"Mangyan" is the collective name of seven ethnolinguistic groups inhabiting the highland region of Mindoro, the seventh largest island in the Philippine archipelago. Mindoro lies at the northern end of the vast basin of the Sulu Sea, south of Batangas and mainland southern Luzon, and west of the Bicol region. Most parts of the island are mountainous. There are small stretches of flatlands, and the rest are coastal areas. These plains are home to the *damuong*, the Filipino lowlanders such as the Tagalog, Visayan, and Ilocano migrants. Another group, the Ratagnon, which can be found in a nearby territory of the Hanunoo and are usually grouped with the Mangyan, are seen by anthropologists and linguists as settlers from the island of Cuyo (Tweddel 1958; 1970). The studies of Fox and Flory (1974), Barbian (1977a, 1977b), McFarland (1983), Gibson (1983), and Postma (1988) focused on the conditions and differences among the Mangyan throughout Mindoro.

The etymology of the term "Mangyan" is unclear. According to Karl-Josef Barbian (1977a), it appears to be formed by the prefix "mang," meaning "one from a certain place" and the root word "yan" or "that place." Therefore, "Mangyan" may mean "the people from that place." Tweddel (1970:189) noted that the lowlanders use the word to refer to any indigenous group residing in Mindoro, including the Ratagnon. Nevertheless, for the indigenous peoples themselves, the word "Mangyan" means "people." They also use it to distinguish themselves from the "foreign" lowland settlers (Conklin 1954; Gibson 1983; Padilla 1991). For most outsiders, the term "Mangyan" has a derogatory connotation of being primitive, aggressive, or enslaved. Worcester (1930:591-592) wrote, for example, that the Mangyan were dirty and unsanitary, and "only slightly more developed than the Negritos." After several decades, this picture has not changed. Conklin (1947) did not like the term "Mangyan" because it is "confusing, has no scientific value and is source of conflict." But at present, the different indigenous groups of Mindoro accept it as their collective name. In fact, the name of their island-wide alliance is the Samahang Pantribo ng mga Mangyan (SPMM, or Association of Mangyan Groups).

Rough estimates of the Mangyan were made circa 1988: Batangan, 36,000; Iraya, 35,000; Hanunuo, 18,500; Alangan, 13,500; Ratagnon, 10,500; Buhid, 6,500; and Tadyawan, 2,000 (NCCP-PACT 1988). Postma (1988) estimated the Mangyan constitute 64,000 to 80,000 or 8 to 10 percent of the total Mindoro population. He cautioned, though, that the number may even be higher.

The Hanunoo have their own language, which belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian group. This is called the *bagaw mangyan* (Mangyan language) or *minangyan*. Linguistic studies point out that the *minangyan* is one of the divisions of the mesophilippine hession. The language of the Buhid, a neighboring Mangyan group, is also considered part of the Hanunoo division (Tweddel 1970:201-202).

The Iraya occupy the northwestern part of Mindoro, where one of the country's highest peaks, Mount Halcon, is located. The word "Iraya" is derived from the prefix "i-"—denoting people, and "raya," a variation of "laya" which means "upstream," "upriver," or "upland." Thus the meaning of the word is "people from upstream" or

"uplanders." Historically, however, the Iraya occupied the coastal region in some distant past, until they were pushed further inland by settlers from other places. The word also means "man," "person," and "adult."

The Alangan occupy northwest central Mindoro. One theory about this term is that it could mean "a group of people whose culture is awkward," from the Tagalog word *alangan*, which means among other things "uncertain," "doubtful," or "precarious."

There is scant information available regarding the Tadyawan, who live in sparse settlements in the northeast part of the island.

The Batangan or Taubuhid (also Tawbuid), the most numerous of the Mangyan groups, occupy the central highlands of the island in Occidental Mindoro. They live in a region where mountains tower 1,950 meters high. The word "batangan" derives from "batang," meaning "trunk of a felled tree," and "an," meaning "place," and refers to a place where felled tree trunks may be found, probably a swidden field. The main economic activity of the Batangan is slash-and-burn farming. The Batangan are also known as Bangon or Taubuhid. Other names used to refer to them are Bukid, Bu'id, Buhid, and Buhil, despite the fact that there is a separate identifiable group to the south, the Buhid. Local subgroups include the Bayanan and the Saragan (Kikuchi 1984:1).

The Buhid occupy the south central part of Mindoro. Their territory just about equally straddles the eastern and western provinces comprising the island.

The Ratagnon occupy the southernmost tip of the island province, quite close to the coast facing the Sulu Sea. They lie nearest the aquatic route going to Busuanga Island in northernmost Palawan and the Cuyo islands, two places where the language spoken is Cuyunon, which is also used by the Ratagnon.

Of these groups, the Hanunoo have been the most studied in terms of ethnography. "Hanunoo," according to the group's language called Minangyan, means "genuine," "real," or "true." However, the members of this group call themselves Mangyan, and use the terms Hanunoo Mangyan or Mangyan Hanunoo only to distinguish themselves from the other Mindoro groups.

The Hanunoo Mangyan live in a mountainous area about 800 square kilometers in the southeastern part of the island, mainly in Oriental Mindoro. Their territory falls under the municipal jurisdiction of Mansalay, Bulalacao, and a certain part of San Jose, which is the capital of Occidental Mindoro. Christian lowlanders surround them on the east. To the north lie the Buhid, and to the southwest the Ratagnon. They are often referred to by their Buhid neighbors as the Mangyan patag—"Mangyan of the flatlands"—to distinguish them from the former who live in the higher hinterland of the island.

