monteses, one of two distinct races, (the other was the Negritos or Aetas) in the central cordillera of Negros Island. The Buquitnons, he said, were not very different physically from the rest of the Indians and concluded that the Indios and the Buquitnons belonged to one race. The author also noted that the Buquitnons were still pagans and quite ferocious. At the time the report was made, there were about 40,000 Buquitnons.

Blumentritt said that it seemed to him that Buquitnons were the descendants of the Visayan *remontados* [escapees wanted lowlanders] for they seemed identical to the Carolanos, as described by various writers. Their name — which also refers to another tribe in Mindanao — does not tell us anything. The Mindanao Buquitnon tribe has its own language, which is not Visayan — the spoken language of the Negros Buquitnon. Furthermore, besides, these two ethnic groups differ notably in their social life and traditions.

Cafres.¹⁰¹ They were Papuan slaves transported to the Philippines by the Portuguese traders in 1580-1620.

Calaganes.¹⁰² They were reported to belong to a Malayan group which lived in Casilaran bay, Davao. They never became Muslims and were the first to embrace Christianity in Digos, Davao.

Calamiano.¹⁰³ Some missionaries like Buzeta and Bravo took the name to be a Visayan dialect with a mixture of Tagalog. The dialect is spoken in Calamianes islands and the conquered areas of Paragua [Palawan] (1851). But Barrantes reported that this dialect was spoken only in four municipalities of Calamianes. Furthermore, he said that Fr. Juan de San Antonio used the dialect in sermons and catechism. The experienced French explorer A. Marche stated that there was no language called Calamiano. The so-called Calamiano language, according to him, had the same structural characteristics as the language spoken by the Tagbanua of Paragua [Palawan].

Calibuganes.¹⁰⁴ They were identified as offsprings of intermarriages between the Subanuns and their Muslim neighbors.

Cancanay.¹⁰⁵ It is the name of an Igorot dialect spoken in northeastern Benguet.

Cuyoves.¹⁰⁶ They were reported to inhabit Cuyo Islands. A. Marche noted that racially, they closely resembled and spoke the same language with the Christianized Tagbanuas.

Dayhagan. According to Sinibaldo de Mas they were half breeds – offsprings of Borneans and the Aetas before the coming of the Spaniards. But Blumentritt doubted the accuracy of the data and the orthography.

Halayo. It is a Visayan dialect spoken in the interior of Panay.

Haraia (Hayra) [Hinaray-a? or Kinaray-a?]. It is a Visayan dialect spoken in Panay island.

Hiligaayna [Hiligaynon or Ilonggo?]. It is another Visayan dialect spoken along Panay coastal areas.

Idan (Idaan).¹⁰⁷ It refers to two different peoples, who speak different languages, found in eastern Paragua and in the interior of Jolo island as reported by Dr. Waitz. They are said to be pagans. Blumentritt said this was an error in reporting and later writers did not mention these people.

Ifumangies.¹⁰⁸ They were reported by Diaz Arenas as properly belonging to the Igorot group. They were in 1848 reported to be found in Nueva Vizcaya province. Blumentritt said that they should be properly classified under the Ifugao group because the letter *E* is present in their language.

Dulanganes.¹⁰⁹ They were reported to be a fierce tribe in the mountains towards the southern coast of the Rio Grande. They were said to be naked; and lived in caves and tree trunks. They used poison in their bow and arrows. The Muslims, it was reported, left them alone.

Itetapanes (cf. *supra*). They were said to be found in the mountains east of Isabelia and probably in some parts of Bontoc. Fathers Buzeta and Bravo reported that they have Negrito blood.

Ituis.¹¹⁰ It is an ethnic group reported by S. Mas who said it is a division of the Igorots. They were Christianized and found in the missions or province of Ituy that includes the towns of Aribao, Dupax, Bambang and Bayombong of Nueva Vizcaya.

Jumang.¹¹¹ They were found in the interior of central Luzon. They were first reported by Fr. Mozo.

Loacs (cf. *supra*).¹¹² They were the people mentioned in a letter of Fr. Quirico More, S.J. on November 1, 1884. They occupied the mountains in Davao. They were described to be quite mysterious. Writers believed that these people are a small group only. Fr. Partells claimed that the Loac are Tagcaolos, savages who have been much more degraded than the Mamanua, and who reportedly inhabited higher Haguimitan.

Lutangs.¹¹³ They were Muslims found in Silanga of Oluntanga in eastern Mindanao. They are said to be the offsprings of Muslim and Subanon marriages.

Malaueg (Malaue, Malaneg). It is reported to be the language of people of Malaueg, Bulacan. It is said to be also spoken in Babuyan Islands, according to the reports in the *Apuntes interesantes sobre las Filipina* and D. V. (Madrid 1870) *Barrantes in La instruccion primaria en Filipinas* (Madrid and Manila 1869). Some writers contended that Malaueg is the language of the Nabayuganes or of the Calauas. This confusion, according to Blumentritt, does not help establish whether Malaueg is the name of a language or an ethnic group. Some believed it to be the *lingua franca* composed from many languages of the natives.

Malancos. It was a name that, according to later writers, was a misprint. No such ethnic group existed.

Manapos.¹¹⁴ They were reported to be found in the interior of Mindanao. Their name translated into Spanish means "brutes". Blumentritt said that he supposed they were a tribe of mountainers. He also said that modern authors did not mention them.

Mangayaos.¹¹⁵ It is not a name of an ethnic group. Blumentritt said that it referred to Manobo warriors on the warpath.

Mardicas.¹¹⁶ They were mercenaries recruited by the Spanish government from Celbes (Mangkasa or Macasar) and Moluccas during the 17th century, according to Fray Juan de la Concepcion. Pardo de Tavera, the celebrated linguist, translates *mardica* to mean freedom, according to Blumentritt.

Maritimos. They were insurgents who took refuge in the isolated mountains of northern and eastern Camarines del Norte.

Moros.¹¹⁷ They were the Muslim Malays of Mindanao, Jolo, Paragua, Balabac and Borneo. They populated mainly in Jolo, the territory of the Illanons, and in lower Rio Grande de Mindanao, and had also been reported to be scattered along the coasts of Misamis and Davao.

Paluanes.¹¹⁸ (Tagbanua, Tabanua, Tadolanos). They were the people that, according to Marche, were a mixture of Malay and Negritos. They were reported to use a syllabary similar to that of the Tagalogs, Visayans, Ilocanos, etc. In their religious worships they use idols. They were noted to be decadent – a state due to their being frequent targets of Muslim raiders from Jolo and Borneo. A French linguist, A. Pinart, claimed that the Tagbanua language is similar to the Bisayan. The Tandolanos are found in the territory between Mt. Diente and Pt. Tularan in eastern Paragua.

Panayano.¹¹⁹ It was identified as a language spoken in the Visayan region, i.e. Panay.

