I declare that except where otherwise stated, this thesis is entirely my own work.

Evelyn J. Hurtado
THE BEYER COLLECTION

WITH REFERENCE TO THE PHILIPPINE ETHNOGRAPHIC SERIES

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Thesis submitted for the Degree of Master of Arts (Asian Studies) in the Australian National University.

December 1980
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ABSTRACT

The Beyer Collection is an extensive library and accumulation of anthropological materials on Philippine culture and history. It was collected and assembled by Professor Henry Otley Beyer, American anthropologist and an eminent Filipiniana collector, during his more than half century of residence in the Philippines. In 1972, the National Library of Australia acquired a valuable portion of the Beyer Collection, his library.

The present thesis has two parts. The first part of the dissertation provides an assessment of the life and career of Beyer, his intellectual outlook, and contributions to Philippine studies with special reference to the Philippine Ethnographic Series. The second part, which forms the bulk of the study, is a detailed survey of the eighteen sets constituting the Philippine Ethnographic Series. The Series represents the core of the Beyer library, and is a rich deposit of original source materials and references, many of which are not available elsewhere.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author wishes to express her deepest gratitude to her supervisors, Dr H.H.E. Loofs-Wissowa and Dr I. Proudfoot of the Department of Asian History and Civilisations, Australian National University, for their supervision and guidance. Gratitude is likewise expressed to Dr P.C. Gutman for her suggestions and valuable assistance, to Dr D. Shoesmith of Flinders University, and to William G. Beyer, for giving her very useful information. I am particularly thankful to the entire staff of the Rare Book and Manuscript Reading Room of the National Library of Australia, particularly Mary Brennan, for providing me complete access to the manuscript volumes in the Series, to Nikki White of the Oriental Studies Reading Room, and Mrs Pauline Crawcour of the Australian International and Ethnic Library. My sincere thanks are also extended to Margaret Tie for typing the thesis, to my sister Aurora, brother Franklin, and specially to my parents, for their patient and wholehearted support and encouragement throughout my work.
Ethnology in the Philippines is only about eight decades old and had its beginning at the start of the present century when the Americans came, a period described as corresponding to the era of the professional anthropologists, not just in the Philippines but elsewhere in other colonial frontier as well. For the first time in Philippine history there were men here whose primary occupation was the making of ethnographic studies. The attitude of the American government towards the importance of anthropology, especially the field of ethnology, was reflected in a circular of information published 1901 in Manila which stated in part:

The magnitude of the opportunities which this work provides may be understood when we note that while the American Indians within the territory of the United States number but 264,000, the pagan and Mohammedan tribes of the Philippines are estimated at from a million to a million and a half souls. Furthermore they form not a single homogeneous race as is the case with the Indians of the United States, but an unknown number of tribes and peoples belonging to no less than three or four races and to various mixtures thereof. Added difficulty as well as interest is given to this work by the fact that the country inhabited by these tribes is largely unknown.... And in almost every case the simplest data are incomplete or lacking. The exact geographical location or habitat of each tribe is very indefinitely known. Its numbers are not even approximately known.... It will be seen how much is to be done and how interesting is the field. Probably no country at the present moment offers to the anthropologist equal problems of interest and equal opportunities to investigate them.

When the Americans came as colonial administrators, the entire field of anthropology received impetus and encouragement. The Philippine Commission created the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes in 1901 in order to conduct scientific and systematic work in the

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anthropology of the Philippines, in particular, to investigate actual conditions among the non-Christian tribes of the Philippines and to recommend legislation with reference to the administrative control of these peoples. An insular museum was established to complement the task of the bureau. Two years later, the bureau's name designation was changed to Ethnological Survey, and the research activities further extended to cover all ethnic groups, Christians and non-Christians alike. Beyer's first appointment in the Philippines was with the survey which at that time had two vacant anthropological positions. Beyer related,

...in 1904, Alfred Kroeber and one other person were hired by the [Ethnological Survey] to work in the Philippines. Before Kroeber could leave for the Philippines there was a change in the bureau, and a man hostile to the former director took over. The new director summarily fired Kroeber and his associate on the eve of their departure, leaving the two positions for anthropologists open.  

The arrival of the twenty-two year old Beyer in the Philippines in 1905 started a career that was to include more than sixty years of continuous, painstaking, and dedicated studies on Philippine history and culture - a long and influential career which fired the initial spark and inspiration to the succeeding generation of young scholars and Filipinists.

Born July 13, 1883, on a big farm in Edgewood, Clayton country, Iowa, Beyer descended from German pioneer stock. His ancestors were Schwenkfeldians who left Bavaria in search of religious freedom and finally landed at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania in 1734. In about 1830, his grandfather became one of the first three settlers who opened up northeastern Iowa nearby the Mississippi river. Beyer's interest in anthropology started early. It was believed to have dated back from childhood, mainly from his early familiarity and association with Sac and Fox Indians residing in villages within the vicinity of his

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grandfather's farm homestead in northeastern Iowa.

Beyer was the youngest son in a family of five boys and one girl. In his youth he appeared to enjoy solitariness, for according to his sister he would often disappear into a nearby forest for the entire day. The young Beyer also had naturalist inclination for he was in business selling mandrake roots he discovered in the woods, to a wholesale drug dealer, before he was ten. Beyer finished high school at Edgewood in 1900. He worked for the Mobile Herald for some time and did newspaper work in the southlands of Alabama and Mississippi. After preliminary studies of chemistry and geology at the Cornell College in Mount Vernon, Iowa, he attended the Colorado School of Mines for one semester. He obtained two degrees from the University of Denver, a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1904 and a Master of Arts degree in Chemistry a year after. Beyer recalled that at Denver university he and his colleagues worked on the chemistry of rare metals, and corresponded with Professor and Madam Curie and Sir William Crookes who edited the Chemical News in London. While of Cornell College, he said,

I had a wonderful professor, Dr Nicholas Knight, who was educated in Germany and later went to Johns Hopkins. He let me have a key to the lab and I worked at night. I sort of commuted up to Ames also to do work in geology at Iowa state, where another uncle of mine was Dean of the College of Science and Engineering.

This same uncle of Beyer's got him on the geological and mapping expeditions of the United States Geological Survey to the States of Utah, Colorado, Arizona, and New Mexico during his summer vacations. The first archaeological fieldwork he did was with one of these parties which explored the cliff-dweller remains in southwestern Colorado.

In 1904, Beyer visited the $500,000 Philippine exhibit at the

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4 Ibid. p. 2.

Louisiana Purchase Centennial Exposition organized in St. Louis, Missouri. The Philippines was then an American colony and brought to the exposition representatives of several ethnic tribes, complete with replicas of their native villages, costumes, trophies, ornamentation, weapons, and implements. This visit to the forty-acre Philippine exhibition grounds developed his first interest in the islands. Beyer met Dr Albert Jenks, the chief of the Ethnological Survey for the Philippines and director of the Philippine exhibit, applied for a job, and received an appointment to the ethnological survey.

Beyer, fresh from scholarly pursuits at the Denver university, arrived in Manila in July 1905 aboard the ship SS Siberia, amidst a rapidly changing American insular government. Despite his appointment to the Philippine Civil Service, he found that he had no job to undertake because of government reorganization which temporarily abolished both the Ethnological Survey and the insular museum. Beyer was still fortunate though. Dr Barrows had him and another American appointed to two civil service positions open in the Department of Public Instruction which he headed. Beyer related, "We agreed to toss to see where we would go - Barrows used a nice new coin. The other fellow got Mindanao. He was killed there three years later by the Manobo tribesmen." Dr Barrows first assigned Beyer to the Ifugao region, Mt Province in Luzon (See Map 1, Appendix I) where he lived continuously from 1905 to 1908. It was among the Ifugaos that his ethnological work started. The three years spent among these people became the decisive period in his life, for from here on commenced an anthropological career zealously dedicated to the study of the Philippine peoples and their culture. According to Beyer, Barrows told him to go up there and live with the constabulary officer, study the language, acquaint himself with the old chiefs, and then write a report on how the American government can educate the

6 Ibid., p. 6.
people. While in Ifugao, Beyer held other jobs like surveyor, mapmaker, treasurer in the provincial government and later Secretary to the Governor. He gathered an ethnological collection from the Ifugao people and the neighboring Igorot and Bontok groups. This was his first venture in anthropological collecting. 'During those first three years I lived in Ifugao country I saved two-thirds of my salary. That's the money I used to build the first collection on the area', Beyer recalled. It was in Ifugao that Beyer met and married Lingayu Gambuk, the sixteen-year old daughter of a powerful Ifugao chieftain who ruled the village of Amganad in Banaue, Ifugao. And with Beyer's salary from the government he was able to buy back some twenty rice terraces that his father-in-law had mortgaged to pay for the many ceremonial feasts which are an integral part of Ifugao customs.

Beyer spent the greater part of 1908-1909 broadening his horizons in travel and researches through the Muslim states of north Africa, the Middle East, southern Asia, Europe, and finally in America where he did post-graduate studies in anthropology at Harvard University under Professors Roland Dixon and Frederik Putnam. Beyer had corresponded with Professor Putnam from Banaue, Ifugao, and it was he who presented Beyer's collection to the Peabody Museum of Ethnology in Harvard in 1908. The collection earned him a Robert Winthrop scholarship in anthropology for one year. During these trips abroad, Beyer had with him Tuginai Pait, a young Ifugao native he educated at his own expense, and who had extended great help in his collecting activities among the peoples of northern Luzon. At Harvard, Beyer worked up the materials he had gathered during his three years residence in Ifugao and Beyer said that he had a ready dictionary always with him in the person of Tuginai Pait. He remembered his stay in Harvard as a rare experience, with his

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7 Ravenholt, p. 6.
8 Ibid., p. 6.
9 Ibid., p. 7.
own ideas and findings tested against his professors and fellow students, including such 'greats' as A.V. Kidder and Vilhjalmur Stefansson who had returned from his first expedition to the Arctic regions.10

Beyer pioneered in anthropological work in the Philippines, especially before World War II. During the early decades of his stay in the Philippines, his main interest had been directed towards ethnographic work, and his travel-researches abroad prepared him for the position of ethnologist in the Division of Ethnology. Upon returning to the country in late 1909, he was appointed to that position with the recommendation of the Secretary of Interior. However, this was not to last long because of another governmental reorganization in 1913. Since 1899, the Philippines have been acquired and administered by the United States under the Republican party. After 1912, with a Democratic administration in the United States, a new policy of Filipinization was pursued in the colony, meaning the gradual replacement of Americans by Filipino personnel in the colonial civil service. Deeply disappointed, Beyer for the second time found himself without a department. Ethnological work was suspended, the museum collections placed into storage, the Division of Ethnology abolished and the staff, which included Beyer, were separated from the service. However, Beyer had made many influential friends by this time and one of them, Rafael Palma who was a regent of the University of the Philippines, opened a new chair of anthropology and ethnology, and had Beyer appointed as instructor in 1914. The University of the Philippines had been cited as the first institution in the Far East and one of the first in the world to have department of anthropology.11 The founding and establishment of the Department of Anthropology, with Beyer as head for almost four decades, aided greatly

10 Ravenholt, p. 7.
the anthropological work in the colony. Under Beyer's leadership, the department pioneered and carried on instruction, research and fieldwork in anthropology, as well as other activities of the former Division of Ethnology. Anthropological courses were offered for the first time. Up to until the start of the Second World War, Beyer taught single-handedly all the subjects in anthropology, later on assisted by a few of his former students. While teaching, he worked and cooperated part-time with government agencies, that by 1925 he had visited practically every province. Such experiences and familiarity made the courses he taught through the years in Philippine language, ethnography, folklore, and archaeology well known and interesting to the students. As a professor, he trained students in identifying and describing the many ethnographic groups inhabiting the archipelago. Beyer stimulated and guided his students in recording their own native customs and traditions, and made them aware of their cultural heritage. Beyer's training inspired a new generation of students of Philippine history and culture, among whom many young Filipinos and Americans went on to become noted scholars, scientists, anthropologists, and prominent political and social leaders of today. These include Frank Lynch, Wilhelm Solheim, Dr J. Salcedo, Professors E. Manuel and L. Yabes, Dr C. Romulo and many more. A scholar wrote that the Philippines has been spared the sort of bitter racial strife which erupted in many new countries and this was in part due to greater tolerance among the leaders, including some who were Beyer's students, who created the Commonwealth in 1935 and eleven years later established the independent Republic of the Philippines.12 'Without H. Otley Beyer', wrote L. Yabes, a former student, there would have been no Fred Eggan, no Robert Fox, no Frank Lynch, no Harold Conklin, no Donn Hart and the younger generation of American and European anthropologists doing

12 Ravenholt, p. 9.
work in Philippine archaeology, social anthropology, ethnolinguistics, and pre-history. To a lesser extent, without Beyer's guiding light Arsenio Manuel, Noises Bello, Mario Zamora, Juan Francisco, F. Landa Jocano, Alfredo Evangelista, and Timoteo Oracion would not have attained their present knowledgeability in their respective areas of specialization.13

The scientific work being carried on by Beyer was given increased recognition by the Governor-General F.B. Harrison who re-established the insular museum in 1916 under the former's direction. He appointed Beyer as honorary curator of the Bureau of Science museum, and he held the position until the war broke out in 1941. During his term, Beyer fostered close cooperation between the museum and the university in the common endeavor of scientific work and training. Beyer allowed the museum collections to be utilized regularly by the students of the university, the Philippine Normal School, National Academy, and other private educational institutions, in addition to its free access to the general public. Some of Beyer's students also worked as museum assistants. Occasionally, he made arrangements between the museum and the university for joint research and collecting trips in the provinces. As curator, Beyer came in contact with people known in the anthropological field and who visited and studied some of the museum collections. He carried on correspondence with similar institutions in other countries, and released museum funds to aid visiting anthropologists and educators from the Malay states, the Dutch East Indies, China, Japan, America, and Europe.14 Beyer's work in the museum was given international recognition when the specially-assembled Museum of Ethnology collection was displayed at the San Francisco Exposition in America.


14 'Annual Report' of Beyer as Museum Curator (1917, 1919). Typescript copies, Box 60, Beyer Collection MS 4877.
As a pioneer and scientific worker, Beyer's counsel and leadership were sought out by local and foreign researchers, distinguished and leading authorities in the government, particularly before the war. When the Republicans returned to power in America in 1921, the Wood-Forbes mission was immediately dispatched to conduct investigations on actual conditions in the Philippines; and Beyer served as scientific attache to the mission. Because of this, he was on temporary leave from the university for about half of the year. Beyer wrote an article which appeared as Appendix 9 to the mission's final report. The trips he made with the mission covered nearly every province and provided the professor with an unrivalled ethnographic experience. Beyer acted as unofficial adviser to Governor-General Wood during this period, chiefly on problems relating to the non-Christian tribes, and made several inspection trips to the provinces. In 1924, by request of Vice-Governor Gilmore, he was adviser to the Paul Monroe Educational Survey which examined the role of English in the school system. Again, this necessitated several long trips mainly through southern Luzon and the Visayan islands. In 1925, Beyer was sent to the Hawaiian islands for nine months by Governor-General Wood and assisted in an industrial relations survey which secured improved social and economic conditions for Filipino laborers in the sugar and pineapple plantations. Upon the recommendation of the Governor-General, renowned guests who visit the Philippines would seek Beyer's opinion for an introduction to the Philippines. His counsel led President Manuel Quezon, President of the Philippine Commonwealth, to abandon plans for locating the capital near the upland town of Tagaytay, but instead choose a site in the hills north of Manila.

See General Philippine Ethnography Set for the article which is titled 'Notes on the Bearing of Recent Investigations into Philippine History and Racial Origins on the Question of the Present and Future Status of the Philippine Peoples'.
Beyer warned the president of volcanic and earthquake hazards.  

During all his travels, Beyer took the opportunity to investigate and gather his own data from people and field workers known to possess special knowledge of the conditions in each place, had their reports verified by township or provincial records, and in general found time to check and supplement what his students in the university had provided.

As ethnologist, Beyer devoted the subsequent years to expand his ethnographical studies and fieldwork which started from among the Ifugaos, then to the other non-Christian groups of highland Luzon, and later included the Christian peoples in the lowland regions. One of the most valuable contributions that Beyer did in the study of the history and ethnography of the Philippine peoples was his compilation of the *Philippine Ethnographic Series*, a monumental research project of over a hundred volumes which he started in 1912 and carried on until the outbreak of World War II. On the Ifugao people alone, Beyer gathered and recorded materials of twenty volumes in the series; and Beyer's contributions, together with the earlier studies done by Roy Barton, Fr. Villaverde, and Fr. Lambrecht made the Ifugao culture as the best studied ethnic group in the Philippines today.  

From 1915 to 1916, Beyer compiled an ethnographic-linguistic census of the Philippines, a move much welcomed by both Governor-General Harrison and the Philippine legislature since the first official census of the Philippines taken since the Americans colonized the islands had not been revised for over thirteen years. The book was published in 1917 as *Population of the Philippines in 1916*, with both English and Spanish texts. According to Beyer, since the first official census was undertaken in 1903, a number of estimates of the increased population

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16 Ravenholt, p. 9.

had been published, some of them being mere guesses unworthy of
credence, and others inaccurate.\textsuperscript{18} The unsatisfactory character of these
estimates led him to secure better sources of information on Philippine
population and the result was this work. Since however, the work
was intended to be ethnographic rather than geographic or political,
Beyer had included data on Philippine ethnographic groups, with
description of their languages and dialects, religious belief,
general economic and social status, and race. Beyer stated that
the information on the forty-three Philippine ethnographic groups he
identified and described in the book has been 'obtained either through
personal investigation in the course of ten years' study of Philippine
ethnography, or from the authorities cited in the text of each
description'. In 1918, three important developments in Beyer's
career took place. First, Beyer and Dean Baker of the University of
the Philippines undertook a series of researches in Mindanao and
Sulu sponsored by Governor F. Carpenter; second, Beyer enlarged and
extended the scope of the \textit{Philippine Ethnographic Series} to cover
the entire archipelago; and third, Beyer drew up an ethnographic map\textsuperscript{19}
and a table of racial ancestry for the Philippine population, and
wrote an account on the non-Christian peoples upon the request of
Justice Villamor, Director of the Census of 1918. The account entitled
\textit{The Non-Christian People of the Philippines} appeared as Volume 2 of
the \textit{Census of the Philippines in 1918}, and was published in 1921. A
noted anthropologist of the day, P. Schebesta described the work as a
scientific picture of the racial and ethnic composition of the Filipino
people and which he considered as professionally handled.\textsuperscript{20}

\textsuperscript{18} Henry Otley Beyer, \textit{Population of the Philippines in 1916} (Manila:

\textsuperscript{19} See Map 2, Appendix I.

\textsuperscript{20} Paul Schebesta, S.V.D., 'H. Otley Beyer and the Research on the
Negritos of the Philippines', in \textit{Dr H. Otley Beyer. Dean of
Philippine Anthropology. (A Commemorative Issue)}, ed. by
R. Rahmann, S.V.D. and G. Ang, Series E, Number 1 (Cebu City:
Another of Beyer's pioneering achievements was the filling up of many blanks in the historic and cultural past of the Filipinos. From 1919 to 1920, Secretary Kalaw and Auditor Dexter accompanied Beyer on a three-months research tour through Java, Celebes, and Borneo, and considerable time was spent in studying the archaeological remains in central Java. Their further investigations among the ruins of the Sri-Vijaya and Majapahit empires inspired him to initiate researches on pre-Spanish Philippine history, and on the early relations of the country with the Asian mainland. This culminated in another major work, 'The Philippines Before Magellan', published 1921 in the *Asia Magazine*, and which brought to light for the first time the cultural relations of the Philippines with the two great Malay empires of the Sri-Vijaya and Majapahit. Six and a half chapters from the treatise were later incorporated into a book published in 1926, *A History of the Orient*, authored by Beyer, C. Benitez and G. Steiger. In 1925, Beyer was in the Hawaiian islands serving in the Industrial Relations Survey during which he also did considerable researches on the archaeology and ethnology of the Pacific islands at the Bishop museum and later briefly visited other large American museums. Attractive offers for Beyer to join the faculty in the universities of Michigan and Princeton, and to take on research professorship at the prestigious Harvard University temptingly beckoned him away from the Philippines. He returned to Manila by late 1925, planned to pack up his Filipiniana library collection and accept the Harvard offer leaving early the next year, but he met with a slight accident which had him incapacitated for weeks.