Despite their proximity to the lowland settlements of the Christians, the Hanunoo

Mangyan have succeeded in insulating themselves from lowland influences, and this has helped them preserve their basic culture. As far as the Hanunoo are concerned, human beings can be classified into two categories: Mangyan and non-Mangyan. Thus, the Mangyan are the Hanunoo, Buhid, Ratagnon, and all those who wear the traditional loincloth (Miyamoto 1975:14). It is for this reason that the Hanunoo Mangyan can speak of the Cordillera Ifugao as being Mangyan too, because their traditional wear is the loincloth (Miyamoto 1975:14). The term damu-ong is used to refer to all non-Mangyan peoples, and to all outsiders. As used by Hanunoo mothers to hush up their crying babies, the term is defined early on as some kind of bogeyman or threat-object among the Hanunoo. The word kristiyano is often used as a synonym for "damuong," and suggests the negative image the Mangyan have of their Christian neighbors. This was observed by Miyamoto who asked several old Mangyan if they remembered anthropologist Conklin who conducted fieldwork between 1947 and 1957. They all remembered him fondly. One Hanunoo said that Conklin "was not a Christian" because "he was a very kind person" (Miyamoto 1975:16).

History

The earliest accounts which mention Mindoro and its people are found in 13th-century Chinese dynastic records. A number of Chinese state documents, particularly those written in the Sung and Ming dynasties, suggest that before the coming of the Spanish conquistadores, commercial trade was flourishing between the inhabitants of Mindoro and Chinese merchants. Objects unearthed on the island, such as ceramics, porcelain, large earthenware, beads, and glass objects are evidence of precolonial trade, which contributed to the shaping of an indigenous material culture among the early inhabitants of Mindoro.

The island was a viable and busy trading port, one of many islands regularly visited by Chinese merchants. Chao Ju-Kua's *Chu-fan-chi*, written in 1225, mentions the island of Ma-i, believed to be the ancient name of present-day Mindoro. Other names associated with the island include Mait, Minolo, Min-to-lang, Mang-Yan San and Ka-Ma-Yan. "Mait" is believed to be an old Chinese term meaning "gold." There are also Chinese references to the term "Mangyan," or that which sounds like the present-day word (Hirth and Rockhill 1970:159-161; Scott 1984:68-72; Scott 1989).

In the 16th century, Spanish colonizers overran the native settlements of Mindoro and reduced the island to vassalage. Spanish accounts describe the inhabitants of the coasts as a well-dressed people who "wore showy headdresses of many colors turned back over their heads," and who, more significantly, casually wore gold on their bodies. The conquistadores attacked villages, destroyed settlements, and pillaged the inhabitants of their possessions. The Spaniards exacted heavy tributes, imposed onerous monopolies, and demanded forced service from the subjugated people. As a result, thepeople of Mindoro fled to the mountains ("Relation" 1572: 141-172; Lopez 1976:15-22).

The natives were not completely defenseless or given to passive surrender. There

existed native forts which were surrounded by moats. The local warriors also used metal weapons, a fact which surprised the Spanish forces. Excellent knowledge of metallurgy and martial skills characterized the defenders of Mindoro. But predictably, the technological superiority and firepower of European weaponry carried the day for the marauders.

One factor that could explain the outright hostility of the Spaniards towards the inhabitants of Mindoro was the presence of an old foe: Islam. Preacher-traders from southern Philippines had earlier succeeded in spreading the Islamic faith among a number of Mindoro natives. Spanish chroniclers relating events in Mindoro referred to the people there as the "Moros of Mindoro."

The colonialists imposed the Christian faith and their political will with much harshness and taught the Mangyan the ways of loyal subjection to the faraway European monarch.

Muslim incursions into Spanish-held territories intensified in the 17th century. For the European colonizers, the encounter with Islam in the Philippines was but a continuation of the centuries-old conflict in Europe and in the "Holy Land." For the Muslims in the Philippine archipelago, however, the wars with the Spaniards were simply a reaction to European incursion in the islands where Islamic influence had built up and spread over a long, evolutionary period of conversion and commerce. Branded as piratical attacks in some accounts, the Muslim expeditions were mainly responses to Spain's occupation and control of Muslim territories.

During the Spanish colonial period, tremendous pressure was brought to bear upon the lives of the Mindoro natives, who found themselves the object of contention between two armies fighting for their spheres of influence. As a result of the Moro-Christian wars, the Mangyan of Mindoro were taken captives, sold as slaves, and sometimes killed without mercy. In 1602, Moro raiders attacked Mindoro and Luzon and took 700 prisoners. Another attack in 1636 resulted in 191 prisoners from Mindoro alone (Majul 1973:117, 133). The island went through a period of depopulation. Trading deteriorated badly. A plague of malaria made conditions even worse. The rivalry of Christian and Muslim forces in the island of Mindoro went on intermittently for most of the 333 years of Spanish rule in the Philippines, such that the Mangyan suffered extreme pain and privation.

The Spanish regime ended, but the colonization of the Mangyan continued—and their marginalization with the rest of the other Philippine groups grew apace with the imposition of American colonial rule in the archipelago. American arms came with American anthropology. As with Spanish derogations such as "savage" and "infidels," the concepts of "pagan," "minority," and "non-Christian" entered current usage, referring to tribal communities in.the Philippines such as the Mangyan.

The shy, withdrawn, and hardworking nature of the Mangyan came to the attention of American entrepreneurs who saw their potential as a labor force. Such traits were

valuable for an American-owned sugar estate that was to be established in Mindoro. When Secretary of the Interior Dean C. Worcester, who had an explorer's background, approved the purchase and lease of a large piece of land to an American company, he set off a process of economic exploitation that perpetuated the pattern of colonial extraction started by the Spanish government. Worcester's activities did not go unnoticed. Nationalist writers of the *El Renacimiento* denounced him in a celebrated editorial, "Aves de Rapina" (Birds of Prey), which gave rise to a controversial libel suit in 1908. The editorial pilloried the American colonial administration, Worcester in particular, for exploiting the tribal peoples of the country in the guise of "benevolence."

