"Aeta" refers to the small, dark-skinned, and kinky-haired people with big round eyes who occupy the forest areas of Mount Pinatubo, the highest mountain of the Zambales range. They call themselves "Aeta", meaning "people" or "Paan Pinatubo Aeta," meaning "people living on the thigh of Mount Pinatubo" (Fox 1952).

The Aeta are also known as "Baluga," especially on the Pampanga side of Mount Pinatubo. The term means "hybrid," and has the same positive connotation as "mestizo" among lowlanders. However, some Aeta groups are insulted by the word since it can also mean "brackish, half-salt, and half-fresh" (Garvan 1964). The Aeta in colonial ethnographic accounts (Blumentritt 1980, orig. 1882; Worcester 1898; Bean 1910; Barrows 1910) were erroneously labeled as Negritos or Negrillos, literally meaning "little blacks." This was due primarily to their skin color which was darker than that of the rest of the inhabitants of the Philippine archipelago. Paul Schebesta classified the Pinatubo Aeta as Western Aeta or Hambal (Lebar 1975:25).

The Pinatubo Aeta are part of bands residing in mountainous, forested areas of the archipelago from Luzon to Mindanao. They are believed to be the descendants of the original inhabitants of the Philippines.

Before the 1991 Mount Pinatubo eruption, the Aeta occupied the towns of Botolan, San Felipe, Cabangan, and San Marcelino in Zambales; Mabalacat, Porac, Angeles, and Floridablanca in Pampanga; Capas, O'Donnell, and Bamban in Tarlac; and Dinalupihan in Bataan.

Located at the boundaries of Zambales, Tarlac, and Pampanga, Pinatubo—rising some 1,610 meters above sea level—was, before the 1991 eruption, home to various types of plants, wild fruits, and medicinal herbs. Trees of different varieties also covered the landscape. Rattan was found everywhere. In the daytime, the climate was humid but gradually became cool by sunset. Its topography was varied; its interior portions, rugged; the terrain, treacherous and inaccessible to land vehicles. Trails and streams traversed the foothills linking one sitio with other communities. Different barrios and sitios were found both on its lower and upper portions. As of 1976 Yamot, Mantabag, Kalawangan, and Taraw comprised the unacculturated communities of the Pinatubo area, with Maguisguis, Villar, and Poonbato being the only acculturated communities.

One big river which empties out into the South China Sea meanders through the mountainous area. Its tributaries spread through the settlements and account for much of the erosion that occurs during the rainy season (Barrato and Benaning 1978).

The different lowland groups which surround the Aeta area in Pinatubo are the Tagalog, Pampango, Ilocano, and Sambal. Culturally, two divisions are distinguishable within their ranks: the "isolated," who inhabit the higher portions of the mountain; and the "acculturated," who occupy the grasslands and secondary forests of the lower part.

Social scientists consider the Pinatubo Aeta an important ethnic group. In addition to having retained their cultural identity through the centuries, they are the biggest in number. In 1988, the nationwide population estimate of the Aeta groups was 83,234 (NCCP-PACT 1988). More than half of this number lived in Pinatubo. While the Aeta in other parts of the country dwindled, the Pinatubo Aeta increased, a phenomenon attributed to the sanctuary offered by Mount Pinatubo.

Like other Aeta groups, the Pinatubo Aeta have lost their original language. They now speak Sambal, the language of the lowlanders along the coastal plains near Mount Pinatubo. Those Aeta living on the Pampanga side of Mount Pinatubo speak Pampango, while those on the Bataan side speak Tagalog.

History

The ancestors of the present-day Aeta, according to one theory, arrived in the Philippines some 30,000 years ago. Believed to be the aborigines of the islands, this ethnic group has lived in relative isolation from lowlanders, preserving a way of life not far from its indigenous beginnings and retaining much of their traditional customs, practices, values, and social organization.

Anthropologists observe that the Pinatubo Aeta are highly sophisticated in relation to their environment, possessing an amazing knowledge of the natural world. They can identify more than 400 plants; and possess expert knowledge of flowering patterns, habitat, and pharmacological uses. As Robert Fox (1952) notes, most Aeta can enumerate “75 birds, most of the snakes, fish, insects and animals, and even 20 species of ants.”

Another interesting aspect of the Pinatubo Aeta is their continuing resistance tothe acculturation process, and theirability to modify whatever they borrow from the outside to suittheir own culture. They assimilate only the cultural elements compatible with their social reality—like some of the Sambal’s techniques and rituals in agriculture, concepts of spirits,curing, and burial rituals. Since the borrowed has become their own,their cultural integrity is preserved.

