

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE TAGBANUAS AND  
OTHER TRIBES OF THE ISLAND OF  
PALAWAN, PHILIPPINES

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TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL SPANISH MANUSCRIPT BY

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The island of Palawan (native and present name) or Paragua (Spanish) is the western and southwesternmost and one of the largest of the Philippine archipelago, extending northeast and southwest between lat.  $8^{\circ} 22' N.$  and  $11^{\circ} 25' N.$  and east and west between lon.  $117^{\circ} 9' E.$  and  $119^{\circ} 43' E.$  The island is 278 miles long and from  $4\frac{1}{2}$  to 17 miles in width, with an area of 4,726 square miles, lacking 200 square miles of the area of the State of Connecticut. A system of mountains begins at Caluit with a summit 2,230 ft. high in the extreme north and follows the trend of the coast, reaching an elevation of 6,843 ft. at Mantalingahan peak in the south, and maintaining an average from 2,500 to 3,000 ft. throughout.

The rivers of the island are fed by the mountains and turned by their respective slopes east and west, being only eight or ten miles in length. Though unimportant from a hydrographical point of view, they are of great value as a means of communication between the two coasts. Should advantage not be taken of the river courses as a natural route of travel, a long and hazardous voyage would be necessary in frail boats in constant danger from heavy gales during the two monsoons. The fertile soil gives little evidence of the great riches of the island both agricultural and forestal, for its resources have not been developed. The slight amount of wood cut, notwithstanding the various concessions granted in this locality, and the annual harvests of rice are but slight indications of the undeveloped riches of the land. The harvests of rice, though of a most excellent quality, are scarcely sufficient to satisfy the most urgent necessities of the poor and miserable inhabitants, who in the majority of cases nourish themselves with various tubers found in the woods, or planted by the natives.

In November, 1904, the Insular Government established in the barrio of Iwahig (now Iualit settlement), in the Bay of Puerto Princesa, a penal colony consisting of a superintendent, one assistant and more than 300 prisoners. They began to clear off and develop the soil, to plant rice, corn, and vegetables and notwithstanding the short space of time since the establishment of the colony it can be said that progress has already been made; for even now they are beginning to avail themselves of the products, especially the vegetables.

Apart from the Christian population in the northern part of the island and not exceeding 8,497 souls, and the Mohammedans more or less numerous, who dwell along the coasts of the southern part, the aborigines may be classified into five groups. They are the following :















TAGBANUAS APURAHUANOS

This tribe is probably the most numerous in the island, occupying almost the entire central part, including the eastern and western coasts. The principal rancherias on the eastern coast are Iwahig, Ira-an, Aborlan, and Tigman; on the western coast, Virong, Apurahuan, Apitpitan, and Napsahan in the south. Their dialect differs from that of the semicivilized Tagbanuas and the Christians of the north.

Of the five tribes occupying the southern part of the island and a small portion of the north, the Apurahuanos who live in the rancherias enumerated above are the only ones meriting any special mention. They are mild, gentle, and courteous in their trading. Besides, they are the only ones who know and use a peculiar writing similar to that formerly employed by the Tagalos of Luzon. In order to form an exact idea of the construction of these letters or characters which the Tagbanuas Apurahuanos (the same as Inagahuanos) use in their writing, there are placed in succession the signs composing the alphabet.










ʒ	o	ɔ	v	ɛ	x	ʒ	ɔ
a.	ba.	da.	v.	ga.	ka.	la.	ma
ʒ	ɔ	ɔ	v	v	ɛ	ɔ	ʒ
na.	nja.	o.	pa.	sa.	ta.	wa.	ya.

The true position of this alphabet as far as I have been able to observe in the various writings of this tribe is as follows:

						
a,	e ó i,	o,	da,	ba,	ka,	ma
						
na,	ya,	ta,	la,	pa,	ya,	sa, nja ua.

The first three corresponding to "a," "eói," and "o" and the last letter "ua," are vowels and do not admit of any variation in their denomination; while the remaining fourteen composed of semi-vowels and consonants, form different sounds, according to the triangular-shaped mark placed either above or below the character and which is an essential part of each of these characters. The rules of orthography of this writing demand this in order to express in a clear manner when the character should be read "bi, la, ba," or when it should be "bo," for the characters are words and not a real alphabet. The use of the triangular mark is indispensable. Without it, it would be impossible to form entire phrases and complete words easily understood. For the better comprehension of the reader we will illustrate with a simple example.

As has been seen above, the natural denominations of these letters composed of consonants and semi-vowels are: "ba-ba" to express our "b"; "da-da" to express our "d." However if the triangular mark is placed above these characters it then will be "bi, di"; if it is placed below, the sound then becomes "bo, do."

						
di	do	bi	ba	bo	ta	la
						
		ye	na			

The Tagbanua alphabet lacks the letters c, f, i, g, ll, q, r, v, x, z, of the Spanish alphabet and for this reason the sound of the word

is not only harsh but even appears to cause confusion among the Tagbanuas themselves who speak this dialect, as will be observed in the following example:

$\bar{r}$   $\bar{y}$  |  $\bar{o}$   $\bar{t}$   $\bar{v}$  |  $\bar{r}$   $\bar{y}$  |  
 Si-yo-Go-bi-na-do de la  
 Senor Gobernador de la  
  
 $\bar{r}$   $\bar{o}$   $\bar{r}$   $\bar{y}$  |  $\bar{r}$   $\bar{y}$   $\bar{r}$   $\bar{h}$  |  
 Po-bi-si-ya de Pa-la-wa  
 Provincia de Palawan  
  
 $\bar{x}$   $\bar{y}$  |  $\bar{x}$   $\bar{o}$   $\bar{r}$   $\bar{y}$  |  $\bar{r}$   $\bar{y}$   $\bar{r}$   
 en-ya Ca-bi-si la e Po-i  
 cuya Cabeera es Puex-  
  
 $\bar{r}$   $\bar{y}$   $\bar{r}$   $\bar{y}$  |  $\bar{r}$   $\bar{y}$   $\bar{r}$  |  
 to Si-li-si-sa, si to  
 to-Princesa Centro  
  
 $\bar{r}$   $\bar{y}$  |  $\bar{r}$   $\bar{y}$  ||  
 de la I la  
 de la Isla.

We see from the above example that the letter "i" very frequently is substituted for "r." In my opinion it is very necessary to know the language of this tribe in order to understand the alphabet. We need not give further illustrations, for these are sufficient. We will now speak of the manners and customs of the people.

The continual contact of this tribe with the Moros of the south during a period of many years has caused them to clothe themselves in a manner similar to the Moros. The women, however, do not wear the trousers as the Moro women do, but they wear the patadiong of the Christians of the north of the island.

The arms, generally, are the blow-gun and arrow, in the use of which those who live in the interior are very skilled. Those who live along the coast use "armas blancas" such as the "badon" or Moro kris and the spear, and there are some who use a musket of very old pattern. With these arms they defended themselves against the attacks of the Moro pirates from Jolo and Mindanao as well as from the Moros of southern Palawan. These attacks occurred very frequently during the years when Moro piracy reigned in nearly every part of the Philippine Archipelago and hostile incursions did not cease until the year 1876 when, thanks to the efficient forces of General Malcampo (of grateful memory) then the Spanish Governor of the Philippines, Jolo was taken.

The character of this tribe is very peaceful in its dealings and very hospitable. There is never war among them, neither does one rancheria rise against another. All dissensions among themselves are settled by the maguegares (nobles) or old men who exercise authority and who form a kind of council in which they hear and judge all the cases submitted to them. Of the order of hierarchy of these maguerares we will speak later.

When they receive into their home any stranger of distinction, especially one in authority, they endeavor to please him in every possible way. The young women are resplendent in their best attire, especially the wives of the chief, who usually has two, polygamy being permitted. The rich men of the tribe, those in authority, and the head men of the rancherias, always hold in reserve certain objects such as cups, plates, glasses, bowls, which they carefully guard, using them only on occasions when strangers of some pretence may present themselves. When visitors are entertained, on the table of the aristocrat is boiled rice placed upon a large metal dish, yellow in color and known as *jalam*, surrounding this are the bowls known as *barong*, containing meat, salt, and various foods prepared according to the mode of the country. A large metal basin holding water, and which at times serves as a finger bowl, is placed upon the table and into it is dipped the glass with which to take the water. Each large plate or *jalam* prepared in the way described is for the use of one person only, thus obliging each noble or maguegar to provide himself with a number of *jalams* and large metal cups. These objects are of great value to the owners and are bought from the Moros at a price more or less dear, giving in exchange for them *almaciga*, wax, and *bejuco* which they gather from the mountains. There are no dining tables, but the guests sit upon the floor. Be-

cause of a feeling of embarrassment or shame neither the host nor any member of his family will dine with the visitors, except on rare occasions when it has happened that the visit has been repeated.

The dinner being finished, the guests rise and each betakes himself to whatever part of the house pleases him. Immediately the hostess who during the time the guests were eating was preparing the betel, presents herself to each one with the salapa in hand containing buyo, lime, and tobacco, and invites them to partake—which invitation is received with much pleasure. This being done they begin to jest with one another, some reclining, others seated, thus at times passing an entire day in friendly intercourse.

#### CIVIL HIERARCHY OF THE TAGBANUAS OF APURAHUAN AND INAGAHUAN

Masicampo, chief of all the rancherias.

Panlima, local chief of a rancheria.

Maradia, noble and member of the council.

Orangcaya, noble and member of the council.

Satia, noble and member of the council.

Pangara, noble and member of the council.

Moladi, noble and member of the council.

Lacsama, a kind of administrator in whose house the nobles and plebeians of the tribe meet whenever they have important matters to consider.

Paracasa, a kind of constable or agent whose duty is to make known the orders of the chief of the tribe. The command in which it is necessary to unite for business or council is known as Suriguiden.

All the offices mentioned above are hereditary in the same family. In case of the incapacity of the presumptive heir the office passes to another person either of the same family or not, usually, however, one of the brothers succeeds the incapable heir, thus keeping the privileges of office always in the same family.

#### GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

The government of the tribe rests in the hands of the superior chief, or masicampo, and the nobles who constitute a Supreme Court. Each rancheria, however, is governed by its chief, or panlima, who together with the men of authority of the rancheria hear in the first instance the cases of little moment which occur within their jurisdiction. The decision of the chief is usually respected; although there



have been cases in which the litigants, not satisfied with the sentence pronounced by their chief, appealed to the supreme tribunal at which presides the *masicampo* and from which there is no appeal. This chief and the nobles possess certain life privileges. They are not ostentatious and do not have the manner of the wise and high dignitaries of the Moros, whom it is not possible to approach and to whom it is not allowed to speak without kneeling, bowing the head, and kissing the feet scarcely daring to face the interlocutor. On the contrary the *masicampo*, when he has to decide a question, speaks gently to the defendant and complainant, commands them to be seated before him and the nobles who compose the court, listens attentively to the complaints of each one and after due consideration of the question, pronounces sentence in conformity with the nobles, the old men, and the plebeian class who are present.