Beyer had been fascinated and intrigued with archaeological pursuits since his early geological and mapping explorations of the American southwest in the early 1900. It was given added stimulation by the explorations conducted by Dean Worcester in the Visayan Islands.
in about 1920. His first major archaeological dig occurred in 1926. While recuperating from the accident, news of remarkable archaeological finds at the foothills of the Sierra Madre Mountains, in a dam site twenty-five kilometers northeast of Manila attracted attention in the country. The general foreman of the Novaliches dam being constructed, W.S. Boston, notified the Director of the Bureau of Science and Beyer of the University of the Philippines. Both visited Novaliches and Beyer immediately realized an extensive pre-Spanish village and burial site previously unexplored in the Philippines had been partly uncovered which merited careful studies and explorations. The Novaliches discovery unfurled a new era in Philippine archaeology. According to Beyer, it has resulted not only in uncovering much of the largest archaeological site hitherto known in the Philippines, but in opening possibilities for a better understanding of the early history of man in the whole Malaysian region.21 Preliminary investigations, small-test excavations, and demarcation of general boundaries were conducted, and by April of that year a formal Beyer-Boston archaeological survey was rapidly launched before the construction work in progress flooded the sites. Beyer and Boston initially conducted and financed the survey at private expense. But due to Boston's withdrawal from the project, Beyer carried on the survey alone after 1928.

The Novaliches discovery marked a turning point not only in Beyer's scientific career, but in his life as well. While working on the first site, a second find was made on the other side of the Novaliches river, then a third and a fourth, and before the end of 1926 more than a dozen prehistoric sites had been excavated. Beyer gave up the Harvard position and decided that his major duty was to stay on and carry the archaeological work. For here was his opportunity to

substantiate his views and theories on the archaeology and pre-history of the islands. In the early years, Beyer's activities had been mainly centered towards ethnography and pre-history, and it was not until 1926 that he shifted to the virtually unworked field of archaeology. From Novaliches in Rizal province, the Beyer-Boston archaeological survey branched out to other sites, and ultimately included the nearby province of Bulacan. The Rizal-Bulacan surveys begun in 1926 and lasted until 1930, however the collecting activities of Beyer, his field assistants and collectors continued beyond that period. The collected artifacts became part of the Beyer archaeological collection. Beyer stated that the five-year period of explorations resulted in a collection which totalled nearly half a million specimens gathered from a total of 120 different sites.\textsuperscript{22} Beyer financed the major part of the project, with important contributions from interested friends and students. His residence in Ermita, Manila was converted into a museum, and four additional buildings were rented in the same district, then filled with archaeological artifacts, systematically catalogued, and which, according to Beyer, disclosed relics from all the horizons of the pre-historic ages of man. President Palma of the University of the Philippines and Director Brown of the Bureau of Science provided additional storage rooms in their buildings to house part of the overflowing Beyer collection. By 1932, Beyer begun another archaeological survey in the province of Batangas and which continued until the beginning of World War II. The first Batangas site was discovered by the late Governor F.G. Roth in the municipality of Cuenca in 1932, and was immediately visited by Beyer after his return from Hanoi as official Philippine delegate to the First Far Eastern Prehistoric Congress. The first five years were considered the most

productive, and explorations after 1937 chiefly confined to delimiting
the boundaries. Though Beyer worked mainly in the provinces of
Rizal, Bulacan, and Batangas from 1926 to 1941, he carried out other
exploration and collecting activities throughout the Philippines whenever
he had time and opportunity. In fact up to until the 1950's archaeological
work in the Philippines remained the monopoly of one man - Beyer. The
fact that he had pioneered in several scientific endeavors, and the
many contacts he had with the Philippine government and scientific
institutions assured Beyer of that monopoly. During his residence in
the islands, Beyer not only gathered a massive collection of
archaeological artifacts and library materials, but also wrote on
different fields - ethnography, pre-history, folklore, customary laws,
archaeology, oriental pottery and porcelain, and tektites. In 1935,
*La Vanguardia* published an important article by Beyer, 'Luzon Hace
Diez Mil Años', later on translated into English by the Manila Tribune.
This and other works which followed contained Beyer's views on the
pre-history of the Philippines more than 10,000 years ago, as he had
reconstructed from the archaeological findings in Rizal, Bulacan,
Batangas, and other places throughout the islands.

In 1947, the *Evening News Saturday Magazine* began an illustrated
serial publication (completed in 1948) on the history of the
Philippines from the earliest known times down to 1902, compiled by
Beyer and Professor J. de Veyra. It was entitled *Philippine Saga: A
Pictorial History of the Archipelago since time Began*, and being the
first work of its kind in the Philippines, attracted considerable attention.
Two major works of Beyer in Philippine archaeology were also published
after the war and these were *Outline Review of Philippine Archaeology
By Islands and Provinces* (1947) and *Philippine and East Asian Archaeology
and its Relation to the Origin of the Pacific Islands Population*
published by the Philippine National Research Council in 1948. These
two works are generally considered to have laid down the foundation
for any future work on archaeology in the Philippines. The latter work is recognized as Beyer's best and most significant contribution to Philippine prehistory and archaeology. The present theories on the racial and cultural history of the Philippines are mainly those of Beyer's. 'Before Beyer came', wrote a former student, 'there was no Philippine prehistory to speak of. When he started work he practically did so from scratch. After a generation of work he gave us a chronology and a prehistory.'

At the same time that Beyer was teaching in the university, involved in museum work and extending his explorations, he collaborated with the Dutch professor Dr Frederik Holleman in recording and compiling the data on the native customs and traditions of the peoples of the Philippines. Beyer worked under the Philippine Customary Law Committee headed by the University President Palma, which jointly sponsored the project with the Adat Law Foundation of Indonesia. The foundation sent Dr Holleman as its representative to Manila in 1931. Their combined efforts resulted in an eleven-volume typescript materials entitled *Philippine Customary Law Series*, the contents of which were largely selected and copied from Beyer's *Philippine Ethnographic Series*. The vast archaeological collection which Beyer had gathered, before war broke out in 1941, included tektites, pottery and porcelain. Tektites are dark, glassy objects generally believed to be of outer space origin and of which some of the largest known deposits are found in the Philippines. Beyer's interest in tektite studies started in the 1920's simultaneously with that of archaeology. According to him, he took the first tektite found in the Philippines from an early Iron-age grave at site A, during

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23 E.A. Manuel noted that this work is the finest point reached in his archaeological work ('H.O. Beyer: Retrospect and Prospect', p. 39); while Solheim wrote that it is Beyer's best and most important contribution to Philippine prehistory. ('H. Otley Beyer', p. 7).

24 E.A. Manuel, p. 40.
the archaeological survey of Novaliches, Rizal Province in 1926.25 Beyer stated that it remained an intriguing problem to Manila scientists for nearly two years. In 1928, Hans Overbeck of Java visited the Novaliches site with Beyer, and he examined several specimens found there. Overbeck suggested that they bore a strong resemblance to the puzzling 'Billitonites' of the Dutch East Indies, and this became the clue which solved their problem. From 1928 onwards, Beyer conducted an intensive search for these objects which resulted in their being discovered in many Philippine provinces, and a very large collection of them has been formed in Manila.26 Beyer also mentioned that the Philippine tektite bodies differ considerably in appearance from any other type previously found and this led him, in 1928, to name them 'Rizalites' because the first specimens were found in Rizal Province.27 That term has been widely accepted until the present time. Up to the late 1950's, Beyer is considered as one of the few authorities in the world studying tektites, and he conducted extensive correspondence with world-leading tektite pioneers. Beyer starting collecting tektites and he assembled roughly half a million specimens which by far is believed to be one of the largest in existence. When the war was over, international interest in tektites grew rapidly, and scientists utilized Beyer's tektites in their space researches and cosmic studies. A colleague stated that Beyer, with forty years of collecting, had kept detailed records of all his finds and that he was probably the world expert on the micro-distribution of tektites, but he was not very cooperative

25 From a special reprint of H.O. Beyer's *The Relation of Tektites to Archaeology*, published by the National Research Council of the Philippines in 1955, p. 36.


in sharing his tektites.\textsuperscript{28} The Second World War brought considerable destruction to the entire Beyer collection, both from among the library materials and the artifacts, but fortunately spared the major bulk of tektite specimens. Additionally, about 95\% of Beyer's own tektite literature and original records safely stored with the specimens in the Watson building before the war, were saved and these included many important papers Beyer had either copied or abstracted.\textsuperscript{29} Beyer's collection of tektites and the several papers he had written on the subject gained him fame and international recognition. Two of his important works are \textit{Philippine Tektites and the Tektite Problem in General} which he presented in 1939 before the Sixth Pacific Science Congress, and \textit{The Relation of Tektites to Archaeology} presented before the Eight Pacific Science Congress in 1953. Final recognition of Beyer's work on Philippine tektites came when the first work was reprinted in the Smithsonian Annual Report for 1942. In 1961-1962, the University of the Philippines published Beyer's book of twenty papers entitled \textit{Philippine Tektites}, which according to him is a record of more or less chronological cross-section of his thirty-six years of tektite fieldwork and research in the Philippines from 1926 to 1962.\textsuperscript{30} The book had illustrations, charts, maps, bibliographies and selected abstracts, with detailed accounts on the characteristics and distribution of Philippine tektites. Beyer intended the book to 'serve as a practical handbook both for fieldworkers and for the many tektite students located in isolated places without proper access to library and laboratory resources.'\textsuperscript{31}

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\textsuperscript{28} Solheim, p. 9.
\textsuperscript{29} H.O. Beyer, 'Preface to Philippine Tektite Volume Two', August 14, 1945, \textit{Philippine Tektites}, Volume 2.
\textsuperscript{31} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 13.
\end{flushleft}
In addition to tektites, Beyer also collected and wrote on the
specialized field of oriental porcelain and pottery. Beyer was not
only a collector, but also a well-known authority on the subject.
Beyer said that his early interest in ceramic studies was largely
stimulated by the collecting work of the late Dean Worcester and
Major de Mitkiewicz, and especially by contact with Dr Carl E. Guthe who
headed an archaeological expedition to the Philippines in 1922 to 1924.
His interest was kept active in later years not only by the fascination
of original field exploration itself, but also by the constant interest
and assistance of such friends as E.O. Hester, the late Captain Roth,
Dr Batug, and others who have all made considerable contributions to our
knowledge of Philippine and Oriental ceramic history.\textsuperscript{32} The collection
of ceramics and stoneware materials which Beyer has assembled before
the war has been described as one of the best ever assembled,\textsuperscript{33} and one
of the finest in the world\textsuperscript{34} in his time. Beyer classified his private
collections into two types: first, those which have accumulated over a
considerable period of time and which have been the result of
miscellaneous rather than systematic collecting throughout the
Philippines; and second, the systematic collections which have
resulted from the Rizal Province Archaeological Survey (1926-1930).\textsuperscript{35}
According to Dr Fox, archaeological research in the Philippines prior
to World War II which is pertinent to the study of Chinese influences

\textsuperscript{32} H.O. Beyer, \textit{Supplementary Illustrations to the Outline Review
of Philippine Archaeology by Islands and Provinces} (Manila:
Museum and Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, University of
the Philippines 1949), p. 4.

\textsuperscript{33} Belinda O. Cunanan, 'The Beyer Collection', \textit{The Chronicle

\textsuperscript{34} Ruston S. Lizaran, 'The Remarkable Beyer Collection', \textit{Philippine
International}, Volume IX, No. 3 (July 1965), p. 25.

\textsuperscript{35} H.O. Beyer, \textit{Chinese Siamese and Other Oriental Ceramic Wares in
the Philippine Islands} (Manila, 1930), p. 44.
in the Islands was accomplished largely by one man and that is Beyer.36 From the porcelain and pottery wares and artifacts he gathered, sorted, and identified, Beyer was able to designate the chronology of the archaeological sites and establish cultural horizons in Philippine pre-history, relative to specific periods of time when trade and contact between Asian nations, particularly China, and the Philippines took place. His findings are brought out in a few papers which are known primarily to specialists in the field.

During his lifetime, Beyer was involved in several scientific associations and learned societies, both local and international. He was Philippine delegate to the International Congress at Batavia in 1920, and to the Fourth Pan-Pacific Scientific Congress held in the same place in 1929. In 1932, he was in northern Indo-China and South China, and officially represented the country at the First Far Eastern Prehistoric Congress which assembled in Hanoi. News of Beyer's archaeological explorations in 1926 attracted the attention of prominent foreign archaeologists, and several of them, notably Professor Dixon of Harvard, Dr Callenfels of Batavia, and Dr Finn of Hong Kong visited the sites and examined the artifacts he had collected. Dixon and Callenfels published significant observations on their findings. This led to the selection of Manila as the site of the Second Far Eastern Prehistoric Congress in 1935, and Beyer who was the organizer was elected President. Three years after, he and Dr E. Quisumbing represented the Philippines at the Third Far Eastern Prehistoric Congress held in Singapore and Malacca. Beyer, Callenfels, and Heine-Geldern formed the core of a small group of prehistoric archaeologists mainly interested in the Southeast Asian area. But, according to a colleague, though Beyer travelled extensively before the war, particularly in connection with the congresses held in Hanoi and Singapore, it was

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Callenfels who actually worked in several different countries and
wrote more generally of Southeast Asian-wide problems than he did.
Beyer who was responsible for the Second Congress never get around to
publishing other than a few scattered papers, and Heine-Geldern working
from a distance was the researcher most concerned with the area as a
whole. In 1939, during the Commonwealth period, President Quezon
publicly commended Beyer for his contributions to Philippine culture
and history; and plans were drawn by the government to obtain Beyer's
entire archaeological collection which would be properly housed and
maintained in a National Museum of Natural History. However,
worsening international relations delayed work on the museum building
and then war came in 1941. In 1939, he was awarded the order of
Officer d'Academie, a French decoration for scholars and scientists
conferring lifetime membership in the French academy. Two of his
outstanding tributes were the Presidential Award of Merit (Gold Medal)
from President Quirino in 1949 which recognized his forty years service
to Philippine science, and the Rizal Pro Patra Award in 1961 during
the centennial celebration of Dr Rizal, the country's national hero.
Beyer was the only American recipient of the latter, which honored his
services to the Filipino motherland. The famous paleontologist, Dr
Koenigswald named a species of extinct pigmy elephant Elephas Beyeri,
after Beyer. He received honorary degrees from three prestigious
universities, an Honorary Doctor's Degree in Science from Silliman in
1959, followed by a Doctor of Science in Anthropology in 1961 from
Ateneo de Manila, and finally, a Doctor of Laws degree, honoris causa
from the University of the Philippines in 1964. Beyer was the first
faculty member of the state university to be granted such a distinction.
There are others, and these awards and decorations gave recognition to
the stature Beyer had achieved in the scientific community, not only

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37 Solheim, p. 9.
in the Philippines but also from abroad.

The Beyer collection is acknowledged in its entirety as the richest single collection in existence of anthropological materials relating to the Philippines that can be found in the country or anywhere else in the world. Before the war of 1941, Beyer kept this vast collection of library and artifacts in several buildings in Manila. Beyer, as everyone else in the Philippines, foresaw the inevitable coming of the war, and hoping at least to save part of the collection he decided to divide it. The largest, most important, and rarest portion remained in several buildings in the Ermita district, while the less important specimens and duplicate copies of the library were transferred to the Watson building near the Pasig River. Beyer believed strongly in always making several copies of every precious document he possessed and keeping them in different places, so that if one copy was lost or destroyed there are other copies available. The war did considerable destruction to the Beyer collection. The portions housed in the Ermita district were extensively destroyed and looted by the Japanese and American army units, and later burned by the fire which razed most of the area to the ground during the liberation period. Meanwhile, the Japanese had selected the Watson building as the most appropriate site for the new museum, thus the portion of the Beyer collection stored in that building remained secure. The new museum was renamed Philippine Research Institute for Oriental Pre-history and Beyer was allowed to continue working in the institute under conditional internment. While American and allied civilians were placed in concentration camps, the Japanese who recognized Beyer's scientific work permitted him to remain relatively free, except during the last months. This was in part due to his friendship with a Japanese anthropologist and adviser to the Imperial Army commander, Dr Tadao Kano, Dr Lizaran, p. 20.

Solheim, p. 11.
who kept the institute under his patronage. According to a scholar, the Japanese also found useful for buttressing their 'Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere' philosophy some of Beyer's findings concerning the early migration of peoples into the Philippines by water from the north and this helped fortify Japanese contention of racial ties with Filipinos.\textsuperscript{40} Beyer was also permitted to continue his research work in the university without pay, though he could not teach or deliver lectures. Despite heavy bombing during the war of liberation, sections of Manila north of Pasig River where the Watson building stood, were miraculously spared severe damage; and the Watson building was one of the few large structures in Manila which emerged relatively intact after 1945. And because of the precautions which Beyer did to safeguard his collections, his scientific work was never lost entirely. On the whole, the portions of the Beyer collection housed in the Watson building constitute about 80\% of the best scientific collections surviving in the city of Manila in the post-war era.

After 1945, Beyer resumed his teaching and continued writing and researching. However, he devoted his time chiefly in salvaging, reassembling and extending the surviving collection housed in the upper level of the Watson building in San Miguel, Manila. Beyer had the upper floor converted into a combination museum-residence where he worked and lived in a practically hermit-like existence. Due to the great shortage of adequate structures in post-war Manila, Beyer found it very difficult to hold the Watson building for scientific purposes; and both commercial companies and government entities made many attempts to oust the collection and take over the building. The problem was solved when the Philippine Republic was inaugurated on July 4, 1946. President Manuel Roxas purchased the Watson building and the land on which it was erected, and had the second floor designated solely for Beyer's use. There the entire collection remained until the library

\textsuperscript{40} Ravenholt, p. 11.
portion was acquired in 1972 by the National Library of Australia. After World War II, the Beyer collection which was housed in the Watson building became officially known as the 'Museum and Library, Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the University of the Philippines'. The whole collection was privately owned; even the university had no legal hold to it, since it had no official standing as an entity of the University of the Philippines. The fact that it bore the name of the state university was solely based on the tacit understanding and concession extended by Dr Beyer that a portion of the entire collection be eventually turned over to the University of the Philippines.41 Long before the death of the American scholar, a number of institutions both in the Philippines and from abroad have expressed interest in acquiring the vast Beyer collection, or a portion of it. Beyer, on his part, was willing to effect the necessary donations to any government entity in the Philippines, upon the erection of a building which would house his treasured library and artifacts. In 1958-1959, the chairman of the Anthropology Department in the University of the Philippines, E. Manuel, proposed the creation of a museum unit, but this plan was not pushed through.42 In the 1960's, Beyer with the help of E. Hester of the University of Chicago, actually started to transfer a part of his collection in the provisional anthropology museum which occupied the east wing of the university's College of Arts and Sciences.43 Again under the administration of Dr C. Romulo, plans were drawn to provide a Beyer Hall in the new multi-million International Center which will

41 Lizaran, p. 23.
43 Ibid., p. 15.
house the collection but again this was not carried out.\footnote{44 Cunanan, p. 11.} In a letter of Beyer to Dr C. Romulo in 1965, he spoke of his besetting ambition to see a university museum built and stocked with representation of the truly long cultural history of the Philippines. Beyer wrote:

> It seems that the best contribution I can now offer would be to donate to the University a significant part of the archaeological, ethnographic, and geological materials I have procured in the past fifty years from my personal funds. This, I think, can best be done through an agreement between you and myself designed to place the extensive assemblages of archaeological, ethnographic, and geological specimens in a University Museum and protecting my financial interests and of my heirs.\footnote{45 From a letter by H.O. Beyer to Dr Carlos P. Romulo dated August 7, 1965 which appeared as Appendix E to the book edited by M. Zamora.}

Sadly, Beyer died before these proposals could materialize, and before any legal commitment to the university could eventuate.