The recorded history of the Pinatubo Aeta is one of displacements and migrations, and injustices suffered in the hands of mainstream groups. The Aeta were not originally mountain dwellers. Robert Fox (1952) theorized that they were previously lowlanders, noting that the plants familiar to the Aeta thrive in low and medium altitudes. Some narratives from the oral history of the Aeta living in Kaugan Village tell of how they exchanged their lands in Santa Marta and Abucay with migrant groups for a bundle of tobacco leaves, a bundle of rice plant, or a bolo.

Aeta interaction with the Sambal and Pampango dates back to pre-Spanish history. Pressure exerted on them by the Sambal and the arrival of different groups such as the Ilocano forced the Aeta to resettle in the mountains.

During the 18th and 19th centuries, the Pampango lowlanders grabbed Aeta territory by driving them into the mountains and then planting the land with sugarcane and rice. Moreover, the history of Angeles City, once forested, indicates that it was part of the Aeta ancestral domain. The city was named after Don Angeles Pantaleon, who developed it into an urban center. The urbanization of the area eventually displaced the Aeta. Also formerly part of Aeta ancestral domain were the vast areas until recently occupied by the US military bases, notably Clark Air Base, established early in the 20th century at the eastern foot of Mount Pinatubo.

Spanish chroniclers also recount how the Aeta were attacked, captured, and kidnapped for enslavement by the Sambal, who settled at the foot of the Zambales mountains. It was common for the accused, in settling a murder case among the Sambal, to appease the aggrieved party with a kidnapped Aeta as payment (Shimizu 1989:12).

The Aeta did not take everything lying down. Until as late as the end of the 19th century, the Aeta who refused to be subjugated by Spanish rule fought against the Christianized Filipinos. They were known as *nonconquestados*, in contrast to the *conquestados* or Aeta who were cordial and traded with lowlanders. The *nonconquestados* lived deep in the forests and periodically raided the lowlanders. The Christianized lowlanders retaliated by organizing expeditionary forces, led by the local police called *guardia civil*, into the mountains.

By the late 19th century, the Spaniards conceived of and implemented a settlement plan which, though not entirely successful, managed to minimize the growing antagonism between the Aeta and the lowlanders. The method consisted of enticing an Aeta chief to come down, hold a dialogue, and accept honorary titles from the Spanish government. One Aeta named Layos, for example, was given the title of Capitan General del Monte amidst pompous ceremony and festivity. Such reconciliatory actions were repeatedly undertaken. In pursuit of their settlement plan, the Spaniards would give food to the Aeta groups. However, the Aeta would go back to the mountains after consuming all the food. Thus, the conflict between nonconquestados and lowlanders continued even during the American period (Shimizu 1989).

During World War II, the Aeta living in the lower portion of Mount Pinatubo fled to the hinterlands to escape the abuses of the Japanese army. They also saved several US Air Force men whose planes were downed by the Japanese. After the war, General Douglas MacArthur honored the Aeta who were involved in such activities. He also announced that the Aeta would henceforth be free to enter the bases' perimeter and engage in scavenging. MacArthur also started the policy of dole-outs of food and clothing among the Aeta. These measures were actually part of a subtle pacification campaign to subdue the Aeta living within the perimeter of the US Base.

The American military learned from the Aeta remarkable survival techniques which

were applied in special warfare, especially during the Vietnam War. At Innaaralo Village, US Special Operations Forces learned techniques like forest camping, cooking without smoke, extracting water from vines and trees, treating poisonous snake bites, and hiding from pursuing enemies. The close relationship between the Americans and the Aeta was more evident in the Pampanga side of Mount Pinatubo.

While the Pinatubo Aeta have been the recipient of both government and private help in the form of better medical facilities and the construction of several schools serving the literacy needs of both children and adults, they have also been victimized by government land-use policies. These policies have limited the boundaries of existing Aeta villages and settlements. Three government proclamations since 1927 defined areas they may occupy. That year 1,212 hectares were allocated for 327 Aeta families in the towns of Botolan and San Marcelino. In 1933 some 194 families were crammed into another Botolan reservation measuring 32 hectares. And in 1958 the government created the New Cabalan Negrito Reservation over 92 hectares of rolling hills for the Aeta, who were displaced by the expansion of the US Naval Base complex as a result of the RP-US Bases Agreement.