The racist tribal policies adopted by the Americans abetted and perpetuated the discrimination against non-Christian indigenous groups in the Philippines. The Mangyan were forced to live in reservations, much like those created for the native American Indians, and relocated to areas far from lowland settlements inhabited mostly by the Tagalog. The American government favored such an isolation since "a people divided cannot effectively press for freedom" (Lopez 1976).

The cumulative effect of centuries of exploitation is being felt to this day. Wily lowlanders time and again have tricked the Mangyan into dubious debts, barters, labor contracts, and often succeed in displacing the natives from their ancestral domain with the use of spurious land titles. It is no wonder that the Mangyan have become only too wary of the damuong, the non-Mangyan, the transgressor. Displaced and dislocated, the various Mangyan groups sought peace and freedom from harassment in the deeper and higher parts of the mountainous interior of Mindoro, but their life has continued to be precarious. Natural disasters, inclement weather, limited food supplies, difficulties in taming the wild and rugged land, have exacerbated their subsistence level of life. "Illiteracy" has prevented them from coping with the challenge posed by "mainstream" society in terms of legal issues concerning land as well as development schemes that threaten their culture and ecosystem, and therefore their survival as a people.

The process of cultural disintegration and ethnic extinction appears to be irreversible, if proper intervention is not effected soon. Counterinsurgency campaigns, economic exploitation of Mindoro's natural resources, landgrabbing and speculation, and the more gradual but potentially erosive influx of modernization and assimilation into lowland cultures are constant threats to the survival of the Mangyan and their centuries-old folkways.

Characteristically, the Mangyan avoid trouble at all costs, even losing territory they have long occupied. In the process, they continue to face instability in their living conditions and economic dislocation. Sadly, this process of dislocation and dispossession continues to the present. After Christian settlers came the loggers, and then the mining corporations. Today the Mangyan find themselves with increasingly less space in which to conduct their age-old subsistence activities.

Economy

The traditional economic activities of the Mangyan centered around the practice of shifting cultivation. They used to rely solely on a subsistence economy that in turn depended on the availability of cultivable space, the vagaries of climate and environment, and external pressures such as forced displacement and resettlement.

Conklin (1954, 1957, 1963, 1968) made comprehensive studies on the Hanunoo's methods of planting. He described the Mangyan system as ecologically sound. He also showed that the Hanunoo had around 1,200 varieties of plants, and some 1,600 indigenous names—and most are able to distinguish these different varieties. More than 90 percent of these plants are used as food and medicine, and for ritualistic and technological use. They have about 400 varieties of plants which they grow in their *tamnan*.

Increasingly, a number of Mangyan are shifting from purely subsistence production to partial cultivation of cash crops, particularly maize (*zea mays*) (Gibson 1983:49-53; Padilla 1991; Mijares 1995:82). Government restrictions on the once widespread practice of swidden or shifting slash-and-burn farming have led the Mangyan to employ intensive cultivation of their farms located on mountainsides and other cleared land. The technological shift to plow and carabao has also introduced the Mangyan to the market economy, and new concepts of landholding as well as the present socioeconomic relations with lowland neighbors, particularly the Tagalog and Visayan settlers. They also have diverse forms of economic exchanges with neighboring or distant Mangyan groups, using Tagalog as their lingua franca.

The traditional practitioners of swidden farming are typified by the Batangan group, whose very name is derived from the nature of their main economic activity. In their kaingin, the Batangan produce upland rice, camote, cassava, taro, and other crops. Other economic activities are hunting, fishing, and trapping. Because weaving seems to be unknown, the Batangan still use the bark for their clothing. One important economic practice of the Batangan has to do with material inheritance. The property of the Batangan consists of pigs, plates, plants (cassava and banana, for example), agricultural and popular medical knowledge, and *amurit* (roughly corresponding to "witchcraft").Material properties are equally imparted to the children, while traditional knowledge is inherited by all the male children. The title of priest, fuunan, as well as the heirloom plates, are passed down from father to son (Kikuchi 1984:5).

Among the Batangan, there are two types of household: the individual household which is occupied by one nuclear family, and the compound household which is occupied by several families. All residents in the compound household are related to one another through blood or marriage ties. As an economic unit, the household distributes land to its members for swidden cultivation. Cutting down trees is done by the adult male with the help of those who live in the group.

However, this economic unit is unstable because the Batangan practice bilocal

residence. After the first year of marriage, the couple stays with the wife's family until her parents die. Today, this practice is no longer popular, and the Batangan are slowly becoming a more stable corporate group (Kikuchi 1984:4-52).

Political System

There are no rigid political structures or institutions for the Mangyan groups. Most, however, recognize at least one leader who has both magical and religious powers. Leadership most often resides in the community elders (*kuyay* or *gurangan*) who are knowledgeable in customary laws (*talaghusay*, *tahinan* or *tanungan*), the shaman (*balyanan* or *fanlahi*) and the ritual performer who leads the celebration of an agricultural rite.

The Buhid Mangyan live under the guidance of a *fangayatan* (Javier 1987:34) also the eldest or *gurangan tahitan* in the community (Mijares 1995:84). He is also referred to as *hatiwalaan or hatulan* (Miyamoto 1988:68). He is asked to intervene between warring parties, at times to mediate between the Buhid Mangyan and their Christian neighbors. He is guided by the customary law. The hatiwalaan is usually an elderly male adult chosen on the basis of the following: lineage, i.e., his father, grandfather, and forebears were also hatiwalaan; knowledge of Tagalog and Ilocano, the languages of their lowland neighbors; and his knowledge of the traditional Buhid script written on bamboo. The hatiwalaan is also a shaman who performs the ritual of planting the first rice seeds. He is likewise the keeper of the ritual stones, which are indispensable paraphernalia for his office.