In 1954, Beyer retired as chairman of the Department of Anthropology in the university, and was subsequently appointed Emeritus Professor of Anthropology. After that, he lived quietly on a small government pension in the museum-house above Watson building, with his library and artifacts, his secretary-companion Naty Noriega, and collection of cats. Beyer maintained a regular schedule, regular working and leisure hours and took meals prepared by the secretary at the building. Beyer did not travel much after the war and did not leave the Philippines though he was invited to attend several international conferences. Solheim stated that Beyer's habits were as systematic as everything else about him and he suspected that less travel had just become a habit.\footnote{46 Solheim, p. 6.} However he supported two archaeological expeditions in the 1950's. The first expedition was fully financed by Beyer and uncovered a jar-burial site in the Bondoc peninsula, Quezon province; while the second which was conducted in Batungan mountains and Kalanay cave in Western Masbate had Beyer paying half of the expenses. Beyer remained extremely independent throughout his life. Though his close associates
urged him a number of times to apply to several foundations interested in supporting work under Beyer's direction, he dismissed such propositions, saying 'I have never begged a penny in my life and I never will'.

Two very important elements of early archaeological research in the Philippines are, according to Solheim, equally elements of Beyer's personality and these were: first, his extreme independence and the fact that he worked alone, and second, his unwillingness to share his data. This policy seemed to apply not only to Beyer's collection of library materials, but also to his archaeological sites and artifacts as well. Beyer had an almost fanatical attitude towards his collections and kept them always under strict surveillance. He never let anybody touch nor re-organize things in the museum. Beyer felt his losses in the collection during the war like the death of a loved one and confessed to his secretary Naty Noriega that had the entire collection been destroyed or burned he would have died or gone crazy. An offer by the American authorities to bring him back to the states during the war was spurned with the rejoinder, 'I would rather die with my collection'. Beyer approached the collection with a reverence which he also demanded from his staff. According to N. Noriega, his favorite words were 'Don't touch' and 'Be careful', and that he handled books as though they were sacred, holding them by the very edge and turning the pages with ever such delicate care. Beyer generally dictated manuscripts to his secretary, but after she had typed the pages she could handle them no longer. Beyer alone could sort them out, and when a typed page chanced to fall, he himself would pick it up. Even when he was well advanced in age, Naty said he still allowed no one else

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47 Solheim, p. 15.
48 Solheim, p. 5.
to pick up any fallen paper. A younger colleague found it often frustrating for him to work with Beyer, stating that though Beyer had a tremendous quantity of data available in his library or in his collection, Beyer would not let him touch anything unless he got it himself, opened the book to the proper page, and stood over him while reading the passage. When finished, Beyer immediately took the book and put it away again. A Filipino journalist remarked that age has not dimmed Beyer's elephantine memory and despite the years, he unerringly located the right books and papers from among his many cases and bundles of documents. And regarding Beyer's unique filing system, one of Beyer's assistants commented to him that Beyer memorized the location of every item, and did not want them disturbed or rearranged as this might confuse him. He knew when his things had been disturbed. Naty Noriega recalled, 'He stubbornly resisted any attempt to tidy up his collection, arguing that such tidying up would only make it harder for him to locate things. He thus kept his seven-room house in dismaying disarray, and yet, surprisingly, he could locate anything, including items he had kept years ago, within minutes or even seconds. For the old man was blessed with an elephantine memory which began to let him down only in his very last years.' Because of the manner in which Beyer had arranged his collection, Solheim remarked that a visit to Beyer's museum would convince an uninformed person that Beyer was a human rat-pack and an antiquarian.

As far as access to the library was concerned, Solheim wrote that

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52 Solheim, p. 3.
55 Solheim, p. 4.
Beyer treated freshmen students and internationally renowned scholars with equal deference. The book might be available in three minutes if Beyer wasn't busy, but because he was more often busy, one might wait for half an hour or all afternoon and then not get the work at all because Beyer said it was too late. And that it was virtually impossible to follow up a second reference in one day.\textsuperscript{56} Beyer was equally unwilling to share with others access to his archaeological sites. According to Solheim, Beyer did not want anyone else bothering his sites, though he had the information in many cases. If Beyer sent a person out to a particular area, he provided further information that usually made it possible for the site to be located; but if he did not want a person working in that area he did not provide the further information.\textsuperscript{57} As an example, Solheim cited that of the Swedish archaeologist Olov Janse. When Janse was investigating the traces of a supposed 'Dong-son culture' in the Philippines, he wrote of not finding any trace of a grave or dwelling site, inspite of going to the places cited by Beyer as where certain artifacts have been found. Beyer did not reveal to Janse the exact localities where various finds have been made, and the latter spent his time for about a week in fruitless explorations. Beyer's local foreman also refused to give information on their previous work despite questioning from Janse.\textsuperscript{58} Because of this, Janse stated that no original archaeological work had been carried out in the Philippines prior to his visit (in 1939-1940) and that the few collections of pre-Spanish antiquities in existence there consisted mostly of Chinese ceramics, and that they were mostly without proper records and are party to be regarded as curiosities.\textsuperscript{59} Beyer disclosed

\textsuperscript{56} Ibid., p. 5.

\textsuperscript{57} Solheim, p. 5.

\textsuperscript{58} Solheim, pp. 4-5.

\textsuperscript{59} H.O. Beyer, \textit{Supplementary Illustrations}, p. 13.
to a journalist in 1958 that he disliked treasure hunters who disturb archaeological sites in the belief that they contain buried treasures. 'This is the reason why we never publicize our work in various archaeological sites for fear that vandals may carry away priceless artifacts which are of no economic value to them', he said. Solheim regarded Beyer's secretive attitude as an undesirable personality trait, the trait of a fanatic collector, who did not wish to share his collection, his data being as much a part of his collection as a Sung bowl or tektite. After the war, besides his regular daily schedule, Beyer's major activity was in 1953 when he organized the Fourth Far Eastern Pre-history Congress which was held jointly with the Eight Pacific Science Congress in Manila and Quezon City. Solheim commented that Beyer who organized the Social Science meetings for the congress was unable to delegate authority and concentrated all his efforts into the prehistory sessions without asking anyone else to take charge of the other meetings. He wrote that Beyer would never have thought of having someone else do his work: either he did the task himself or the task didn't get done. However Solheim conceded that in his last years, Beyer had mellowed considerably. For instance, he recalled that in 1962, he visited Beyer and asked him for some archaeology papers for a special issue of Asian Perspectives. In 1963, he saw Beyer again, and they were going over some papers when a visitor came, and he thought that this was the end of his project. Instead of putting them away for some other time, Beyer told him to select the papers he wanted. Solheim said that this episode would not have happened in Beyer's younger days.

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60 Quirino, p. 51.
61 Solheim, p. 8.
62 Solheim, p. 12.
63 Ibid., p. 16.
H.O. Beyer is generally acknowledged as the foremost anthropologist in the Philippines. He died on December 31, 1966 at the age of eighty-three. The Beyer funeral held in Ifugao, Mt Province was unique. He was accorded burial honours in three stages, namely: Filipino, represented by Ifugao ceremonies which lasted three days and nights, Spanish for the Catholic rituals, and American for the Protestant service. Beyer was laid to rest on January 11, 1967 at noontime, in an Ifugao burial shed overlooking the hills of Banaue, Ifugao near his home as he had wished.

In his last years, Beyer was physically healthy, but with nearly complete loss of memory and gradual loss of strength. Yet such was his fame that he continued receiving various honors, such as the two-day symposium held at the University of the Philippines a year before he died. The event marked the anniversary of Beyer's eighty-second birthday on July 13 of that year, and his almost simultaneous arrival in the islands sixty years ago on July 17. Distinguished government officials, scientists, scholars, former colleagues and students, numerous friends and admirers - majority of whom have been directly or indirectly influenced and inspired by Beyer - joined the affair and contributed to the symposium. Four leading academic and scientific institutions sponsored the event and accorded official tribute to an American who had grown old in his devotion to all things Philippine - the National Science Development Board, the National Research Council of the Philippines, National Museum, and the Anthropology Department of the University of the Philippines, founded by Beyer five decades earlier.

In over sixty years of scientific and pioneering work in the island, Beyer toiled with a dedication and zeal believed to be unsurpassed by any American scholar, dead or living. Yet he was not a great archaeologist, prehistorian or anthropologist, although Dr Rahmann

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pointed out that in an article that 'in the field of anthropological studies (taken in their widest sense) Beyer has gained the same importance for the Philippines as e.g., Boas and Kroeber have for the United States and Graebner and Schmidt for the German-speaking countries of Europe.'65 Neither did Beyer made more contributions in print, but according to Dr Rahmann, had Beyer indeed published more, most probably he would not have become the great collector whom we admire today. 'We may even venture to add that Beyer chose the better of the alternatives opened before him. But for his untiring efforts, much of the ethnographic material stored in the Institute and Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (Manila) would by now be entirely lost and Philippine archaeology would not have been given the impetus because of which others are now carrying on successfully the work of Beyer,' he continued.66

Beyer will be remembered for one great achievement. He laid the foundation of anthropological studies in the Philippines. He will be remembered for his single-minded dedication to all things about the Philippines. 'Today', wrote a scholar, 'it is safe to say that many aspects of Philippine culture previously not understood or needing realization are now plainer for us, clearer because Professor Beyer showed us the way... His consolation was that what he had discovered would produce other findings, that the intellectual process would keep on partly because of him.'67 He was alone but he never cared. He toiled hard, tirelessly, and with courage. 'Long before anthropology was granted


the measure of respect it now receives', wrote Frank Lynch,

he was hard at work in it. And at a time when even Kroeber
thought the Philippines had never known an age of stone,
Beyer was mounting the first of his famous archaeological
surveys. In the classroom and the forum, by printed word
and slide, this late nineteenth century prehistorian made
Darwin and Tylor palatable to a largely pre-Darwinian public.
Beyer started the anthropological enterprise in the
Philippines, and kept it going, single-handed, a long,
long time.09

Beyer led the way. In the pursuit of this goal, he devoted his
whole life, giving almost everything he had. 'When Beyer died',
remarked a former student, 'he was the shell of a planted seed'.69

(Beyer Memorial Issue on the Prehistory of the Philippines),
Volume 15, no. 1 (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University,

69 Ibid., p. 8.
CHAPTER A2

AN ASSESSMENT OF HIS IDEAS AND METHODS

Beyer was among the few of the earliest scholars like Roy Dickerson, Elmer Merrill, Roy Barton, Fred Eggan, Fay-Cooper Cole, who pioneered anthropological studies in the Philippines, particularly before the Second World War. His works in anthropology maybe roughly classified into the following categories: ethnography, folklore, pre-history, archaeology, customary laws, tektites, oriental pottery and porcelain. During his stay in the islands, Beyer almost single-handedly discovered, gathered, and safeguarded much of the basic data and artifacts related to these subjects. He had also written and published papers, treatises, and books more than any other scientist in the Philippines who dedicated his lifework to these fields.

As the pioneer in anthropological research in the Philippines before the war, an outstanding achievement of Beyer was his reconstruction of a cultural chronology for the prehistory of the country. He had embodied these views in four published works: Recent Discoveries in Philippine Archaeology which Beyer contributed to the Third Pan-Pacific Science Congress held 1926 in Tokyo, 'Pre-Historic Philippines' (1936), Outline Review of Philippine Archaeology by Islands and Provinces (1947) and Philippine and East Asian Archaeology and Its Relation to the Origin of the Pacific Islands Population (1948).

Beyer wrote that from 1910 to 1918 his research activities in the Philippines were almost exclusively on ethnological lines, followed by historical research from 1918 to 1925. And from 1926 onwards, with the discovery of the Novaliches site, archaeology took up his entire time.¹ According to Beyer, no systematic archaeological exploration had been conducted in the Philippines prior to 1921, and such good deal of

work as been done had been the result of casual exploration by visiting scientists or travelers who were engaged in other work. Beyer listed only two important archaeological investigations carried out in the Philippines before 1926 and these were the Alfred Marche exploration of Marinduque Island in 1881, and the work of Dr Carl E. Guthe in the central Visayan Islands from 1922 to 1924. Beyer was prepared for the Novaliches exploration of 1926. He wrote:

Stimulated by the presence of the Michigan expedition and by certain intensive studies of pre-Spanish Philippine history carried on in recent years, the writer [had] began in 1921 a study of the known data of Philippine archaeology, and began a compilation of all available existing source material, which work was continued down to the beginning of 1925—being then interrupted by a ten month's absence from the Islands.

Prior to 1926, Beyer also stated that any definite attempt at classifying Philippine prehistoric stone implements, or those of any part of northern Malaysia, would have proved abortive for the simple reason of the almost entire lack of adequate material; and that at the beginning of 1924 only a little over sixty specimens were actually available for study and classification Thus Beyer said:

In 1923-1924 I attempted a compilation of all known data on true Philippine Stone-Age finds, and after a very diligent search of the literature, as well as an examination of all rumored finds, I was able finally to accumulate data on some sixty implements that seemed to be genuine prehistoric Stone-Age artifacts. Of these, I acquired or personally examined about thirty real Neolithic implements, scattered over a wide geographic range, from Davao to northern Luzon. Most of these tools were obviously Middle or Late Neolithic in type, but they were sufficient to show that we had a true Late Stone-Age

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2 H.O. Beyer, Recent Discoveries in Philippine Archaeology, p. 2469.
4 H.O. Beyer, Recent Discoveries, p. 2472.
population here, even if the remains were scarce and widely scattered.6

During the ten month's absence from the Philippines in 1925, Beyer was on a government mission to the Hawaiian islands. He took advantage of the opportunity to make a careful study of the Polynesian and Micronesian stone implements in the Bishop Museum, as well as brief studies of the general prehistoric material in some of the larger American museums. He also examined the archaeological collections of the Imperial Museum at Tokyo and the Hong Kong Museum on the way home. Beyer said that shortly after his return to Manila, this mental refreshment in an old field of study became doubly valuable in its application to the rather remarkable new finds of March 1926 in Novaliches.7 The Rizal Province Archaeological Survey of 1926-1930 brought really abundant and positive evidence to Beyer's attention.8 Beyer wrote:

Some idea of the tremendous progress in our knowledge of the Philippines Stone-Age, in 1926 and after, may be gathered from the fact that during 4 or 5 years that the Rizal Survey lasted, more than 50,000 authentic Stone-Age artifacts were gathered from Rizal Province alone; while in later years equally great numbers were gathered from Batangas, Bulakan and other Luzon areas. We may therefore now accept the Philippine Stone-Age as fully and most amply established.9

The accidental discoveries at Novaliches dam site in 1926 started the Rizal Province Archaeological Survey. Beyer stated that the survey ultimately covered about three fourths of Rizal Province and nearly one-fourth of Bulakan province.10 In the course of four years (1926-1930),

the survey located 120 different sites and conducted excavations in each of them at varying degrees. Beyer wrote that a few of the most important sites were explored extensively, while others were explored in part only, with sections reserved for future more detailed work. The nearly half a million specimens gathered during the survey included a large variety of materials like stone artifacts; pottery and porcelain; beads, jewelry and other ornaments; tektites; bronze, copper, iron, lead, gold, jade, silver, and glass specimens; and mammalian fossil remains. Beyer estimated that though the recent war destroyed about seventy-five per cent of the bulkier material from the Rizal-Bulakan Archaeological Survey, a good cross-section of the entire collection survived. The full set of catalogues and field notes were preserved. Many of the rare specimens lost had been photographed and described in detail, and, although their negatives were lost, a fairly good set of file-prints still remained.

In 1932, Beyer commenced the Batangas Archaeological Survey in Batangas province and which lasted until 1941. The first important site in Batangas containing what Beyer said were Neolithic materials was discovered by the late Capt. F.G. Roth in the early part of 1932. Beyer stated that the area explored by the survey is the richest archaeological find so far uncovered in the Philippines. He estimated that eighty per cent of the Batangas archaeological materials gathered had survived the war, with the original collection comprising more than a quarter of a million pieces. Beyer considered the Batangas collection as their best single collection and one of the finest of its kind ever made anywhere.

From 1926 to 1941, Beyer's exploration and collecting

11 Ibid., p. 231.
12 Ibid., pp. 231-232.
14 H.O. Beyer, Outline Review, pp. 245-246.
activities were conducted not only in the provinces of Rizal, Bulacan and Batangas in Luzon island, but eventually covered the entire archipelago from the Babuyan and Batanes islands in the north, to Tawi-Tawi island in the south. This is evident in his work, Outline Review of Philippine Archaeology by Islands and Provinces, in which Beyer provided a 'geographical outline of what has been actually accomplished in Philippine archaeological exploration'.

Here, Beyer systematically recorded and described the specimens he had personally examined, and also noted the finds he termed as being of a 'reliable nature' reported to him from various sites throughout the Philippines, and then arranged the data geographically. According to Beyer, he had arranged the data under each geographical heading either chronologically or typologically so far as practicable, in order to furnish the essential information concerning each province or island in the briefest practical way, with uniformity of presentation followed only where convenient under the circumstances.

Beyer pioneered in formulating theories on the cultural and racial history of the Philippines. He attributed the prime importance of the collections from the Novaliches site as due to the fact that it has given for the first time in the Philippines a series of horizons in ancient culture; and second, that it carries our knowledge of man in the islands back to a period much more remote than that of any previous find. From the data he had gathered through the years and the artifacts he had collected, Beyer reconstructed a tentative pre-historic horizon table for the Novaliches and neighboring sites in the island of Luzon. This he set forth in his first archaeological publication, Recent Discoveries in Philippine Archaeology published in 1926. As new materials were gathered, Beyer modified and extended the cultural chronology to

16 Ibid., p. 205.
17 H.O. Beyer, Recent Discoveries, p. 2472.
ultimately cover the entire Philippines, and his findings appeared in two later works, *Outline Review of Philippine Archaeology by Islands and Provinces* (1947), and *Philippine and East Asian Archaeology and its Relation to the Origin of the Pacific Islands Population* (1948). Dr. R. Dixon wrote in 1930:

>The findings made by Beyer during the last four years in the Philippines, have... opened up for us a wholly new vista, which not only carries our vision in one sweep back perhaps to palaeolithic times, but shows us clearly that even this remote fringe of the old world was reached by cultural streams, some of whose sources lay in Western Asia, and whose influence was felt here perhaps as early as the beginning of the first millenium B.C.18

Other earlier minor publications which embodied Beyer's views on the racial and cultural pre-history of the Filipinos are: 'A Pre-Historic Iron Age in the Philippines' (1928), 'Luzon Hace Diez Mil Años' and 'The Philippine Peoples of Pre-Spanish Times' both published in 1935, *The New Stone Age in Batangas Province* presented by Beyer in 1935 during the Second Far Eastern Pre-Historic Congress in Manila, *The Stone Age in the History of Luzon* which he contributed to the Sixth Pacific Science Congress in 1938, and 'Crossroads of Culture' (1938), Beyer made an important contribution after the war with the publication of his *Second Report on New Finds of Pleistocene Fossil Mammals from the Philippines, with associated Palaeoliths and Tektites* by the University of the Philippines in 1958. According to Beyer, their discovery of a great number of fossil remains from extinct forms of land-migrating larger mammals clearly indicates the existence in Pleistocene times of land bridges connecting the Philippines with the mainland of Asia, and with one another;19 and that the finding in the

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fossil-containing Pleistocene deposits of a considerable number of
man-made stone artifacts of several early types similar or related to
those found in other parts of southeastern Asia demonstrate that Early
Man also accompanied the large Pleistocene mammals in their migration
into the Philippine region. Beyer cited their further discovery in the
same general Pleistocene deposits containing fossils and early stone
artifacts, of a large number of tektites and that archaeologically,
his said that the presence of primary tektites may serve as a guide to
deposits of this date. Beyer's tentative pre-historic chronology for
the Philippines based on his book *Outline Review of Philippine Archaeology
by Islands and Provinces* may be summarized as follows: (1) Palaeolithic
(Old Stone Age): 250,000-50,000 B.C. (2) Mesolithic (Middle Stone Age):
20,000-8,000 B.C. (3) Neolithic (New Stone Age): 5,000-200 B.C. (4)
Bronze Age: 800-250 B.C. (5) Prehistoric Iron Age: 250-200 B.C. to
Age: ninth to sixteenth century A.D. (8) Spanish Period: seventeenth-
nineteenth century.