Pidatanos.¹²⁰ They were not well known and were said to be found in the environs of the Muslim town of Libungan (delta of the Rio Grande de Mindanao). They were reported to be a wild and barbaric ethnic group.

Samales.¹²¹ They inhabited Samal Island in Davao Gulf. Gisbert, S.J., reported that they were Muslims at the start of the Spanish rule but later some had either become Christians or reverted to paganism. The name "Samales" also referred to inhabitants of southern Basilan and eastern Jolo. "Samales-Laut" was the name for the Muslims found in the Basilan coasts, according to Pablo Gavalleria, S.J.

Tagabawa.¹²² According to Dr. J. Montano, they were products of intermarriages among the Bagobos, Manobos and Tagacoalos. Their group was relatively small and was found along the bay of Davao, especially near the Hijo river. Blumentritt said that perhaps the Tagabawa of Montano's report are the same as the Tagabaloyes or Tagbaloooy.

Tagabotes.¹²³ They were mentioned in a report published in *Ilustracion filipina* No. 17 in 1860. Nothing more is known about them, except the name.

Taloas.¹²⁴ They were the people whom authorities contended were not Filipino. They were said to be inhabitants of the Talaut archipelago, a Dutch territory. However, these people had stayed for a long time on Sarangani island and along the Davao Gulf coast, especially in Culaman.

Tinitianos (Tinianions).¹²⁵ They reportedly were found on Paragua islands. They were of Malay extraction and may be a subdivision of the Tagbanuas.

Tinivayanes (Teduray? Tegurays? Tirurayes).¹²⁶ They were probably either Muslims or pagans that lived at the mouth of Rio Grande de Mindanao. They may belong to the Tiruray ethnic group.

The Negrito

1. **Ate.**¹²⁷ It is the name for the Negritos in Paragua (i.e. Palawan). A. Marche, said that this name was given by the Tagbanua, the neighbors of the Negritos.

2. **Balugas.**¹²⁸ They were hybrids, the result of Negrito and *remontado* (Malayan) unions. Blumentritt noted that "Baluga" in Tagalog meant mestizo-negro or hybrid. Dr. C. Semper reported having met Balugas in Central Luzon and Pangasinan. The Balugas, he said, were products of Indian [Malay] and Negrito marriages. Several writers, notably Mas, Scheidnagel, Mozo and Camara, used the term "Baluga" for indigenous Negritos. Camara mentioned in his report that the Negro-Baluga were found in the mountains of Camumu, Porac, Tarlac, Mabalacat, Angeles and Capas.

3. **Batac.**¹²⁹ (maybe the same as Ate). It is the name of an ethnic group said to live off point Timtia and the Babuyan gulf off the island of Paragua.

4. **Dumagat.**¹³⁰ It is the name for the Negritos in the eastern Luzon coast, between Palanan (in the north) and Cape *Engano*. The same name (but not the same racial meaning) has been used for the coastal dwellers of Samar,¹³¹ Leyte,¹³² Mindanao and Mindoro. Blumentritt said that "Dumagat" in Tagalog meant people who live by the sea. The use of this term in anthropological literature has caused a lot of confusion, Blumentritt added.

5. **Negros de Pais or Negrillos.**¹³³ They are the terms used by the Spaniards for the black, small-bodied races found in Oceania. They were reported to be poor and inhabited lands among the Malayans in Luzon, Mindoro(?), Paragua (Palawan), Negros, Cebu(?), and Mindanao. Their indigenous names were: Aetas, Etas, Itas, Ate, and Mamanua of northeastern Mindanao. The half-breeds among them were called Baluga, according to some Spanish reports. The so-called Atta are the Negritos in Cagayan.

THE PROCESS OF HISPANIZATION AND AMERICANIZATION

The aforementioned ethnic communities listed down by the Spaniards comprise the Filipino people of today. The process of becoming Filipinos started during the Spanish occupation, and continues to the present day.

Hispanization¹³⁴

The arrival of the expedition led by Ferdinand Magellan in Cebu island in 1521, and the consequent Christianization of the island's population heralded the process of Westernization.¹³⁵

After Magellan's death on Mactan island, proselytizing efforts slackened. There were other expedition, notable among them was the one led by Ruy Lopez de Villalobos who named part of Samar in honor of Prince Felipe of Asturias, Spain and from whom the Filipinos got their present name (cf. *supra*). It was until 1565, more than 40 years after Magellan's death when Spain sent an expedition led by Miguel Lopez de Legazpi to Christianize the natives.¹³⁶ Legazpi arrived in Cebu where natives headed by Tupas put up resistance. The Cebuano settlement was burned. While looting the village, one of Legazpi's men discovered an icon of Jesus Christ¹³⁷ which has become a major object of worship in the Visayas even now. Tupas retreated to the coastal mountains of Cebu and for a while harassed the Spaniards, causing them to build a fort — the forerunner of Fort San Pedro.¹³⁸ Peace came in the same year and Legazpi founded the city of Cebu. Exploration of the island began in earnest, but scarcity of food forced the

Spaniards to move to Iloilo, Panay, where supplies were abundant. Moving farther north, they finally landed in Manila, where they vanquished its ruler, Rajah Soliman. The Spaniards built the City of Manila in 1571.¹³⁹

Meanwhile, interest in further spreading Christianity had grown. Different missionary societies, viz. Agustinian Recolletos, Dominicans, Jesuits, sent their men to the islands. Strongly motivated to Christianize the "Filipino" ethnic communities, the early missionaries zealously did their work. Many lost their lives in the hands of hostile natives and because of disease. Still, they kept coming. What marred the otherwise noble undertaking was the occasional use of military force to convey the message of the cross. The religious conversions generated many social changes; they were the first steps in Westernization.

A significant change was the natives' partial renunciation of their old religion in order to accept Christianity – a religion they did not know much about nor understand.

Socioeconomic changes also occurred. Corn imported by missionaries gradually supplanted rice in Cebu. New World plants, among them, sweet potatoes, Irish potato, bananas, tobacco, coffee, and avocado were introduced by the missionaries who even attempted to introduce animal husbandry. But the horses, cattle and donkeys did not survive the tropical conditions. Thus animal husbandry failed to take root. The missionaries also encouraged some large scale industries, plantation agriculture for tobacco, coconut, sugarcane and abaca. Some industries later became government monopolies, i. e. tobacco.

New political structures were also built up. The autonomous *barangays* were united under one government unit which was later reorganized into a larger unit. These larger units were under the central government in Manila. Thus had evolved centralized government. The Spaniards adapted as model the Mexican municipal layout, which they were familiar with, for better administrative control. In such a layout, a public plaza is at the town's center. Around the plaza were all the government offices (viz. municipal building, jail, etc.), public hospital, public pharmaceutical house and the church offices. In the middle of the plaza was a kiosk. The plaza was well landscaped and had ample seats for people. Sundays are marked by *serenatas* played by the local

band to entertain the local populace. This type of layout is still evident in many towns of the Philippines.