The Alangan Mangyan have an equivalent of the hatiwalaan. The kuyay is an adult male whose duties are to keep peace and order in the community and to lead the celebration of planting and harvesting as the community's ritual performer.

Among the Batangan Mangyan, the *tanunan* is looked up to as a leader who possesses magical and religious functions. He has custody of the ritual plate used for curing afflicted persons, which is done by beating on the plate. The Batangan households are collectively established to form neighborhoods which can be regarded as hamlets. In some of these hamlets, some households are partitioned into two physical structures —one for the parents, and the other for the married son or daughter. There is no titular head for each village, but there is a caretaker called *danaama*. He parcels out available land for clearing to each household, depending on the number of families in each one. The danaama's role has become increasingly important politically, in view of the fact that Christian settlers have been encroaching on Batangan land, imposing their laws and their land titles, even as they help themselves to the land's natural resources.

Qualifications for the danaama include age, good personality (i.e., kind, thoughtful, brave, etc.), and intelligence. Usually, the oldest male in the settlement becomes the danaama if he possesses these qualities. Other qualifications are the ability to speak Tagalog and financial sufficiency. The latter is specially important, as the danaama is

expected to pay off the debts of his insolvent village members (Kikuchi 1984:9-10).

Leadership among the Iraya Mangyan was provided traditionally by the community elders or kuyay. Some villages have adopted the pattern of governance of organized towns where there is a village mayor and an assistant, a *teniente*. In some instances, a *hukom* or judge may be designated to hear the complaints of the villagers. In recent years, the barangay system, which replaced the barrio as a political unit in the Philippines, has been adopted. The barangay captain may act on the following wrongdoings: theft, insult, arson, adultery, murder, elopement, and rape. The usual punishment is whipping. In *pangaw*, the wrongdoer's feet are clamped with a wooden device while he is flogged several times.

There is no formal system of leadership in the Hanunoo society. Nevertheless, it is often the gurangan or elder who becomes the leader and indigenous healer or *talaghusay*. He or she is often approached for advice. However, the elder is not granted any special privelege, except for food and beads which may be given as a result of the process of healing or case resolution. As of now, because of the integration of the Mangyan with the political structure of the Philippines, a barangay captain and councilors are chosen. Some males have also become members of the local paramilitary units, especially in Mansalay.

Great importance is given to the ritual performance of the first rice seed planting in most Mangyan groups because of the significance of rice in their livelihood, diet, and spiritual beliefs.

Conklin (1957) observes that the eldest kin of any group or a skilled medium, smith, or weaver is described as a person of authority or influence. Hanunoo Mangyan society is characterized as a "bilateral and leaderless one," and in fact as "egalitarian," since there are no formally recognized titled leaders, even of a jural sort. There are also no chiefs or servants. However, Miyamoto (1978) considers the *panudlakan* as some kind of "institutionalized or formal magico-religious leader." Great importance is given to the panudlakan who performs specific tasks that can only be done by him/her.

Peace and order is maintained because the Mangyan are a generally peaceful people. The concept of crime is not found in their custom law. Every wrongdoing can be settled peacefully among members of the community, especially as mediated by the elders. Reconciliation between the conflicting parties is the aim of discussions arising from a dispute. Also, the imposition of small fines is practiced and well understood. In cases of divorce, for example, a friend or kin may offer to slaughter a pig or prepare a good meal to bring the two parties back into good terms, and to continue living together as man and wife. In serious cases of theft or adultery, the offenders or suspects may be subjected to trial by ordeal. They are asked to immerse their hands in boiling water to pick up an object; scalding is evidence of guilt. Society puts credence in this process; the guilty person is fined, sometimes asked to give a feast, which is the way to put an end to ill feelings (Iturralde 1973:185-186). This judicial

method is called *kasaba*, and is quite effective in settling disputes within the family, among kin, and between nonrelatives. The concepts of incarceration and criminality are unknown.

Among the Hanunoo, the individual members of a community practice the custom of not eating their newly harvested rice before the whole community has started to do so. Thus, the community eats together, and this practice—more like a celebration of a communal feast—has a strong effect in sustaining common ideals, values, and interests, and in suppressing individualistic self-interest.

Among the Ratagnon, a community leader called *tanungan* is vested with authority to decide family cases, in close consultation with other elders.**Social Organization and Customs**

Mangyan societies follow various customs and practices related to courtship, marriage, child rearing, and death. There is the fundamental belief that the harmony and well-being of all the members of a community would be ensured if these customs and practices are dutifully followed. Mangyan society is generally based on the nuclear family or single household. In some groups, like the Batangan, households may be a compound, or composed of two or more married couples or families. Among the Hanunoo, while it is ideal for a newly married couple to live in their own house, extended families occur with the newlyweds living temporarily with their in-laws.

Generally, courtship requires that a young man win the approval of both the maiden and her family. He may be required to serenade her with songs and poetry, after which he is expected to render his services on the swidden farm owned by the family of the maiden or throw a grand feast for his prospective in-laws and bride. A young man must also be prepared to pay for the bride-price or to offer presents to the family of the bride. These presents might be in the form of food, domesticated animals, or jewelry. A young unmarried male must leave the settlement for some time in search of a bride. He must travel far to look for an unmarried young woman for his bride because the women who live in his settlement are usually his kinfolk.

Child marriages are practiced in some Mangyan groups as well as fixed marriages between a young man and a woman arranged by the families of the couple. The institution of the go-between is found in some of the groups. This person, who helps to work out acceptable arrangements between the families of the bride and groom, is usually an elderly male kin of the groom.