The two main characteristics of the methodology and theoretical
framework which Beyer used in his reconstruction of cultural chronology
appeared to be; first, he theorized cultural, historical, and time
sequences based upon typological analyses of the artifacts he gathered
from his several years of archaeological explorations in the Philippines;
and secondly, he attempted to compare such sequences with those developed
in other areas, like southeast Asia or Europe. Solheim wrote that
'typological and distributional studies are the basis of his
reconstructions of Philippine history, not stratigraphy or comparisons of
artifacts and complexes from carefully excavated sites.' Beyer was

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20 Ibid., p. 2.
21 Ibid., p. 53.
23 Solheim, p. 4.
deeply influenced by the European diffusionist Heine-Geldern in employing his generalizations and in correlating facts. According to a younger colleague F.L. Jocano, in choosing Heine-Geldern as his model, Beyer falls short of what one expects from him and he became less of the creative genius that his systematic handling of Filipino prehistoric materials early indicated. Jocano also considered as unfortunate Beyer's refusal to reconsider his theoretical framework even if new data became available and new intellectual approaches in anthropology have universally questioned the adequacy of the model he used.\textsuperscript{24} After the war, from 1945 onwards, new data have been unravelled by Beyer's associates and younger colleagues, specially those connected with the National Museum. Controlled archaeological excavations which utilized modern and better methods and techniques took place, mainly conducted by anthropologists of the museum. The use of radio-carbon dating in archaeological analysis was introduced, which greatly aided scientists and scholars in their studies of chronology. The National Museum led by R. Fox conducted excavations at Tabon caves, in the island of Palawan in 1962 utilizing radio-carbon (C-14) datings. The event started what Fox regarded as 'certainly the most extensive and systematic series of excavations yet attempted in the Philippines', and which he said revealed cultural sequences which show striking differences from the cultural chronology set forth by Beyer several years ago.\textsuperscript{25}

Another of Beyer's younger colleagues, A. Evangelista stated that the present trends of evidence, both direct and inferential, strongly suggest revisions and refinements in the conclusions reached by Beyer


on the basis of archaeological data then available to him, although several facets of his views must remain unaltered as justified both by the persistence of pre-war data in post-war excavated sites and by the continued lack of answers to old problems.\textsuperscript{26} Anthropologists, like Evangelista, who conducted the Tabon caves excavations, for example, found no archaeological evidence to validate some of Beyer's conclusions like his assumption on the use of certain housetypes during the early and late phases of the Neolithic period,\textsuperscript{27} or his concept on the appearance of a Bronze Copper Age within the Neolithic period. R. Fox asserted that there is no evidence from their Palawan excavations of a Copper Bronze Age which materialized in the Philippines. Instead Fox suggested another term called 'Chalcolithic' to temporarily designate the transitional stage linking the Late Neolithic and the Early Iron Age.\textsuperscript{28} Other hypotheses of Beyer suggested re-interpretations, as for instance his dating of potteries. Beyer failed to link pottery with any of the Neolithic sites he had explored and dated its appearance in a later period, the Iron Age. But new findings recovered not only from the Palawan cave sites, but from other excavated areas in the Philippines revealed the presence of potteries as positive features of the Late Neolithic period, continuing to the present time.\textsuperscript{29} However, there were findings of Beyer which remained, as for example, his assumption that agriculture and animal husbandry were known and practiced during the Neolithic, as supported by comparative data, which according to Evangelista, remains undisputed in the absence of information on the

\hspace{1cm} \textsuperscript{26} Alfredo Evangelista, 'H.O. Beyer's Philippine Neolithic in the Context of Postwar Discoveries in Local Archaeology', \textit{Studies in Philippine Anthropology (In Honor of H. Otley Beyer)}, p. 82.

\hspace{1cm} \textsuperscript{27} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 80.

\hspace{1cm} \textsuperscript{28} Fox, p. 93 and Evangelista, p. 83.

\hspace{1cm} \textsuperscript{29} Evangelista, pp. 76-78, 83.
contrary. Beyer's typologies for stone artifacts of the Neolithic are still used for typing and analyzing any stone-tool finds today, due to the lack of empirical evidence which can guide the archaeologist in classifying all the known types of ground stone tools in the order of their appearance. Evangelista said that Beyer's technique of arriving at a relative chronology of the Neolithic reflects his absolute dates, and that surprisingly the figures are not too far off from the Neolithic dates obtained in Palawan through Carbon-14 and interpolations. He noted that Beyer's end date for the Neolithic should be retained temporarily except for marginal areas, although his beginning date suggested a reduction of 1,000 years. According to Fox, both Beyer's and the Palawan data, as well as comparative evidences from other areas of south and east Asia agree on the appearance of the small flakes industries during a certain period, the early Holocene. Even Jocano stated that Beyer's datings of some prehistoric sites, particularly those which emerged during the later part of the iron age, cross-checked with scientifically-controlled carbon-14 dates and that it is amazing how Beyer could have 'dated' these sites correctly by simply studying the artifacts.

In particular, the archaeological methods used by Beyer during his archaeological surveys is questioned. Evangelista stated that Beyer had persistently avoided any detailed discussion of the field methods and

30 Ibid., p. 83.
31 Ibid., p. 76.
32 Ibid., p. 75.
33 Ibid., p. 82.
34 Fox, p. 112.
techniques which he utilized in removing his materials from the archaeological context, leading many of his colleagues to conclude that his vast collections have come from disturbed deposits, or even from hasty diggings. He also noted that Beyer reports countless scattered surface finds from all over the country, and that Beyer has not published a single site report, describing how he proceeded to document the site and to gather data therefrom. Evangelista further asserted that the inadequacies of Beyer's data were not a consequence of the non-existence of basic techniques and methods of archaeological explorations and excavations in his time. Beyer, in an article written in 1951, mentioned the archaeological method he used and differentiated it from that of Stein-Callenfels, a contemporary fellow archaeologist. Beyer wrote:

Stein was a stickler for controlled excavation in which levels were determined with a surveyor's transit (or "theodolite", as he liked to call it), and the location of each specimen carefully measured by means of a steel tape or a graduated rod, and recorded on appropriate vertical and horizontal maps. He had a strong tendency to classify the results of all excavations and "pot-holing" done without this meticulous care as "surface finds..." However, in the case of many of our Philippine sites when the stratification was already well-known (having been pre-determined through small cross-sectional excavations or controlled pot-holing), I am quite convinced that the resulting specimens are classified as accurately as if the whole of the work had been done in the painstaking and time-consuming way that Stein invariably advocated.

Beyer does not discuss in detail in any of his works, published or otherwise, how this controlled potholing or cross-sectional excavations noted in that article, is done. F.G. Roth, in an unpublished manuscript dated 1932, Notes on the Lectures in Philippine and Malaysian Archaeology by Professor Beyer, noted three methods used in the archaeological

36 Evangelista, pp. 72-73.
37 Ibid., p. 74.
38 H.O. Beyer, Additional Notes to Dr P.V. Stein Callenfels 'Prehistoric Sites on the Karama River', The University of Manila Journal of East Asiatic Studies, Volume 1, No. 1 (April 1952), p. 95.
explorations of Rizal province and these were: systematic archaeological
evacuation; excavation for other purposes such as construction of
buildings, roads and ditches, yielding archaeological material and
data; and surface exploration of large areas. Solheim, a former
student of Beyer, wrote that 'archaeological method was unknown to
Beyer when he started work at Novaliches as it apparently continued to
be throughout his field career'. He noted that 'common sense was his
method and this, combined with [Beyer's] very systematic mind, led to
the success that he achieved.' As regards Beyer's method of small
cross-sectional excavations or controlled pot-holing, Solheim was of
the opinion that this method is 'just not sufficiently careful for
archaeological excavation and could not result in a trustworthy
detailed site report nor certain associations.'

Most anthropologists of the National Museum of the Philippines
question the findings and chronological conclusions of Beyer because
of the archaeological techniques and methods he used in his explorations.

For instance, Fox commented on Beyer's use of 'Late Palaeolithic' in
the general description of the Philippine Stone Age, which Dr Fox said
was constructed principally on the basis of typological comparisons with
questionably dated artifacts from elsewhere in Southeast Asia. Fox
said that no late Palaeolithic artifacts have been recovered from
systematic excavations in the Philippines prior to the work in Tabon
Cave, and that careful excavations of the Luzon sites which Beyer

39 F.G. Roth, Notes on the Lectures in Philippine and Malaysian
Archaeology by Professor Beyer (Manila, 1932.) In this work,
Roth briefly discussed the advantages and disadvantages of the
three methods which Beyer used in his archaeological excavations.

40 Solheim, p. 4.

41 Ibid., p. 7.

42 Fox, p. 106.

43 Ibid., p. 104.
discovered would be necessary before definitive comparisons can be made between the Late Palaeolithic tool-traditions of Luzon and Palawan.44

Beyer has established for the Philippines a Mesolithic Period (Middle Stone Age). Fox wrote that the excavations in the Tabon Caves have revealed no distinctive tools or cultural patterns which would justify the use of the term 'Mesolithic';45 and that all the implements in Beyer's collections belonging to the Mesolithic are apparently from surface recoveries and their chronological position based upon Colani's study of the 'Hoabinhian' in Indo-China.46 'The use for comparison of "Hoabinhian" data from Indo-China, Malaya, and Indonesia which is of questionable age and associations, and the little evidence from the Philippines based upon surface collections and typological comparisons, does not justify the creation of a Philippine "Mesolithic"', Fox added.47

In the same manner, Fox mentioned that Beyer's highly significant findings that 'palaeoliths' have been found in association with fossil stegodon teeth and tektites of mid-Pleistocene date have not been documented by detailed reports of their recovery or of the stratigraphy and geology of the sites.48 'It is entirely possible', wrote W. Scott, 'that tool-making men lived in the Philippines together with the stegadon 250,000 years ago, but there is at present no evidence of it.'49

Evangelista also commented on Beyer's use of typological analyses to support his conclusions. For example, Beyer theorized the Neolithic period as consisting of three phases, but Evangelista asserted that any

44 Ibid., p. 106.
46 Ibid., p. 110.
47 Ibid., p. 111.
48 Ibid., p. 97.
chronological division of the Neolithic in any area must be based on stratigraphy, and that Beyer compared his findings on the Neolithic with a model proposed by Heine-Geldern for the Indonesian archipelago in 1945. Evangelista wrote:

It appears that Beyer, who was satisfied with the reconstructions proposed for mainland Asia and Indonesia, typed his Neolithic stone implements through comparison with the same material discovered in the former. Where a tool-type is absent outside the Philippines, a local development is postulated.\textsuperscript{50}

Another Philippine anthropologist F. Jocano also criticized Beyer's typological dating of Philippine prehistoric tools with those found in Indonesia and neighboring countries on two grounds: first, because most of the tools were surface finds brought to Manila by ditch diggers, farmers, and mining prospectors, and only rarely was there controlled excavation of any kind or \textit{in situ} analysis of the geological artifactual association; secondly, the archaeological work carried out in the Rizal, Bulacan, and Batangas areas was almost entirely exploration and survey work in which different sites were examined with almost no systematic digging.\textsuperscript{51} According to Jocano, Beyer gathered surface finds and around them built a reconstruction of Filipino prehistory and culture.\textsuperscript{52}

In his introductory note to \textit{Philippine and East Asian Archaeology and its Relation to the Origin of the Pacific Islands Population}, Beyer wrote:

I believe that it is still too early and that too little detail is actually known of remains in the wide region comprehending the long eastern coast of Asia and the many islands fronting it, for us to attempt any final or definite conclusions regarding the racial and migrational history of the peoples who spread out into the China Sea and Pacific areas. The conclusions herein stated are based on the actual finds made to date, and

\textsuperscript{50} Evangelista, p. 73.


\textsuperscript{52} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 26.
should be regarded as tentative only - subject to revision and amendment as new facts are brought out by future research.\(^5^3\)

Beyer also considers the work as 'an incomplete but possibly suggestive Philippine contribution to our common effort at reconstructing the history of man and his culture in this part of the globe.'\(^5^4\) From the above statements of Beyer, Evangelista inferred that Beyer appeared to be receptive to changes and revisions to the conclusions he had formulated, and that Beyer no doubt foresaw future finds as he almost single-handedly carried out prehistoric field research in the Philippines until war broke out. However, this same colleague asserted that Beyer did not fulfill the promised revisions and changes demanded by the new facts, though he had continuous access to such information from his younger colleagues who have been in constant touch with him. In addition, several of these finds and findings have appeared in journals, newspapers and magazines. Evangelista continued to say that Beyer neglected to air publicly his comments on the various fresh post-war finds from many sections of the country, accumulated by others through painstaking systematic explorations and excavations.\(^5^5\) Jocano said that 'had Beyer attempted to keep abreast with modern trends in anthropological work, he could have improved his methodology and provided us with a better assessment of the development of Philippine prehistoric culture'. Instead Jocano stated that Beyer 'stubbornly refused to change his position even when later field workers recovered overwhelming data contradicting his views'.\(^5^6\)


\(^5^5\) Evangelista, pp. 71-72.

Beyer's failure to publicize the primary data on which he based his theories and conclusions is also questioned. According to Solheim, Beyer's method of small cross-sectional excavations or controlled pot-holing, combined with his systematic thinking 'should indicate that Beyer's typologies were tested by stratigraphy and that his bringing together of artifacts into a culture was also stratigraphically tested'. Therefore his generalizations should be reasonably accurate, but since 'Beyer did not (possibly could not) present data to support his stratigraphy and associations, it was necessary to take his summaries and conclusions on faith.'57 For example, in Beyer's 1926 report, *Recent Discoveries in Philippine Archaeology*, Solheim asserted that though one can get a fairly good idea of Beyer's work at the Novaliches site, and a general idea of what was found in the area as contained in that report, Beyer had not included any illustrations. Solheim also stated that Beyer's publications which followed are summaries of his data, in typological form, with conclusions, but the data on which these conclusions are based are not available.58

Beyer had adopted a consistent, meticulous, and systematic method of arrangement and recording of data for all his collected manuscripts and artifacts. In his book, *Outline Review of Philippine Archaeology by Islands and Provinces*, Beyer had noted two sets of unpublished manuscripts as the major sources.59 One of the sets he mentioned, entitled *Philippine Archaeology Set*, is available in the National Library. In addition, there is another set of unpublished manuscripts in the Library which related to Beyer's archaeological explorations before the war and this is called the *Batangas Archaeology Set*. The *Philippine Archaeology

57 Solheim, p. 7.

58 Ibid., p. 4. Solheim also noted the general unavailability of primary data in Beyer's two other major works. See pages 5 and 8 of this same article for his comments.

Set (5 volumes) and Batangas Archaeology Set (2 volumes) were written
and compiled by Beyer from 1927 to 1933. An examination of their
contents reveal as usual Beyer's systematic arrangement and recording
of his data. The scheme which Beyer had adopted throughout the two
sets are similar, and generally consisted of detailed listing or
description, both chronologically and geographically. The archaeological
sites and areas which he or his assistants explored are listed, as well
as the dates the sites were explored, the location and description of the
sites, and the character or importance of work accomplished in each. Beyer
had also meticulously recorded the number of specimen types obtained from
each site, the dates specimens have been found either by himself, his
assistants, or delivered to him by his collectors, and the names of the
collectors or finders of the artifacts. The specimens have been
classified and described in detail by Beyer in those manuscripts, and
he also noted the general significance of the collected materials and
the horizons they represented, if known. Occasionally, Beyer had
included maps and rough sketches of the sites he or his assistants
explored. Except for these few rough maps and sketches, the contents
of these unpublished manuscripts appeared to be more or less similar
in scope to Beyer's published works, but these seemed to be not the sort
of primary data which Solheim was looking for.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, Beyer's enormous archaeological
collection included tektites, and that he became interested in tektites
when he first discovered them at the Novaliches site in 1926 during his
explorations. At the same time that Beyer was collecting tektites, he
was also compiling the data he gathered. The result were another two
sets of bound manuscripts, whose contents Beyer had arranged and
recorded in the same meticulous and systematic method he had earlier
used for the Philippine Archaeology Set and the Batangas Archaeology
Set mentioned above. These two sets are available in the National
Library and are titled *Philippine Tektites* (4 volumes) and *Pugad Babuy Catalogue* (3 volumes). Beyer compiled the first set between the years 1928-1961 and it contained several of his own papers on tektite studies. According to Beyer the set was begun 'in order to place on permanent record the development and study of our Philippine tektite sites - which are the most productive and among the most interesting in any part of the world.' These manuscripts were finally published in 1961-62 in a one-volume book bearing the same title. The second set, *Pugad-Babuy Catalogue* had been written from 1933 to 1934, and consisted of detailed catalogues and general accession lists to Beyer's tektite collection gathered from the Pugad-Babuy site in Bulacan province. Beyer had described Pugad-Babuy as a major Rizalite-producing site which is probably the most remarkable tektite deposit in the world. In this work, Beyer had again listed and described the information systematically. The catalogue included the names of collectors and the places where they had obtained the tektites, location and description of the sites Beyer or his assistants explored, number, description, and classification of the specimens found, and occasionally, sketch maps of the sites. The set also noted some of Beyer's comments on the character and chronology of the collected materials, and their significance from the scientific point of view.

There appeared to be three main sources which Beyer utilized in gathering his archaeological data and these were: from collectors all over the Philippines; collaborators or people who had worked with Beyer in collecting, exploring, and excavating from time to time; and Beyer himself. Beyer had properly acknowledged and noted down all the names of his collectors or finders of specimens, collaborators, and

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assistants, in his works, published or unpublished. For example, the names of regular contributors to his projects like Boston, Brown, Hester, F.G. Roth, Manuel, Mitkiewicz, Busick, and several others are repeatedly listed in his papers. However, although Beyer acknowledges meticulously and consistently all his collaborators and collectors, Solheim doubts the reliability and trustworthiness of the latter, particularly in relation to their information on the source of the artifacts they delivered to Beyer.62 According to him, there was no attempt made, to his knowledge, to check on the collectors, but that considering the use to which Beyer put his data collected in this manner, its questionable provenience probably did no harm. For example, Solheim commented that whether a particular bark cloth beater or bronze celt came from Valley A or the third valley really did not matter, when considering a Philippine-wide distribution or typological study. As to the third source which is Beyer himself, Solheim questions the professional reputation of Beyer saying that 'we do not have the data we need to judge Beyer as an archaeologist'.63 Solheim stated that to his knowledge, 'no one has ever been able to work with Beyer's several volumes of his own reports or the records of any of his surveys or excavations'.64

However, Solheim concedes that, to a certain extent, we have sufficient data to judge Beyer on his professional interests having to do with prehistory, and that is in the special field of Chinese and Siamese porcelains and stoneware. Solheim recognizes Beyer's reputation in this area, and noted that though he is not familiar with the field of Chinese and Siamese porcelains and stoneware, he is willing to believe

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62 Solheim, p. 5.
63 Ibid., pp. 5-6.
64 Ibid., p. 7.
the specialists with whom he had talked [like R. Fox] who considered Beyer an expert. According to Fox, 'Professor Beyer's familiarity with the types of Chinese and other Asian potteries which reached the Philippines and Southeast Asia during the proto-historic period was probably unrivaled.'