The education of people also underwent change. In pre-Spanish times, only select members of ruling families got educated through a hired *guro* (tutor). The Spaniards however broadened educational opportunities. Mass education of some sort – religious instruction was available in parochial schools controlled by parish priests. These schools were non-academic, yet they seemed to have produced literate Filipinos. English sea captains preferred to hire Filipino seamen because Filipinos were literate and could easily understand commands.

Society itself underwent many changes during the Hispanization period. Women, already high in society, got more protection and privileges. Ruling class members, who were high in the social rung in pre-Spanish times became wealthy; their offsprings went to schools and later formed the *illustro* class. The free men engaged in business and slowly challenged the economic position of the traditional rich class. But the offsprings of the poor remained poor. They later became the tenants of the traditional and new rich. It was during the first century of Spanish rule when what we now call *colonial mentality* started to develop.

Gradually Filipino intellectuals, expatriates and students, absorbed the liberal ideas of Europe. They started to develop the consciousness of being Filipinos, a consciousness that slowly permeated Philippine society. This growing consciousness made Filipinos realize that they could compete with the Spaniards. From this liberating idea was born the propaganda movement that supported the growing nationalism. This growing pride in one's country and people led to the formation of the Katipunan by the poor citizens and the La Liga Filipina by the *illustro*. The former thrived while the latter wilted at its early stage.

With the birth of these organizations, accentuated by the Filipinos' feeling of oppression, revolution was in the air. Some intellectuals tried to work for reforms but to no avail. The Indio was an Indio; he was only fitted to be ruled, run the Spanish feeling. Thus the revolution took place, at first sporadically, then gaining momentum, it spread throughout almost the whole archipelago. When the Spaniards were almost totally defeated, the United States, a powerful young nation,

came to her rescue. After a mock battle between Spanish and American forces and the signing of the Treaty of Paris ceding the islands to the Americans, another phase of westernization started.

Americanization¹⁴⁰

Although the Filipinos resisted the Americans, by 1902 they were completely vanquished and a civil government had been established. Like the Spaniards, the Americans exercised a very strong cultural influence — except in religion — over the Filipino. The more than 300 years of Spanish mission work implanted deep Catholicism among most Filipinos.

The Americans contributed to the modernization of Filipinos through many significant ideas, among them: the concept of free enterprise, the American democratic form of government, and mass education.

Economic development was faster during the American colonization era than during the Spanish regime. Many enterprises became active — mining, logging, plantation agriculture and other industries. But their products mainly fed the hungry American economy. The emphasis on a few export crops, viz. sugarcane, copra, abaca, etc. developed dependence on the American market. Such emphasis was later challenged by Filipinos as they gained more insights into the working of international monetized economy.

It was also during this period that the American brand of democracy came to be developed though it did not quite succeed. To make it work, it required of citizens, great personal responsibility in voting and in exercising their rights. But familistic loyalty counted more than idealism, giving rise to political dynasties. Decentralization and important characteristics of American government were never thought of; they were instead to a large extent fought off vigorously by well-entrenched vested interests. Centralized rule from Manila — the vestige of Spanish rule — was thus perpetuated.

Like the Spaniards, the Americans realized the importance of education in molding people's mind. Thus they built structures that

encouraged mass education and which allowed talented people to enjoy the benefits of education. The people's prepared frame of mind and the educational structures left by the Spaniards made the task of the American educators much lighter. Many institutions of higher learning sprang up during the American period. All these schools worked for educating the men that would someday replace the governing Americans. Thanks to American efforts, the nationalization of the Philippine civil service did not become a problem, unlike that of many Southeast Asian and newly-independent African nations. However, the educational system was slow in responding to the changing times. Today we have a glut of college graduates — educated but unemployable. The colonial mentality is pervasive in the curricula which is more American than Filipino. This mentality is among the major causes, I think, of the mass migration of university graduates, viz. physicians, nurses, engineers, teachers, to the U.S. or Canada. Efforts, however, are being exerted to curb this manpower outflow.

Soon a new breed of politicians agitated for self-government. In 1935, the ten-year¹⁴¹ Commonwealth period — the transition period of the gradual transfer of the government to Filipino management — started. But by 1941, World War II erupted and the Japanese occupied the Philippines. The war period saw the deterioration of the Filipino moral fiber, i.e. stealing from the enemy was considered patriotic. The buy-and-sell mentality also took root. But one good result was that the Japanese rule broke the myth of the white man's superiority over colored races.

Liberation in 1944-1945 was the continuation — and intensification — of westernization. A lot of wants, mostly for American goods and ideas, developed.

What did the non-westernized groups do during the war? The answer is: they also fought against the invaders. Many served in the underground. Some northern Luzon guerrillas were Negritos, Igorots and other mountain peoples. The Muslims, who historically had always fought to maintain their independence resisted in a larger scale. Indeed, the non-westernized peoples fought — and perhaps buried in unmarked graves — like the rest of the Filipinos.

WESTERNIZATION AND RESULTING CULTURE CHANGE

As Westernization continued, so did culture change. This change had so far gone that many have asked: Do we have a national identity? Are we not a nation that can lay claim only to a bastard culture? To the first question, yes. We have a national identity. To the second question, no. No nation today can claim purity of culture. All nations have to borrow, more intensely now that they can avail of better communication media and transportation system.

Different population groups responded differently to culture change brought about by westernization. It can be said that:

1. The culture change due to missionary work was faster among the coastal and lowland dwellers than among those in the interior.

2. The ethnic groups, that had well-developed and organized religion, i.e. the Muslims, retained to a great extent their cultural identity. But in doing so they had to forego the many advantages of modernization.

3. The veneer of westernization is not as thick as many may have been led to think. A close look shows that many pre-Spanish cultural traits are still evident even among the city dwellers, viz. Manileños, Cebuanos, etc. in their social and religious life.

4. The westernized ethnic group developed faster economically, socially, politically, educationally, technologically and population-wise. Non-westernized groups suffered mild to severe culture lag.

The American regime recognized the development lag among the non-westernized groups. It established the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes which aimed, among others, at assimilating them into the body politic. In 1957 the Commission on National Integration (CNI) was formed by legislative fiat to take care of these groups.

FACTORS CAUSING THE FORMATION OF THE CULTURAL MINORITIES

The Christianized ethnic groups developed more than the non-Christian groups, who became separated from the mainstream of national development. The gap widened until the disparity between

the two groups became glaring. Today there is a need to narrow the gap so that the least-advantaged ethnic populace would not feel neglected. But in order to be able to help we must first strive to understand these groups and their ways of life. In itself, knowing the ethnic groups is a great challenge to researchers. Many national cultural communities are still unknown to us.