The litigants receive the judgment with great humility and mildness worthy of their character.

The punishment, or penalty generally imposed upon the guilty, consists of fines and reimbursement known as *bandi* towards the injured party. This payment is made by giving to him a certain number of large plates of metal, known as *talam*, various kinds of musical instruments, all of metal, and some earthen jars of different shapes and sizes, the value of which is in proportion to the size. All these objects are admissible by the court in order to cover the fines of the accused.

Corporal punishment rarely takes place. This occurs only when the nature of the crime is such as not to admit of any other less mild and lenient. The chief of the tribes and those who are a part of the court endeavor as far as possible to lessen the criminal liability of the delinquent in order that as light a punishment as possible may be imposed upon him. If at times during the session of this court there be present in the *rancheria* a stranger of some importance the chief will invite him to take part in the council, giving him the power of speech and a vote and not infrequently will consult his opinion.

#### CRIMES AND PUNISHMENT

In this tribe are recognized only three classes of crime:

1. Incestuous marriage or union.
2. Murder.
3. Robbery.

The incestuous union of father and daughter, of son and mother, of brother and sister, and of first cousins is the most serious of all

crimes and because of the general indignation of the tribe merits the severest punishment. Those guilty of incest are confined in a cage made of thorny reeds. To them is given a scant portion of food for a limited time. They are then taken to the sea, a discourse is given to the people who have gathered there, exhorting them to be particularly careful not to imitate so detestable and scandalous a crime as that perpetrated by these who in payment for their perversity are about to be cast into the depths of the sea from which they will never again return. The guilty are then hurled forth into the sea.

The crime of murder is punished with a fine or reimbursement not exceeding 500 bandi, the equivalent of 50 pesos. This fine is paid to the family of the deceased. If the murderer should not have sufficient means to pay the full amount of the fine, the family and relatives of the deceased have the right to avenge themselves upon the murderer or any of his relatives. This, however, very rarely occurs, for the relatives of the rancheria from which the murderer comes, in order to avoid so lamentable consequences in their home, contribute according to the resources of each, the amount imposed by the tribunal. In this case the delinquent becomes free of peril; but he is under obligation to pay to each of his countrymen the amount of the fine which they religiously lent to him. Usually a rich man will pay the fine for him with the condition that should the bandi, or its equivalent which the noble has lent to him, not be returned within a specified time, then shall the murderer and his posterity (lineal descent) be declared slaves.

Civil debts are also treated in this manner when the time designated by the creditor has elapsed more than once and the debtor has found no means to pay the debt.

In the case of the crime of murder it is to be noted that in the very same act of the assault or fight, the right of vengeance on the part of the relatives of the deceased is legal as long as the act has not been made known to some chief or maguerar and as long as the delinquent has not sought the protection of the authority. When once this is made public and has become a matter of the council, the right to revenge themselves by force perishes.

Regarding the crime of theft or robbery it is scarcely considered as such, but is held in the light of a minor offence. There exists among them no greater penalty than the restitution of the objects stolen, the author of the crime being called a thief and a person of bad conduct. Should he, however, repeat this fault twice or more



then he shall be punished. Besides restoring the stolen effects to their true owner, he will suffer a heavy fine and even the lash. There always exists the danger that should the thief be surprised in the very act itself by the owner of the objects taken, then will the owner have the legal right to kill the thief, providing always that the person robbed can justify himself with proof of the imputed deed.

Another crime which is considered as a minor offence is adultery. Among us and according to the new law, adultery is a libelous offence, but among the people of this tribe this crime merits no such qualification, since the only punishment is a fine payable by the adulterer, and the restitution of double the quantity of "bandi" which the husband was obliged to pay at his marriage.

This is the case if the woman was very young when she married; but if it be her second marriage then the adulterer need only repay the sum given as the price of her marriage and in addition pay a fine which is determined by the council. In case of inability to pay then shall the woman be restored to the power of the legitimate husband, the abductor or adulterer suffering a light punishment which always is a fine (bandi). The amount imposed by the council and wronged husband being satisfactory, the new mates depart to some other place to spend their honeymoon, leaving the husband dispossessed but with his gains and bandi. If the divorced pair have any property acquired during their married life the tribunal or council decides that the same be divided into equal shares, each one taking his own. The children born of this marriage not only have the right in the participation of the property, but have the liberty to visit their parents at any time and to remain in the power of either one as though nothing scandalous had happened. If the guilty woman is easily moved by love and should desire her true husband and show earnest longing to return to him and he be willing to receive her, the matter can easily be arranged before the council of the tribe without any further procedure than the payment of the regular fine (bandi) and the restitution of the amount of bandi which the second husband had to pay. The result is that a woman may marry a number of men without any loss to her honor, though there are not lacking women who are faithful to their husbands even unto death.

This tribe recognizes a superior being known as Diwata or Mangindusa who is the creator of earth and of men. His dwelling is in the heavens known as Basadcatdibuat. There are two secondary

gods named Angogro and Jaliaqued. The former dwells with Mangindusa the latter occupies "Basadcatyba" the lower heaven. Angogro receives the souls of those who in life did works of charity and meritorious deeds and who had abstained from committing enormous sins and detestable vices. These are placed in a magnificent abode where there are beautiful houses for them and where they hear naught but happy and melodious music. On the contrary Jaliaqued receives the souls of those who having led on this earth a life full of vices and evil deeds too numerous to mention die in mortal sin.

Among the Tagbanuas exists the belief that their god has reserved in Basadcatdibuat picturesque houses surrounded by beautiful gardens and fields prepared for the saints, who have the privilege of ascending and descending to the earth in order to cure the infirmities of their people and to remedy their adversities. For this reason whenever the babailan, the minister or representative on earth of Diwata, is called upon to cure some sickness or to implore the aid of Mangindusa to remedy the afflictions of the tribe such as epidemics, contagious diseases, famine, etc., he never fails to invoke the spirits of the dead who in life had been relatives of the sick. In his supplication he calls upon them by the names by which they had been known while on earth. Usually the babailan is the minister of Diwata Mangindusa and the practitioner of the tribe. The god Diwata is represented by a small bird known as saguay-saguay and which sings a very melodious song known as darait. For this reason, before commencing any work, be it a journey, a healing, a wedding, etc., they invoke the protection of Diwata by means of the small bird saguay-saguay; if, in the act of the invocation, the bird sings it is a sign that Diwata does not approve; in such case the undertaking will be discontinued until another day. If, on the contrary, the bird will not sing, the god then signifies his assent and approbation, thus permitting the undertaking to be carried into effect. When they depart from their houses they observe the same ceremony. If, while putting their feet on the earth the saguay-saguay sings or some one within the houses sneezes, they will return to the house and there remain a few minutes; after a little while, not without imploring Diwata Mangindusa that he liberate them from any danger, they resume their journey. They consider the song of the bird or the sneeze of one of the companions of the house as an omen foretelling perils which await them on the way or at the end of their journey.

The singing of a small lizard called by the Tagbanuas tarectec, in

Cuyon secsec, and in Tagalo butiqui, is considered very sacred even more so than the sneezing of a person. When the tarectec is heard at the moment when some undertaking is begun such as a journey, a marriage, etc., all work ceases and nothing is done for some hours and even days.

#### FEASTS

This tribe celebrates certain feasts on the last three days of the last phase of the moon, or the 7th, 8th and 9th days of the new moon, and the 15th and 16th days of the full moon.

On these feast days any kind of work is allowable, save the tilling of the soil, or the planting of rice or any other plants necessary for the sustenance of life. There are other particular feasts celebrated by the rich, such as the chief of a rancheria and the masicampo, the chief of the tribe. These days are chosen as fancy dictates, always taking care not to select the days of special feasts. These feasts usually take place after the harvest of palay, especially if the yield has been abundant. Two or three months before the celebration of this feast, the family of the chief of the entertaining rancheria and the other rich families begin the preparation of the pangasi. Rice partly hulled is boiled and then allowed to cool on a petate of cane or woven bejuco. When it is thoroughly cooled it is taken up in the hands and mixed with a kind of yeast called tapay, which is made in the following manner:

Wild peppers, the leaf of the buyo, ginger, and the shoots of a certain species of bejuco known as wa-ag are placed proportionately in a mortar and beaten. When crushed this is taken out, put into a piece of linen cloth and squeezed. This liquid is the ferment and together with water is added to the flour made of rice, which had previously been made into a kind of wafer. Afterwards the whole mass is placed in large jars covered with banana leaves. It is allowed to ferment for a time and is not opened until the day of the feast. The longer it remains unopened, the stronger it becomes.

On the day previous to the feast, all the women of the rancheria hull the rice, prepare the dinner, and make the delicacies known as "amit." These tid-bits are made of powdered rice, or malagquit, kneaded with unripe plantanos or wild honey. In all this work none of the men take part unless some of them should have killed a wild boar. They quarter it but do not prepare the food. On the day of the feast the inhabitants of the rancheria and the guests from the neighboring rancherias abandon themselves to the eating of the foods prepared according to a prescribed mode until the setting of

the sun. At night numerous candles of wax and pitch known as saleng are lit, while some of the children of both sexes will make piles of firewood in the yard and light them in order that the sudden blaze may assist to illuminate the interior of the house which as a rule is without walls.

Now the hour of music has arrived. The instruments consist of a certain number of babandiles, sabarangs, and one or two drums of wood, one end of which is covered with monkey skin. This class of drum known as guimbal differs much from ours, its barrel being irregular in form and very long, at times measuring one vara and the covered end being larger than the open one.

When all is ready, every one joins in the dancing and drinking of pangasi, which ceremony is begun by the nobles of the tribe.

The dances are as follows:

The calipandang is danced by one or more women swaying with handkerchiefs in their hands and moving their feet very little. About the women the men dance very rapidly with their hands on their backs as though manacled and forming the figure 8. As may be supposed, they tire very quickly and as the wearied ones withdraw, substitutes take their places until the music ceases.

The guemba-guemba is danced by various women with handkerchiefs in their hands which they wave to the beat of the music. About them are an indeterminate number of men who with hands joined encircle the women as a net, going and coming to the time of the music and their songs.

The tarec is a dance executed by one woman or one man dancing very rapidly, even more rapidly than in the calipandang. This is of a religious character since it is the one danced by the babailan (either man or woman) the representative of Diwata Mangindusa prior to the beginning of a cure for whoever may be sick of the tribe. This dance is performed whenever they wish to give or implore the protection of Diwata in order to foretell to the inhabitants of the rancheria or tribe the terrible effects of an epidemic or other evils that may destroy the town.

If this dance is executed by a man it is not called tarec but quendar.

The dance tagbac is executed by a man with his hands ascending and descending alternately above his head to the beat of the noisy music.