However, Mount Pinatubo's violent eruption in June 1991, after 600 years of slumber, has imperiled the future and destiny of the Aeta. The eruption, the 20th century's most violent to date, rendered at least 200,000 people homeless, of which 56,721 were Pinatubo Aeta (Task Force Pinatubo Data 1991).**Economy**

Barely 100 years ago, group hunting was the main economic activity of the Aeta. Around 30 men with bows and arrows and dogs would set out for a hunting expedition outside their village. But as the forests dwindled, the opportunity for game became rare. Before World War II, big animals like deer and wild pigs were plentiful.

In 1908, Luther Parker (1964), an American soldier assigned in Pampanga, noted the Aeta's mode of subsistence and exchange. If the Aeta were in need of food and could not borrow, they would search for beeswax, honey, *beju*co (rattan), *gogo* (natural shampoo), and orchids in the forest, or make baskets and bark cloth and other products that lowland people would trade for. They would even trade bows and arrows, their only way of hunting game. By and large, Parker called the Aeta "poor traders," allowing themselves to be exploited by outsiders whose dealings smacked of banditry.

Because of the receding forests and the scarcity of wild animals, the basic means of subsistence for the tribe shifted to swidden farming, complemented by hunting and gathering. The cycle of rotation of swidden sites happened within the area of a family group, the radius of which was a few kilometers from the village. Traditional settlement and swidden sites were found within the area 500 to 1,000 meters above sea level.

The Aeta cleared areas where there were wild bananas, bushes, and bamboos. Swidden sites located on mountain slopes near the Aeta village, were planted to root crops, sweet potatoes, yams, taro, cassava, corn, beans, and rice. They opened new

sites every year so as to avoid land infertility. Despite the changing location of swidden sites and villages, the Aeta were far from being nomadic, since the movements only took place within a particular and fixed area. This might explain, too, their extensive knowledge of the flora and fauna.

Agricultural activities were communal in nature, and undertaken by the family group. The owner of the field prepared the helpers' meals, usually consisting of rice and chicken, pork, bird or bat, sometimes canned sardines cooked with beans and taro.

Corn, yams, and upland rice were planted in the same field. Men and women participated in these tasks. After cleaning a field, the man bore holes on the ground with a digging stick while the women put two or three grains of corn in the holes. When the corn was 30-40 centimeters high, upland rice was planted in between the corn just before the onset of the rainy season. Both corn and rice were planted almost simultaneously, since it is deemed risky to rely on a single crop. Yams and various lima bean varieties were planted under the trees, other beans along the edge of the field.

While preparing for the swidden fields during the dry season, the Aeta sometimes camped and fished near the rivers. Fish, shrimp, and eel were important sources of protein for their diet. Food gathering was also one traditional activity (Shimizu 1989:25-33).

In the late 1980s, there were three different modes of subsistence in the general Kakilingan area before the Mount Pinatubo eruption: sedentary agriculture with swidden or slash-and-burn agriculture of the Kakilingan Aeta residents; swidden with hunting and gathering of the Bangan Aeta residents; and hunting and gathering with shifting agriculture of the Aeta from the adjacent Mount Pinatubo area (Padilla 1989).

Aside from these modes of subsistence, the Kakilingan Aeta also traded with lowlanders, the way they did even before World War II. Using the Zambal or Ilocano which the Aeta understand, the traders identify the things needed by the Aeta, e.g., clothes, rice, blankets, etc. The following week, these are brought by the traders and exchanged for Aeta products. If these products are insufficient, these are recorded by the traders in their notebooks as debt. One result of this transaction is that the Aeta are perpetually tied to a particular *komersyante* (merchant), not to mention debt. Banana leaves are cut into strips and used by the Aeta for recording the products bought by the traders. One strip is equivalent to 100 pieces of bananas or one big can of taro. Each person, whether adult or child, is given a medium-sized Alaska can of rice. Then, the Aeta are treated by the traders for lunch. Promising the traders that they will be back the following Sunday with more produce, the Aeta then trek the rugged paths back to their mountain lairs.

The problem of ancestral domain, a continuing issue among these mountain dwellers, gave way to the problem of survival after the 1991 eruption. They have lost their mountain homeland to tons of volcanic debris and mudflows. It will take perhaps

another decade before land can be fertile again.

While social scientists and government people agree that the cultural heritage of the Aeta may be lost forever if they are not given the opportunity to resume their normal ways, the reality is that they are now scattered in various resettlement sites outside Pinatubo which are, according to the Aeta themselves, hostile or unfavorable to their lifestyle.