Among the Iraya Mangyan, the marriage ceremony is officiated by an old member of the village. The elder person joins the hands of the couple in prayer, begging Apo Iraya to bless the couple with children, health, and long life. Apo Iraya was probably the first pioneer to lead the first settlers or ancestors of the Iraya to their present upland domain. In other Iraya villages, the newlyweds are asked to lie down on a mat to ensure for themselves a fruitful marriage. After the ceremony, they are not allowed to sleep together for the first eight days.

Among the Hanunoo, the first step to marriage is *layis*, the courtship, which takes place in the woman's house. The boy usually brings his friends along, who bring with them musical instruments and white blankets called *tumon*. At night, when they reach the home of the girl, they cover themselves with the blanket and approach the house quietly. Then they suddenly start playing their musical instruments. The boy tries to win the girl's affection by singing an *ambahan*, in a disguised voice or *pahagot*. All the while his head is covered with the blanket, making it impossible for the girl to guess his identity. If the girl does not refuse the serenade, she allows the boy to enter her home. The courting process is repeated many times. When the boy and girl decide to get married, the girl introduces him to her parents. The boy stays in their home to render bride service on their swidden farm, for a period called *aguman*. Then the boy introduces his bride-to-be to his parents, a practice called tabunan or "accompanying." Then follows the *harampanan*, which literally means "conversation." An elderly kin acts as go-between for both families in setting the date for the harampanan. On the agreed date, the boy's father prepares rice and pig for the feast, and goes with wife and son to the house of the girl's parents. Boy and girl sit and wait for the arrangements to be finished. If the parents of both sides agree to the marriage, the rice and pig are cooked and everyone celebrates. If the parents disagree, the couple usually elopes.

Marriage between close relatives is prohibited and is punished with fines. The newlywed couple stays with the bride's family, following the matrilocal system. Divorce is recognized and when this occurs, the welfare of the children is considered. Some Mangyan, male and female alike, have married up to five times. Monogamy is the general rule but polygyny and polyandry are allowed, but only with the consent of the first spouse (Padilla 1991).

There is close cooperation between husband and wife, but women appear to be overworked and emaciated, due to early marriage. Infant mortality is high, and a number of mothers die in giving birth to stillborn babies. In the past, infanticide was reported to have been practiced due to scarcity of food.

Among the Batangan filial respect and a kind of seniority system is observed, which is universally true of most culture groups in the country. The father exercises overall authority and responsibilities. The parents, who are called *fufuina* (mother) and *fufuama* (father), as well as the old folks are given due respect by the younger members of the family. It is believed that violation of this filial duty would lead the offender to unhappiness in life (Kikuchi 1984:3-4). Respect for the elders is manifested in various ways, such as the use of the "functional intermediary." When a child wishes to get a favor from either parent, it appeals through the other parent. This becomes the rule even in public conduct. Thus when a Mangyan wants to relate to someone important, he does so through a relative or representative. This seniority which entails respect, deference, tactfulness, and esteem serves to stabilize and harmonize Batangan society.

In the Ratagnon community, similar practices of courtship, marriage, and child rearing are observed. Marriage is not difficult to attain, but passes through the stages of courtship and bride service. Some bride-price is paid, and a costly feast may at times

be held to highlight the union of two people. Ratagnon parents never whip their children, who nevertheless may be severely scolded. Food is meticulously shared among the children.

The Mangyan observe elaborate rituals related to death and burial. The Hanunoo Mangyan believe that the *karadwa* (soul) of the dead will not rest in peace unless the proper rituals are performed and are strictly followed according to tradition. The simplest details, such as the position of the corpse as it lies on a buri mat, the rules governing a wake, the order of the participants who march in the funeral procession, or the ritual objects which are hung on the fence of the grave, are some of the conditions that must be followed to ensure the eternal repose of the person's soul. If any detail of the rituals are altered by mistake or intentionally violated, a great misfortune will occur. Another belief is that evil spirits will join the mourners, and eat their flesh once the rituals are altered or violated.

Religious Beliefs and Practices

The Hanunoo Mangyan believe in a Supreme Being who is referred to as the Mahal na Makaako, who gave life to all human beings merely by gazing at them. They believe that the universe, called *sinukuban* ("that which is covered") or *kalibutan* ("the whole surrounding") has a globular shape "like a coconut." All beings, visible or invisible, live in this space. The stratum of the earth is called the *usa ka daga*. The *daga* (land) is surrounded by a border area which is dagat (sea). Beyond the dagat is the *katapusan*, the edge of the universe, covered with thick woods and rocks. Nothing lies beyond it.

The Hanunoo Mangyan believe that the world is made up of people (relatives and friends), *kalag* or souls of their dead relatives, the good spirits, and the *labang* or evil spirits. The Hanunoo confer great respect on their departed relatives. The latter's souls are often called upon for help in times of illness or for a bountiful harvest. Occasionally, offerings are prepared for them.

The spirits can be found in identified places or things. The *apu dandum* and *apu daga* live in the water and soil, respectively. The Mangyan who pass through a place and ask for the spirits' leave, or give offerings to avoid the anger of these spirits. Other spirits include the *daniw*, which resides in the stone cared for by the indigenous healer. The healer calls on this spirit to cure whoever is afflicted. Binayi is a sacred female spirit, caretaker of the rice spirits or the *kalag paray*. She is married to the spirit Balungabong who is aided by 12 fierce dogs. Erring souls are chased by these dogs and are eventually drowned in a cauldron of boiling water. The kalag paray must be appeased, to ensure a bountiful harvest. It is for this reason that specific rituals are conducted in every phase of rice cultivation. Some of these rituals include the *panudlak*, the rite of first rice planting; the rite of rice planting itself; and the rites of harvesting which consist of the *magbugkos* or binding rice stalks, and the *pamag-uhan*, which follows the harvest.

The *labang*, horrible creatures, live at the edge of the world. The labang can take on animal and human forms before killing and eating their victims. They are believed to roam the areas they used to frequent during their mortal existence until they move on to dwell in Binayi's garden, where all spirits rest.