The tambol is danced by a woman holding in her hands the dried leaves of the balasbas (a species of palm) which she moves to the sound of the music. Three or four men dance about the woman.

The sarumay is danced by one woman or one man according to the ability to perform this, the most rapid of all dances.

The tugatac and the taguepat are danced either by one woman or one man so slowly and softly that not even dancers themselves become over-heated.

In all the dances, the women always have the advantage; for the simple reason that they scarcely move their feet and hands; while the movements of the men, besides their hare-like leaps, are so rapid that to continue dancing for any length of time would make them breathless.

While drinking pangasi there is no distinction of position whatever. It is to be understood that this drink cannot be taken out of glasses or cocoanut vessels, but through four small tubes of cañabujo the size of a penholder or large lead pencil. These tubes are put into the jar and touch the interior cover which consists of spikes of palay that serve as a strainer.

After the tubes are withdrawn water is added to the contents of the jar. This operation is repeated as quickly as the water is drained off. Any tao of the tribe can lead the wife of the masicampo himself to the jar, sit with her and drink pangasi. During this ceremony which is usually done by a man and woman, their heads being covered by large handkerchiefs, the man has the privilege of kissing the woman and may be quite familiar. This is done according to a common and traditional custom. There is no jealousy evinced on the part of the husband unless the man should lead the woman to any part not within the house in which the feast is celebrated. Many times an invited noble will return to his house offended because his wife had not been taken by one of his friends to the side of the jar and there partaken of pangasi. Among the invited guests there are not wanting some, who in these diversions not possessing morality and courtesy, become drunk and commit barbarities, thus lacking the respect due to their equals and even the laws and customs of the tribe. When this occurs, the old men unite and sentence the transgressor with a punishment adequate to the circumstances. The guilty one is made a prisoner and is fastened to one of the posts of the house until he has recovered his reason and begged pardon for his crime. If this, however, is not merely a slight offence but takes upon itself the character of a serious crime, then the council on the day following the termination of the feast, will impose a heavy punishment, first securing the person of the transgressor in order that he may not escape.



There is another feast more general and solemn, which is celebrated annually, and known as *sagda*. This feast occurs in January or February on any day of the moon not otherwise observed.

The day previous to that of the feast, all the families of the tribe without distinction of rank, previously notified by the chief of the *rancheria* who usually is *babailan* or the minister of *Diwata* and who officiates in this ceremony, prepare their food, each person of both sexes in proportion to his ability preparing a small quantity of rice. When all things are ready, the chief of the *rancheria* or officiating *babailan* will give the order to begin the departure to the place designated in which to celebrate the feast. This usually takes place in some beautiful part of the beach where the feast is held annually. If this feast takes place upon the beach it is known as "*sagda*," if on the contrary it is celebrated in the woods or near the seed fields it is called *langbay*.

"*Langbay*" is similar to "*sagda*"; but its celebration occurs in April or May after the palay has been planted.

When the people have come to the chosen place, the minister of *Diwata* performs the religious ceremonies with great attention on the part of the people. He will begin by giving thanks to *Diwata Mangindusa* for having preserved their lives, giving unto them a good harvest (if this has been so) and freeing them from contagious infirmities during the year which has just ended; afterwards he will ask that during the year just commencing *Diwata Mangindusa* may continue to dispense equal favors and benefits, that this year shall produce an abundance of bees, that it may be a happy one for the tribe, and that there may be a good harvest of palay and little sickness. These religious ceremonies of the *Babailan* being ended, he will then make a small raft of *caña bujo* which is adorned with streamers of the leaves of *bori* or *balas bas*, a species of palm. In each of the four corners of the raft a candle of wax is placed and lighted. The raft is taken to the water and upon it is placed a chicken, *buyo*, tobacco, cigarettes, each of every kind of dainties prepared by the women, and last of all each person, regardless of sex, places upon the raft a small quantity of rice, the poor giving a *lapatan* or one fourth of a *chupa*, the nobles and rich a greater quantity.

The small raft being laden with these articles the *babailan* will invoke the sacred name of *Diwata Magindusa*, and will pronounce in their dialect the following words:

"*Turona balza at Diwata tabanen at idulong mo cay Mangindusa*

ya mga caranen, manoc, pagmama may buegas nga ipagbuis namen cania maya canimo ya manga saraquten may musang mararaet, matudo lamang ya cagayenan; at cat-taun nga buegayen cami et magayen nga tiempo et putiocan may magayen nga panguma et ipa-alaid ya mararaet nga saraquten," which translated means:

"Depart small raft to Diwata, bear to him the dainties, the buyo, and tobacco, the chicken and rice which we offer to him and may there go with them the sickness and evil, leaving only the good, that in this year he may give to us many bees, a good harvest of palay and that he may put away from us contagious diseases."

After the departure of the raft they drink pangasi, which is the favorite beverage of the tribe. An old man or the babailan officiating is the first one to break the covering of the drink, followed by the nobles and then the common people.

The feast as has been said, is of a religious character and very solemn. Neither the dance nor any other kind of play or diversion is permitted.

The second feast which they also celebrate with certain solemnity, the "Sangbay," takes place in the month of April or May, two or three weeks after the planting of palay, and which is known as "Tugda." If after the palay has been planted and the heavens deny its beneficiary rains for a time and there be sign of the lack of bees then the tribe gathers and determines upon a day on which the feast of "sangbay" shall take place. This being done, the women prepare the necessary things for the occasion. The day having arrived, they meet in a place designated by the babailan, which generally is a small woods near the rice fields. Hither are brought a pair of chickens with feet bound. Upon arrival the chickens are untied and the large joints cut in order to procure a flow of blood from the wounds. While this is being done the babailan recites the prayers. Presently a hut is constructed. This consists of four posts, the bottom being of woven cane. The structure is uncovered and unadorned. In this cobachito, or hut, the babailan deposits the offerings of the people, which are sweetmeats, buyo, bonga, lime, tobacco, rice, etc. After the ceremony the people return to their homes and enjoy the delicacies of the feast. There is permitted no kind of play or diversion save the drinking of pangasi, which continues through the whole night. I have had occasion to be present, many times, at these feasts having been previously invited by the chief and nobles of the tribe. I could not excuse myself, for to them it is an honor to be able to invite a stranger of some merit whom during the time they might meet in the rancheria.

## MANNER OF SEEKING A WIFE

When the father of a family sees that his son has arrived at a marriageable age he will call the son to him and tell him that he desires him to marry and asks whether there may be anyone whom he favors. If the son accedes to his father's wishes and designates a woman he desires, the entire family, including the relatives, unanimously begin to decide upon a day when they will visit the house of the intended bride to ask of her parents her hand in marriage. The day having been fixed, the family, according to its circumstances, will send to the family of the chosen one a ring of gold, silver, or copper, an unmistakable sign that that family begs the hand of the woman. The family betake themselves to the home of the sweetheart and there form a committee known as "al-log." The father of the man being accompanied by some old men of the rancheria will open the discussion; he will use endearing expressions that may find favor among those present. He will tell the reason that obliged them to come to the house. This object being already known, the question will then be discussed or the petition refused. In the first case they will unanimously decide the conditions of the wedding and the quantity of the "bandi" which the family of the bride desires, and finally the day of the celebration is chosen. In the second case they are obliged to give an explanation of the motive for the refusal, although this happens very seldom, yet if the father or family of the woman do not wish to accept the proposition of the aspirant, they can not keep possession of the ring which had been sent beforehand.

When the wedding day has arrived the family of the bridegroom and all the old people of the rancheria meet in the house of the bride, taking hither all the necessary articles for the celebration of the wedding such as pangasi, boiled rice, fish, delicacies, etc., etc. When all is ready the babailan will officiate. If, however, there be no babailan among them, an old man of the rancheria who possesses the friendship and confidence of the two families will act as a substitute. The officiating one having previously placed in a cup or small hole in the ground a certain amount of cocoanut oil, will turn his eyes to the heavens in a supplicating manner and will pronounce the following words of the ceremony in Tagbanua:

"Way ini ytao nga magasaua 'Darait' ipagpanauag canimo ay pa buegayan mo naga sira et magayen nga pag asaua at maruay nga panulos et mas que uno unong caquenana nira."

Being translated: "Here are those who are married 'Darait'

unto thee we recommend them in order that thou givest to them a happy union and the facilities to hunt and to meet with those things which are necessary for their life, their prosperity, and their well being."

This being said, he will then place his thumb in the vessel containing the oil and will anoint with it the fore-finger of the groom, touching it from the end of the finger down to the pulse and saying the following words in Tagbanua: "Apiat magayen nga palad," which is to say, "May your good fortune ascend." Afterwards, placing the palm downwards, he will again anoint the same fore-finger, beginning at the pulse and thence to the tip, saying words very similar to the above and which signify "May your bad fortune descend." The bride is similarly anointed. After this ceremony the padrinos (best man and bridesmaid) of the newly wedded pair prepare two plates of boiled rice. Each one will make a ball of rice the size of a hen's egg and hand it to their respective proteges who receive it with great attention and presently exchange it with one another, so that the groom gives his portion of boiled rice to the bride who immediately gives hers in exchange.

When this has been done the wedding ceremony is completed. From this day the groom remains in the house of his father-in-law. He has no right to depart from it, not even to live independently with his wife in another house which they might build. He must always remain with his father-in-law. If the newly married pair are of the rich class and have prepared all that may be necessary for the feast, then, after the ceremony, the guests begin to dance, to eat and to drink pangasi; if, however, the wedded pair are poor, the dance and the feast are omitted.

Polygamy is permitted on the part of men. As has been said before, a man who is rich and who is able to take care of two or more wives is allowed to have them, but he is not permitted to marry them at one time, the marriages taking place one after the other. The first wife is the head of all the others, and they are obliged to assist her in all the work pertaining to the service of the husband and the house. In case of disrespect or disobedience on the part of any of the wives towards the first wife, it is incumbent upon the husband to give the needed reprimand or punishment to the one guilty of the misdemeanor.

As the reader may imagine, the husband, in spite of being a spouse to three or four women, nevertheless is not able to have them all with him at the same time. He is obliged to live with each one

separately, always beginning with the first wife, then the second and so on to the last one. The children born of this kind of marriage have equal rights in the inheritance. Should the first wife remain childless she has the right to adopt any son or daughter of the other wives and whose rights in consequence are legitimate.

#### CONCERNING THE MODE OF GIVING NAMES

When the children of the Tagbanuas are two or three years of age their names are given to them in the following manner:

The child is made to sleep during the day. When thus asleep it is suddenly awakened, being called by the name by which it is to be known. Usually this is the name of some tree, river, or place where the child was born. It may be the name of some animal or insect and there are not wanting those who bear Christian names.

In spite of the strict observances of the marriage ceremony, these prove no obstacles to a woman who may imagine herself in love with another man and desires to live with him, he only being required to pay the necessary amount of bandi.