The fundamental causes of the cleavage between the Cultural Majority and the Cultural Minorities may be grouped into: religious, cultural and physical environment.

Religious causes¹⁴²

Many ethnic communities had come in contact with Christian missionaries but were not Christianized. Groups like the Mangyans, Bilaans, Ilongots have retained the old religion and have continued old practices, i.e. headhunting among the Ilongots.

Christian-converts had been well taken care of by Spanish missionaries. They had been persuaded to live in compact settlements (i.e. *reduccion*, later *poblacion*) where a resident priest took care of them. Those who did not accept Christianity were to a large extent left alone by the missionaries.

Missionaries could not penetrate Muslim societies whose religion was well established.¹⁴³ The Muslims – the Maranao, Maguindanao, Taosug, Samals – were thus left alone after many unsuccessful attempts at Christian conversion failed.

A few Christianized groups, i.e. Mamanua of northeastern Mindanao, reverted to old ways because there were no permanent priests assigned to them.

Cultural reasons

As is always true when foreign cultures come, the indigenous culture would initially resist the intrusion. The introduction of new ways of making a living, political, social, economic and religious structures were not at first acceptable nor welcome. Some people only accepted new ways when pressure was applied but when pressure was removed they reverted to their old prac-

tices. Examples are some ethnic groups in northern Luzon, viz. Ilongots, Igorots, etc. and the Muslims.

Christianized groups gradually assumed an air of cultural superiority¹⁴⁴ that became stronger as Westernization increased. Their cultural superiority was accentuated as they assumed socio-political leadership and their offsprings received formal education. The Christianized groups therefore assumed that their newly-acquired culture had natural superiority over those of non-Christians.

Their feeling of superiority developed into a paternalistic and condescending attitude towards the conservative ethnic groups. Ethnic groups were considered childlike and were treated like children. Their existence was tolerated; in some cases, it was denied and only token efforts were exerted to know them. In some instances, traditional ethnic groups were reported to have become dependents of westernized groups, i.e. the Manobos of Agusan vis-a-vis their Christian patrons.

Some traditional and westernized groups clash culturally, resulting at times in violence. Such conflicts have happened many times in the past and now taking place in some parts of Mindanao. Contributing to the cleavage between Christianized lowlanders and other ethnic populations was the former's physical identification with the light-skinned rulers. The Malays are light complexioned, and with more racial miscegenation, they easily became as light as Spaniards or Americans. The color prejudice came into play, evolving into the thinking that a light-skinned individual is superior to a dark-skinned person, ultimately leading to the rejection of dark-skinned communities. It is still evident today in many business organizations where preference for the fair-skinned or white individual is pronounced.

The cleavage was also accentuated by the Christians' preoccupation with their newly-acquired cultural patterns which led them to neglect the traditional ethnic groups. The westernized groups built schools for their children, seldom for the other ethnic communities. If they did, their structures have not benefited these communities, widening further the cultural gap. Feasts were celebrated both in the secular and religious levels, but the cultural minorities were excluded. Holidays that were legalized were mainly for the Christians, viz., Christmas, New Year etc.

Physical environment

Many ethnic groups, especially those in isolated mountain areas,¹⁴⁵ refused to come down to the newly organized Spanish towns because of the difficulties of travel, distance and their attachment to their birth place. So they remained in their old homes and lived by their old ways.

These ethnic groups were rarely, if ever, only briefly, visited by missionaries. Whatever new ideas they had learned were quickly forgotten soon as the missionaries left.

Some ethnic groups i.e. some Negritos and Badjaws led nomadic lives. They were forced to move from one place to another to look for food. Hence, it was rather difficult to establish contact with them, for today they are here and tomorrow they are gone. Thus they tended to be by-passed.

THE EFFECTS OF WESTERNIZATION: SOCIOTECHNICAL STRATIFICATION OF FILIPINOS

The more than 400 years of western influence changed many facets of Filipino society. A major effect has been the sociotechnological stratification brought about by the uneven effects of modernization on ethnic communities. The Christians increased faster and came to hold much greater socioeconomic and political power than the non-Christians and pagans. Thus two groups today are identified as the cultural majority¹⁴⁶ and the cultural minorities.

The term, "cultural majority", refers to about 88% of the Philippine population that have been beneficiaries of modernization as an offshoot of their acceptance of Christianity. It occupies leading positions in the national scene. Of this group, six major ethno-linguistic divisions are easily recognizable: Bisayans (speakers of Waray-waray, Cebuano, Ilongo, Capizifio, and others), Tagalog, Ilocano, Bicolano, Pangasinan and Kapangpangan.

The majority group should exert great efforts at assimilating into the body politic the 12% minority group. If it does not make efforts now, disastrous cultural conflicts can always erupt and if prolonged would eat up the nation's resources, inflicting extreme economic

suffering. Thus the responsibility to understand first, and later help the minority group remains a very serious and important obligation for the academe, society and the government.

“National Cultural Minorities” refers to the remaining 12% of the Philippine populace. I do not totally agree with the definition but for the lack of a better one, I am using it for this paper. The National Cultural Minorities¹⁴⁷ can be group thus:

1. **The Hunter-gatherer (Wildbooter) groups.**¹⁴⁸ Most primitive groups used to belong to this heading. They have a simple social organization: an extended family, of which the largest is a horde or a local group. Leadership is determined by influence. Leaders have no real absolute power over their community members. These groups are mostly monotheistic and their economic life is dependent on what nature can offer, i.e. direct appropriation economy. They led an almost nomadic life in search for food. They are peaceful. If they have their language, they speak in most cases another language – that of the ethnic group nearest them. Examples are the Negritos in Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao, and the Badjaws (sea gypsies) in Sulu archipelago.

2. **The Transitional Culture Group.**¹⁴⁹ These groups, of the wildbooter category, are undergoing culture change. They have been forced to change their mode of life because their hunting and fishing grounds had been taken over by the more efficient agriculturalists and industrialists. Their social, political and religious organizations are the same as those of the food gatherers and hunters and their economic life is changing fast. For instance, the Negritos and the Badjaws have been forced to compete with other groups that had encroached into their territories to search for food or had been driven by high population pressures.

3. **The Upland Shifting Cultivators (Upland Dry Farmers).** Found mostly in mountains throughout the Philippines, most of them may belong to the old Malay race. Their leadership is developing but not as advanced as the semi-peasant cultures. Their family is extended. They form non-nucleated settlements that move from one area to another in search of new fertile forest areas. Their economic life is mainly based on the slash-and-burn agriculture of which their main

tool is the digging stick. Their typical practice is to plant one or two crops in a farmsite, then they move on to another area. The land tenure among them is based on family ownership. They are strongly animistic: their agricultural and social life is controlled by their belief in spirits whom they fear, propitiate and ask for help. They have a specialist in religion i.e. shaman (called: *bailan*, *mabailan*, etc.). Some groups know blacksmithing and metal casting. They still hunt and gather forest products during off planting season to augment their food supply.