Other human beings figure in the Mangyan's world view. In general, lowlanders are seen as outside the circle of relatives and friends. In fact, the Hanunoo believe that some evil spirits come in the form of the lowlander (*labang damuong*). The Mangyan also greatly fear people who practice black magic (*amurit and panhin*). Victims of such become gravely ill or even die.

Batangan cosmogony is less clear. They believe in four deities, who are all naked. Two come from the sun and are male; two come from the upper part of the river and are female. They are believed to be childless (Kikuchi 1984:7). The *paragayan* or *diolang* plates play an important role in Batangan religious practices. These plates are owned by only a few families, and are considered heirlooms. They are essential in summoning the deities to all religious and curing rituals (Kikuchi 1984:7).

Architecture and Community Planning

The Mangyan are swidden agriculturists who live together in small or large settlements. The families that form these settlements are usually kinfolk related by blood or marriage ties.

The Iraya Mangyan live in settlements called *guraan* which have 10 houses each. A place where there are established houses is called *tingyawan* and neighbors are called *manganaon.* These settlements are not permanent and are abandoned during the summer months after the harvest when they hunt inside the forest or reside near the river banks where they wait for the next rainy season. The temporary shelters are made of leaves and tree branches, like the *sinarekked* (lean-to) of the Agta. When death occurs in the settlement, it is abandoned for another site.

Hanunoo settlements are located quite a distance from each other, which nonetheless does not discourage the Hanunoo from visiting each other's settlements. These settlements may be divided into four types, depending on the number of families, houses, and storage huts. These are: the smallest settlement, with one house with two storage huts; a simple settlement, with two houses, two storage huts, and one extended family; a complex settlement, with three houses, at least three storage huts, inhabited by one extended family and at least one other nuclear family; and a compound settlement, usually more than 10 houses, separated into two distinct clusters inhabited by several families and at least one extended family. Most settlements are built on steep mountain slopes with the swidden fields nearby. A settlement is referred to by the accepted name of the nearest prominent geographical feature, often a spring or stream. Hanunoo houses are sturdy, walled, four-cornered structures raised some meters above the ground on wooden and bamboo posts, floored with bamboo,

hip-roofed with cogon, with two doors and windows. The house has no partitions but has a cooking area, called *dapugan*, in one corner and often also a spacious veranda, where people sit and exchange stories while making handicraft. The house is securely propped against strong typhoon winds. Mangyan children may have their own huts to sleep in when they are a bit older. Called *balay daraga* (young maiden's house) or *balay lalaki* (young man's house), these are built near the parents' house. Storage huts, which are granaries, are smaller than the house, have no verandas, and stand on one, two, or four posts. Tree houses, where present, are used only as rice granaries.

A house can be built if the earth is flat and the place is not considered taboo. An adult male usually chooses the spot for constructing a house, usually near the swidden farm. First, he clears the area by cutting down the trees and the grass. Then he places the lagban, a square frame of logs, for the flooring, upon the site. In the center of the *lagban*, he puts five or seven corn grains or rice seeds. If a mistake is made with the number of grains, something unfortunate will visit him or his family. The numbers five and seven are important in Hanunoo agricultural rites. Then he utters a prayer. Next morning, he goes to the site to see if the grains are complete. A lost grain must be replaced, and the invocation, repeated. This is done until he finds the number of grains still intact upon inspection. He then proceeds to construct the house, together with other males. If the house belongs to an unmarried person, it is shameful to build a fireplace inside. In some Hanunoo settlements, it is forbidden to construct more than one fireplace inside a house because the two hearths are compared to the eyes of the labang or evil spirits.

Among the Taubuid or Batangan Mangyan, the house has two levels. The lower level which may be some centimeters on stilts above the ground provides the entrance with a notched log as means of access. This is also the cooking area. The upper level serves as a reception area and as sleeping quarters. The beams of the house serve as storage for tubers and unripened banana. There are no other partitions in the house. The roof and walls may be of tree bark or thatch and the flooring of split bamboo. The whole structure appears to be low slung and in a squatting position. A log is kept burning day and night, to keep the family warm and in readiness for cooking or roasting food.

The traditional Alangan house or *paykamalayan* is a spacious dwelling for a few families who live together. The families are related to one another by marriage ties or by blood. The Alangan "big house" has different levels, each occupied by a single family. The house has minimal organizational needs. The kuyay or caretaker is in charge of preserving the rice seeds for the next planting season. Each family contributes to this stock of seeds. Aside from the economic function, the kuyay intervenes or mediates in the settlement of disputes among the communal members of the big house. Whenever any family member gets married, the pagkamalayan is extended with a structure built at another level.

The Ratagnon village is not formally developed, and settlements of 4 to 5 houses each are located some distance away from the others. The Ratagnon house is made of wood and bamboo, roofed with nipa leaves, and raised from the ground on posts or stilts.

Inside the house are arranged the essentials of daily living: a fireplace, pots, a bench or two, beddings, and mats. There may be musical instruments hanging from the ceiling or sticking out of walls. There may be a handloom in one corner, with a supply of rolls of cotton, spindle, and thread. The rafters serve as storage space for rice grains carefully packed in bags, to be used for the next planting season. Light comes from burning wrapped resin, a bundle coiled with leaves, although in many places close to town or village stores, this has been replaced with kerosene lamps.

In recent times, government workers and religious missionaries have tried to compel the Mangyan to live closer to one another in one defined center—for easier administration and Chistianization.

Visual Arts and Crafts

The Hanunoo Mangyan have preserved a great part of their beliefs and culture despite the unavoidable onslaught of the lowland culture brought by the lowland traders, religious missionaries, private organizations, and government workers. Perhaps it is the direct result of their retreat to the mountains in the face of the grabbing of their ancestral lands.