The bandi varies according to the age of the woman. If she is young then the man will pay to the father-in-law the sum of 500 or 600 bandi, its equivalent being 50 or 60 pesos. Should, however, the groom be a poor man then only half of this amount is demanded. This same amount is also paid for the woman who is somewhat old.

#### CONCERNING THE WEALTH OF THE TRIBE

The riches of this tribe consist of much palay and a great number of vessels of metal and vases, such as agongs, babandiles, sabarangs, salapas, langnay, plates, etc., including money, furniture, and property. He likewise is considered rich who has numerous servants, who, although they do not live with him in the same house, are obliged to follow him whenever he calls them to certain work of his and who are obliged to pay him a certain amount of money or bandi.

Slavery exists among the Tagbanuas. A noble or rich man because of some misfortune on the part of a poor man will pay for him some debt or pressing obligation such as a fine or bandi imposed by the tribunal of the tribe. For this reason, the unfortunate man and his posterity become slaves of the rich man unless by some extraordinary good luck the said slave or one of his descendants is able to pay the ransom of the slave with half the bandi. This is done with mutual accord. Although the word slavery has a terrible signification, it need not cause the reader to interpret it in its actual



sense, for among the Tagbanuas slavery scarcely signifies anything in comparison with that of the Moros, where the slave is a being despised and where the masters are owners of the lives and properties of their slaves. On the contrary, the slaves of the Tagbanuas are like free men. In the majority of cases it is their privilege to obey or refuse to do the mandates of their masters. There have been cases of this kind in which the master desired a certain thing should be done and in which his slave answered that he did not feel so inclined.

I myself have frequently been present at scenes of a similar nature. For this reason, without the fear of being mistaken I would say the government of this people is patriarchial.

OF THE DUTIES OF THE BABAILAN, HIS DOUBLE FUNCTION AS THE  
MINISTER AND THE PHYSICIAN OF THE TRIBE, AND HIS  
INFLUENCE UPON THE PEOPLE

The babailan of the rancheria, whether man or woman, is regarded as a sacred and privileged being, the representative of Diwata.

When some epidemic, or contagious disease afflicts the people they hasten to the babailan and beg him to intercede with Diwata that he remove from their midst the evil which is assailing them. Then the people will congregate in a certain place designated by the babailan and to this place will take various gifts and perform the religious ceremony which has been previously described.

When a man, woman or child becomes ill the family of the patient will hasten to the babailan who is famous as a doctor. They will beseech him to do them the favor of curing the sick one. After having examined the patient he will command the musical instruments to be brought to the house. When the first hour of the night has come, skilled musicians will play upon these the sabag. To the sound of this the babailan, if a woman, will dance the tarec; if a man, the quendar. During the dance the babailan will attain a state of frenzy, while, all about him are quiet, regarding the act with great attention and respect. When the dance is finished, the babailan being restored to a normal condition, will declare to the family of the sick the disease with which he is afflicted, the sickness, as they imagine, being attributed to witchcraft or some other gross superstition. As has been stated when discussing the religious rites, no manner of cure is begun before the invocation to the Diwata. The following morning the babailan will secretly prepare the medicines, usually the roots and leaves of trees.

When everything is ready he will touch some empty metal vessel in order to produce sound, calling and beseeching the departed souls of the family of the patient to help him to cure the afflicted one. The medicine having been applied, the patient and the house in which he dwells is quarantined against those who are not of the family and who have no part in the quendar or tarec. The quarantine may be a matter of one or two weeks according to the prescription of the babailan. In order that no one may be able to feign ignorance, he will place upon the door of the house small leaves of trees which they recognize and close the entrances to the house with cords fastened to small posts. The dance is continued every night. There are other infirmities known as "pintas" among them which are attributed to witchcraft and which the babailan can not cure. These evils are cured by particular persons or sooth-sayers. The man takes a cow and measures it by means of his arm. Upon the right side of the cow he places a small ball of wax. Before he again measures the animal he asks this question:

"Who has given this infirmity to such an one?" If the ball has not moved from its place he will repeat the question.

"Was it Jack?" If, after the repetition of the act, the ball has moved or fallen, then it signifies that Jack is the author of the evil with which the sick man is afflicted and whom Jack will be obliged to cure, being severely threatened by the family of the afflicted one. Usually the blind credulity of this people will effect a cure. If the babailan cures the afflicted one, he will receive his customary fee, which usually consists of various objects of value, the number of which is mutually settled between him and the family. If the family are rich, they are accustomed to celebrate with a fiesta the successful restoration of health. If, on the contrary, the man dies because of his ailments, the babailan receives naught for his labor.

When a death occurs the entire family break forth into weeping; though the grief may be lessened by the advice of the babailan who encourages them to resign themselves to the will of Diwata. If the death be that of a rich noble, the family and the babailan will immediately spread abroad the sad news to all the people. Should there be any near relatives living in distant rancherias, notices are also sent to these and they are informed that the body will not be interred without their personal assistance. If the deceased be the masicampo, or superior chief himself not only are his own relatives invited who live in distant parts, but also all the local chiefs and nobles of all the rancherias under his command. During the long

illness of the Masicampo Dimas of Inagahuan there assisted him different babailanes, but without any satisfactory results. On the day of his death the sad news was told throughout the town, circulars were sent to the local chiefs, to the dignitaries, and to all the other nobles of the rancherias of his command. The body remained in the house more than three days. Upon the arrival of the relatives the body was buried. Two days after his death his body was placed in a coffin known as lungon, which had been an old baroto and now served as a casket.

The death of this superior chief was communicated to the Spanish governor of this island, at that time Sr. Canga Arguellez, who later sanctioned and approved the nomination of the successor of the dead masicampo.

An hour after the death of a rich noble—especially if he be the superior chief of the tribe—the family and head men of the tribe are accustomed to fire a cannonade to announce the unfortunate event to the people, other cannons are also fired as the body is taken from the house and also when interred. At times, instead of placing the body in the graveyard, the family and head men will place it within a small hut constructed by the people as the last resting place for their chief. This house is placed without the habitation and is surrounded by a strong wooden fence in the manner of a stockade. The burial being finished, the family will place upon the grave objects which he in life had possessed and cherished, such as vessels of metal and crockery, jars, articles of clothing, and jewelry, both of gold and silver. Among this people exists the ancient custom of giving food to the departed spirits. For this reason, the family after having finished the burial, place upon the grave the necessary articles of food, also a pot, glass, a cocoanut cup, and bamboo canes which contain water, which according to their belief the departed spirit drinks whenever he becomes thirsty. For months, even a year, the family will continue to carry food to the grave. After a year has passed, provisions are taken annually.

In olden times and even until ten years ago, objects placed upon the graves were considered sacred. For this reason no Tagbanua ventured to take any of these things lest the departed soul would punish him with a terrible sickness and even at times kill him. But later contact with the whites caused them to value less this traditional custom, and now in order to prevent robbery the family, before placing their offerings upon the grave, bore the large jugs and vases and break the dishes, so that neither the spirit nor those who wish

to rob can utilize them. The burial of the poor is very simple. The custom, however, of placing upon the graves certain objects and provisions is indispensable; and if in life the being had no more than one suit of wearing apparel and a few things, it is very necessary that these must go with him. Today these customs are fast disappearing. My frequent tradings and long residence with this people induce me to think that it would not be difficult to civilize and educate them. Many Tagbanuas of both sexes have proved this. In the barrio of Inagahuan are Tagbanuas whose mode of living and ability to speak Tagalo and Cuyono can scarcely be distinguished from those of the Christians themselves.

The only art worth mentioning is the weaving. The women weave the caña-bujo, bejuco, and a small fiber with which they make small baskets, and large and small tampipes, which are telescoped baskets and take the place of a valise or trunk. With bejuco they weave the wide petates which are known as paypay and used for palay and other domestic purposes. Of the small, fine fiber the women of the north make the cases for cigarettes, buyo, etc. The Tagbanuas and especially the Palawanos of the southern part of the island, weave of the leaf of the bori, pandan, bancuang, and balasan, petates of various colors, although they are not as beautiful as those woven by the Moros of Cagayan. The Palawanos of the south weave a petate of bejuco of the best quality, split in two and one side painted black. This weaving is known among them as biday among the Cuyonos and Tagalos as biray. This petate is valued among the Filipinos and is used in some places as a carpet, and among the Tagbanuas serves as a bed. The value of the petate varies according to its size and the quality of the bejuco. If it is bejuco of the first class, known as seca, each petate whose width is a meter will cost from fifty to sixty centavos; if it is of second class quality, known as bugtong, its price will be forty centavos.

The principal occupation of the men is to till the soil for the planting of palay, corn, camotes, plantain, and other tuberous rooted plants; to cut bejuco of different kinds especially that known as seca and which is much valued; to bring from the mountains almaciga, bees and wax, etc. All these articles are carried to the villages and sold at a very low price to the merchants who usually are Chinamen. But this is not the usual custom, for the Tagbanuas are very timid and seldom attempt to go to the villages and commercial centers to sell their effects. For this reason the trading is done by roving Christians and Moros of the south who exchange

with them cloth, ornaments, etc., and in times of scarcity, rice at a price more or less dear. The Moros are more than usurers and oppressors in their trading transactions with the unfortunate Tagbanuas who are easily deceived. In order to realize a lucrative trade and to be assured of fabulous gains, the Moros begin to invite the friendship of the headmen and local chiefs of the rancherías, feigning sympathy and intimacy, bestowing upon them the title of sandugo, or brother in blood. In the majority of cases they will presently give to them a certain number of pieces of cloth, bolos to work the soil, cooking utensils, dishes, etc., in order that each chief may distribute them among his people, very seldom speaking aught of the price. When all these things have been distributed, they will demand for their payment wax, almaciga, bejucos and palay if it is the time of harvest. These things are demanded in large quantities and at an insignificant price. Besides this they will cheat the miserable Tagbanuas in their weights and measures which are generally very large. Even today if we desire proofs, we shall find in the southern part of the island weights which the Moros and Tagbanuas use in their transactions. They are so large that a pico of almaciga or wax on their scales would give them 250 pounds instead of  $137\frac{1}{2}$  pounds, which is the legal pico; and their gantas are so large that a cavan measured according to our standard would contain 31 or more gantas. This inequality of weights and measures on the same island to the detriment of the unfortunate Tagbanuas, merits especial attention and requires effective remedy on the part of the persons called by the law to regulate them. I lament that this is the case not only in the south, but it occurs in almost all of the towns and barrios of the island where the corruption of weights and measures in general is found in a greater or less degree. In this part, the weights are not so much marred as the measures, which are usually made of caña espina known as alupan or gantangan (ganta) and of the interior husk of the cocoanut known as pulacan (chupa) instead of making them of wood according to a fixed standard. The size of the pulacan varies. Some are large and of various denominations; such as the apatan equal to four chupas, lima-an, aneman, pitoan, and waloan, the last equal to our chupa which was a diminutive measure equivalent to an eighth part of a ganta.