Among the groups in this category: are Gaddang, Ilongots, Mangyan groups (tribes?), Sulods, Magahats, Bukidnons (Negros and Mindanao), Bilaan, Tagbanua, Atas, Tagkaolo, Kulaman, Kalgan, Manobo, Higaonon, Tagabili, Tiruray, Dulangan, Mandaya, Kranon, some Tinguian, Ibanags, Isnags, some Palawanis, some Bataks, etc.

4. **The Upland Wet-Rice Cultivators.**¹⁵⁰ They are terrace-building ethnic communities of northern Luzon. Their main source of livelihood is the cultivation of upland wet rice. They gave up copper technology when the Spaniards came but retained iron technology. Their families are well-knit and well-developed. Kinship is very much emphasized. Predominantly animistic, they are noted for their carved wooden idols that represent their various gods. Although polytheistic, they are said to believe in a Supreme Being.

Politically, they cluster in well-organized villages governed by a council of elders. In the past, they practiced headhunting but they have today given it up. Diplomacy is highly developed at the village level. A peace-pact holder is elected to maintain peace among the villages. Farming is mainly manual, although these groups also use minimal animal power. These groups' gravity-fed irrigation system is considered a marvel in engineering. The extent of their terrace agriculture is considered a wonder of the world – and a tourist attraction.

The people who comprise this group are, among others: Igorots, Ifugaos, Inabaloi, Kankanai, Kalingas, Bontocs.

5. **The Islamized Ethnic Groups.**¹⁵¹ Islamized ethnic groups have many cultural similarities with the upland dry farmers and lowland Christian wet rice cultivators (i.e. plow, culture). They are grouped separately due to their being Muslims.

Socially, their family is close-knit, with a very cohesive kinship structure. Bilateral kinship take on very strongly the characteristics of single lineage. Islam, their religious faith, permeates their political, social, educational and economic structures and ways and cannot be distinctively separated from them. Hence it cannot be treated as a different institution. The villages are organized around a sociopolitical leader called the *datu*, and the mosque under an *imam* (religious teacher). Social stratification tends to be based on birth.

The Muslims are strongly monotheistic. Yet animism and a hint of ancestor worship seem to exist among them. Fiercely proud of their own culture, whose influence is strongly Arab (i.e. language of the Koran), they are willing to fight and have fought against intrusions into their culture. This attitude stem from the thinking that Muslims have fought for their rights. Economically they are predominantly agriculturists, but are also engaged in commerce and trade, as well as in small-scale industries. International trade is strong in most southern islands, i.e. Sulu archipelago.

Among those classified as Islamized groups are: Maguindanao, Maranao, Taosug, Samals, Yakans, Jamamapun, and Sangils.

The listing is far from complete due to lack of materials. There are probably ethnic communities known by laymen. Anthropologists and other researchers would highly appreciate if such communities were reported so that these can be studied.

WHAT THEN CAN BE DONE ABOUT ETHNIC COMMUNITIES?

What then can be done about the *national cultural minorities*? How can we help them? How can the cultural majority and national cultural minorities be made to cooperate with each other, thus help build a great Filipino nation?

A few suggestions are in order:

1. Intensified interdisciplinary studies¹⁵² on majority-minority groups should be carried out at the settlement (barrio, village) level. The insights from such studies will be useful for administrators, educators, agencies of development and change and to the scientific community. Many present cultural conflicts come about due to the

lack of understanding of the cultural differences among ethnic communities.

2. Guided culture change projects should be based on the analyzed data on minority groups. Social development projects for the economically deprived majority groups should also be based on research findings. These projects should be under the supervision of fully qualified, well-trained and experienced personnel who know how to employ the interdisciplinary approach.

3. Centers for social change studies should be organized in major universities in different areas. They should conduct continuing multidisciplinary studies on problems, particularly obstacles to development, of developing societies. They can then help in formulating policies for socioeconomic development projects.

4. Centers for the development of human resources should be put up. They will provide continuing – or even pioneering – training programs for the development of skills, either for the small-scale or or large-scale industries. They should also provide continuing programs in education and literacy, especially for the adults and out of school youths.

5. The writing of monographs on the different peoples of the Philippines should be a major focus of scholars. Monographs can serve many purposes, among others: basis for planning development projects, local or national; curricular materials; and better psychological understanding of our people. Such monographs can later be modified for the general public and the tourists.

6. The design of special courses and academic programs for leadership training of minority groups, and to some extent, cultural majority. This type of training should be realistic. It must fit the culture and meet the ethnic groups' various needs. It should be realized that people cannot easily assume leadership unless they have the proper training, especially when they are thrown into mixed majority-minority groups.

7. Each school division could do well employ a corps of social scientists (preferably area specialists) to aid them in designing and carrying out social studies program. It should be noted that integration would be faster and more effective if schools were prepared for such

work.

8. Regional government teacher-training institutions should hire competent anthropologists or ethnologists. Frequently, our teachers know more about the westerners and their psychology than of our own people. I even suspect that many M.A. graduates in guidance are almost *tabula rasa* when confronted by the cultural phenomena of the majority, even worse, of the minority. They have M.A. degrees but they are ineffective. They would be more useful if they were knowledgeable about their own people.

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NOTES

1. Cf. *infra* the term, "Filipino", its explanation, p. ; also fn. 5.
2. Some have suggested calling the Republic of the Philippines, Rizalia or Rizaliana, as if this latter names are not also of foreign origin.
3. Blair and Robertson, I, pp. 28, 265; V. pp. 39-119.
4. Ferdinand Blumentritt, a well-known European ethnologist, wrote many articles on the Philippines. His works will be designated with small alphabet letters, i.e. (a) *Versuch einer Ethnographic der Philippinen*. The same notation will be used for other authors who have more than one publication.
5. Blair and Robertson, I, p. 31; II, p. 70; *vide infra*, Samar, p. 7. Today the term Filipino includes the following: 1) all inhabitants of the Philippines who were Spanish subjects on April 11, 1899 (the date of the ratification of the Treaty of Paris between the U.S. and Spain); and who continued to reside in the Philippines except those who preserved their allegiance to Spain or became citizens of other countries; 2) the children of such inhabitants after April 11, 1899; 3) persons who were born of foreign parents in the Philippines who have been elected to public office in the Philippines before the adoption of the Philippine constitution of the Philippines in 1935; 4) persons whose fathers are citizens of the Philippines; 5) persons whose fathers and Filipino mothers chose Philippine citizenship upon reaching the age of 21 years; and 6) persons naturalized as Filipinos, according to law (Tolentino, pp. 45ff., cf. Philippine Constitution, Article IV). Cf. the New Philippine Constitution (1973) for citizenship provisions.