These resettlement sites have insufficient if not inappropriate land for tilling. Only two out of the nine resettlement sites being prepared by the government are suitable for Aeta resettlement—Dampay in Zambales and Dueg in Pampanga. And until they are able to plant and harvest their own crops, they are forced to rely on relief goods from government and private sources. But relief goods have been dwindling since the last months of 1991. When the relief supplies finally stop, the Aeta have very few options. They may return to their home villages in the volcanic area where they face chronic starvation, or they may look for measly jobs in nearby towns or villages, and face the discrimination of lowlanders. Either of these options may lead to the ethnic extinction of the Pinatubo Aeta (Shimizu 1992). In September 1992, the situation for both Aeta and non-Aeta worsened when continuous heavy rains sent a vast sea of lahar rumbling over a large area, causing some deaths and again uprooting many people.

Political System

The Pinatubo Aeta do not have a well-developed form of political organization because communities are linked together by traditional customs and beliefs, and led informally by the elders of the community. This factor has been the main impediment in any attempt by outside forces, like the government, to control and educate these people. The leadership is not strong since each village or extended family is an independent communal group. Important decisions are made by the elder members of each family group (Barrato and Benaning 1978:31-33).

Another task of the elders is to settle feuds and resolve long-standing conflicts, but their justice system is not repressive or coercive. Elders hold sessions in which decisions regarding disputes are made, but the objective of such “hearings” is to understand why certain things occurred or why certain acts were committed. There is a general atmosphere of honesty in the proceedings, with denials and reservations kept to a minimum. Similarly, abuse of power or graft is unknown. There is no law making or law enforcing, and little formal exercise of authority. The individual is free to disregard the advice of the elders. However, since peace and order is based on tradition, it is almost certain that an Aeta will abide by the elders’ decisions in order to maintain good human relationships (Garvan 1964:153-157).

In contemporary society, the Pinatubo Aeta have been absorbed into the political system of the mainstream Filipino. They now elect their own barangay captain who acts as the official of the local government.

Social Organization and Customs

Traditionally, the Pinatubo Aeta live a communal life. The spirit of cooperation in both social and economic activities is very evident. Cooking and eating together, and using the same utensils, are common.

Children learn and socialize through imitation. At play, they imitate hunting and fishing, using toy bows made from bamboo. These provide perfect training for adult responsibilities. Boys learn to make bows and arrows by observing their fathers, while girls mimic the work activities of their mothers by playing with small pack baskets (Fox 1952:273).

As for rites of passage, it has been reported that in southeastern Zambales, scarification may be done if a young man wants to get married. And as soon as the girl has had her first menstruation, she is isolated, and can expect to be courted and wed.

Marriage and *bandi* (bride-price) transactions are important social affairs. A young man who has chosen his bride informs his parents. Both families, along with a mediator, then discuss the arrangement. If the marriage proposal is acceptable, the young man's family presents gifts of tobacco, corn, knives, cloth, and other commodities to the girl's family. An unmarried daughter is an asset to the Aeta family. Once the gifts are sufficient, the wedding is set.

Often, after the bandi is paid, the man is allowed to stay with the girl's family. If the girl is still too young and refuses to sleep with the man, no sexual contact ensues but the young man continues to render service to the in-laws. When the couple begins living together, the family grouping recognizes them as husband and wife and the marriage is sealed.

Arranged marriages are contracted by parents in childhood or even in the fetal stage. The bandi is arranged, and the marriage takes place when the children become adolescents.

Children are highly valued among the Pinatubo Aeta, and the pregnant woman enjoys a privileged position. For instance, her share in the hunters' catch is doubled. To prevent a difficult childbirth, the couple should not make nor step on cordage or tie knots. As for childbirth, the pains are usually not severe and a healthy mother can resume work a few hours later.

Generally, the Pinatubo Aeta practice monogamy, but some men become polygamous, if they can accumulate sufficient bandi. Marriage between cousins is common, and first cousins can be married after performing a simple ritual to "separate the blood." Divorce is practiced by the Aeta. If the woman is the erring party, the bandi is returned. If it is the man's fault, divorce is accomplished by mere physical separation

and forfeiture of the bride-price (Fox 1952).

Sickness may be described as a social event because the sick person endures and suffers with the family. A person is advised to rest when unable to work. If the person's condition worsens, herbal treatment is administered. If these measures fail, a manganito or spirit medium is asked to perform the curing ritual or the manganito seance. Friends and relatives participate, reorganizing and reconstructing the person's past experiences or *istorya* in a bid to find out the cause of the sickness.