As I have said before, the Moro will give to the local headman a certain number of articles for which he demands bejuco, almaciga, wax, palay, etc. If the debtor, a headman, is not able to pay the



sum required upon this occasion his creditor will designate a time, usually a month, in which time he will return in person or send a representative to collect the debt, with this provision that in case the fixed time should have expired and the debtor is not able to pay then shall the amount be increased two fold. When the day has arrived and the debtor is not able to settle, the creditor will again fix a time and thus successively until the debt is finally paid. If in some of the visits of the creditor or his representative, he should be able to obtain some *almaciga*, wax, objects of metal, etc., whose amount would not cover the debt, not even the half, these objects would not be placed to the credit of the debtor but would only serve as a fine or the payment of the expenses of the voyage of the creditor in his going to and from the *rancheria* of the debtor. In case the days of grace have expired, and the debtor, notwithstanding his superhuman efforts, does not find possible means to liquidate the debt, then the creditor will declare him and his posterity slaves unless his fellow beings aid him to pay. In this case, the creditor can not refuse to accept the sum which they, for the sake of humanity, delivered. If the debtor be a headman or chief, he will not, because of his position and dignity, fall into slavery; but he is obliged to redeem himself by one or two of his own slaves according to mutual consent and the importance of the debt. The delivery of the slaves being made, this vexatious business is terminated and the creditor will return to his *rancheria* with the slaves thus obtained. The nobles or headmen for whom the slaves have been given are irresponsible for their escape. Should the slaves return to the homes from which they were taken, the creditor has the right to demand them at the hands of the local authorities who are obliged to send them back. In consequence of this irresponsibility the slave capturers are oftentimes deceived by the slaves who after being with them a few days manage to escape, hiding in some situation unknown and ignored by the slave owners. But there is no evil in this world, with the exception of death, that has no corresponding remedy, more or less efficacious, so the slave capturers, in order to prevent this escape which occurs so frequently, adopt very rigorous measures, keeping their slaves well guarded until they have the opportunity to give them to strangers in exchange for articles of commerce at a price more or less cheap. These strangers usually are the Moros from Cagayan de Joló who annually visited Palawan and with whom the Moro chiefs of these islands engaged in the slave trade. Many slaves, Tagbanuas and

Palawanos of both sexes, were taken to Cagayan de Joló until the years 1899–1900, a time of misrule for the island in whose southern part the Moro dignitaries were owners of life and lands especially the obstinate and rebellious Salip Yasen of Culasian, afterwards taken to Alphonso XIII where he died. He was a powerful and warlike chief and recognized neither the Sultan Bataraza nor the Filipino Governor of the island. Finally he declared war against his own chief during the latter part of 1900, but without results. If I am not wrongly informed I think the incentive which provoked the hostility between these two Moro dignitaries, was the outcome of a slave trade.

#### TAGBANUAS KNOWN AS PALAWANOS

After the Apurahuanos who, as has been said before, are the most numerous, follow the Palawanos, a tribe inhabiting the southern part of Palawan and which name they have taken. They occupy the east and west coast, embracing the rancherias of Tigman, Calategas, Punta Separacion, Aramaysan, Paniquian, Tagasao, Lada, Ipolot, crossing the rancheria of Bono-bono celebrated as the official residence of the Sultan Bataraza; around the point of Bulilian crossing to the rancheria of Culasian also known as the chosen residence of Bataraza and in the interior of which lived the troublesome Datto Tumay. Here occurred the fight in March, 1904, under the command of our Governor, Captain Miller, to recover the 31 guns and some revolvers which had been stolen by the Moros from the 48th Company of Scouts in an expedition for geographical purposes. From this place the Palawanos inhabit the rancherias of Ira-an and Tagbuaya. From hence are the rancherias of Quinlunan, Paniquian, Alphonso XII, Malined, Buyata, Tumarbong, Ihuahig, Isugud and Aramayoan—all the rancherias on the western coast being occupied by Palawanes and Moros. The Tagbanuas Palawanos, properly speaking, differ from the Apurahuanos only in dialect, in some of their minor customs, and in the manner of eating; otherwise, these two tribes are almost identical save in the use of writing. This tribe has no mark or known characters, for this reason they have adopted the Arabic and Tagbanua characters. The Islamites use the Arabic character; those influenced by the Apurahuanos use their characters.

#### THE CIVIL HIERARCHY OF THE PALAWANOS

Datto, Moro authority, a kind of Governor of the district, which embraces a certain number of rancherias.

The panlima is the chief of a rancheria.

The maradia is next to the panlima.

The orangcaya, sattia, and tumangong, are councilors of a rancheria.

The seat of government is in the town. The administration of justice is in the hand of the tribunal, which is composed of the panlima and the dignitaries above mentioned. Though in case of a slight fault which may not be considered among them as a crime, each chief is able to pronounce judgment, the sentence of which is usually respected by all. In case of an appeal, it must be taken to the tribunal where resides the datto who governs the rancheria. If, notwithstanding his decision, the parties are not yet satisfied, which is very seldom, they can go to the sultan of Bono-bono, where presides the supreme tribunal of the Moros and Palawanos. Against the sentence of the sultan there is no further recourse, unless this ruler, in the light of circumstances, should take this to be a penal crime; in which case the accused is sent to the superior authority of the island with the previous and detailed account of the act, to which justice shall be done. This occurred during the Spanish dominion at which time Muhamad Alon Narrasib (of grateful memory) governed the southern part of Palawan inhabited by the Moros and Tagbanuas Palawanos. Because of his faithfulness and loyalty to the established government he became the worthy and celebrated sultan of Jolo, afterwards of Bono-bono. He was the father of Datto Bataraza above mentioned.

#### THE CRIMES OF THE PALAWANOS AND THEIR PUNISHMENT

As I have said before, the two tribes differ only in their dialect and in some customs. The punishment which is imposed upon those guilty of crime and minor offenses is exactly the same as those of the Apurahuanos with the exception of those of adultery and murder. The family of the murdered demand an indemnity, which varies according to the social position of the one who was killed. If he belonged to the rich class the murderer has to pay to the family of the dead man 100 pesos; if he was poor 40 pesos is sufficient. Among the Palawanos there is not tolerated the abduction of a married woman as is the case among the Apurahuanos. The crime of adultery is not only held by them as a dishonest and scandalous vice, but is punished very severely. And not only has the offended husband the right to kill, but whatever relative should thus surprise them. For this reason, among the women of the

Palawanos is found more faithfulness than in the other tribes. The customs among the Palawanos themselves vary. The inhabitants of the rancherias where the Moros reside and from whom they receive their influence follow and adopt the customs and usages of the Moros, thus eating no pork and receiving the Moro baptism known as Islam; while those inhabiting the interior and the mountains adopt the customs of the Tagbanuas with a slight difference. The Palawanos pay a kind of tribute to the family of the ruling datto at Bono-bono, which usually consists of rice, wax, etc., in quantities determined by the ruling datto and the respective dattos of the rancheria.

This tribe knows only two gods, whose names are the same as those of the Apurahuanos. Their ideas of the life after death are also the same. The little bird, *saguay-saguay*, the messenger of *Diwata*, is known to them as *sapued*. The singing of this bird, the peculiar sound of the lizard, and the sneezing of a person have the same significance.

The Palawanos who are Islamites and who live in the southern part of the rancherias inhabited by Moros, being influenced by these, observe the fiestas of the Moros; while those living in the interior observe those of the Apurahuanos. But they always observe two days in common, the first and fifteenth of the moon. There is only one annual fiesta which they hold with much solemnity and which is known as *Ronsay*. This celebration takes place on the beach or some other spot made known beforehand. It is observed one or two days before the soil is broken for the seed, which usually occurs in December. The object of this fiesta is to thank *Diwata* for the good harvest and the favors received during the now ending year; and to ask him to give to them his protection and favors during the coming year. The observance is the same as that of the Apurahuanos, save that among the Palawanos it is permitted to take part in all the games and the dances.

The Islamite Palawanos have their children baptized by the Moro priest who is known as *Imam*. Those who dwell in the mountains observe the same ceremonies as the Apurahuanos.

Those who are not influenced by the Moros are almost identical in their manners and customs of the Apurahuanos. Their manner of receiving strangers and persons of importance is very much the same, with this slight difference, that in courtesy they are somewhat rude and gruff, and they lack in hospitality.

The Palawanos of the extreme south are very unsociable and not communicative with strangers, owing no doubt to their peculiar

dialect. These Palawanos feed upon wild animals, vermin of the forest, worms and grasses, centipedes, snakes, monkeys, etc.

When any of these become ill the babailan cures them. Should a person die whose infirmity the babailan could not cure, the cause is attributed to witchcraft. The body of the dead is bathed and then wound from head to foot with one or more pieces of white cloth. If the deceased was rich, his body will be placed in a coffin; if poor, in a basket of caña espino very similar to a chicken coop. There is no ceremony observed at the grave, save that articles of food are taken there and upon it are placed the various articles of more or less value which had belonged to the man in life.

The Islamite Palawanos observe the sambayang of the Moros, which corresponds with our novenary. If the man was rich, during this period of vigil large gifts are distributed consisting of money or cloths, according to the pecuniary ability of the family. This gift is obligatory on their part and thus if any child or relative of a moderately rich Palawano dies, these compulsory expenses very often reduce him to poverty.

The riches of the Palawanos consist in metal dishes, rice, money, servants, and slaves.

Although the Islamite Palawanos are on good terms with the Moros, this is not the case with the Palawanos of the interior and the mountains. Between these and the Moros there is constant warfare. No Moro, alone, is able to penetrate the woods or to cross the line which separates the rancheria from the territory occupied by the mountaineers, without danger of being killed. This is done to avenge the disappearance of their countrymen who had fallen victims to the excessive oppression of the Moros and who were either killed or were made slaves, being taken away to distant places and there sold. The mountain Palawanos, for the same reason, never crossed into the territories of the Moros.

I have already spoken of the industry of the non-Christian tribes including the Palawanos. But the Palawanos of the coast, notwithstanding the timidity of their character, are the only ones who come here after the harvest to sell their products of rice and petates of pandan and bejuco known as viray. They are always accompanied by certain Moro friends. I have known no other kind of commerce among this people and I have never seen one Moro who worked the soil in order to plant the seeds, not even a camote or plantain, much less palay. The exception to this were two brothers, who had lived with Christians ten years and who in the time of the Spaniards had been held as prisoners.