6. Blumentritt (a), p. 61; Blair and Robertson, XLIX, p. 32.
7. Quirino in his *Philippine Cartography*.
8. The Badjaos (Badjaw, Lusaan) may not have been easily noticed by the early explorers as being separate ethnic grouping. Cf. Heine-Geldern in *Buschan Illustrierte Voelkerkunde*, II, pp. 702-703. Reports of the Magellan expedition in 1521 mentioned floating houses (of the Badjaos?) between Sulu and Borneo (Zaide, p. 49).
9. It is this writer's opinion that the larger Muslim groups — the Maguin-danaos, Maranaos, Tausugs, Samals, Yakans and others — are strong, vigorous and dynamic ethnic communities. Given proper training and opportunities, they can contribute much to national development. The present all out efforts to help them will tremendously boost socio-economic development.
10. Races that have mixed with the Filipinos of today are: Europoids (Arabians, Spaniards, Americans, Portuguese and others), Amerindians (Mexicans and other American Indian half-breeds), Negroids (American Negroes, Papuan and others) and Mongoloids (Chinese, Japanese and other Southeast Asians). The miscegenation continues due to continuous contact facilitated by better transportation and communication.
11. Barras, 187 pp. other typology suggested by Beyer, pp. 36, 76. Cf. Montagu, pp. 462-64; Coon, pp. 148ff. vide; also Bean, 236 pp.
12. Blumentritt asserts that the Spaniards divided the Malays of the Philippines into Indio (Christianized Malays), the infidels or Igorots (including the Cimarrons, Montescos, Monta races), the heathen and the Moros (Blumentritt (a), p. 2, fn. 2); cf. fn. 15 infra.
13. Schebesta, pp. 310ff., 477ff.; Maceda, 148 pp.; Montagu, pp. 431-39; Coon cf. Pls. 61, 62, 64, 65. Regarding the use of the term, "Pygmy," cf. Gusinde (a), pp. 5ff; Gusinde (b), pp. 502ff; Lester and Millot, pp. 61-71; Genet-Varcin, pp. 10ff.
14. Montagu, *op. cit.*, p. 436.
15. Maps on these various ethnic communities are found in the two works of F. Blumentritt (cf. fn. 4 supra); cf. see also a map made by the Commission on National Integration (CNI) in their brochure No. 2, 1960. A recent map was published in the *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society*, Vol. II, Nos. 1-2 (1974). It was put together by R. C. P. Tenazas and L. L. Ramas and illustrated their article, "A Map of the Better-Known Cultural Minorities of the Philippines," pp. 3-4.
16. Blair and Robertson, XL, p. 307; Blumentritt (a), *op. cit.*, pp. 9-55; Beyer as early as 1916 listed down 43 recognized ethnic location (Beyer, pp. 19ff). The Spanish reports of early 20th century divided the Philippine inhabitants into Negritos, Indonesians and Malays (cf. *El archipelago filipino*, pp. 169-184); and vide also the different lists (*ibid*). The listing followed by this writer approximates Blumentritt's, with some slight alterations and additions (Blumentritt (a), *op. cit.*, pp. 3-55); Blumentritt (g), p. 436; Worcester (a), pp. 833-930). Cf. their early religion vide Delbeke writing on the *Religion and Morals of Early Filipinos*.
17. And so were the Bisayans and other ethnic groups who also lived near river banks; vide also Quirino and Garcia, fn. 117, p. 419. Cf. Blumentritt (a), p. 39.
18. Luzon (vide the derivation of the name Luzon by various authorities, Quirino, pp. 67, 70) was called Lusong (Liu sung) by the Chinese traders and New Spain by Legazpi's men. French and Portuguese voyagers called the island Manila.

the name they also used for the rest of the islands. At the arrival of the Spaniards, Luzon was said to be divided into these regions: Albay (or Ibalon), Camarines (or Nebuy), Tayabas (or Calilaya (*ibid.*, p. 68), Batangas or Comintana, and Manila which included Tondo, Laguna de Bay, Pampanga, Pangasinan, Ilocos and Cagayan (*ibid.*, pp. 67, 71). There are more provinces today than those reported during the Spanish occupation (*viz.* Quezon and others). Quirino also gives a list of old names of provinces (*op. cit.*, pp. 67-72).

19. Minolo is another name for Mindoro (*ibid.*, pp. 67, 70), while Assan and Malandik are the other two names mentioned for Marinduque (*ibid.*)

20. Some authorities, according to Spanish reports, contended that Pampangueños came from Sumatra or Tropobana (Blair and Robertson, XL, p. 307) but they offer meager evidence to support their contention. They were also reported to be found in Bataan, Nueva Ecija and Zambales (Blumentritt (f), p. 35).

21. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 25. Some reports after to them as Ibanha (*ibid.*, p. 29).

25. The Igorots were often called Igot (later to become Igorrote) and first reported to be in Mt. Santo Tomas. They spoke several languages. Inabaloi was spoken in the rancherias around Agno River (Benguet); Cancanai (now Kankanay) in northeastern Benguet; Catinan in the rancherias of Lepanto in the plains and riverbanks of Agno River; and Catoan around Rio de Abra (*ibid.*, p. 23). Another language reported was Sufilin(?) said to be spoken by the Igorots in the environs of Mt. Data (*ibid.*, pp. 26ff) and also by the Bontoks, Ilamut, Ilabanes, Irapis and Ituis (*ibid.*, pp. 17, 26, 27-29). Bean, pp. 51ff; Beyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-46; Quirino and Garcia, *op. cit.*, p. 391; *vide fn.* 10 *ibid.*; Worcester (b), pp. 731ff Cf. Ellinger, pp. 15-30.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

30. Only Scheidnager reported this group (*ibid.*, p. 17).

31. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

32. In the 18th century, they were reportedly found in Provincia de Ituy, where they founded the towns of Aritao, Dupax, Bamban and Bayombong of Nueva Vizcaya. Blumentritt commented that the early records ignored the fact that the Isinay form one nation or may pertain to other ethnic groups such as the Gaddangs, Italones and Ifugaos (*ibid.*, p. 28).

33. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 25. See also Worcester in his "Headhunters of Northern Luzon," pp. 833-930.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 29; Blumentritt (c), pp. 294ff.