A scholar stated that the existence of large quantities of Chinese and Siamese porcelains uncovered from archaeological exploration in the Philippines and other Malay islands has long been known, but until the excavations by Beyer of certain stratified deposits in Rizal province, there was no accurate means of dating them. Though Beyer's works in this field are few, his publications brought out important findings on the description, classification, and dating of certain types of oriental porcelain and stoneware, first reported from archaeological sites he had explored in the Philippines. 'The stratified Philippine deposits have enabled us to give approximate dates to many varieties of Chinese pottery and common stoneware that have hitherto been either unknown or classified among doubtful wares', Beyer wrote. 'It has been possible', remarked W. Robb,

in the typical sites of the Rizal Province Survey to determine with considerable thoroughness what wares are associated with each century of Chinese ceramic history, as well as the contemporary Siamese wares and native Philippine pottery. Also, it has been possible to date certain articles of glass, metal, and other materials as contemporary with the porcelain horizon in which they are found.

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65 Ibid., p. 8.
69 Robb, p. 5.
Beyer had utilized the porcelain and stoneware artifacts found during his explorations to date certain archaeological sites, as for instance, he classified all archaeological sites or horizons which contain fragments of vitrified stoneware or procelain as belonging to a specific period in Philippine cultural chronology which he called 'Porcelain Age'.

Related to Beyer's cultural chronology and what can perhaps be considered as the most commonly known of his ideas, frequently cited in standard Philippine textbooks on history and generally accepted by Filipino historians and writers are - his theories on migration and the peopling of the Philippines in pre-historic times, the racial ancestry and racial classification of the people, and the ancient relations of the Philippines with the Sri-Vijaya and Majapahit empires in the Asian mainland. The following is a summation of Beyer's theory of migration and racial ancestry, as based on the work he co-authored with Professor J. de Veyta in 1947, entitled Philippine Saga: A Pictorial History of the Archipelago since Time Began. Beyer recognized six distinct cultural horizons in the prehistory of the Philippines, each represented by a wave or waves of migration of racially and culturally homogeneous groups of people, who came to the islands from the Asiatic mainland at specific time periods. Beyer had theorized that these original groups of people were the ancestors of the contemporary Filipinos. These horizons are:

1. Primitive human type. Similar to the Java Man of 250,000 years ago, this type was accompanied by huge mammals and reached the Philippines through the land bridges which connected it to the mainland of Southeast Asia. The slow overland migration took place more than a quarter of a million years ago. This earliest type, together with the land mammals of his period, became extinct about the time of the last glacial period. No living descendants of this primitive type survived in these islands today.

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2. Australoid-Sakai type. Called by Beyer as the Little People, representatives of this type migrated into the Philippines from the south, over land bridges, some 25,000 to 30,000 years ago. This type represented the first of two pygmy groups, and the second is called Australoid-Negrito. These are the ancestors of the Negritos and other living pygmy peoples inhabiting the remote forest regions and constitute about one half per cent of the present population.

Proto-Malay. This short, round-headed type of people formed the last wave of migration of the Little People from Borneo, which was then connected to Luzon over a land bridge through Palawan and Mindanao, some 12,000 to 15,000 years ago. Their descendants form nine and one half per cent of the present population.

3. Early Neolithic or Indonesian 'A'. This group of tall, slender people were the first sea-faring migrants who arrived in the Philippines from the north, some 5,000 to 6,000 years ago. They were the people of the Early New Stone Age and their descendants constitute about twelve per cent of the population today.

4. Late Neolithic or Indonesian 'B'. This fourth migration arrived in boats from Indo China and south China coast into Luzon and Formosa, about 1500 B.C. Descendants of these sea-faring people number eighteen per cent of the present population. They were the last and most advanced of the Stone Age peoples to migrate to the Philippines.

5. Cooper-Bronze Type. The culture of this fifth group is usually known as the copper-bronze culture, also called the terrace culture. This was probably a continuation of the fourth migration, but was marked by a more advanced culture characterized by the first use of metals and irrigated rice-terracing. Arriving from central Asia between 800 and 500 B.C., representatives of this type constitute three per cent of the population.

6. Malay or Iron Age Type. This was the last of the prehistoric
migrations which filtered into the Philippines, in fleets of dug-out boats, up from the west coast of Borneo into Luzon via Palawan and Mindoro, and through Celebes strait to Mindanao and the Visayas. This Iron Age group arrived between 300 and 200 B.C. and brought four new industries, in addition to advanced irrigated agriculture: (1) manufacture of iron weapons and utensils and other metals (2) manufacture of decorated pottery (3) art of hand-loom cloth weaving (4) manufacture of beads, bracelets, and other ornaments of green and blue glass. Descendants of this group form thirty-seven per cent of the living population.

According to Beyer, the ancestors of the remaining twenty per cent of the population arrived into the islands during the Christian era to the present time. To this groups, Beyer had included the Hindus [i.e. Indians], Arab-Persians, Chinese and other east Asians, Europeans, and Americans. He noted that

the welding and fusion of successive cultures and the mingling of the blood of wave upon wave of migrants have produced a distinct and true "Filipino Blend" type of man distinctly peculiar to these islands at the crossroads of the Pacific'.

He also added that 'the end product of 30,000 years of commingling of the Prehistoric, Protohistoric and Historic peoples is a new racial type with its own particular characteristics.'

Beyer's theory reflects a cultural-diffusionistic approach, and he views the process of cultural and racial development in the Philippines in terms of successive waves of migrations of people from the Asian mainland during the prehistoric period, each wave having its own diagnostic and specific set of cultural complexes, and racial and physical traits. The contacts between the old and new settlers promoted mutual borrowing and adoption of cultural traits, and these are the cultural complexes found among the living ethnological population in

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the Philippines today. Beyer's theory on migration have been challenged by his colleagues on two grounds: first, due to the lack of sufficient archaeological, empirical and historical data to support his conclusions and second, that his hypotheses are unrealistic and raised serious doubts on their probability. In order to support the hypotheses that there were such 'waves' of migrants, Beyer had correlated archaeological materials with the material culture and physical traits of the living population. Such process, according to Jocano, is exceedingly tenuous, and the conclusions reached are somewhat overdrawn. One of the reasons which Jocano cited was that 'correlation has been based on typological comparisons of insufficient archaeological materials'.

He said that most of the materials were not systematically excavated, but were gathered from the surface or from chance excavations by untrained people like farmers, ditch diggers, mining prospectors and others; then these materials were compared with those recovered in the neighboring Asian countries. Jocano also pointed out that 'the extra-Philippine materials which early scholars (like Beyer) used in their attempt to establish a wider range of comparison and to indicate the origin of Philippine prehistoric cultures are poorly documented'. He noted that only the Formosan sequence has been fairly worked through stratigraphic excavations, but that D.J. Finn's Hong Kong collection, like almost all of the Rizal-Bulacan-Batangas archaeological materials were taken from non-stratigraphic deposits. And that likewise, Maglioni's Hoifung collections, on which older authorities on Filipino prehistory based so many of their comparative studies, were made without any excavation at all.

Another reason Jocano gave was that 'it is unrealistic to assert that the characteristics of any migration would still be present

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72 F. Jocano, 'The Beginnings of Filipino Society and Culture', p. 36.

and definable today after several thousands of years of racial and cultural development.'

Jocano stated that the inadequacy of Beyer's theory of 'waves' of migration rests on five grounds. First, Jocano wrote that 'it is too simplistic to be useful in explaining the complex problem of cultural development' and ignored other factors like local developments or creativity of the people. Second, 'it is quite unrealistic to assume that the physical characteristics of prehistoric migration peoples can be correlated with specific cultural developments'. Third, 'it is doubtful whether the ancient people always arrived in periodic time sequences and with a foreknowledge of destination as implied by the term "migration"' [and] there are no available definitive data to show that each 'wave' really constituted a culturally and racially homogeneous group. Fourth, it is quite difficult to accept that small boat-loads of immigrants, coming in terms of thousands and hundreds of years, would be capable of maintaining a stable population and large-scale community patterns in a new land under pioneer conditions, considering such hazards as infant mortality, epidemics, malnutrition, and others. And fifth, 'the theory does not allow for variant social and cultural developments to take place in response to local ecological and historical situations'; instead, 'it impresses an orientation that all culture-traits and physical types as well of our ancestors were brought into the archipelago "ready-made"' - a view which Jocano said is unlikely. Evangelista remarked that Beyer's theory 'reflects a diffusionistic approach in which a basic un-inventiveness of mankind was generally presupposed, and all appearances of a given cluster of traits, or often of a single trait, were felt to be the result of a "migration"'. He added that 'the processes of culture, such as invention,

74 Jocano, 'The Beginnings', p. 36.

75 Jocano, Questions and Challenges, pp. 32-33.
convergence, stimulus diffusion, obsolescence, and so on, are quite complex, and that we cannot accept the premise that migration alone is a source of cultural change'. Jocano also questioned Beyer's assertion that the overland migration were accompanied by huge mammals, because of insufficient evidence and the fact that 'the fossil remains of the alleged accompanying animals recovered in the Philippines have been identified as endemic to the area'.

At the present time, adequate and definitive data are not available to support or totally refute Beyer's 'waves' of migration theory, and it is retained by most Philippine anthropologists only as a variant hypotheses, and not verified historically. 'We do not deny' wrote Jocano 'that there were movements of prehistoric peoples and that some of them reached the Philippines. But whether they came in "waves" and at a precise time sequence, is debatable. Available archaeological and serological data do not give us any clear idea as to who the ancient inhabitants of the Philippines were or exactly where they came from. They only point out the fact that there were people here in the archipelago during prehistoric times... Culturally, Philippine institutions and traditions are far more complex than what earlier scholars suggest and their developments cannot be explained simplistically through the "waves" of migration theory.' Hypotheses are put forward by other scholars, like Jocano, who rejected Beyer's conclusions and propounded an alternative theory on Filipino prehistory and culture, which he stated as being based in a holistic rather than the chronological approach used by Beyer. However, evidence for this scheme is also meagre and Jocano himself admits that his scheme 'is highly tentative and open to

76 Evangelista, p. 81.
77 Jocano, 'Beyer's Theory', p. 130.
78 Jocano, Questions and Challenges, p. 35.
modification as new data became available. Thus, no theory on Philippine prehistory appears to be conclusive at present.

Beyer also figured prominently in the attempts of early scholars to explain one of the complex problems in Philippine prehistory — the racial origin and racial classification of the Philippine peoples. In his 'waves' of migration theory, Beyer postulated that the waves of prehistoric migrants who came to the Philippines constituted independent, homogenous groups, each having diagnostic racial and physical characteristics. For example, Jocano noted that Beyer described the Australoid-Sakai and the proto-Malays as pygmyoid in stature, round-headed and hairy, and intermediate between the Australian aborigines and the Ainu of northern Japan. Jocano stated that Beyer had not presented any empirical data to support his reconstruction of physical features of these prehistoric peoples; and that no archaeological site in the Philippines has yet been dug which contains the skeletal remains of people with hairy bodies and round heads. Jocano noted that most of the data of early scholars involved in studies concerning Filipino racial origins are 'derived from anthropometric measurements of body characteristics of living populations', and conclusions are mostly based on ocular studies of traits of living population, not on genetic studies. He said that 'so far there has been no adequate genetic or blood-typing studies done in the Philippines'. He added that the use of living population as the basis for reconstructing prehistoric racial types (as Beyer probably did) is rather tenuous for 'biological science has not yet provided us with a method by which this kind of

80 Jocano, Questions and Challenges, p. 12.
reconstruction can be done empirically', and that archaeological research in the Philippines, or elsewhere in southeast Asia has not yet yielded complete skeletal materials from which reconstructing detailed physical characteristics of ancient men can be demonstrated. Neither has this been possible in physical anthropology. Thus, Beyer's theory on the racial origins and racial classification of the Filipinos, as with the theories of other scholars, can all be regarded as unverified hypotheses. Beyer's findings lack sufficient positive evidence, and the theory appeared simplistic in its answers to a very complex phenomena. A Filipino physical anthropologist stated that the schemes of racial groupings and explanations of racial origins of the peoples of the Philippines so far proposed by different workers, including Beyer, 'are not based on adequate data from archaeological and physical anthropological studies and are therefore highly speculative'. 'We need more data', wrote Jocano, 'to even give credence to what has been accepted as our racial heritage'.

As illustrations of the issues involved in Beyer's 'waves' of migration theory, let us examine Beyer's discussions of the jar-burial and rice-terracing traditions. In accordance with his migration theory, Beyer believed that the practice of jar-burial in the Philippines originated from the Hakka people who lived in the interior of Fukien and other provinces in South China. Beyer wrote that this ancient jar-burial migration entered into eastern Luzon, through the Batanes and Babuyan Islands, during the early centuries of the Christian era. He asserted that 'where the jar-burials are still prevalent among some people in the Philippines, it is probable that the custom has been adopted from

83 Jocano, Questions and Challenges, p. 15.


85 Jocano, Questions and Challenges, p. 16.
Anthropologists of the National Museum criticize Beyer's cultural diffusionistic approach in relation to the jar-burial tradition, as a result of post-war archaeological excavations which unearthed numerous burial jars which cover a wide range of jar-material, jar-type, and jar-size. Evangelista stated that many of the burial-jars found in the islands of Palawan 'show striking typological and temporal relationships with those found in Indochina, suggesting that the practice of jar-burial in the Philippines may have come from different directions, and then underwent some changes in the cultural milieu of the receivers'. He also noted that 'the wide range of jar-types and the manner of internment in jars suggest several origins'. Thus, Beyer's view of the tradition as originating from the migrating Hakka people of interior Fukien is considered only as one (unlikely) possibility. In addition, one can see that given changes in the milieu of the receivers of the jar-burial tradition, a possibility which Beyer failed to consider, the entire question of ultimate provenience becomes less crucial. Another anthropologist suggested that the practice be treated as a 'trait within different levels of cultural development which may have been diffused with or without migrations of people.' H. Scott wrote that an overall survey of Philippine jar-burials indicate such a range of cultural variations constituting different shapes and sizes, and associated artifacts, like seashells, neoliths, gold, iron, porcelain and glass, making it difficult to attribute their presence to one particular migration. Beyer had designated the

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87 Evangelista, p. 79.
88 Ibid., p. 83.
89 Ibid., p. 79.
90 Scott, A Critical Study, pp. 33-34.
inclusive years 300-850 A.D. for the duration of what he termed the 'Jar-Burial Culture' and this was found to be inaccurate because of the considerable number of older jar-burials unearthed by recent excavations in the Philippines. According to Evangelista, Beyer's 'Jar-Burial Culture' should be given an older date because of indication of its first appearance in Late Neolithic burials. He also added that it is not accurate to state either that the practice died out on that date because the practice still exists among the Sulod people of interior Panay island today.

The second discussion which will illustrate Beyer's 'waves' of migration theory is that relating to the rice-terracing complex in northern Luzon. Beyer theorized that the rice-terracing tradition was introduced by a group of migrants who belonged to the same copper-bronze age wave which swept over from southern China down to Formosa, Japan and southeast Asia, way back some 800 to 500 B.C. before the advent of iron age in the Philippines. These migrants found their way into the southwestern coast of northern Luzon, particularly in Pangasinan. So far, Beyer's theory is considered as one of the several discordant hypotheses drawn by scholars, and to date, there appears to be no accepted proven theory to explain the origin of the rice-terracing tradition. Scholars in the Philippines, including Beyer, differed particularly on two main issues and these are, first, whether the tradition was introduced by people who migrated to these areas or they developed locally; and second, whether they are an ancient or a more recent phenomena. A Filipino scholar wrote that 'studies on the rice

91 Ibid., p. 83.
92 Ibid., p. 79.
terraces outside of the Luzon area are yet too meagre to shed light on this problem,\textsuperscript{94} and that what is needed is a thorough investigation of all the other terracing communities - be they dry crop or wet-rice and not just in the Mt Province (Northern Luzon) - but throughout the Philippines in order to enable one to determine the pattern which underlies the development of the terracing complex.\textsuperscript{95}

Alongside with Beyer's 'waves' of migration theory, we should also mention his theory of the ancient relationship of the Philippines with the Sri-Vijayan and Majapahit empires. Beyer first formulated this theory in 1921, and it has been generally accepted since then by most Filipino historians and writers. In his attempts to reconstruct the prehistory of the country, Beyer put forward this theory in a two-part treatise entitled 'The Philippines Before Magellan' which was published in 1921. In that treatise, Beyer asserted that the number of colonies of Sri-Vishaya is unknown, but at least four were of considerable importance and these are Bandjarmasin, Sukadana, a place in southern Sarawak, and Bruni. According to Beyer, the first and last named places sent offshoots into the Philippines; and that the Philippine areas chiefly affected are, Sulu which was colonized from Bandjarmasin, and the west-central Philippines colonized from Bruni.\textsuperscript{96} On the other hand, he wrote that the power of Madjapahit was widely and rapidly extended in the islands lying between Java and the Philippines, and that the list of tributary states in 1365 includes three within the Philippines,\textsuperscript{97} namely, Sulu, the Lake Lanao region in Mindanao, and the vicinity of Manila Bay in Luzon.\textsuperscript{98}

\textsuperscript{94} Ibid., p. 37.

\textsuperscript{95} Ibid., p. 36.


\textsuperscript{97} Ibid., p. 866.

\textsuperscript{98} Ibid., p. 890.
Beyer continued on to say that the Philippine colonies are always spoken of under the head of Borneo, and were doubtless controlled either from Bruni or Bandjarmasin. This theory of Beyer, in similarity with his migration theory, suffers from lack of available substantive historical and archaeological evidence which would uphold it. A Filipino scholar pointed out that 'the final answer will probably have to wait until further research discloses additional explanatory inscriptions or new historical, linguistic, or archaeological evidence linking the Philippines' past to that of Southeast Asia or vice versa.'

Undoubtedly, Beyer's reconstruction of Philippine pre-history and culture had major defects. Jocano said that this is 'due mainly to his giving too much credence to the diffusion of external cultures into the archipelago without due consideration of local response and adaptations to such external influences'. However he also conceded that 'whatever short comings [Beyer's] actual scholarship has do not in any way diminish the significance of the legacy he has left behind'. Beyer had contributed much to the study of Philippine culture and pre-history, and his contributions are based on two major points. First, Beyer has pioneered in anthropological work in the Philippines, and almost single-handedly acquired and safeguarded much of the basic data and artifacts pertinent to the racial and cultural history of the peoples of the Philippines; and second, Beyer formulated theories on migration and the peopling of the country in pre-historic times, the racial origins and racial classification of the peoples of the Philippines, and the cultural relations of the Philippines in ancient times with other regions in the Asiatic mainland. At this point, it should be emphasized that all of these theories which Beyer had formulated, and which have been

99 Ibid., p. 866.
discussed in this chapter, reflected a cultural-diffusionistic approach. And Beyer had applied this approach to all areas of his studies in the Philippines, be it archaeology, prehistory, tektites, oriental porcelain and stoneware, cultural history, or ethnography.

The weakness of Beyer's approach is currently being scrutinized, a number of his theories and findings are being challenged, revised and refuted. His theories might even become obsolete and be eventually discarded in the coming years by younger associates, scholars, and scientists. However they would not be brushed aside. His findings and investigations will serve as the groundwork on which subsequent hypotheses and conclusions will be carried out by others. Among his theories, one which is particularly being challenged is that pertaining to the racial ancestry of the peoples of the Philippines and his classification of them into distinct racial types. This classification had influenced Beyer's ethnographic ideas, especially in the way he had categorized the many ethnographic groups inhabiting the Philippines. This is discussed in the next chapter.
CHAPTER A3

CRITICAL PERSPECTIVE OF THE PHILIPPINE ETHNOGRAPHIC SERIES

After the Second World War, the Beyer Collection in the Watson building became officially known as the 'Museum and Library, Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the University of the Philippines'. Beyer was the curator and owner of the Institute during his lifetime. When he died in 1966, ownership was turned over to his only son, William Beyer, who was officially declared administrator of the entire collection.