The arms of the Palawanos are the kris and some of those who live along the beach possess guns. Those who dwell in the mountains use the blow-gun, which is a hollow bamboo joint about two meters in length. The darts which are used are small sticks in the form of quills made of cane, the point of which is poisoned with a substance which they make, in color like pitch. The activity of the poison is so terrible that a man or animal wounded by the dart will die within ten minutes. The unfortunate being scarcely moving two or three paces will fall to the earth, his vision fades, he will vomit severely, consciousness leaves him, and amid cold perspiration he will expire without uttering a word. Upon one occasion I found myself in the territory of the Batacs in the barrio of Caruray and there witnessed a case of poisoning of this nature. It was the result of play. One of the men of the tribe who was very skilled in the management of the blow-gun had one brought to him. Without examining it in the least to see whether it contained a dart, he blew into it with all the force of his lungs. But behold, the jest proved dear, for without more ado there came out of the mouth of the blow-gun a dart which penetrated the calf of a leg, causing the person to fall immediately to the ground. As soon as the one who handled the blow-gun saw the magnitude of the misfortune he hastened to the man and took out the dart. He then fell upon his knees and began to suck the wound, so that the poison should not reach the heart; at the same time an old man hastened to the woods to procure a certain kind of medicine. Having drawn out sufficient of the blood, whose color appeared black, and in the meanwhile the old man having not yet returned, they applied to the wound a poultice whose principal ingredient was lemon, causing the wounded man to partake of it. They assured me this remedy to be sufficient to counteract the poison; but that the medicine which the old man sought is more effective. He returned with roots of trees which were unknown to me. These he applied to the wound and shortly afterwards the unfortunate man revived and was as well as ever. In my dealings with the Batacs I have handled this weapon against wild beasts and I am convinced from my own experience that this poison is more fatal to animals than to man, for a lizard being wounded died immediately in the midst of terrible convulsions. A monkey fared the same. This inoffensive animal was hanging to a branch of a tree when it was wounded, but immediately fell and was dead when it reached the earth. The animals killed in this way are not

flung away. The poison does not hinder their being eaten by the Batacs and mountaineer Palawanos, who with a knife or bolo cut away from the body the part injured by the dart.

#### WEIGHTS AND MEASURES USED BY THE PALAWANOS AND APURAHUANOS

The steelyard consists of a piece of wood the size of a cane about three feet in length, some being longer, others shorter. This is suspended from a string which is fastened a fourth of the distance from the end of the yard.

The rod is marked with points and lines which indicate the weight. The points indicate the half cate and the long strokes the cate. This weight, which is known among them as *timbangan* or *chinantanan*, is provided with a counterweight of stone, iron, or lead the same as ours. Each cate weighs ten pounds. Ten cates are equivalent to a *chinantan* and two *chinantans* are equivalent to a *pico*, which is equivalent to 200 libras according to our weight. The *timbangan* is used to measure the *almaciga* and the *bejuco*. This scale varies in size. The smaller one is used very frequently to measure the beeswax, and this unit of weight is equivalent to five pounds and sometimes seven.

A *cavan* contains twenty-five *gantas* which *gantas* are much larger than ours. In place of a bag they use the *bayong*, which is similar to *petate*. The liquid measures are the *tabo* a cup made out of coconut shell, the *gori* and the bottle. The bottle is used to measure the honey which they sell to the Christians. In times of scarcity a bottle is worth twenty centavos.

For unbroken land which is to be sold for planting the unit of measure is the *braza de bolo*, whose operation is as follows: A man places himself in a standing position. On his right hand is hanging a *bolo*; in his left hand is a *caña bojo*, whose end touches the earth at his extreme left. The right hand being raised until the *bolo* is in a vertical position, marks the distance where the point of the *bolo* touches the *caña bojo*. A piece of land 20 "brazas de bolo" square is equivalent among the Palawanos to ten *gantas* of *palay*, payable in advance. Another method of buying land is to pay four *cavans* of *palay* for land which has been broken and prepared and which may contain 30 *gantas* of seed, the *Tagbanua ganta* being larger than ours. This is the account of the purchaser for all the expenses incurred, including the work from the planting of seed until the harvest.

These people do not know the meter, the yard, nor any other measures. They are equally as ignorant of chronological measurement. No one knows his age nor can tell the time or year in which he was born. The only mark of time they know is the month Bulan, which they reckon from the first night of the new moon, or "Lati" until the last phase of the moon. They calculate the ages of their children by the harvests which annually occur in some other place. For this reason if we should ask a father the age of his son, he would begin to count from the time when a certain seed planting took place when his child had been born. Should the child be more than ten years of age the computation would be impossible to make exactly; for these people have no list of their consecutive harvests. And thus the only answer is that they are not accustomed to count the years.

#### THE QUENEYS

There is another tribe in the south, dwelling in the mountains of Lad-da, Ipulot, Buligay, and near Bono-bono. They also inhabit the mountains of Culasian on the opposite coast. They are known by the Palawanos as Queney, but of them little information is available, acquired from Palawanos and Apurahuanos. According to them this tribe differs much from them in custom and dialect. They do not like to trade with any of the tribes, being afraid of catarrh. Should any one of them become afflicted with this sickness they are sent away to solitary places. They live apart in the mountains. They form neither rancheria nor settlements. They have no chief. Their government is patriarchal. They build no houses, living in rude huts and the trunks of large trees. They clothe themselves with the bark of the antipolo tree similar to the Batacs. They eat vermin and wild beasts, the most favored being the "pantut." They are very warlike and arrogant. Although they have no chief of their own, there are some who, having received the influence of the mountain Palawanos with whom they trade with much distrust, recognize the authority of the panlima, but with much indifference, though they accept his commands. Some of the trading Palawanos have ventured with merchandise, bolos, hatchets, cooking vessels, etc., to enter the mountains inhabited by the Queneys. Never do they permit traders to approach their dwelling places, keeping them at quite a distance. The head of the family will make a sanitary inspection of the traders and if they have no catarrh they may approach. This inspection is done at a safe distance so that

the voices are heard by all. The chief will then ask them what they desire in these parts, to which they reply that they have come with merchandise with the object of selling it. This news the chief bears to his family, who, being hidden, make known what they want, and the chief will return to the trading place. If the old man and his family have no mistrust, they will invite the traders to come forward; if, however, they are mistrustful, the transaction takes place in the original place in the following manner. The trading is done in a loud voice and at quite a distance. The head of the family will name the articles he needs and requests that they be placed in a designated spot. He will then go there and take away the articles replacing them with *almaciga*, beeswax and *bejuco* in quantities according to their mode of thinking; for they have no weights neither do they understand such operations. As can be imagined the traders have the best of the bargain. Being genuine mountain people, very few of them know the coasts of the sea, to which they come only to procure the salt. And even then they select a spot unfrequented by people. It is said by persons who have had occasion to observe this tribe that when the day arrives to go to the shore for water from which to procure salt, this being done annually, they first of all like thirsty beasts, drink to satiety, because in their homes salt is treasured as we value gold and for this reason is the most important article of trade between the *Queneys* and the *Palawanos*. This tribe is more cruel than the mountain *Palawanos*. They are most inhospitable, suspicious, and distrustful in the fullest meaning of the word. They are exceedingly dirty. They are charred from their breech cloths to the face, by their constant lying during the night close to the fire, and the dirt serves as a mantle to protect them from the cold and humidity. The greater part of the tribe inhabits the caves of the mountain.

Because of the nomadic condition of this tribe and the difficulty of acquiring exact information, little is known of their form of government, save that it is patriarchal. The information given by the *Palawanos* who have met the *Queneys* at close range, is more or less truthful, and according to their opinion, it is not venturesome to say that the *Queneys* not only have no idea of government, but that neither do they have a system of administering justice similar to that of the *Tagbanuas* and *Palawanos*. In the same manner we believe that the *Queneys* have no idea of *Diwata* nor of a life beyond the grave; for we have no knowledge that they practice any of the religious rites known to the *Apurahuanos* and *Palawanos*.

The Queneys are of normal stature and delicate in appearance. Their hair is black and kinky like that of the Batacs. They traverse the dense woods easily and their foot-steps leave no trail. Never are they seen first. They always are first to notice those who enter their woods, especially if they be strangers whom they watch in ambush, hiding themselves in the trunks of large trees. Seeing the strangers at a great distance, they are at once ready to surprise them with the blow-gun. Calling out in a mournful and fearful voice they ask the following questions:

“Who are you?” “Whence do you come?” “What is your name?” “What has brought you hither?” etc., ending with the important question: “Have you catarrh or any other sickness?” The people being thus questioned answer them, telling their names, their objects, and whether or no they have catarrh or any contagious disease. In the latter case they are immediately expelled from those parts, and are told with warning that in the future they should refrain from making another visit.

We know nothing of their labor save that they cut the bejuco and gather the almaciga and beeswax to exchange for cooking utensils, bolos, etc. They cultivate the soil for their seed planting to such a limited extent that its products scarcely supply their necessities even during the first few days of the harvest. They also plant very few tubers.

The Queneys use no arms save the blow-gun, in which use they are very skilled. It was from them that the Palawanos learned to use this weapon; and according to the Palawanos it is the Queneys who make the poisonous substance with which they cover the ends of the darts. This is all the present knowledge we have of this nomadic tribe and of their conditions and territory which has been little explored even by their friends the Palawanos.

#### THE BATACS

There is another tribe which occupies the mountains of north Luzon known as the “Batacs.” This tribe lives in the mountains of Babuyan, Tarabanan, Langugan, Caruray, Quinaratan, Buhayan and a small part of the barrio of Barbacan; on the west coast they live in the mountains of Caruray.

The Batacs are usually smaller than the other Filipinos. They are well formed and agile. The nose is generally of better shape. The hair is crisp and curly, less black and less ugly than the negroes of the African coast. The Batacs inhabit the interior almost reach-



ing to the high mountains where begin their rice fields, so small that the products thereof furnish scarcely enough food during the first days of the harvest. They cover their loins with the bark of the antipolo, namuan and inbalud. This garment known as bahag is made into different forms, some being painted red and yellow. During the time of harvest, they live on rice; in the time of scarcity they eat roots, the fruits of the forest, wild boar, squirrel, and vermin. Their chosen delicacy is wild honey and a preparation made of this and the larvæ of the bees, boiled like rice. They hunt the wild boar and birds by means of the arrow and the blow-gun, which they handle with almost incredible skill and accuracy. They are always followed by their wives who with hair unbound, very curly and disarranged, carry their children suspended from their necks in a cloth made of the bark of trees and with the four corners tied together. This weight rests upon the back or is sustained at the breast. Apart from this, they carry small baskets made of woven cane and which contain the articles needed for the journey. The men bear naught but the bow and arrow, the blow-gun, a lance if there are any, and a tube made of cane. This is suspended from the waist by a piece of bamboo or string. Within the tube or ranque are steel, flint, and fuse; the fuse being the shavings of bamboo and the beaten bark of palm. With this apparatus they make fire which they call santican.