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 34, 36.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 24. Wallace reports that some are Christians and others are still pagans, pp. 3-7.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

41. *Ibid.*

42. *Ibid.*

43. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
46. *Ibid.*
47. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
48. *Ibid.* Cf. Ellinger, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-39; Nozier, pp. 1-99. The name today is written with a K(*ibid.*).
49. *Ibid.*, p. 40.
50. *Ibid.*, pp. 12ff.
51. *Ibid.*
52. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 28. Vide *supra* Number 26. Keesing, p. 238; Zuñiga, p. 23. Blair and Robertson, XXXII, p. 113.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 16; Blumentritt (i), pp. 300-310.
55. Blumentritt (f), p. 16.
56. *Ibid.*, pp. 14f., 17, 32, 41.
57. *Ibid.*, pp. 38ff. Probably related to the present Sulods of the Panay Island interiors (Jocano, pp. 455-472).
58. Cebu was known as Subuth, Cubue, Zebu, Zsubu, Cubiene, Cubu and Sugbu when the Spaniards came. (Blair and Robertson, XL, p. 68). Sugbu is the name natives of Cebu use even today to refer to the island. (Blair and Robertson, I, p. 44; XII, pp. 180ff; XIII, pp. 161ff; XXXVI, pp. 148, 150). Sugbu, the earliest name, was changed orthographically into Cebu around the 18th century. Blumentritt's (a) examination of the documents (*op. cit.*, p. 65).
59. Panay was originally called Isla de Oton by the Spaniards (Blumentritt (a), *op. cit.*, p.65). Its northern portion — what is now called Capiz — was named Isla de Panay. Its southern part was also called Oton or Octong. The name has been retained but only as a town name in southern Iloilo. Panay is now divided into the provinces of Capiz, Aklan, Antique and Iloilo.
60. Blumentritt (f), p. 22; Blumentritt (e), pp. 508ff.
61. Buglas (Panilogan) was later changed to Negros. (Quirino, *op. cit.*, pp. 31, 40, 68; Ramussio called Negros Papauas (*ibid.*, p. 71); Blumentritt (a), *op. cit.*, p. 65. Negros island now consists of two provinces, Negros Oriental and Negros Occidental, known as the sugar bowl of the Philippines.
62. Blumentritt (f), pp. 16, 22, 36; Blair and Robertson, XL, pp. 309ff; XVI, pp. 119-21; Quirino and Garcia, pp. 407ff.
63. Blumentritt (f), p. 22; cf. Van Odiijk, pp. 981-1000. The whole work of Garvan (a) treats of the Manobo of northeastern Mindanao; in the introduction, viz., Mamanua, Mansaka, etc. Blair and Robertson, XL, p. 123, also fn. 46.
64. Mindanao was known as Mandana by the Spaniards. Cesarea Karoli was the name given the island by the Villalobos expedition (Blair and Robertson, II, p. 68; cf. Quirino, *op. cit.*, p. 70).
- Mindanao was at the beginning of Spanish conquest divided into Isla de Caraga, now northern Mindanao, and Isla de Butuan, now Agusan. (Blair and Robertson, XXXIII, p. 123; Blumentritt (a), *op. cit.*, p.67). It was limited to the sultanate found in the territory around the Rio Grande de Mindanao. A Spanish explorer, de la Torre, called it Cesareo, but this name was not generally used. On M. Legazpi's death, Caraga was renamed Costa de Cautit. Today, this territory probably covers the eastern coast of northeastern Mindanao, stretching from the Surigao provinces to the Davao provinces.

By the end of the 16th century, the Spaniards had divided Mindanao into the following regions: 1. Mindanao – the territory at the mouth of the Rio Grande Mindanao, and the area between the river and the southern part of the Cordillera de Sugut or Sujut; 2. Buhayen, also called Buhayan, etc. (Quirino, *op. cit.*, p. 68) – the area between the Rio Grande de Mindanao and Sarangani Bay, including the river's watershed; it now consists of the Cotabato provinces; 3. Caraga (Blair and Robertson, XL, p. 117) – the territory spanning from the northeastern coast to the southern part, up to Punta Tenaca, including the territory of the Agusan River and its estuary in Butuan. The area is now divided into the Agusan and Surigao provinces; 4. Iligan – the coastal area between Iligan and Camiguin Island and is today split into the two Misamis provinces; 5. The land of the Malanao (Illanons) or Maranaos – the territory between Illano Bay and Panguil Bay, including the Lake Malano(Lanao) region. The Malanaos, who populated the area, were found mostly around the lake. Today, this area consists of the provinces of Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte; 6. Sibuguey with Camboanga(Zamboanga), the long peninsular land extending from Panguil Bay and Illano Bay towards the west and southwest. The territory covers what today are the Zamboanga provinces; 7. Basilan, also called Taghim, Tanguima, Tagoima, Tagiman, Tagema, Tagto, and Basila (Quirino, *op. cit.*, p. 67) – the island south of the tip of Zamboanga Peninsula. It was partly inhabited by Muslims. The whole island is now divided into Basilan Province and the chartered city of Basilan; and 8. Zolo, also called Solo, Soolo, Xollo, Zulu and Soclooh (*Ibid.*, p. 69) – the islands south of Basilan. Sulu was recently divided into two provinces – Sulu and Tawi-Tawi.

The Spaniards, who explored the coastal parts of Mindanao and several nearby islands, were: F. Magellan and his men, R. Villalobos and M. Legazpi. Other navigators and voyagers worth mentioning are Loisa and Saavedra who explored some Sulu islands of Sulu before F. Magellan's explorations.

65. Blumentritt (f), pp. 38ff. Blair and Robertson doubted this location reported by the Spaniards. They placed them between Sarangani Bay and Lake Buluan (XL, pp. 298).

66. Blumentritt (f), p. 14.

67. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

68. This language has an F sound.

69. Blair and Robertson, XLIII, p. 199; also vide fn. 84.

70. Tenazas and Ramas, p. 4.

71. Blair and Robertson, XLIII, p. 277.

72. Blair and Robertson, XL, pp. 103, 109; XLIII, p. 283.

73. *Ibid.*, p. 277.

74. Retana derived Sameacas from Samascas, a word, which he said was equivalent to the Bisayan word, "Tagasaca," or people from the uplands (Blair and Robertson, XL, p. 123, also vide fn. 48, *ibid.*); and also, XLIV, pp. 60, 62, 90; XLIII, p. 283.

75. Some reports said the Joloano themselves were called Ximbanaos (Blair and Robertson, XL, p. 179).

76. Blair and Robertson, XXI, pp. 211ff; XL, p. 311; Buzeta, p. 505.

77. Blair and Robertson, XL, p. 312.

78. *Ibid.*, p. 313.

79. Classified as Joloanons are the Guimbas (*supra*, No. 49). (Blumentritt (a), pp. 51-55; cf. Quirino and Garcia, *op. cit.*, pp. 419-28; Blumentritt (d), pp. 215-24; cf. *supra* fn. 92. Cf. Ellinger, pp. 105-22.