Rich and vast as the collection was, it represents only that part of a much bigger original collection which escaped destruction during the war. A year before his death, Beyer wrote a letter to the University of the Philippines President C.P. Romulo wherein he briefly described the contents of his post-war collection. The collection was comprehensively classified into five categories and these are:

1. A reference library which included nearly all important titles having a direct bearing on Philippine, Southeast Asian, and South China cultural history, archaeology, ethnography, linguistics and folklore, supplemented by a rich storehouse of related manuscripts (both holographs and transcripts), periodicals, reprints, pamphlets, maps, photographs and other illustrative material. Beyer said there are about 20,000 items of these holdings.

2. Archaeological and ethnographic specimens approximately 2,000,000, gathered in fieldwork from hundreds of sites, ranging geographically from north to south throughout the Philippines and covering all aspects of the Early, Middle, and Late Stone Ages, the Bronze or Copper Age, the Iron and Pottery-Porcelain Age - from the earliest recovered horizon down to the present.¹

¹ From a personal interview of the author with William Beyer in March 1978 at his residence, he said that the archaeological-ethnographical collections, together with a part of the tektite collection of his late father, were placed under military inventory by the First Lady Imelda Marcos when the country was declared under martial law in 1972. The collections are presently under the administration of the National Museum.
3. The tektite collection, believed to be the largest in the world, consisting of between 500,000 and 700,000 specimens of Philippine tektites supplemented by study collections from practically all other areas where tektites have been found, effected by exchange with foreign scholars in this field. There is also a small collection of Philippine meteoritic material.2

4. An extensive ceramic collection comprising hundreds of whole pieces and literally tons of sherds, both of pottery manufactured in the Philippines and glazed wares from China, Indo China, and Thailand in pre-Spanish times.3

5. A special section of literary material such as newspaper clippings, articles from magazines, and extracts from other publications, indexed either chronologically or by subject.

According to Beyer, the whole collection with the exception of a few government grants, personal gifts, and exchanges, had been assembled at his own personal expenses.4

By July 1972, almost six years after his death, a significant portion of the collection – the entire Beyer library and literary materials which was formerly the subject of negotiations both in the Philippines and in America – had been acquired by the National Library.

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2 From the same personal interview, it was learned that a considerable part of Beyer's tektite collection have either been exchanged or donated to the Smithsonian Institute while he was still alive; around 50,000 selected items have been under the care of the National Museum from 1972; and roughly 100,000 to 200,000 items are currently left in his possession.

3 From the same interview, the author learned that after his father's death, William Beyer had sold the entire ceramic collection to the Roberto Villanueva Family, with the understanding that the items should remain in the Philippines and not be exported. The ceramic collection is presently housed in a private museum of the Villanueva family in Forbes Park, Makati.

of Australia.\textsuperscript{5} About two-thirds of the original library was destroyed during the war, and what was left represented survivals, replacements, and new acquisitions after 1945. Dr D. Shoesmith of Flinders University, South Australia, who was in Manila as of April 1972, was engaged by the National Library to take charge in the preliminary listing and to supervise the final packing and shipment to Canberra. Dr Shoesmith said that the Beyer library in the Watson building filled 384 cartons when finally packed.\textsuperscript{6} Further subtractions to the library in Manila before it was acquired in Australia were the following: some archaeological and library materials, which included selected duplicates of the \textit{Philippine Ethnographic Series} deposited by Dr Beyer for safekeeping in the University of the Philippines; private collections of William Beyer, lost in the fire which destroyed the Beyer residence in Banaue; and a few hundred books and three boxes of Beyer's personal papers remaining in the possession of his son.\textsuperscript{7}

The Beyer collection purchased in 1972 is one of the most extensive collection of books and manuscripts relating to the Philippines in Australia. The 12th Annual Report of the National Library of Australia, dated 1971-1972, states in part:

\begin{quote}
The library's resources for the study of all the countries of Southeast Asia are developing dramatically on the foundation of valuable materials and private libraries it has acquired over some years... Resources for Philippine studies have been strengthened by the purchase of the private library of the late Professor H. Otley Beyer...\textsuperscript{8}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{5} From the same interview, it was learned that William Beyer offered the Beyer library to the University of the Philippines and the East-West Center in Hawaii, but the negotiations were not successful. Interest for the Beyer library in Australia was chiefly initiated through Dr Loofs-Wissowa of the Department of Asian History and Civilisations, Australian National University, who ultimately made the recommendation for its acquisition.


\textsuperscript{7} From the same personal interview with William Beyer.

With other Philippine collections, the purchase of the Beyer Collection in 1972 supplemented the already valuable holdings on the Philippines in the National Library. Dr Shoesmith pointed out that the Library can claim to be a world centre for Philippine Studies whose Philippine collections are of sufficient importance to merit a visit to Canberra by overseas researchers interested in the Philippines.9 The acquired Beyer materials are largely Filipiniana and Orientalia in orientation, and are presently dispersed over six major locations in the National Library in Canberra, namely: the Rare Book and Manuscript Reading Room which houses the Philippine Ethnographic Series and other documents; the Pictorial Reading Room; Map Reading Room; Oriental Studies Reading Room; Newspaper Reading Room; and the Australian International and Ethnic Library which contains the substantial bulk of the collection.

The core of the Beyer library is the ninety-nine separate bound volumes of typescript manuscripts, properly indexed and chiefly unpublished, located in the Rare Book and Manuscript Reading Room.10 Widely known as the Philippine Ethnographic Series, the volumes represent the only surviving complete Set, in carbon copies, of the original series which was lost and destroyed during World War II.11 Together with other duplicate volumes however, the actual number currently in Canberra reaches to 133 volumes. The location number is MS 4877.

The Series was compiled by Beyer mainly during the years 1908 to 1923, with additional materials added later. The materials are generally intended to be Beyer's magnum opus on the ethnography of the Philippines.11a

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9 Dennis Shoesmith, p. 39.
10 One volume of the Ibanag Set is located in the General Reference and Reading Room of the National Library.
11 Beyer had made three copies of each volume in the Series. Most were destroyed by the War. No other copy of the Series can be found, apart from that in Beyer's possession which was purchased by the NLA and some selected duplicates in the University of the Philippines. According to his son, Beyer sold a partial Set to Harvard University before World War II.
A writer stated that 'the interest of Yale, Princeton, Michigan and UCLA in acquiring copies attest to its significance'. The Series contain what Beyer noted as a 'complete collection of all known printed and manuscript information relating to the history and ethnography' of the peoples of the Philippines which were 'uniformly collected, edited, annotated and translated into English' by or under Beyer's general supervision, with the cooperation and assistance of other persons whom Beyer had given due credit on the title pages of the individual papers.

It should be pointed out that though Beyer arrived in 1905, it was not until seven years later (in 1912) that he started the Series, due to changes in colonial administration. Ethnological work was suspended, and in anticipation of being separated from the government service, Beyer began the Series, so that these sources can be available to him once he leaves the Philippines. However, he eventually decided to stay, and continued working on the monumental project until 1941.

Beyer wrote on the origin and growth of the Philippine Ethnographic Series:

The inception and growth of the collection of manuscript material entitled 'Philippine Ethnographic Series' has been something of a paradox, in that it was actually the result of an anticipated elimination of official ethnographic research in the Philippines rather than a part of a plan for promoting such work.... It is sufficient to say that it was the likelihood of an early discontinuance of my Philippine work that led me, in 1912, to drop all personal field research for the time being, and to concentrate all available time and energy on the getting together and putting into usable form of the mass of manuscript information and unique printed data existing in Manila but which would not be available to me once I had left the Islands.

At first I confined myself almost entirely to a very limited area, gathering only such material as related to the Ifugaos - since it was with this group that the principal part of my personal field work had been done (1905-1910) and I was still rather narrow-minded and inclined to think of other groups chiefly in accordance with this degree of relationship to Ifugao culture. My search for Ifugao material, in 1911-1912,

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13 See title pages of the volumes in the Series.
however, gave me an insight into the wealth of important and unpublished data (mostly buried in Government and Church records) relating to the neighboring groups; and at the same time my interest was greatly broadened through a clearer understanding of the extensive inter-relationship and diverse ramifications of the different cultures.

Accordingly, in the latter part of 1912 and beginning of 1913, I extended my collecting activities to include all existing material relating to the other pagan groups of the Mt Province and Nueva Vizcaya, as well as the Ifugaos. And a more or less definite and workable scheme for collecting information, classifying and copying it, and finally having it bound up in usable form, was developed and put into execution.14

Meanwhile, the Division of Ethnology was abolished, and all employees, including Beyer, were eliminated at the end of 1914; in the same year, Beyer was appointed instructor to the newly-created chair of Anthropology and Ethnology in the University of the Philippines. According to Beyer, his involvement in university work and in the re-establishment of the Philippine Museum provided temporary interruption to his project, but in 1917 he turned his attention again to systematic work. During this time, he wrote that some modifications in his ideas took place, due partly to the broadening effect of his educational activities and partly to a realization of the special opportunities that the new position offered. Beyer noted that since his university students come from all parts of the islands, and many of them from interesting ethnographic surroundings, he decided to get them to put down on record such facts as they already know, and to supplement such information by further data gathered from relatives and friends at home. A little experience and checking up soon taught him how far he could trust the information gathered, and what sorts of data could be secured most easily and accurately. He said that his eight years of further experience in carrying on this work have amply confirmed his earlier views, as to its general value and trustworthiness. In 1917, all the former records, papers, and correspondence of the old Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, the Ethnological Survey, Division of Ethnology, and Philippine Museum

14 H.O. Beyer, 'Introduction to Volume 1', December 31, 1922, General Index Set, Volume 1, pp. 6-12.
were turned over to Beyer by the Director of Science, for him to dispose of in whatever manner he deemed best. The condition of this considerable mass of papers was deplorable, but Beyer mentioned that they contained much scattered information of great value. By 1918, a new scheme of combining the old material, with the student papers, the results of his own research, and with other data, was worked out. By this time, the number of sets was extended to twenty and included all the Philippine peoples, Christian, Pagan, and Muslim. A common system of arrangement had also been adopted for all the Sets.\textsuperscript{15} As was noted in Chapter I, Beyer also worked and cooperated with government agencies, and this provided him opportunity to travel extensively throughout the islands and conduct his own personal researches. He said that these trips served not only to broaden his interest and field of personal observation, but also to bring him in touch with other workers, and with sources of manuscript information not previously known, all of which has been to the benefit of these ethnographic Sets.\textsuperscript{16}

There are twenty sets (or series, as referred to sometimes by Beyer) which compose the original \textit{Philippine Ethnographic Series}. Each set generally consist of several bound manuscript volumes, each volume contains from one to fifty separate papers, and each paper averages from one to several hundred pages. A complete manuscript volume averages approximately 500 pages. The Sets vary in contents. For instance, while the Sambali and Mindoro-Palawan Sets have one volume each, all the other sets contain two or more volumes. The Tagalog Set of sixteen volumes and 672 papers has the largest number of accumulated materials, while the Ibanag Set of twenty-four papers has the least. The nineteen sets which compose the present \textit{Philippine Ethnographic Series} in the National Library contain ninety-

\textsuperscript{15} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 6-12.

\textsuperscript{16} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 11-12.
nine manuscript volumes which in turn are made up of 2,473 individual papers. With the exception of the last three sets, namely: General Philippine Ethnography, Special Folklore, and General Index Sets, the *Philippine Ethnographic Series* is classified by Beyer into seventeen sets corresponding to seventeen ethnographic groupings in the Philippines. These sets are:

1. Bisaya
2. Bikol
3. Tagalog
4. Sambali
5. Pampangoan
6. Pangasinan
7. Iloko
8. Ibanag
9. Isinai-Ilongot and Minor Christian Peoples
10. Moro
11. Pagan Peoples of Mindanao
12. Mindoro-Palawan Peoples
13. Igorot
14. Ifugao
15. Bontok
16. Itneg-Kalinga
17. Negrito-Aeta
18. General Philippine
19. Folklore
20. Index

Beyer, in one of his major works, *Population of the Philippines in 1916* published in 1917, defined a Philippine ethnographic group as 'any group of people, living in a more or less continuous geographic area, who have a sufficiently unique economic and social life, language, or physical type of mark them off clearly and distinctly from any other similar group in the Philippine Islands'. From this definition, Beyer noted four criteria in his identification of any ethnographic group in the Philippines and these are: (1) geographical location or the territory in which each group dwells, (2) the social and economic culture of the inhabitants, (3) the language or languages they speak, and (4) the physical type or types predominant in the group. In that same

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17 The Folklore Set (Set 19) is not available in the National Library.
publication, Beyer presented for the first time his classification of forty-three Philippine ethnographic groups he recognized in accordance with the definition he cited. At the same time, he briefly described the identifying characteristics of each group based on the four criteria, the information of which he stated as 'having been obtained either through personal investigation in the course of ten years study of Philippine ethnography, or from the authorities cited in the text of each description'.

His classification differed widely from those previously published by other authorities, notably, Blumentritt, Montano, Lacalle, and that used in the Census of 1903. Beyer's classification has been adopted by the Department of Anthropology and Philippine Languages in the University of the Philippines.

Frank Lebar in his compiled work, *Ethnic Groups of Insular Southeast Asia* published 1975, noted that the identification of ethnic groups and the ordering of ethnic entries in his insular volume is a combination of geographic, linguistic, and cultural criteria. He wrote: 'thus the tribe, nation, or category subsumed under any one ethnic entry generally occupies a specifiable territory or habitat; the people do (or did) feel themselves to be one people or somehow historically related, and they did until the twentieth century, at least, have certain cultural and linguistic traits in common which served to set them off from neighboring groups'. Lebar also added that 'considerable reliance has been placed on linguistic classification since it is felt that demonstrated genetic relationships among languages remain the best indicators of present or past cultural ties among the speakers of

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19 Ibid., p. 18.

20 See Beyer's article 'Ethnographic Grouping in the Philippines' found in General Philippine Ethnography Set, Volume 16, paper 150, for a summary of Beyer's classification and those done by previous writers.
those languages'.

This volume which Lebar compiled covers the Philippine Islands and Formosa.

Beyer's criteria of what constitutes an ethnographic group and his subsequent classification of the materials in the *Philippine Ethnographic Series* based on his four criteria corresponds closely with that of Lebar's, except in one aspect - the inclusion of racial or physical types. As was noted in the second chapter, Beyer's 'waves' of migration which explain the racial origin of the Filipinos and assume racial and cultural differences and similarities among the peoples of the islands has not been verified to the present, due to lack of adequate and positive evidence. As Jocano remarked: 'Philippine prehistory is indeed far too complex to be explained by 'waves' of migration and Filipino racial affinity is too diffused to be pegged to one racial type as Malayan, Indonesian Proto-Malay, or even the so called Australoid'. He also stated that 'to anyone familiar with even the simple Mendelian principle of cross-breeding, the suggestion of racial identification of prehistoric Filipinos with present-day population is really an oversimplification of the complex evolutionary processes.'

Another of his younger colleagues said that Beyer's assumption 'that certain cultural minority groups in the Philippines are still identifiable as 'Indonesian A' or 'B' by their retention of Neolithic cultural and racial characteristics has no basis in fact'.

In the *Philippine Ethnographic Series*, Beyer used the forty-three ethnographic groups he recognized, but grouped them further into seventeen wider-groupings. And as previously mentioned, Beyer made each of these seventeen groupings correspond to seventeen sets in the

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23 Evangelista, p. 83.
Philippine Ethnographic Series. Because of this, the terms 'set' and 'ethnographic grouping' are used interchangeably in the discussion of this chapter. It should be pointed out that although Beyer, in his work *Population of the Philippines in 1916*, and in his *Philippine Ethnographic Series* used the racial or physical type as a characteristic to distinguish an ethnographic group or grouping from another, it appeared that such a characteristic was included to describe the group or grouping concerned, but in practice Beyer seemed not to have actually used it as a criterion of classification, at least as far as the Series is concerned. Thus, Beyer's inclusion of his racial views, considered invalid by his younger colleagues and associates, do not seem to do much damage to Beyer's classification and discussion of the seventeen ethnographic groupings in the Series. The linguistic criterion is predominant and more known in Beyer's comments in the Series, and like F. Lebar, he placed emphasis on language. Additionally, when Beyer commented on the racial and cultural characteristics of the groupings in the *Philippine Ethnographic Series*, he generally pointed out the need for further extensive data to support his views.

In everyone of the seventeen sets (excluding the General Philippine Set) Beyer wrote useful comments on geographical location, race or physical type, culture, and language(s) of these wider ethnographic groupings, if known. Thus, in Beyer's discussion of the forty-three ethnographic groups in the book *Population of the Philippines in 1916* and of the seventeen wider groupings in the *Philippine Ethnographic Series*, he used the same four basic criteria. However, Beyer applied these criteria in different ways. Beyer appeared to be inconsistent in the method of classification he adopted for the seventeen groupings in the *Philippine Ethnographic Series*, and though he used the same four criteria, they did not receive equal importance. In contrast, in his classification of the forty-three ethnographic groups, Beyer consistently used the same four criteria and all had
The primary classification which Beyer adopted for the seventeen wider groupings in the *Philippine Ethnographic Series* was based generally in accordance with the religious beliefs of the people or peoples belonging to each grouping, and Beyer designated them as Christian, Mohammedan, and pagan. Of the series of statistical tables which Beyer provided in his book *Population of the Philippines in 1916*, one of them is a classification of the forty-three ethnographic groups according to religious beliefs and Beyer followed that pattern in the Series. As arranged in the *Philippine Ethnographic Series*, the first nine groupings constitute what Beyer considered as nominally Christian peoples and these are: Bisaya, Bikol, Tagalog, Sambali, Pampanga, Pangasinan, Iloko, Ibanag, Isinai-Ilongot and Minor Christian. The tenth grouping, Moro, is Muslim; while the last seven are considered pagan peoples by Beyer and these are Pagan Peoples of Mindanao, Mindoro-Palawan Peoples, Igorot, Ifugao, Bontok, Itneg-Kalinga, and Negrito-Aeta.

The seventeen sets in the *Philippine Ethnographic Series* can also be classified into two types: one type of set covers one of the forty-three ethnographic groups and the second type covers more than one of these groups. Eleven of the seventeen sets belong to the first type and these are the following: Bisaya, Bikol, Tagalog, Sambali, Pampanga, Pangasinan, Iloko, Ibanag, Igorot, Ifugao, and Bontok. Thus, the Bisaya Set pertains to the Bisaya ethnographic group, the Tagalog Set to the Tagalog group, the Sambali Set to the Sambali group, and so on. The first eight of these eleven sets are comprised of Christian peoples, and in their discussion Beyer placed considerable importance on the linguistic criterion. On the other hand, the last three sets - Igorot, Ifugao, and Bontok - were classified by Beyer as

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24 See pp. 20-21 of *Population of the Philippines in 1916*. 
pagan groups and here the cultural criterion predominated. According to Beyer, the pagans of Northern Luzon, Philippines fall culturally into two sharply divided groups which he termed the 'Indonesian' and the 'Terrace Culture' groups, and that the people comprised in his Igorot, Bontok and Ifugao sets are basically of the terrace-culture type. However, he also pointed out that until a detailed and careful study has been carried out 'it would be premature to attempt to straighten out and classify the extremely complicated societies that cover the wide area from eastern Ifugao to northern Kalingga'. For instance, in the case of the Bontok people, Beyer stated that it will be necessary to study their area more in detail before 'the true cultural ancestry can be isolated with any considerable degree of confidence.'

Following is a typical example of Beyer's comments on the type of set which covered one ethnographic group. The comments pertained to the Bisaya Set.

Ethnographically this set includes all of the nominally Christian peoples speaking one of the group of related languages and dialects which are collectively known as Bisayan (or Visayan). Geographically, the Visayan speech is common to all that large group of islands lying between Luzon and Mindanao, which are collectively known as the Visayan Islands; and, in addition, is spoken along most of the north and east coasts of Mindanao, parts of Palawan and Mindoro, and by scattered groups of people and individuals throughout the Philippines.