When someone dies, the body is dressed in the best clothes or wrapped in a blanket for mourning. A glass of water and a plate are placed near the head of the corpse. Close relatives keep vigil, while children sing lowland Tagalog or Ilocano songs. The body is placed inside a coffin of wooden boards or bamboo splits, together with some personal belongings.

In previous times, the dead were buried anywhere, a practice still true for remote Aeta groups. Those living near lowland settlements bury their dead in a nearby *sementeri*o or graveyard. Before leaving the grave, an old person strikes a match, throws it on the grave and addresses the dead's soul, "Agkayna mag-orong" (Don't come back).

On the way home, some bathe or wash their faces, hands, and feet to "remove the pollution of death." In front of the house where the wake is held, the members of the bereaved family must make a fire and step over it before entering the house. The mourning period lasts for nine nights; a *pamisa* or banquet is held in the morning of the ninth day when a pig is killed and served to guests.

The tribe fears burial sites because *kamana* or malicious spirits might be there roaming in search of victims. It is customary to abandon a place where death has occurred.**Religious Beliefs and Practices**

The Pinatubo Aeta believe in a most powerful spirit, Namalyadi or Namalyari, who rules over all other deities. Fondly called Apo Namalyari, he is believed to reside in Mount Pinatubo. Some Aeta believe that Namalyari, angered by the diggings of the Philippine National Oil Corporation, caused Pinatubo to erupt.

Social scientists consider the Pinatubo Aeta animists since they also believe in environmental spirits which are categorized into *anito* (good spirits) and *kamana*. Anito inhabit the forests, tree trunks, bamboo, stream, and caves. While they are benevolent, they may become angry at an erring human and cause sickness or misfortune. In such a situation, a compensatory langgad or gift should be made. To avoid the anger of an anito, the Aeta start an activity (like clearing a field or cutting a tree) by offering gifts of tobacco, food, red cloth, and others to an anito. This belief in environmental spirits is one reason the Aeta revere nature and are in close harmony with it.

They believe in the *kaelwa* or *kalola* (soul) as a separate entity dwelling in the body. The soul may leave the body temporarily as in dreaming, or permanently as in death. They have no detailed idea of the world after death. Some believe that souls go up to the sky while others say they go to Mount Pinatubo's summit, another reason they hold the mountain sacred.

Architecture and Community Planning

An Aeta village usually consists of two or more family groups. A family group consists of two or more families numbering from 10 to 25 people, who stay in the same camp while hunting and fishing, but may live in the same dwelling.

Their houses are very simple, its basic purpose being to provide protection from nature's extremes. The materials are branches of trees, bamboo, leaves, and trunks of wild bananas, and cogon. Permanent houses do not really satisfy the requirements of the Aeta since they stay in a place for only about a year. There are generally three types of houses: the lean-to, stilt house, and tentlike shelter.

The lean-to, called *hawong*, has no living platform and is usually constructed in the fashion of a "pup-tent," a single ridgepole supported by forked limbs forming two sloping sides with one or both ends open.

The common structure called *tinangub* has a peaked roof but is walled vertically on only three sides. The fourth side is formed by one side of the roof sloping to the ground. There is a low sleeping platform built within half of the floor area formed by the vertical walls. The fire hearth is placed on the ground under the long sloping roof.

One unique house built by Pinatubo Aeta is the boxlike *dalupan.* It has a peculiar appearance since the structure has no eaves and is walled only on three sides.

The *damada* and the pala-pala are two nonliving structures. The damada is a four-posted shed with a single-sloping roof used to house the bamboo forge. The pala-pala is a larger, flat-roofed shed used for ceremonies as well as trellis for climbing vines.

The Pinatubo Aeta have adopted building structures from the Sambal. Once adopted, the dwellings acquire Aeta characteristics, like shorter house posts and living platforms built closer to the ground, making ladders unnecessary. One example of an adopted Sambal structure is the *kinataw* or *binubong,* a better-built dwelling which has small, sloping roofs at the ends. The main roof beam is shorter than the total floor length, making the small roofs at the ends necessary. The balangkas, the *kinamadin,* the *kinamalig,* and the *timpo* are four types of dwellings whose main roof beams equal the floor length which has four vertical walls. The timpo is different in the sense that the rafters on both slopes of the roof are made from continuous lengths of bamboo which are bent at the peak of the roof to form the rafters for both slopes (Fox 1952).

The Zambales and Pampanga Aeta developed the house on stilts when they became *kaingeros* or swidden farmers. They build homes like the lowlanders, with structures raised above the ground on wooden posts with thatched roof and walls. There are different variations of this house.