80. Blair and Robertson, XVIII, p. 79; XXIX, p. 98.
81. Blumentritt (f), pp. 36ff.
82. Blair and Robertson, XLIV, p. 60.
83. Ibid., p. 100.
84. Also called Lutaya or Lutaos. (Blair and Robertson, XL, pp. 105, 313).
85. Blumentritt (f), pp. 31ff; Blair and Robertson, XL, pp. 100, 265; LI, p. 86.
86. Blumentritt (f), p. 31.
87. Ibid., pp. 40ff; Blair and Robertson, XLIII, p. 281.
88. Probably they were the same people called Abelene that were briefly described by T. Ellinger (*Friend of the Brave*, pp. 81-94); he noted that they had been headhunters who practiced ceremonial cannibalism (ibid.).
89. Ibid., p. 12.
90. Ibid.
91. Ibid.
92. Ibid., pp. 13ff; Blair and Robertson, XLIII, p. 278.
93. This name, some reports contended, is another name for the Dulanganes (Blair and Robertson, XLIII, p. 280). Blumentritt (f), p. 23.
94. Ibid., p. 15.
95. Ibid.
96. Ibid.
97. Ibid., p. 17.
98. Ibid.
99. Ibid., cf. Svelmoe and Abrams, pp. 141-185.
100. Blumentritt (f), p. 18.
101. Ibid., p. 19.
102. Ibid., p. 20.
103. Ibid.
104. Ibid.; probably the same people are called Malbuganon now (cf. Tenazas and Ramas, p. 4).
105. Blumentritt (f), p. 20.
106. Ibid., p. 22.
107. Ibid., p. 26.
108. Ibid.
109. Blair and Robertson, XLIII, p. 280.
110. Blumentritt (f), p. 29.
111. Ibid., p. 30.
112. Ibid.
113. Ibid.
114. Ibid., p. 32.
115. Ibid.
116. Ibid., p. 34.
117. Ibid. vide. no. 53 (from 1, 2, 4, 6, 8, 9, supra).
118. Ibid., pp. 35, 40. Cf. Ellinger (pp. 52-78) who wrote the name as Palawan.
119. Blumentritt (f), p. 35.
120. Ibid., p. 36.
121. Ibid., pp. 36ff; Tenazas and Ramas (p. 4) wrote it Isamal.
122. Blumentritt (f), p. 39.
123. Ibid.

124. *Ibid.*, p. 40.
125. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
126. *Ibid.*, also *vide supra* no. 53(10).
127. Blumentritt (f), pp. 13ff.
128. *Ibid.*, p. 14; Blumentritt (b), pp. 238ff.
129. Blumentritt (b), p. 15. Hochegger said that "... the Bataks of Palawan... are not Negritos." Garvan (b), p. 5.
130. Blumentritt (f), p. 23. Cf. Miklucho-Maclay, pp. 22ff; Garvan (b), p. 9.
131. Samar is at present divided into eastern and western Samar provinces. In Spanish times, it was divided into two: the eastern part was called Ibabao and the western portion was called Tendaya, Candaya; "Filipina" was a latter-day name given by R. Villalobos, the island's first Spanish explorer. Some early names are Achan, Samlai and Camlaya.
132. According to Pigafetta's report, it was divided into Isla de Baybay in the north and Celon or Seilani in the south (Quirino, *op. cit.*, p. 71; Blumentritt (a), *op. cit.*, p. 65). Today, there is a municipality (town) named Baybay in the southwestern portion of the island, within the province of Leyte. The Spaniards had also explored the nearby islands, viz. Panaon (called Bhodjol by its natives) and Limasawa (Dimasaba, Limasava, Dimasara and Messana) and the Camotes group. Concerning other names, cf. Quirino, *ibid.*, p. 68. In one of the maps, Herra mistook Tandaya (Samar) for Leyte (*ibid.*, p. 48). The island is at present divided into two provinces — Leyte (northern and larger portion of the island) and Leyte del Sur.
133. Blumentritt (f), p. 12. For the Mamanua, see also Blumentritt (f), pp. 251ff; cf. Blair and Robertson, XL, p. 275. The Negritos in general *vide* Garvan (b), *The Negritos of the Philippines*, 288 pp. Cf. Hochegger's statement *vide* fn. 152 *supra*. For comparative studies of the Negritos cf. Maceda in his: *The Culture of the Mamanua (Northeastern Mindanao) as Compared with that of the other Negritos of Southeast Asia*.
134. Phelan's work, *The Hispanization of the Philippines*, is recommended. Cf. Royama Masanuichi and Takuichi Tatsiyi, pp. 1-22.
135. The arrival of Spaniards under Ferdinand Magellan in 1521 started the westernization (Molina, p. 33; Zaide (a), pp. 41ff). However, due to his death there was a lapse of more than 40 years before the intensified Christianization of the islands started with the arrival of Miguel Lopez de Legazpi (Zaide (c), p. 52; see also the work of Molina).
136. Zaide (a), p. 52; Molina, p. 58.
137. Tenazas' work, *The Santo Niño of Cebu in History and Legend in the Devotion of the People*, is recommended for further reading on the fiesta phenomenon.
138. Blair and Robertson, II, pp. 121, 128; XLVII, pp. 113, 117; Maceda (b), pp. 46ff.
139. Molina, *op. cit.*, p. 66.
140. Royama Masanuichi and Takuichi Tatsiyi, pp. 28-80.
141. *Ibid.*, pp. 82-88.
142. Wallace on the Gaddang (p. 6); Zuñiga, p. 25. Also see *General History of the discalced religious of St. Augustine* by Luis de Jesus in Blair and Robertson, XXXI; and *The Jesuits of the Philippines 1581-1768* by Horacio de la Costa.

143. Miravite (pp. 35-45) wrote about bloody Spanish-Muslim conflicts (Zaide (b), p. 42, Zaide (a), p. 360). Muslims in the Philippines by Cesar A. Majul is a good historical source of the development of Islam in the Philippines. Cf. Molina, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-22, 134-38.

144. The feeling of Christianized groups' cultural superiority is manifested in the Christian orientation of many public institutions and laws: viz., the schools teach primarily the Christian way of life; the law against polygamy, etc.

145. Examples of these people are: Gaddangs, Negritos, Bukidnons of Mindanao and others.

146. Republic Act No. 1888, as amended by R. A. No. 3852, p. 6.

147. *Ibid.*

148. Garvan, *The Negritos of the Philippines*; cf. Maceda (a), p. 6.

149. *Ibid.*

150. Keessing on the Igorots (pp. 19, 28, 87ff); on the Ibaloi or Inabaloi (pp. 49ff, 52, 270ff); on Kakanai (pp. 90, 92, 104, 326ff); on the Kalinga (pp. 8, 170, 221, 223, 310, 335ff). Scott wrote about the Kalinga (p. 119); Maceda (c), pp. 9ff.

151. Isidro and Saber, pp. 1-96; Isidro, pp. 1-140; Maceda (c), pp. 11ff. Cf. *On the codification of the Muslim Customary (Adat) and Qur'anic Laws*, 360 pp.

152. Mindanao State University is mandated by its charter to carry out research in Filipino culture, arts, sciences, philosophy and literature (cf. Sect. 2, R. A. 3791).

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