It is obvious that over such a large and diversified geographic area there must be considerable variation in all three of the primary bases for human classification, namely race, culture, and language; but it must be confessed that as yet no adequate scheme for Bisayan classification has been worked out. This is particularly true in the field of racial type and culture, where practically no general or classificatory studies have been made. In the field of language,
however, the roughter preliminary work has been done and the existence of various dialects well established. Four major dialects, which may almost be regarded as separate established languages of the Visayan group, are generally recognized: 1. Cebuan 2. Panayan 3. Samar-Leyte dialect 4. Aklan.28

Beyer further noted that the 'use of the term "Visayan" or "Bisaya" to cover all the peoples speaking these dialects is justified by their common interrelationship as distinguished from surrounding languages'.29 In addition, Beyer wrote that there is considerable variation in general culture in different areas inhabited by the Visayan people, especially between the inland or hill people and those living near the coasts or in the valleys of the larger rivers. As to physical type, Beyer said that as a general proposition, 'while the same major racial types occur throughout the area, the local distribution varies - everywhere showing a strong tendency to the tall Indonesian type in the interior of the larger islands and the shorter Malayan and Chinese-mixed types around the coastal areas'.30

From these comments, it can be seen that Beyer used the geographical, racial, and cultural criteria to characterize the Bisayan grouping, but that like F. Lebar, he placed primary importance on the linguistic criterion. And in practice, Beyer actually classified the 312 papers compiled in the Bisayan Set according to the four major dialect groups under which these papers come: Samar-Leyte, Cebuan, Panayan or Aklan.

The remaining six sets in the Series belong to the second type, that is, each set covers more than one ethnographic group. The six

28 H.O. Beyer, 'Field Covered by the Set', General Index, Volume 2, pp. 252-253.
30 Ibid.
sets are: Isinai-Ilongot and Minor Christian, Moro, Pagan Peoples of Mindanao, Mindoro-Palawan Peoples, Itneg-Kalinga, and Negrito-Aeta. In these six sets, Beyer's method of classification is complicated, and would be discussed separately.

When the Isinai-Ilongot and Minor Christian Set was began in 1913, Beyer conceived the set as including the Isinai and Ilongot groups dwelling in a definite territory. In 1918, he replaced geographical criterion with the religious criterion, that is, the set came to include all the minor Christian groups of the Philippines - Isinai, Gaddang, Ivantan, Dumagat and Kuyonon. This new arrangement again proved unsatisfactory because Beyer found these five groups to be associated either culturally, racially, geographically or linguistically with other ethnographic groups, and so this particular set was finally terminated.

In the Moro Set, Beyer emphasized the religious, linguistic and cultural criteria. The Moro grouping included what Beyer termed as the Mohammedan peoples of Mindanao and Sulu, and he further subdivided it into eight linguistic-cultural groups: Sulu, Samal, Maguindanao, Lanao, Yakan, Sanggil, Palawan and Bajao. Beyer, however, wrote that continued studies along historical lines bring up new doubts as to the exact orientation of the cultural influences in Sulu and Mindanao and that 'while the recognized divisions persist, we must keep the question of their ultimate derivation open until the results of further research has given us a surer ground of judgment than yet exists'.

The last four of these six sets all consisted of what Beyer designated as pagan peoples, and Beyer again used different criteria to distinguish each one from the other. Geographically, each of the four sets covered different areas: the Pagan Peoples of Mindanao Set

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covered the pagans in Sulu and Mindanao, the Mindoro-Palawan Set
covered those in Mindoro and Palawan islands, the Itneg-Kalinga Set
included those in northern Luzon, and the Negrito-Aeta Set came to
include all the unclassified primitive groups of the entire Philippines.

Beyer further subdivided the Pagan Peoples of Mindanao grouping into
thirteen linguistic-cultural groups which are: Negrito-Aeta, Manobo,
Bukidnon, Subanun, Tirurai, Bila-an, Mangguangan, Ata, Mandaya,
Bagobo, Tagaka-olo, Kulaman, and Isamal. This set can be considered
the broadest set in the *Philippine Ethnographic Series*, in terms of
the number of ethnographic groups covered. Beyer wrote that he
considered this thirteen-group classification as tentative as far as
the Series is concerned, until there is sufficient evidence to attempt
a more accurate grouping.32

In the Mindoro-Palawan Set, Beyer appeared to emphasize the
racial and cultural criteria. Beyer wrote that the islands of Palawan
and Mindoro have always stood apart from the remainder of the
Philippine archipelago. He noted that Palawan and the small surrounding
islands show strong evidence of recent land connection with Borneo,
their flora and fauna are connected with those both of Borneo and
Malay Peninsula, and there are certain decided differences in
human population. Beyer said that the more primitive groups of
people inhabiting these islands show Bornean and Malay Peninsula
affinities.33

According to Beyer, the Itneg-Kalinga peoples are distinctly
of the Indonesian culture-type which represented a very different
culture type from the terrace-culture groups. Hence, in identifying

Peoples of Mindanao*, Volume 3.

33 H.O. Beyer, 'Introduction to the Mindoro-Palawan Papers on
Volume 7.
the Itneg-Kalinga Set, Beyer considered the cultural criterion of prime importance. However, Beyer noted that the area inhabited by the groups included in this set is 'ethnographically one of the most complex in the Philippines' and that despite the considerable extent of materials on these peoples, 'the data really comprises only the necessary beginnings toward getting on record a true ethnography of the groups concerned, and most of the field still remains unworked'.

Beyer considered the 'exceedingly primitive groups' comprised in the Negrito-Aeta Set as 'the most puzzling and difficult to classify' of the various peoples discussed in the *Philippine Ethnographic Series*. He stated that these scattered small groups of primitive types presented a great variety of physical type, culture, and language, and so it seemed that he did not use any of these three criteria in classifying the grouping. However, he appeared to have emphasized the racial or physical criterion, for he subdivided the Negrito-Aeta peoples into two main groups: one group showing decided Negrito, or at least Negroid characteristics, and the second in which other types with little or no Negroid mixture are predominant. However, although Beyer recognized these two groups, he found it practicable to arrange the 120 papers constituting the Negrito-Aeta Set in a geographical order, since the ethnographical data relating to these two groups are so mixed together.

The materials which Beyer compiled for the General Philippine Set

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(Set 18) were intended to include those data which refer to several different specific ethnographic groups in the same paper or article, or those materials which are in themselves of a general nature and refer to specific groups either only occasionally or not at all. Since this set did not deal particularly with any specific ethnographic group or groupings, it was not included in the discussion of the seventeen sets.

Beyer had compiled two other sets, consisting of several bound volumes of materials extracted from the *Philippine Ethnographic Series*. The first set which he called *Special Folklore Set* is included in the Series. The twenty-volume *Special Folklore Set* (Set 19), otherwise known as Philippine Folklore, Customs, and Beliefs Series was compiled by Beyer in 1922, and entirely derived its contents from nine sets of the *Philippine Ethnographic Series*. The set consisted of 620 papers dealing on folklore and customs which Beyer selected and extracted from the General Philippine Set and eight 'Christian' sets in the *Philippine Ethnographic Series*, namely: Sambali, Tagalog, Bisayan, Pampangan, Pangasinan, Iloko, Ibanag, and Bikol. Since, however, the *Special Folklore Set* is not available in the Beyer Collection at the National Library, it cannot be discussed here. The eleven-volume *Philippine Customary Law Set* had been compiled by Beyer, in collaboration with Dr Holleman, who came to Manila in 1931 under the auspices of the Committee on Indonesian Customary Law. The inception of the set was initiated by Dr C.V. Vollenhoven of Leiden, who in 1919 stimulated the organization of the first Committee on Philippine Customary Law which cooperated with the American Committee and the Leiden Foundation of the Netherlands. Like the *Special Folklore Set*, the contents of this set have been extracted from the *Philippine Ethnographic Series*, selected by Dr Holleman, and copied out, arranged, and bound up under Beyer's direction. The set dealt

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38 This Set is available in the National Library. It is not included in the Series.
on general customs and beliefs. It was began in 1931 and was completed in Manila a year later. In order to maintain uniformity and clarity of presentation, Beyer had arranged the 268 papers constituting the Philippine Customary Law Set by following his original general classification in the Philippine Ethnographic Series, that is, by using the eighteen ethnographic groupings, including the General Philippine grouping. At the same time, Beyer added and used a customary law classification desired by Holleman, in which the whole area of the Philippines was divided tentatively into what Beyer termed as 'customary law provinces'. The customary law classification was based mainly on geographical and cultural criteria. According to Beyer, the classification that was adopted must be regarded as 'temporary and subject to revision in the future as true division lines make themselves more definitely apparent'.

The scope, breadth and arrangement of the Philippine Ethnographic Series indicated systematic, meticulous, and laborious task. Beyer compiled the Philippine Ethnographic Series in the same systematic manner he did in arranging and recording data for his collection of archaeological artifacts, tektites, and ceramics. The materials in the Series have been copied in triplicate, and furnished systematically by Beyer with necessary prefaces and table of contents for most of the ninety-nine volumes, as well as title pages and classification notes for the majority of the 2,473 individual papers. The preface in each volume briefly summarized the general nature of the papers inserted, the kinds of paper available for insertion in the succeeding volumes, and occasionally indicated the gaps and weak points in the available materials which should be filled up by future research. The table of contents listed numerically and chronologically the complete titles,

dates, and authors, of all the papers Beyer inserted in each volume.

The volumes are bound in three-quarters leather. In order to distinguish one set from another, Beyer provided each of the nineteen sets with different color bindings. For instance, Beyer bound the Igorot Set with blue color binding, the Ifugao Set had the color of maroon, while the Bontok had black, and the Itneg-Kalinga, green.

Finally, to bring the general information on the eighteen ethnographic sets up to date, as well as to facilitate use of the texts and photographs in the *Philippine Ethnographic Series*, Beyer prepared a three-volume *Index Set* which he designated as Set 20. The *Index Set* was compiled from 1922 to 1932 and covered all the contents of sets one to eighteen in the *Philippine Ethnographic Series*. The arrangement is by sets, volumes, and papers according to their proper order in the Series - that is, Beyer listed the complete titles, authors, and dates, of the 2,473 individual papers under each of the ninety-nine volumes, and the volumes in turn listed under the eighteen sets to which they belong. In addition, the *Index Set* had Beyer's review of the history of the Series, the general nature of the field covered by the eighteen sets, the deficiencies and weak points in the compiled data, Beyer's own comments on each of the ethnographic groupings, his summarized account on what has actually been done, and what lines of research work has to be carried out in the future for each set. The estimates of unbound, partially completed manuscripts, and photographs, in Beyer's possession during that time, which he intended for insertion in the future are also mentioned. ⁴⁰ In sum, the three-volume *Index Set* constituted a comprehensive and systematic census and outline-review of work accomplished by Beyer to date, in

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⁴⁰ Due to Beyer's involvement in archaeological work in later years, the Series had been neglected and much of the materials he had accumulated remained unclassified and unbound.
the compilation of the *Philippine Ethnographic Series*. Apart from information on the Series, the *Index Set* also had notes on Beyer's bigger collection of manuscripts and printed items on Filipiniana. A large part of this Filipiniana collection are included in the Beyer collection purchased by the National Library.\(^41\)

A notable feature of the *Philippine Ethnographic Series* are the more than 2,000 photographs (or 'plates' as Beyer called them), taken during the same period and which in themselves constitute important sources of information. These (black and white) photographs were originally bound in seventeen volumes and accompanied eight sets in the Series. Unfortunately, only 427 photographs bound in three volumes had survived to the present, and these pertained to the Itneg-Kalinga and Negrito-Aeta Sets.\(^42\)

The Series consist of materials of two chief categories, namely, copies of printed materials or their translated texts, and unpublished works which are in the majority. Some of the latter have also been translated into English. The form and nature of the papers are equally extensive and diverse, and range from monographs, books, reprints, censuses, theses, book reviews, brief articles, court decisions, and extracts from scientific publications. There are military documents, treatises, enactments and decrees, bibliographical works, lectures, synopses, speeches, and personal narratives. The Series has useful papers on linguistics, documents of government

\(^{41}\) Beyer's Filipiniana collection included several bound manuscript volumes, apart from his *Philippine Ethnographic Series*. See Appendix 3 for the list of manuscripts. The Rare Book and Manuscript Reading Room, N.L.A. has no list of the individual volumes which constitute the *Philippine Ethnographic Series* and the writer has provided them with such list in August 1977 (through M. Brennan). The list also included the titles of the other manuscript volumes of Beyer shelved in that area, here given in Appendix 3.

\(^{42}\) The General Index Set listed a total of 2,025 photographs bound before the war which related to eight sets (Sets 10 to 17). See the Itneg-Kalinga and Negrito-Aeta Sets in the next section for brief description of the photographs.
bureaus and offices like records from the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, Military Information Division, Philippine Commission, office of the Governor-General, etc., municipal and provincial records, and archives of religious orders. Some of the documents are rare and represented the only recorded copies in the Philippines. Most documents applied to various periods of the Spanish and American colonial rule.

Considered by authorship, the representation in the Series are just as varied. A considerable number of papers are accounts and special reports written by Beyer's students in the University of the Philippines and students from other educational institutions, followed next in number by reports written by government personnel, and by Spanish scholars and missionaries addressed to their religious superiors or the reigning Spanish monarch. A smaller, but potentially important element are the contributions of travelers, explorers, foreign scholars, and ethnologists who made several years investigations among the Philippine non-Christian groups; and those written by linguists, census enumerators, military and education officials, rangers and surveyors, country folks, and native inhabitants. Authors of several published works stand high as authorities in their respective fields, such as Fr. Juan Villaverde, Najeeb Saleeby, Roy F. Barton, Otto Scheerer, Isabelo delos Reyes, Fr. Angel Perez, to name but a few. Among Beyer's friends and fellow ethnologists who gave important contributions are Daniel Folkmar, Emerson Christie, Merton Miller, Edward Miller, D. Barrows, Luther Parker, John Garvan, William Reed, Dean Worcester, and A.V.H. Hartendorp. Several papers are from Hazel Clark Taylor, Nicanor Maronilla-Seva, and Vicente Garcia who regularly collected from their students in the Manila High School, Philippine Normal School, and the National Academy. Beyer, as usual, gave due acknowledgement to his assistants, collaborators, and regular contributors, like the three names mentioned
above, in the prefaces he provided for most volumes or on the title pages of the individual papers.

The *Philippine Ethnographic Series* is particularly rich in student papers on the most diverse subjects and these form the greatest bulk. The peoples of the Philippines possessed a vast heritage of folklore, local beliefs, and customs, until then unrecorded and unknown, and which most of the students dealt with. The rapid onslaught of western influences in the inland and mountain regions, and the speed with which all records are disappearing, made it imperative to record what could be obtained from the old life-ways and preserve them for posterity. The student papers served this purpose. The thousand or so students from different ethnographic groups in the Philippines recorded their folklore, customs, and mythology in the Series, largely from what they themselves observed and experienced in their hometowns, from traditional histories derived from acquaintances, relatives, elderly people, and from stories told them in childhood.

Virtually the whole field of Filipiniana is covered, with the aspects on ethnography and history in predominance. There are representative papers in allied subjects such as geography, archaeology, pre-history, physical anthropology, linguistics and literature, religion, social and political institutions, economics, customary law, folklore, and others. Expectedly, the strength of the *Philippine Ethnographic Series* is centered on ethnology, since this was Beyer's main interest during the early decades of his stay in the country.

One assessor wrote that he considered the materials in the Series, 'because of the time at which the information was collected, the apparently local sources at village level which were used, and its sheer volume, to be a gold mine of anthropological information.'
on the people of the Philippines'. In the same manner, Dr Holleman stated that upon seeing the Beyer collection of ethnographic materials, he found that he 'had struck a gold mine'. A part of Dr Holleman's final report to the Philippine Committee in 1931 follows, and here, he gave his assessment of the materials contained in Beyer's Philippine Ethnographic Series. He wrote:

A chief merit of the material from the Beyer collection is its diversity; chronologically, geographically, and in matter. Material is on hand of every different periods and of almost every people and tribe of the Philippine Islands, relating also to the most various subjects. While the volumes of Indonesian Customary Law edited by the Dutch scholars (Adatrechtbundels, Volumes XVI and XXI) already contain an amount of material for the Philippines, these extracts mainly apply to past periods (descriptions by old Spanish authors) or, in case of more recent descriptions, deal most entirely with non-christian peoples. Data from the Beyer collection now being replenishment in many respects; they furnish new material for past times and give an abundance of material for judging and construeing the condition of Philippine Customary Law at present, and especially that of the Christian peoples of the Philippine Islands.

In several instances the material relating to the Christian peoples is complete to such a degree that a clear view of still existing institutions is obtained. Foremost among these institutions are courtship and marriage. The abundance of data on these topics tend to monotony but, still, none, of them can be regarded as superfluous for even when identical, they either give evidence of the prevalence of the same customs in adjoining areas or corroborate data from other authors.

It is remarkable to note that, although Spanish Statute Law and practice had officially superseded national law and practices for centuries, so much of the latter is still extant and living that it will perhaps be possible to reconstruct scientifically to a great extent, even in details, different elements of the domestic law which formerly prevailed in the Philippine Islands.

Dr Holleman said that 'the data for the Beyer collection relating

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44 F.D. Holleman, 'Preliminary Report to the Philippine Section of the Committee on Indonesian Customary Law of the American Council of Learned Societies, Philippine Customary Law Series, Volume 8, paper 219, p. 2.

to the non-Christian peoples (Mohammedan and pagan) are nearly all of recent date'. He described the materials as equally diverse and although, generally speaking, lacks the closeness and abundance of those from the Christian groups, he added that surprisingly good descriptions and rich fragments are frequent and compensate to a great degree such deficiencies.46

It is very difficult to determine the authenticity and reliability of the data which Beyer compiled for the Philippine Ethnographic Series. The 2,473 individual papers vary in interest and quality and can be described as ranging from excellent to poor. It includes documents which are of questionable merit, such as the Maragtas and Pavon documents in the Bisaya Set. For instance, W. Scott commented that in the Maragtas it is not possible 'to decide which of its details are historic facts and which are the embellishments of generations of oral transmission.'46a While of the Pavon manuscripts, he said that they 'appear to be deliberate fabrications with no historic validity.'46b Because of the diversity and extensive coverage of the Series, it is practically impossible to accurately single out which of the data are reliable or authentic and which are not. Though this aim is highly desired, it is beyond the scope of the present thesis. Therefore, it is necessary for scholars and researchers who use the collection to assess the reliability and validity of each paper in the Series. Beyer, on his part, appeared to have been aware of the difficulties presented by this problem, when he commented in 1931, on the advantages and disadvantages of the methods utilized in collecting data for the Series:

While from 60 per cent to 80 per cent of the data from the regular Christian groups has been compiled by university students, or in connection with outside field work for university credit,

46 Ibid., pp. 24-26.
46a Scopp, p. 103.
46b Ibid., p. 136.
an equally high percentage of the material from the Mohammedan and pagan areas has been collected chiefly either by trained ethnologists or by government officials or employees working directly in the non-Christian areas.

These two methods of collecting material each have advantages and disadvantages. The student material is accurate as a rule in proportion to the extent to which it is localized and relates to classes of the population among whom the students have actually lived, or been born and brought up. Their interpretation of the psychology of the social classes in the groups discussed is doubtless more accurate, on the whole, than would be any similar interpretation by outsiders — either of Filipino or foreign nationality — residing temporarily within the area. On the other hand, student attempts at interpretation of the local customs are greatly hampered by their lack of general knowledge and the broad outlook which the trained and experienced investigator possesses. This has its merit, in that the speculative element is either eliminated or is easily recognized when present — since the student's field of outside knowledge is usually limited by what he has had from his books or other modern adjuncts to education.