Twenty-five or thirty years ago the Batacs were nomads. They formed no rancherias and slept wherever night overtook them. Today, thanks to their frequent trading with the Christian and semi-civilized Tagbanuas, their savageness has not only moderated but has practically disappeared. Now they have commercial relations with strangers and admit them with hospitality and confidence. Among this number they chose one who inspired them with confidence and gave them more protection. The Batacs gave to him the title of agalen, which means friend. He it is who provides all they need, such as bolos, cooking utensils, etc., including rice in times of scarcity; in exchange for these articles bringing to him almaciga, bejuco and wax. The Batacs differ slightly from the Queneys. They eat the same kinds of food with the exception of worms, centipedes, lizards, etc. With the exception of the Batacs known as Buhayane, who inhabit the mountains about Malcampo and Umalad, they do not eat snakes and inguanas. The Buhayanes are very warlike and cruel towards their enemies as demonstrated during the Jolo piracy which reigned in this island.

Their daring is well nigh incredible. If any one of their number should encounter in a cave or in the hollow of a large tree a large snake known as biay he will notify his companions and ten or more of these will hasten to the place. One of them with a loop made of bejuco will enter the lair of the reptile in order to bind him. Presently by the force of the throw they will cause the snake to come forth. If in spite of this operation it will not come forth, then they will make a fire. When the reptile appears he is cut into pieces and each person receives the part which he has touched.

The Batacs are very dirty and strangers to the bath. Their bodies exhale a fearful odor. Their skin is very much charred owing to the fact that they constantly lie near the fire, which protects them from the cold. They live in small huts made of palms. They form no rancherias like the Tagbanuas, but dwell in families in the mountains and the interior of the woods. The women give birth without any aid. When the appointed time has come the husband constructs a small hut, and the woman is placed therein in a horizontal position. A piece of wood is her pillow and a petate is placed under her body extending from the head to the waist. After the child is born the woman will arise without being aided. Having taken her medicines, which consist of certain roots, and leaving the child unbandaged and uncovered, she will go to the nearest river and bathe. She will return with a vessel of water and bathe the newly born child, and is now ready to do all kinds of work including the hulling of rice. After the birth of the child, the mother always has a vessel containing water with which she bathes the child whenever it cries, emptying the contents upon the head of the child until its crying ceases. This manner of birth and care of the child is also observed among the Apurahuanos.

The children are baptized by the fathers without ceremony, some immediately after being born, others after a period of two years or more, according to the desire of the parents. Their names usually are those of animals, trees, rivers, places or spots in which they were born; and not infrequently they bear the names of Christians, such as some of the Batacs of Caruray known as Elicon, Lorenzo, Victorio, etc., owing no doubt to Christian influence. If a child has been born near a certain river it will bear the name of that river.

When a young man desires to take a wife he will ask permission of his father. This request being granted, he will take espousal gifts consisting of bracelets and rings of yellow metal, turtle, and carabao horn to the house of his intended bride and give them to her

parents, who receive them with much gratification. The future husband may or may not be accompanied by his friends. He will remain at the house of his sweetheart for a few hours. This now signifies that he has claims to the girl. The father will then signify a day when the young man may formally ask for her hand, and the day having arrived the families will meet in her house and decide upon the time of marriage, which usually takes place two or three days afterwards. The marriage ceremony of the Batacs is the same as that of the Apurahuanos. After the completion of the ceremony the families and invited guests enjoy the feast which consists of drinking pangasi and eating wild boar, monkey, etc. They do not care for the dance. When partly drunk they enjoy singing the tud-tud or dagoy, which the Apurahuanos also know. There are some mountain Batacs who dance the "talutad." A man dances this very rapidly and to the sound of the drum. The song of the tud-tud is a tale of the ancient deeds and history of certain men and women who were much honored. It also may be the story of dear ones who have died.

Polygamy is permitted to both sexes. During the six years that I lived in Caruray at a place near the Batacs, divorce and the abduction of a woman were rarely known.

The most common diseases among them are skin eruptions, such as itch and tetter, tumors, and malarial fever and catarrh. This last is the most dreaded and common disease among them owing to the rough weather and to the heat. The tumorous affection is the most dangerous and causes much loss; yet they take scarcely any care because of it, although it is contagious. The children who fortunately have not been attacked by this disease are inoculated with it by their parents who according to their mode of reasoning, think it better to be thus afflicted while young; for to be touched by it in old age causes the person to suffer more intensely. For this reason 60 per cent. or more of the people are afflicted by this disease. The Batacs of the mountains have no experience whatever and they never take into consideration the terrible effects of this sickness which decimates them and makes them useless. For the persons so afflicted, not only lose their physical strength, but in the majority of cases become utterly helpless. Their joints become weak, and after a little while ulcers appear. I have known various Batacs afflicted with this evil. Their aspect was thin and nauseating. Afterwards in spite of the spreading of the wounds which broke forth on all parts of the body, especially in the lips, and

which caused the man thus afflicted to be more hideous than Dante's Demon, these sores disappeared without the use of medicine. The scars remained. Those who have this disease can easily be recognized by the black scars about the mouth which very frequently have caused the natural size to become smaller. The joints of the fingers and knees remain swollen and the limbs weak.

The diseases which cause horror and fear are the measles and small-pox. Whenever these contagious diseases invade their homes they flee to the mountains, each family or barangay living by itself. Neither will they return until the epidemic has completely disappeared. It would be very dangerous for any person to encounter them during this period of roving. During this time they communicate with no one neither do they any kind of work but hunt wild animals, fruits and bees for their daily food. This tribe can suffer hunger for a long time. In time of scarcity they are accustomed to go without food for a day or more and consequently they are very thin and weak. On the other hand, during the harvest they eat day and night, resting but for a short interval. They always have on hand a large quantity of boiled rice prepared by the women and they eat whenever hunger demands. To prepare the soil for the planting of rice and to cut the large trees is the work of the men. The women sow and gather the harvest, hull the rice and do all the work pertaining to the house.

Although the Batacs of the west at Caruray do not dance, those of the east dance the sarunkay, a very slow movement executed by a man to the sound of the sabagan, the agun, babandel and gumbal. The agun is a piece of soft wood with the bark taken off. It is ten feet in length, more or less, and twenty-five or thirty centimeters in circumference. This wood known as li-it hangs in any part of the house, being held by cords fastened at both ends. The instrument is played by a woman by means of small pieces of wood shaped like drumsticks. Their other dances are the same as those of the Apurahuanos. The women do not take part in any of these dances, it is their part to play the instruments. At the feast of sangbay men and women dance.

The Batacs of the mountains recognize the same gods as the Apurahuanos. It is the duty of Diwata to provide for men and to reward them according to their good deeds. Angogro dwells in Basad, at the entrance of which is an iron bar and which the souls must pass. Whether a soul is destined to die or not is known by the ascending or descending of the bar known as "bari-bari." When

a soul presents itself at the entrance of Basad, there is found at the door the god Angogro, who, when his eyes are open, is asleep and when his eyes are closed is awake. The soul about to enter will receive freedom and is permitted to return to earth, if the bar obstructs the entrance; on the contrary if the bar ascends, it signifies that all hope to return to life has perished. The soul that enters Basad is examined by Angogro regarding the life he led upon earth. He is warned to tell the truth; for before him Angogro it is in vain to lie, since naught is hidden from him. The soul thus summoned to the judgment, will begin to extol his virtues and good works and end by telling his evil deeds. The examination being ended the soul is sent to Diwata who decides the case. If the result is good the soul enters Lampanag, a beautiful abode; if on the contrary the soul is guilty he is thrust into the depths of Basal where in large caldrons are fire and boiling water.

The Batacs of Caruray also have certain other saints. Siabuanan is a saint who is a demi-god. It is his duty to aid Angogro to receive the souls and to make known to him whether the soul being a male, had known how to cut trees, how to handle the bow and the blow-gun with skill and accuracy and whether he fulfilled his duties with honor. If the answer be yes, then the soul is permitted to present himself before Diwata unharmed; if, on the contrary, the answer be no, then Siabuanan punishes him, hitting his fingers with a small hammer with which he is armed. The soul that had been a woman is also questioned concerning her private life and the ordinary duties pertaining to her sex, such as the weaving of petates, tampipes of caña bojo, the small baskets for tobacco or buyo, the making of cloth of the bark of trees, etc., and finally their hands are examined in order to note the calloused spots. If the examination be favorable the soul enters Lampanag; if, on the contrary, their lives have been lazy and their hands are not calloused, then they are also punished by Siabuanan.

The other saints are Bancacalo, Paraen, and Buenguelen (the last two are married) and Baybayanen. These saints are of great strength. Their deeds of valor are innumerable. In remote times when piracy reigned all over the island, the people were saved on many occasions from capture and slavery. Because of this, terror possessed the minds of the Moro pirates, a feeling which still continues among them; for no Moro ventures to attack the mountain Batacs, especially the Tandolanos of whom we will speak later.

This tribe celebrates no fiestas with the exception of that of



sangbay, the same as is observed by the Apurahuanos. This takes place in April. The celebration of the fiesta is the same as by the Apurahuanos with the difference that all classes of diversions and dancing are permitted and in them men, women, and children participate. Neither do they observe the sacrifice of the chicken as the Apurahuanos do. The Batacs, however, construct two little huts in imitation of a house. In the one house is placed palay, in the other are imitation houses of bees made of the leaves of the balasbas or species of palm. The babailan will then recite the prayers and earnestly beseech Diwata that he give to the tribe a year of much palay and bees. The two little houses signify that in this year Diwata give them an abundance of palay that shall fill their houses and that the woods be filled with bees. The ceremonies being completed, they will eat, drink, and dance. They eat heartily very much like beasts. The celebration of this feast takes place in the solitary places of the woods, distant from the beach two or three kilometers.

When one of the people becomes ill the babailan officiates in the same manner as among the Apurahuanos. When a quarantine is established, instead of placing mecate, or ropes at the entrances to the house, a piece of wood known as langaday or gaalo an instrument used to hull rice, is placed there. When a man dies, especially if it be the chief of the tribe, the news is told to all the people. Every one is obliged to break forth into weeping even including visiting strangers. When the head of a family or some person of distinction dies special messengers are sent to all the places. When the messengers arrive, they do not speak, but they take the hand of the head of the family and either kiss it or press it. The family then know the dire misfortune and accompany the messenger to his home. Surrounding the body of the dead person, they weep, speaking amid their lamentations of the dead man's powers, his influence among the tribe, his meritorious deeds, etc., which custom, among us, would augment the grief of a family instead of allaying it. The body of the dead is permitted to remain in the house for an indefinite time, according to the wish of the family and the social position of the man. The body is buried without any ceremony. In the grave are placed articles of clothing and food and this act is repeated from time to time.

Moreover there is another custom which is very peculiar and equally ridiculous. Three days after the burial of the body, every person who assisted at the interment is obliged to return to the

grave and place upon it a stone in order that, according to their belief, the soul may be able to enter Lampanag. Should this practice be neglected it would prevent the soul from entering paradise and oblige him to wander about in the lonely places of the forests and mountains.