Their way of dressing *(rutay Mangyan*) distinguish the Hanunoo from other indigenous groups as well as from the lowlanders (Padilla 1991). The male uses g-string balled *ba-ag* for the lower part, and for the upper part the sleeved *balukas*, which reaches the navel. The females use the *ramit* or dress. There are two kinds of covering for the upper part of the body—the sleeved *lambong* and the sleeveless *subon*. These articles of clothing are made from cotton, which they plant, and color with an indigo dye from the plant named *tagom*. They are woven by the women with a backstrap loom, and are normally embroidered with red and white crosslike designs called pakudos. Miyamoto (1988:29) believes that the *pakudos* motif might also be explained by the sacred number four and the mandala symbol often seen in Southeast Asian art.

Hanunoo men and women wear the *hagkus* or willed rattan belt with a pocket. Women wear the *hulon*, a belt made from the nito, around their waist. They wear their hair long, and sometimes use a headband made of beads or buri and nito. Hanunoo Mangyan of all ages and both sexes are fond of wearing necklaces and bracelets made from beads. These beads are used not only for decoration but also for magical, religious, and judiciary purposes. They are used as adornments by lovers, in curing a sick person (white beads only), in rituals presided over by the *pandaniwan*, and for paying fines, the quantity depending on the severeness of a wrongdoing.

Among the Iraya, males wear *bahag* or loincloth fashioned from tree bark, the *kaitong* or belt, and the *talawak* or headband. The females wear the *tapis* or skirtlike covering made from bark, the *lingob* or belt, and the *sagpan* or *pamanpan* to cover the breast. They wear necklaces called *kudyasan*, made from *tigbi* seeds, and the *panalingnaw* or earrings.

Some Ratagnon males still wear the traditional loincloth, and the women wear a wraparound cotton cloth from the waistline to the knees. They weave a breast covering from nito or vine. The males wear a jacket with simple embroidery during gala festivities and carry flint, tinder, and other paraphernalia for making fire. They also carry betel chew and its ingredients in bamboo containers. Strings of beads or copper wire may adorn their necks. Both men and women wear coils of red-dyed rattan at the waistline.

Among the Hanunoo, men forge and repair blades for knives, axes, bolo or long knife, spears, and other bladed instruments. Women traditionally spin, dye, and weave cotton cloth for clothing and blankets. Tailoring and the embroidery of garments is usually women's work, while men carve the handles and scabbards. Woven basketry is mainly women's work, but sewn goods, twisted cordage, and other goods are crafted by both sexes.

Basket making is well developed among the northern Iraya and southern Hanunoo groups. Lane (1986:141-144) describes the various kinds of Mangyan baskets. The Iraya have the hexagonal household basket, which is always made in small sizes, from 18-20 centimeters in diameter. The materials used consists of soft and narrow strips ofthe buri palm leaf, which are then overlaid with nito strips. Another Iraya basket is the open grain basket made from bamboo strips, which are first blackened and dried. Variations in the weaving process produce the many designs of the basket.

The Hanunoo baskets are small, fine, and leatherlike in texture. Various designs such as the pakudos or cross pattern are created with split nito or red-dyed buri laid over strips of buri. The base of the basket is square but the mouth is round. Other types of Hanunoo basketry include purses and betel-nut carriers which come in round, polygonal, or other shapes. The covers fit snugly on the container.

Literary Arts

A distinct feature of the Hanunoo and Buhid cultures is their system of writing. Throughout the Philippine archipelago, only four groups continue to use a precolonial system of writing. Experts in paleography indicate that the writing systems of the Hanunoo and Buhid in Mindoro, and the Palawan and Tagbanua in Palawan may be a cultural influence from India (Francisco 1963; 1964; 1971; 1973). Majority or 60 percent of the Mangyan can read and write in their indigenous system. Writing is done on bamboo stems (Conklin 1947:269; 1949).

The syllabary has 17 basic characters. Postma added an accent mark to the orthography to denote terminal consonants. With or without these accents, this system of writing exists to our day, and is taught in Catholic schools as part of the curriculum or at home. At an early age, children are taught to write with a siyaw or small knife for a pen and a piece of bamboo for paper. They eagerly copy the

characters incised on the bamboo containers of their parents and relatives. They practice carving the angular symbols on their own piece of bamboo so that they can memorize the script.

Although modern writing material has been available to the Mangyan, traditional material is still highly favored—bamboo strips and tree barks—for this type of script. The scribbling of poetry and graffiti is found everywhere in Hanunoo land—tree trunks, fronds, bamboo sticks, and even on baskets, woven into decorative patterns. Approximately 70 percent of the Hanunoo Mangyan are literate, owing to this widespread passion for writing.

Among the southern Mangyan groups, the more important poetic forms are the urukay of the Buhid and the ambahan of the Hanunoo.

The urukay is a poetic expression which the Buhid distinguish from the ambahan of their neighbors. It is chanted to the accompaniment of a homemade guitar. The urukay is a rhythmic recitation meant to teach and entertain. Here is an urukay which conveys a personal message of grief (Lopez 1976:133-134):

> *Kahoy-kahoy kot malago*
> *Kabuyung-buyong sing ulo*
> *Kaduyan-duyan sing damgu dalikaw sa pagromedyu*
> *Singhanmu kag sa balay barku*
> *Anay umabot ka nimo.*
>
> Like a tree choked with branches and leaves
> My mind is full of turmoil
> Though loaded with pain and grief
> My dreams continually seek for an end
> Let it be known that I am on my way
> Perchance you'll catch up with me.

Written in the Hanunoo writing system, the ambahan is a poetic form using seven-syllable lines that rhyme at the final syllable. The chanting of the ambahan is done without a definite musical pitch or accompaniment. It is "sung," chanted or recited to express in an allegorical way and in poetic language certain situations or characteristics to which the speaker is referring.