Aeta villages now are no different from lowland communities. Resettlement areas provided by the government to the Aeta are examples. Even before the Pinatubo disaster, changes influenced by non-Aeta neighbors on their community life were taking shape.

Visual Arts and Crafts

Household utensils are usually made from coconut shells and bamboo. Basketry of bamboo or rattan is a common home industry. Some types of Aeta baskets are made with simple one-over-one-under checker weave. The *talin-talin* and other more attractive ones are made with a diagonal two-under, two-over plait.

Examples of baskets and their uses are the following: *lubon*, a round and deep basket with square corner at the bottom, carried by means of a head strap across the forehead; *sakopit*, a pack-basket carried by means of shoulder straps; talin-talin, a small bowl shaped, all-purpose basket; and *kampipi*, large, square, boxlike basket with a slip-over cover where personal belongings are stored.

The Pinatubo Aeta obtained mats from the Sambal, and learned how to weave *amak* or sleeping mats from the Negrito school in Villar village.

Traditionally, the Pinatubo Aeta wear scant clothing made from the beaten barks of trees. Loincloth for the males and wraparounds for females were the traditional attire. However, regular contacts with lowlanders exposed them to modern clothing materials and contemporary clothes which they sometimes exchange for their forest products.

Men usually have bows and arrows whenever they go outside their villages. They have two kinds, for shooting birds and for self-defense. More than 20 varieties of arrowheads exist with different names and purposes. These are made of iron nails from lowlanders. Arrows used for shooting birds are made of bamboo.

The Pinatubo Aeta are fond of ornaments. They usually adorn themselves during festivities, rituals and ceremonies or to pay respects to a distinguished visitor. Traditionally, men adorn themselves more than women through chipping of the teeth, scarification, bamboo combs, arm and leg bands, and neckbands. This may be due to the practice of polygyny and the idea that women's role is in work.

The most attractive ornament of the men is the *bagudi* or neck band, which is wrapped loosely two or three times. The basic material is light-colored rattan, bright green grass,

and black bark woven together in a checkered design.

Tayad or chipped teeth done with a bolo or knife are considered a mark of beauty and maturity. It may be performed on young boys as soon as permanent teeth emerge. Either the upper or lower six front teeth, or both sets, are chipped.

Scars are not only considered beauty marks but are believed to prevent sickness. Two types of scarification are done on the men and occasionally on the women: the *hibit* and the *hubut.* In the hibit, small cuts are made on the skin of the chest with a sharp sliver of bamboo, after which the leaves of a tree are rubbed on the fine cuts to produce scars which form a diagonal pattern. The hubut is done in the same way but on the back, breasts, and upper arms of the women.

The most common type of scarification is the *tuktuk,* in which the flesh is burned with a small piece of tinder placed on the skin and ignited. The burning is intensified, and then the wound allowed to heal until a keloid is formed. Scars are round and confined at the upper arms.

Both males and females wear necklaces and beads of seeds and animal bones. The *bagerey*, a neckband made of rattan and grass, is commonly used by males.

A unique kind of kneelet is also used by the males. Bristles of wild boar are attached to a piece of rattan in such a way as to form a close fringe, standing out from the outer surface of the rattan. This is wound around the leg, forming a circlet of black glossy bristles which stand out perpendicular to the leg. Sometimes only wild boar's skin with bristles is placed under the knee.

The women use bamboo combs stuck into the hair on top of the head in a horizontal fashion, so that the attached feathers wave gaily along with their movements.

Literary Arts

Myths, folktales, and folk narratives preserved by oral tradition are among the known types of literature of the Pinatubo Aeta.

Here is one folktale: In the beginning, the people did not plant. They hunted irregularly to supplement the limited forest products. Their leader became angry for they were eating even while hunting. He sought an audience with Namalyadi, the most powerful spirit. He asked Namalyadi to change the products of the forest so that the people would learn how to work. Namalyadi granted his wish and changed the forest products. But the people did not believe that the plants had been changed until many, including children, died of food poisoning. Only then did the people understand that most of the forest products had become poisonous. They then learned how to prepare and eat the plants properly. Thereafter, the people became hardworking and good-natured.

Many of the stories and narratives concern spirits who either own or live in plants. One story is about a pitcher plant considered dangerous, and concerns a couple during the time of the "first people." Unknowingly, the couple chose a bad spot for their dwelling since they did not know that it was near the pitcher plant, said to be the property of Binangunan, the god of danger, sickness, and death. At night, the couple heard the sound of a fly, then a loud hiss, and they saw Binangunan who looked like a horse with fire on its back. He drank from the pitcher plant. The couple decided to leave, but Binangunan trailed and killed them by pulling their nails and sucking their blood (Fox 1952).