The Batacs lack the government of the tribes of the south. The settlement is governed by a capitan who is chosen either by the chief of the province or by the local chiefs of the barrios. The form of government is really patriarchal. The authority is in the hands of an old man, chosen because of his superior merits and who, together with the old men of the tribe, dispenses justice according to their laws and customs. The decisions thus granted are received with much humility.

Murder is punished with death, if the murderer is not able to pay the family of the murdered one a certain quantity of bandi determined by a tribunal of the old men, the quantity being equivalent to ten or fifteen pesos. This being paid, the business is settled.

The family of the murdered has the right to avenge itself by killing the assassin, provided, however, that the news of the deed has not yet been made known to the old men.

Robbery or theft of whatever kind is punished by means of the lash, provided that the guilt of the person is proved, though should the thief be caught in the very act, the owner has the right to kill him.

The crime of adultery or the abduction of a married woman is considered very grave and is punishable with a heavy fine. Should the husband surprise the guilty ones he has the right to kill them.

A man is considered rich if he has sufficient rice to supply his needs for one year, if he has a large number of vessels and plates, bracelets of metal and shell, and much clothing.

The Batacs of the mountains engage neither in agriculture nor in commerce. They show no kind of interest or love for planting palay which is their principal food; neither do they care to plant the tubers which are a substitute for rice in times of scarcity. For this reason there is much misery when there is no harvest. Scarcely one family among them will plant in their badly prepared soil 6 gantas of palay, and seed fields are very rare that contain 25 gantas of seed. It is only the chiefs who possess these and this is due to the fact that all their subjects are obliged to help them to break the soil, to plant, and to harvest. Among the Batacs exists

the custom of helping one another in planting and gathering. The first one among them whose harvest is ready is obliged to notify the others. They will come with their respective families to assist at the harvest, each one taking to his own dwelling that which he has been able to cut. This generous custom very often causes the owner of the small harvest to have little palay left for himself, though of course there remains to him the right to aid others in their harvests, that portion being his which he and his family cut. During the harvest time there is no work done but to gather, hull, and boil the rice, which is all done by the women. As has been said, there is always on hand a large quantity of boiled rice which is eaten at any time and chiefly by the men who at this time are found lying in their houses day after day and only rise to eat or to go to the hunt.

These people are skilled in the hunt of wild boar. They use various kinds of traps. The garet is somewhat like a small house twelve or more feet in height and is placed in the top of a tree which yields a fruit pleasing to the wild boars. There enter into this house one or two men with bows and arrows who await the approach of the boars which usually come in numbers. Upon the arrival of the animals the two men discharge their arrows, and if the shots be accurate, the animal will either die almost immediately or it may be able to run a short distance, but this happens very seldom. The most interesting and peculiar way among them in hunting the wild boar and perhaps the most certain and complete method is the following:

All the people of the settlement, including women and children, will go to a place known by them to be the trail of the boar. This place is usually some point of mountainous land lying along the sea. Certain men who are skilled in shooting the arrow take a position well selected, where in all probability the animals will pass. The women and children and unoccupied men will spread about in the woods, breaking forth into terrible shrieks, some howling and others barking like dogs. These shouts and noises bewilder the boars, which hasten towards the positions taken by the shooters who await them with bow and arrow. Very often they escape the darts and jump into the sea. But two bancas having previously been prepared and manned, the poor animals cannot escape that way. This hunt usually continues for a day and even longer. Afterwards they return to their houses with the spoil. Almost in the very completion of the hunt they begin to eat the flesh. This manner of hunting is known as sagbay.

After the harvest there is a period of almost complete inaction. They go about from place to place as the spirit moves them either along the sea to fish or to the mountains to gather whatever they may desire.

The Batacs of the plains weave the small baskets known as baay, but never in quantities sufficient even for their own use.

They do not weave the beautiful petates which the Apurahuanos and Palawanos make. They are people who are very dirty, uncivilized and enemies to any kind of toil. They never work unless they are hungry. They eat like beasts, each man being able to hold as much as two able-bodied men of our kind; a fact which I found out upon different occasions when I employed Batacs to work the soil and plant the palay during the six years I lived in Caruray. After having eaten they want to lie down, for they do not like to work when they are filled or satisfied.

The Batacs trade with the Christians and Tagbanuas. They bring from the mountains almaciga, bejuco, and beeswax in exchange for bolos, cooking utensils, etc., which are always paid for in advance. They are so very lazy that never do they fully pay, with the products brought from the interior, for the articles which were advanced to them by the trader. Consequently they are always involved in debt. The debtor is converted into a sort of slave. Thus he is obliged to go to the mountains to gather the products thereof, whenever his creditor desires him to do so.

They have no weights and measures of their own invention; the gantas and weights which they use are those of the Christians. Very seldom do they use the chinantanan of the Apurahuanos and Palawanos. The measure of the arm and palm, of course, is in constant use.

The arms of the Batacs are the bow and arrow, the blow-gun, and the lance. They use no guns, krises, or bolos. The darts and arrows are made of the palma brava. Their form is that of a harpoon. This arrow is used only against their enemies.

There are three kinds of musical instruments which this tribe uses that merit special mention.

The codiape is a sort of guitar, six or more feet in length. It has only two cords of the fiber of the olango or bancuang. The form of this instrument varies. Some are very large and shaped like the head of an alligator. It is played either by man or woman while the other sings the song known as avellano.

The budlong is a joint of caña espino with a hole in its center

like that of a guitar. It has two strings made of the cane and which rest upon a sort of wood placed at both ends. It is to be understood that these strings are not taken out of the case but are a part of it; for with great care they will insert the point of the knife where the strings are to be and raising the fiber they will cut a string the size of a match or larger. Under it they will place a small piece of wood upon which the string rests. This is done in the same way at the other end. Thus the two strings are made.

The lantoy is a species of flute. It is made of caña bojo and has two holes. This instrument is played with the nose.

#### REGARDING THE TAGBANUAS TANDULANOS

Besides the mountain Batacs who live near Caruray there is another small tribe known as Tandulanen and who number no more than twenty persons. These people occupy the Bay of Santa Cruz de Mayo, known thus geographically, but whose native name is Tugdunan. This beautiful bay is sheltered by various islands, the principal one being Buhayan and along whose shores live quite frequently the Tandulanos. They are very agile and little in stature. They resemble the Batacs very much even in speech, differing slightly in tone and in some words which they have assimilated from other dialects which are so numerous in this island. They are darker than the Batacs, probably, because they are more exposed to the sun and influence of the sea. They live on headlands, on the beach and in coves. They construct no huts in which to live. They are nomads. They plant nothing, not even rice, which formerly was unknown to them. They cover their loins with the bark of trees. They live upon fish, turtles, shell fish, wild hog, wild animals, and roots of plants. They are very skilled in fishing and hunting. For the former they use the harpoon known as pamulos, which they throw with great skill. They hunt the wild hog by means of the dog and the arrow. They handle the blow-gun and always have it prepared for use against their enemies. The Tandulanos are followed by their wives and children, who are carried in the same way as the Batac women carry theirs. They sleep in whatever place they may happen to be, either upon the sandy beach or in caves among the rocks. When they suffer because of cold or humidity, they build fires around which the families lie. The women give birth without any aid. The men as well as the women are fine navigators. They are children of the sea. Each family has its own baroto or baluto. They always journey together and to whatever



place any one wishes to go, especially if it be an old man who expresses the desire. If during the voyage they meet any small boats, they desire to know who the people may be. If they be friends they will enter into conversation and trading; if they be strangers and suspicious men, they not only repel them but drive them from the spot.

Fifty years ago the Tandulanos were very cruel. They had dealings with no tribe, not even with the Batacs. The only Christian with whom they had friendly relations was the well-known Esteban Castro, a rich land owner, who with much difficulty won the friendship of these savages. They reverence the man to such an extent that in order to enter into trading with them it is only necessary to mention the name of Esteban. It is due to his intelligence and friendship that their cruelty became less and that they entered into commercial relations with the Christians of the north.

The Tandulanos twenty-five years ago were a large family, but the measles which broke out among them in 1882 caused about 80 per cent. of them to die. This disease afflicts them as a plague of small-pox, of which they have great horror.

One of the sicknesses which they greatly fear is catarrh, which in their opinion is incurable and contagious. Formerly, persons thus afflicted were buried alive. Today, however, if a person have this disease he is exiled to a lonely place and provisions are given for a certain number of days. After an interval the people will go to the place of quarantine. If the disease be cured the person can return to his home, but if he still suffers, then he is left there to die without aid or friend. In order to prevent this sickness, visiting strangers are closely examined. If they be well they can enter the dwelling place of the Tandulanos; if sick they are expelled.

During the last few years they have changed many of their ancient customs and have adopted those of the Batacs with whom they come in contact more frequently.

The oldest man in the tribe is their chief and to him are submitted all questions.

During my frequent visits to the abode of the Tandulanos, I have never been so fortunate as to witness a wedding ceremony, but it is the same as among the Batacs. Any kind of a union is legal. A man who is married to his mother (after having become a widow) or sister is considered a worthy man.

This tribe is the lowest of all the tribes of Palawan. They do no kind of work, not even pertaining to their own use, much less do

they engage in any kind of trading. The only thing I know them to do is to hunt the bees, the honey and larvæ of which are their favorite food. The wax they reserve for the traders for which they receive bolos, etc.

A man in order to be rich must have a great number of arms and clothing made of beaten bark.

Lately the Tandulanos, imitating the Batacs and the Christians, have begun to prepare the soil for the planting of squash and camote, but in quantities hardly sufficient to supply their needs during the days of the harvest. It seems as though scarcely having begun to plant a little rice, which is done with no pleasure, they abandon so useful an occupation. This is one reason why they are in such a miserable condition. But there are some of them who during this year have planted vegetables, tubers, and even palay.

The Tandulanos have no musical instruments. Neither do they observe any fiestas.

Because of their hostility and their lack of hospitality in trading with strangers we have little knowledge concerning the customs of the Tandulanos.

#### THE CIVILIZED TAGBANUAS OR SILANGANEN

The Silanganen are the Pagbanuas who are civilized and Christianized and who dwell in the barrios of the north, east and west of Palawan. They are found along the coast extending from Babuyan to Silanga in Taytay on the east coast; and from here around the point of Cagbuli to Malampaya on the west. In all the barrios the Cuyono dialect is usually spoken. This dialect has been brought hither by the emigrants from the island of Cuyo, the former capital of the province. Today the Cuyono people are the most numerous, for the original inhabitants have disappeared. I need not speak regarding the habits and customs of the Silanganen, for they have adopted the civilization of the people of Cuyo with whom they have lived in harmony and friendship until this day.

PUERTO PRINCESA, March 30, 1906.