There are as many ambahan as there are phases and aspects in human life: childhood, adolescence, courtship, housing, sickness, domestic problems, food and work, travelling, hospitality and friendship, marriage, old age, dying, and death. The ambahan is often carved on handy items, such as lime, betel nut and tobacco containers, bolo sheaths, violin, guitar, and even the bamboo beams of a house.

Many of the thousands of ambahan collected by Postma (1972) are composed around objects of nature, such as birds, flowers, trees, or insects, as well as the sun, moon, stars, rain, and wind. However, these images are not treated literally but metaphorically. "When a Mangyan poet writes of a flower, he writes of it not for the

purpose of celebrating its beauty or fragrance, but to make it an allegory or a symbol of human life, its problems, and its challenges" (Postma 1972:11).

Most ambahan are handed down from generation to generation, mainly because they are engraved on bamboo. New ambahan are also created by each generation (Postma 1972:12).

Young and old Hanunoo Mangyan are conversant with the ambahan, which differ in degrees of difficulty and depth of language, and also in length. For example. children would have their own ambahan, which is similar to nursery rhymes, but which is structurally, and in terms of purpose, no different from the ambahan of the adults. The Hanunoo Mangyan in effect grow through various stages of the ambahan consistent with their life cycle (Postma 1972:14).

The ambahan is not only poetry for its own sake but "primarily a poem of social character; it finds its true existence in society. . . created by the Mangyan to serve practical purposes within the community. . . used by the parents in educating their children, by young people in courting each other, by a visitor in asking for food, by a relative bidding goodbye or farewell" (Postma 1972:14).

Here are some samples of the ambahan, and the occasions or purposes for which they are recited. This ambahan is about children feigning a wound or sickness to escape a chore (all ambahan and translations are from Postma 1972):

Kang manok tangway-tangway
Pag suguon manguway
Magpasakiton labay
Magpalintog sa sulay
Kang manok si kurkuro
Pag suguon mangayo
Magpasakiton ulo
Magpadugsak sa bato.

Argues Tangway, the large bird
When told to gather uway:
Look, my shoulder I have hurt
Bumped it on a house-post high.
The Kurkuro bird would add,
Told to gather wood alone:
My head's aching really bad
I bumped it on a sharp stone.

In this courtship ambahan, budding and flowering plants and trees are used as metaphors for the young Mangyan's readiness to enter a new phase in life:

Kawayan sa marigit
Kang kabag-o hinmapit
Hurok di way dariit
Inmunan ak hinmapit

Ararang ga sinigpit
Bulul-an yi patipit
Buri sa saroy lumon
Kaybi no diit kumon
Kang pag-away-awayon
Pagka bay linmalaon
Agirang kang dayuon
Salubadbad kang bul-on

Kang tuhugon tabigon
Isuribay yi dayon

Bamboo, there at Marigit
When I passed by long ago
Sprouts were just appearing then…
Passing by the other day
With thorns thickly overgrown,
Ready to become a house.

At the field's edge stands a palm
Formerly it was still small
I'd paid no attention then
But now that it is fully grown
Not the old leaves I will take
But the beautiful young ones
For a basket woven well
That I will carry along.**Performing Arts**

The musical instruments found among the Mangyan are the *gitara*, a homemade guitar; the gitgit, a three-string indigenous violin with human hair for strings (a smaller version of the Ilongot fiddle called *litlit*); the *lantoy*, a transverse nose flute; the *kudyapi*, a kind of lute; and the *kudlung*, a parallel-string bamboo tube zither. Most of these instruments are used by a male suitor in wooing a Mangyan female. A young man and his male friends strum the guitar and play the gitgit to announce their arrival at the house of the woman. The Hanunoo use the guitar to play harmonic chords as interludes between verses sung in one or two tones.

The Hanunoo use several kinds of flutes. The lantoy or transverse flute has five stops (unlike the Buhid *palawta* which has six), and is tuned diatonically. The *pituh* is a flute which is diatonically tuned, has finger holes, but no thumb hole. The *bangsi* is an external-duct flute, which has a chip glued on to the tube of the flute. Another type of aerophone, aside from the flutes, is the *budyung*, a bamboo trumpet which is also found among the Mandaya in Mindanao.

Two idiophones are used by the Hanunoo: the *buray dipay*, a bean-pod rattle used in ensemble with other kinds of instruments, and the *kalutang*, which are percussion sticks played in pairs to produce harmonies of seconds, thirds, or fourths (Maceda 1966:646).

The Hanunoo also have an *agung* ensemble, which consists of two light gongs played

by two men squatting on the floor: one man beats with a light padded stick on the rim of one of the gongs. Both performers play in simple duple rhythms (Maceda 1966:646).

Music for the Hanunoo is part of celebrating ordinary and festive occasions. Accompanying themselves on these instruments as they recite their love poems, the Hanunoo Mangyan pay court to the women. During wedding rituals, songs are sung, musical instruments are played, food is eaten, and wine is drunk. The songs of the Mangyan are lullabies, recollections of war exploits in the distant past, lamentations, love lyrics, and stories based on personal experiences. A group of participants will play their instruments during the *ponsiyon*, the funeral feast, as well as during the *kutkut* or the rite of exhumation.

Dancing is confined to slow, almost static movements with sporadic leaps here and there. The Mangyan do not have a single activity that may be considered a dance, except those movements which they perform during a wedding or a funeral. The funeral dance *kalutang* derives its name from the two sticks struck by players, as they gently circle round a corpse which, is being slowly carried to its resting place. When played, the kalutang sticks produce a syncopated music. Only the Hanunoo Mangyan are known to have this kind of dance. • E.B. Maranan with N. Balce, R. Obusan, E.A. Manuel, and G.E.P. Cheng/Reviewed by S.G. Padilla Jr.

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