Another folktale narrates how the Aeta of Kaugan lost the villages of Santa Marta and Abucay to lowlanders. The latter took advantage of the ignorance of the Aeta, who exchanged a piece of land for one bundle of tobacco leaves, one bolo, a rice plant, and a blanket. Such unequal deals are blamed for the poverty of the Aeta today (Shimizu 1989).**Performing Arts**

Music is an integral part of Aeta cultural life, and rituals and ceremonies are incomplete without this art form. The native musical instruments that are played for entertainment are the *tabengbeng,* a two-string bamboo zither; the *kulibaw*, a jew's harp made from bamboo; a five-string guitar carved from solid wood; and the *bulongodyong,* a bamboo flute. The Baluga in Pampanga also have their own version of the Philippine guitar, called *gitaha* (See logo of this article).

The *talipe* is a dancing style used during the manganito seance. A space is cleared in the center of a house, and the patient placed in front of friends and relatives. When the guitar is played, the medium, who may be a woman, begins to dance around the clearing. The belief is that dancing facilitates contact with helpful spirits who capture the spirit causing the sickness. In the process, the dancer shakes spasmodically and drops to the floor, signaling her possession by the spirit causing the illness. Then in a trance, the woman rises again to resume erratic dancing (Fox 1952:317).

The *anituan,* performed by the Aeta residing in Nabuklod, Floridablanca is a perfect example of an Aeta drama with music from the gitaha. It is a kind of group healing and performance, in which sick people sit in a row on the ground, heads and shoulders covered by a long red cloth representing their ailment. The *anito* (priests) dance to the rhythm of the gitaha, scaring the disease away with a bolo. Or they may try persuasion by offering food or bead necklaces to the culprit spirit. As the dance ends, the red cloth is pulled away from the sick persons, signifying the banishment of the malignant or mischievous spirits causing the disease. If the sick do not get well after the elaborate ritual, then the likely conclusion is that they deserve their illness.

The *pinapanilan* is a reenactment of bee hunting. The term comes from the word *panilan* which is an Aeta song consisting of five notes (Romualdez 1973:34). In the frenetic dance, a hunter watches for signs of the swarms, follows and finds the hive, prepares the smoking torch, climbs the tree, and is attacked by the bees some of which go inside his loincloth. Finally, he retrieves the hive and delights in the taste

of honey (Fox 1952:291). A variation of this dance is the *talek nin Manguan nin pulot panilan* among the Baluga, in which two men seek and find a beehive. While one is gathering honey, the other one drives away the bees (Orosa-Goquinco 1980).

The dances of the Baluga display liveliness and a variety of steps not found in other Philippine dances. The *sekuting* is a mock duel dance performed by two pairs of men with sticks. The *binabayani* documented among the Baluga of Floridablanca is a war dance with a different twist: An Aeta warrior kidnaps a woman working in the fields. The family members hunt and catch the abductor. To appease the family and the victim, the perpetrator needs to pay with bolo, fabrics, and other objects.

Mimetic dances which imitate movements of animals and fowls encountered in the forest are called *talek*. The *talek barak* (monitor lizard or *bayawak*) imitates two lizards slithering over bamboo poles, trellises and fences, skillfully clinging to trees, rocks and finally resting after a day's hunt for food. *Talek baku* (monkey) is a humorous dance imitating the monkey's movements. *Talek nin manok bale* is a courtship dance of a chicken and a rooster. Other forms of *talek* are *talek puyo* (quail), *talek paro* (shrimp), *talek bibi* (duck), *talek lango* (fly), and *talek tarektek* or *paterekterek* (woodpecker). Accompaniment is provided by dronelike music from the gitaha, or simply by banging on a can, a bamboo, or by striking stones together.

The *talek* magcalap kamote is a dance which imitates the task of digging sweet potato, performed by two women and a man. The women throw the tubers into the bag on the man's back (Orosa-Goquinco 1980). Other mimetic dances include the *manghas pale* (planting rice), and *mangiik pale* (threshing palay). • R. Matilac and R. Obusan / Reviewed by S.G. Padilla Jr.

References

Album de Tipos Filipinos, Luzon Norte. A.B. Meyer and A. Schadenberg, 1891.

Barrato, Calixto L. and Marvyn N. Benaning. ***Pinatubo Negritos***. Field Report Series No. 5, Philippine Center for Advanced Studies Museum. Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1978.

Barrows, David. "The Negrito and Allied Types in the Philippines." ***American Anthropologist***. Vol. XII, No. 3 (July –September 1910), 358-376.

Bean, Robert. "Types of Negritos in the Philippine Islands." ***American Anthropologist***. Vol. XII, No. 3 (April-June 1910), 220-236.

Beyer, Henry O. ***Population of the Philippine Islands in 1916***. Manila: Philippine Education Company, Inc., 1918.

The Non-Christian Peoples of the Philippines. Manila: Bureau of Printing,1921.

Beyer, Henry O. and Jaime C. de Veyra. ***Philippine Saga: A Pictorial History of the Archipelago Since Time Began***. Manila: Capitol Publishing House, 1952.

Blumentritt, Ferdinand. "Philippine Tribes and Languages." In ***Philippine Progress Prior to 1898***. Edited by Austin Craig and Conrado Benitez, Vol. I. Manila: Philippine Education Company, Inc., 1916.

An Attempt at Writing a Philippine Ethnography. TranslatedBy Marcelino N. Maceda. Marawi City: MSU University Research Center, 1980.

Brosius, Peter J. "The Zambales Negritos: Swidden Agriculture and Environmental Change." ***Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society*** 11, 2 (1983), 123-148.

After Duwagan: Deforestation, Succession, and Adaptation in Upland Luzon, Philippines. Michigan Studies of South and Southeast Asia, Number 2, Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan,1990.

Empeño, Henry H. "Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism." ***Philippine Graphic***,12 November 1991.

Fox, Robert B. "The Pinatubo Negritos: Their Useful Plants and Material Culture." ***Philippine Journal of Science***. Vol LXXXI, Nos 3 and 4, (September-December 1952).

Garvan, John M. ***The Negritos of the Philippines***. Edited by Herman Hochegger. Vienna: Verlag, Ferdinand, Berger and Horn, 1964.

Lebar, Frank M. ***Ethnic Groups of Insular Southeast Asia, Volume 2: Philippines and Formosa***. New Haven: Human Relations Area Files Press. 1975.

Montano, Jose. "Voyage Aux Philippines." ***Le Tour Du Monde***. Edited by Edouard Charton Paris: Librairie Hachette Et Cie, 1884.

NCCP-PACT. ***Sandugo***. Manila: National Council of Churches in the Philippines, 1988.

Noval-Morales, Daisy Y. and James Monan. ***A Primer of the Negritos of the Philippines***. Manila: Philippine Business for Social Progress, 1979.

Obusan, Ramon, dir. ***Sayaw, A Video Documentary on Philippine Dance. Tuklas Sining Series***. Manila: Cultural Center of the Philippines, 1989.

Orosa-Goquingco, Leonor. ***The Dances of the Emerald Isles***. Quezon City: Ben-Lor Publishers, 1980.

Padilla Jr., Sabino G. "Zambales Ayta: The Fragile Transition of an Egalirarian Society." Manuscript. 1989. 14 pp.

Parker, Luther. "Report on Work Among the Negritos of Pampanga During the Period From April 5th to May 31st, 1908." ***Asian Studies II***, 1 (April 1964), 105-130.

Reed, William A. "The Negrito of the Philippines." ***Southern Workman*** 23 (1904), 273-279.

"Negritos of Zambales." In ***Philippine Islands Ethnological Survey Publications***. Vol. II. Manila:Bureau of Public Printing, 1904.

Regional Map of the Philippines. Manila: Edmundo R. Abigan Jr., 1988.

Romualdez, Norberto. ***Filipino Musical Instruments and Airs of Long Ago***. Lecture delivered at the Conservatory of Music, University of the Philippines, 1931. National Media Production Center,

Shimizu, Hiromu. ***Pinatubo Aytas: Continuity and Change***. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1989.

_____. ***After the Eruption—Pinatubo Aytas at the Crisis of their Survival***. Japan: Foundation for Human Rights in Asia, 1992.

Task Force Pinatubo Data, 1991.

Trinidad, Ariel, fieldworker of Ethnic Studies and Development Center (ESDEC). Interview. Manila, July 1992. Tape recording.

Worcester, Dean C. ***The Philippine Islands and Their People: A Record of Personal Observation and Experience With a Short Summary of the More Important Facts in the History of the Archipelago***. New York: Macmillan, 1898.

Yap, Fe A. ***A Comparative Study of Philippine Lexicons***. Manila: Institute of National Language, 1977.