In the case of officials and trained investigators, working a greater or less length of time in the area studied, the material is doubtless more accurately recorded and generalized, but its chief shortcomings lie particularly on the psychological side — since, as a rule, such an investigation seldom acquires so thorough an insight into the ways of thinking and the inner social life of the people as does one who has been brought up there. Nevertheless, it is not as easy for one to interpret his own feelings and behaviour, perhaps, as it is to analyze those of others who can be considered in a more impersonal way; and therefore the interpretation of mental and social characteristics is often better done by the outside investigator, even though his actual knowledge of the inner social life is limited."°

It should be remembered that of the eighteen sets in the Philippine Ethnographic Series, nine sets pertained to the Christian peoples, and in the above-mentioned article Beyer noted that the majority of the data relating to Christian groups were compiled by university students. That Beyer did exert efforts in order to ensure the reliability of the accounts recorded by his students is evident when he wrote in 1931 that generally speaking, a 'great majority of the students could and would give accurate accounts of the local usages and customs in their localities without any great amount of

error and that by getting a number of students year after year to write on the same topics from the same general localities, it was possible to check one paper against another and arrive at a very satisfactory and almost wholly true account of actual conditions there'. Beyer also mentioned that he had collected a large amount of valuable data from local officials and private citizens of various classes from the same localities and these served as a check on the data previously collected from his students.\textsuperscript{48} In another article, Beyer stated that as regards the materials relating to the conditions in the Christian provinces, each student described only conditions with which he was personally familiar or the information had been directly obtained from relatives or old people in the area. Beyer added that 'the percentage of error in this class of material had been greatly reduced by collecting a considerable number of separate accounts from each town, ranging in date over a period of about twenty years.'\textsuperscript{49} It appeared that in order to ensure reliable and accurate student papers, Beyer gave his students the same specific field-work directions throughout the years. Hence, it can be seen from the discussion of the contents of the Series in the second section that the same topics are dealt with by the students, for most of the seventeen ethnographic groupings, particularly the Christian groupings. A typical selection of such papers, for example, would include topics on folklore, general customs and beliefs, myths and legends, superstitions and magic practices, native festivities, economic life, linguistics, literature, local history, religion, etymological derivation of geographic names, traditional origins, and so on.


\textsuperscript{49} H.O. Beyer, 'Memorandum on the Beyer-Hollemann Series of Manuscript Sources in Philippine Customary Law', \textit{Philippine Customary Law}, Volume 10. The article is one of the documents in paper no. 249.
Dr F. Holleman commented in 1931 on this point, and wrote in his report that a 'merit of the material from the Beyer collection is its general reliability'. He said that 'the data from the non-Christian tribes were, with very few exceptions, collected either by expert investigators or by persons, mostly officials, who had been acquainted with conditions among the described or similar tribes for many years'. As regards the materials on the Christian peoples on whom most the informants are the students, he stated that he had sufficient experience as to enable him as a rule to distinguish fictitious from true statements or to detect obviously erroneous facts. He said that he cannot remember any fictitious statements of the students, gross errors were few, and that though mistatements and minor errors were found, they very seldom impair the reliability of the author. In case they did, Holleman said that the paper was discarded [for the Philippine Customary Law Set]. When he doubted the exactness of the statements made, he checked them with data supplied by others and the distrusted statements were generally found to be correct. Dr Holleman added that he cannot give better evidence of his own favourable impression of the wealth of accurate knowledge of conditions in their hometowns that these students had gathered and described, than to say that he himself intends to follow Professor Beyer's method with his own students.50

Beyer's compilation of the Philippine Ethnographic Series may have certain limitations and deficiencies, but considering the state of knowledge in those days, this is no serious fault. Beyer's outlook and findings may be simplistic and outdated, the framework on which he based and classified the materials in the present Series may

be outdated. However, the Series serves two significant purposes. First, it is a rich deposit of original source materials and references about the Philippines which might be used for background reading and research. Secondly, the Series represented another of Beyer's pioneering achievements and is considered as one of his most meaningful contributions to the study of Philippine history and culture. The *Philippine Ethnographic Series* is the only one of its kind which has been attempted so far in the Philippines, and the untiring efforts of Beyer in preserving a large, diverse body of scattered facts which otherwise would have been lost, unrecorded, and bringing them together in one place deserves recognition. One of his former pupils, Dr Arsenio Manuel accorded him this tribute when he said that 'what Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson did for Philippine history in their monumental work *The Philippine Islands*, consisting of fifty-five volumes, Professor Henry Otley Beyer has done for Filipino culture in compiling the *Philippine Ethnographic Series*.'

Compiled in the *Philippine Ethnographic Series* are several articles, notes, reports, and correspondence, which Beyer wrote, and are to date largely unpublished. These are but a fraction of the numerous books, papers, and other works on Philippine ethnography, archaeology, prehistory, tektite studies, oriental porcelain and pottery, which he had to his credit, and which, together with his collection of archaeological artifacts, tektites, and ceramics, constitute an enduring legacy to the Filipino people.

Because this material has hitherto been unclassified and generally unavailable to scholars, due as much to its excessive volume as to its former location in Manila, it is proposed here to

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51a See Appendix 2 for the complete list of Beyer's works in the *Philippine Ethnographic Series*.
examine the nature and composition of the Series in detail. The author has closely adhered to the form, scope, and arrangement of the Series itself, because it is felt that in this manner, the information could be made accessible to others who desire to know the contents of any of the eighteen sets. In the following sections, Beyer's ethnographic classification has been followed. The 2,473 papers of the eighteen sets, and the information concerning each ethnographic grouping has been summarized, described, and classified particularly in relation to the source and content of the material, and their significance assessed. In addition, Beyer's own comments on the worth of the materials, views and theories formulated relative to each grouping (both published and unpublished), the conclusions he had drawn, and his assessment of work still to be undertaken are included.

To date, very little has been done to describe and examine the Series completely and comprehensively, and by so doing, the author hopes that future research on the history and culture of the Philippines will finally benefit from Beyer's enormous and pioneering effort.
CHAPTER B1

SET 1: BISAYA

The present eleven-volume Bisayan Series contains a total of 312 papers which covered all materials compiled by Beyer during the years 1918 to 1923. Beyer wrote:

Ethnographically this Set includes all of the nominally Christian peoples speaking one of the group of related languages and dialects which are collectively known as Bisayan (or Visayan). Geographically the Visayan speech is common to all that large group of islands lying between Luzon and Mindanao, which are collectively known as the Visayan Islands; and, in addition, is spoken along most of the north and east coasts of Mindanao, parts of Palawan and Mindoro, and by scattered groups of people and individuals throughout the Philippines.

It is obvious that over such a large and diversified geographic area there must be considerable variation in all three of the primary bases for human classification, namely race, culture, and language; but it must be confessed that as yet no adequate scheme for Bisayan classification has been worked out. This is particularly true in the field of racial type and culture, where practically no general or classificatory studies have been made. In the field of language, however, the rougher preliminary work has been done and the existence of various dialects well established. Four major dialects, which may almost be regarded as separate established languages of the Visayan group, are generally recognized: 1. Cebuan (variously known as Cebuano, Boholano) and the most widely spoken. 2. Panayan (variously known as Panayano, Ilongo, Hiligainon). 3. Samar-Leyte dialect (variously known as Samareño, Leyteño). 4. Aklan (variously known as Haraya, Ro Akeanon)... In addition to local variations in the foregoing four major languages, there are a number of minor Visayan dialects that are decidedly worthy of separate study and consideration. A complete list of these cannot be given as yet, but a few may be mentioned: In Mindanao there are several peculiar Visayan dialects that should be studied in connection with the languages of the Pagan and Mohammedan peoples of Mindanao; in the Island of Banton and other parts of Romblon Province there is a peculiar dialect that seems to have affinities with Panayan, Tagalog, and Bikol, though there maybe unique elements as well; while in the small Cagayan, Cuyo, and Calamianes archipelagoes there are various small islands that are said to possess unique dialects (such as Agutaya, etc.) that are more or less related to Visayan.

The use of the term 'Visayan' or 'Bisaya' to cover all the peoples speaking these dialects is justified by their common interrelationship as distinguished from surrounding languages - though it should be noted that there is an overlapping between Panayan and Tagalog on the West, and between the Samar-Leyte and Bikol in the East. The

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1 H.O. Beyer 'Field Covered by the Set', General Index, Volume 2, pp. 252-254.
original mother tongue for the Bisayan group seems to be the Cebuan which may be regarded as the typical and purest Bisayan speech. My inconsistency in spelling the name Bisaya or Visaya has been partly deliberate. It may be mentioned here that they are connected with the fact that though the name is now pronounced Bisaya in the Philippines and Borneo, it was formerly pronounced Visaya and is probably derived from the Tamil Vishaya (Sanskrit Vijaya).

As would be expected from the large number of people comprising the different groups, there is considerable variation in general culture in different parts of the area. As a general proposition, however, it may be said that while the same major racial types occur throughout the area, the local distribution varies—everywhere showing a strong tendency to the tall Indonesian type in the interior of the larger islands and the shorter Malayan and Chinese-mixed types around the coastal areas. Culturally speaking, there is also a considerable difference between the inland or hill people and those living near the coasts or in the valleys of the larger rivers. This difference was so marked at the time of Spanish arrival, that the writers of that period all distinguished the coastal and inland peoples of the Bisayan Islands by entirely different names—and speak of them as different in appearance as well as in cultural traits and historical traditions.

The Bisayan peoples are today all nominally Christian, except a few small groups of hill people in Panay, Negros, and Samar. It is possible that the Bukidnon people of Mindanao represent a pagan Bisaya culture-group; and that the Bisayas of northwestern Borneo are kin to those of the Philippines. The proof of this, however, must await further investigation.

In 1933, Beyer wrote additional notes to the Bisaya Ethnographic Set:

...the chief new development has been along the lines of Archaeology and pre-Spanish history, in which field considerable strides has been made. An intensive study of Visayan archaeological remains was attempted in 1923-25 by Dr Carl E. Guthe of the University of Michigan—continuing certain preliminary work begun in previous years by the late Dean C. Worcester. A very fine collection of cave remains and of material from certain land burial mounds and places in Cebu, Bohol, and vicinity was gathered by Dr Guthe, and most of the sites explored lack any sort of stratified deposit that would give adequate chronological data. To some extent these difficulties have been remedied in part by subsequent explorations since Dr Guthe's departure.

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Aside from the activities of several local collectors who had become interested through Dr Guthe's finds, the first systematic work was begun early in 1929 through the initiative of Mr Manuel de Yriarte, Director of the National Museum, acting with the advice and cooperation of myself. Unfortunately, the National Museum funds available for this purpose were soon exhausted, but partly through private initiative, aided also by a small grant from the University of the Philippines, I was able to take up and carry on the work where the National Museum left off.  

Beyer added

That his theory on the probable connection of the Philippine Bisayans with the Empire of Sri-Vishaya in Sumatra, and the intensive study of Bisayan burial caves and mounds by Drs Carl Guthe and Dean C. Worcester had rendered work in the Bisayan Set doubly important, and that a thorough study of Bisayan ethnography would be of preliminary importance in the proper correlation of the historical and archaeological material.  

The only attempt at sub-classification of the papers in the Bisaya Set has been their designation as Samar-Leyte, Cebuan, Panayan, or Aklan, according to the major dialect group under which they come... It should be noted that the ground covered by this Set (and most of the others as well) is not rigidly confined to purely ethnographic and linguistic material, but comprehends in addition such subjects as history, pre-history, archaeology, somatology, description of geographical environment, theories of origin, reaction to modern conditions, etc.; in fact, all matter that has any important bearing on the history and development of the Visayan peoples and their culture.  

Of the 312 papers composing the Set, 294 accounts were written by students between the years 1915 to 1931 and were devoted chiefly to folklore, beliefs, and social customs. These works were contributed by Beyer's

5 H.O. Beyer, 'Additional Notes on the Set', General Index, Volume 3. Beyer stated that the full account of their collecting activities in the Visayan Islands is contained in his Philippine Archaeology Series (Set 22) which are found in the present Beyer collection.

6 H.O. Beyer, 'Terminal Notes to the Set', General Index, Volume 1, p. 37.

7 H.O. Beyer, 'Field Covered by the Set', General Index, Volume 2, pp. 254-255.
students in the Department of Anthropology and Philippine Languages, except for two papers containing fifty folklore stories and forty-six native proverbs, which were collected from students in the Manila High School, Philippine Normal School and the National Academy by Hazel Taylor, Nicanor Seva, and Vicente Garcia in 1917-1918. Beyer commented that regionally, the Aklan district and the Cebuan-Panayan areas are best represented in the Bisaya Series, with fewer papers from the Samar-Leyte group.8

Much of the early Spanish data on Bisaya customary law has been abstracted in the Adatrechtbundels, a series of compilation on native customs and usages of the peoples of Indonesia, Netherlands Indies, Malay Peninsula and the Philippine Islands published in Leiden. Two of the several interesting manuscripts on the early history of the islands of Panay and Negros which were unknown to the editors of the Leyden publication were compiled in the Bisaya volumes: the Pavon manuscripts (1837-1840) and the even more interesting Maragtas of Pedro Monteclaro written probably in the thirteenth century, A.D.9 The Maragtas was written originally in the Panayan dialect by Pedro Monteclaro, a native of Miag-ao, Iloilo and was printed in 1907 by the El Tiempo (The Times). By 1916, Beyer obtained an exact typewritten copy of the original printed book which was said to be rare and difficult to obtain, and the work was subsequently translated by four of his Bisayan students in the University.10 Both the Panayan original text and the English version entitled Maragtas, or History of the Island of Panay from its Earliest Inhabitants up to the Coming of the Borneans who were Ancestors of the Bisayans, and to the Coming of the Spaniards are found in the first volume. Beyer said:

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8 H.O. Beyer, 'Additional Notes on the Set', General Index, Volume 3.
10 Translated by E. Gonzago, N. Rosado, R. Locsin, and I. Golez in 1916.
It should be noted that the original account deals with two
distinct groups of people living on the Island of Panay in pre-
Spanish times: The Atis, or native inhabitants who appear to
have been a dark-skinned but medium tall Indonesian people
rather than true Negritos - and the Borneans or new people, of
relatively high culture with Indian traits, who came from Bruni
or northern Borneo to settle in Panay. And further: the Maragtas
is chiefly made up of the contents of two Bisayan manuscripts
which have heretofore been known to us mainly from the Santaren
manuscripts preserved in the Augustinian Convent, Manila. There
is good reason for believing that the originals of these manuscripts
dated from the first or second quarter of the thirteenth century -
two investigators place it about 1225 and one at 1240 A.D. - and
that they were copied and recopied down to the nineteenth century.
Unfortunately no copy known to be older than the eighteenth
century is now in existence.... Monteclaro doubtless added some
data taken from oral traditions and some interpretations of his
own, though the majority of his data are certainly taken from
fuller copies of old documents similar to the Santaren manuscripts.
His own account of the sources used [were given in the manuscript]
but as he died shortly after completing the Maragtas, and his
effects were scattered, it has been impossible to trace them
definitely.\textsuperscript{11}

The Maragtas recorded the various events which occurred among the
ancestors of Filipinos who first inhabited the islands of Panay and
Negros in the Visayas several centuries before the discovery of Magellan,
the causes of their coming to the islands and the way they settled
themselves in different places, the difficulties they encountered from
the frequent wars waged against the Moros of Mindanao, and their customs,
laws, and habits before the arrival of the Spaniards in the Philippines
in the sixteenth century. Monteclaro noted that his book resulted from a
careful collection of different accounts which were formerly scattered,
written by a few friars who did their best to keep a remembrance of
what they saw and experienced in olden times in Panay. The one treasure
which was said to have rendered the Maragtas its highest value, was
that it is the most complete record of the history of Panay from the
early times up to the present. Beyer wrote:

If we compare the data in the Maragtas with the early Spanish
writings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; with the
Pavon data of the early nineteenth century; and with the large
volume of recent accounts, of which the present [Bisayan]

\textsuperscript{11} H.O. Beyer, 'Introductory Note to the Maragtas', Philippine
Customary Law, Volume 3.
collection chiefly consists, we get an unequalled picture of conditions - especially in the islands of Panay and Negros - covering more than seven centuries and unequalled in our knowledge of any other Philippine group.

Chinese accounts of conditions in the Bisayan Islands probably exist, but so far have been inadequately identified - though for the Tagalog area in the north, and the Sulu-Moro area in the south, the Chinese accounts give us important data contemporary with the Maragtas.¹²

Three papers in the present Set contained the three-volume original manuscripts in Spanish which were written by Jose Maria Pavon and published in Jimamaylan, Negros during the years 1838-1839. These Spanish texts were partially translated into English by four students of Beyer in 1918-1920, and appeared in four other Bisayan papers, entitled Folklore of the Island of Negros. The Pavon manuscripts contain most valuable classified accounts of the customs among both the inland and coastal peoples in the island of Negros - which bear out the differences emphasized in the early Spanish writings, but add many new details regarding the habits and customs of the people.¹³ Many of the data were recorded by Pavon during his several years of work among the natives, related by the people during his many visits to different places in the Island; while the rest consisted of rare and ancient documents which dated from the early thirteenth to the late seventeenth century. Some of the documents Pavon had obtained were originally written in the native Bisayan alphabets and which have been translated into Spanish. Among the information he had recorded in the three volumes included several folklore stories orally given to him by old Bisayan and Mangian natives, and other traditional legends common among the pagan Igneines and Negritos, the political divisions existing among the people when he arrived in the island of Negros, with accounts of their marriage, death


and burial customs, their ceremonial feastings to the spirits and other pagan rituals usually performed by native priests called bailanes, and numerous traditional beliefs concerning animals, birds, fish, trees, minerals, heavenly bodies and others. While of note among the documents Pavon had collected were curious description of forts found in the island as told by two of the early native chiefs; a rare story of King Maranhig which was based on the theory of the resurrection of the dead in a document dated 1239; a valuable document of 1433 containing seventeen laws of Kalantiaw, a native chieftain in the Aklan district of the Island of Panay, which was enforced among the people from 1433 to 1850, and found in the possession of one Panay chief in 1614; and a true reproduction of the ancient Bisayan alphabet according to a document of 1543. The documentary materials also related the ancient burial and marriage customs among the Visayans, Mangians and Negritos, the diverse musical instruments, arms and weapons, amulets, magical objects and idols common among the early inhabitants, the utensils and other paraphernalia utilized by their bailanes in connection with their religious ceremonies, their superstitions and other traditional stories.¹³

A considerable amount of valuable ethnological and historical material about the Visayan Islands and its inhabitants in pre-colonial times and during the Spanish era were provided by three extensive works: Las Islas Visayas en la Epoca de la Conquista by Isabelo de los Reyes which was printed 1889 in Manila; an unspecified [M.A.] thesis titled The Early Bisayans which was written in the University of the Philippines during the years 1913-1914, by Luther Parker based on his archaeological investigations in the Islands; and Jose Soncuya's volume on pre-Hispanic Philippine history which was published in the original Spanish under the auspices of the Historic-Geographic Society of the Philippines in 1917. The latter have been translated by twenty students of Beyer in 1918 and

¹³ William H. Scott, in his book A Critical Study of the Prehispanic Source Materials for the Study of Philippine History commented that most pre-Spanish documents, including the Maragtas and the Pavon manuscripts, are dubious and not authentic.
appeared in Volume 4 as *The Island of Panay and the History of the Bisayans*. A brief extract from the account in Spanish by R. Echauz titled *Apuntes de la Isla de Negros* which was published 1894 in Manila have been included in the Series and it provided interesting notes on the native medicinemen and priests in the Island of Negros.

Of interest in Parker's thesis mentioned above was the third chapter dealing with the religion of the early Bisayans in which he wrote about a baylan or witch-doctor ceremony he had witnessed in Leon, Iloilo on December 1912. Parker stated: 'So far as known this is the first and only time the ceremony in this section has been performed in the presence of white men as it was forbidden in Spanish times and the performers persecuted, the church looking with great disfavor on these "heathenish" practices that delight the heart of the ethnologist'.

He considers his account as merely an introduction to the study of Baylanism in the Philippines which is an interesting subject of study from many points, and that it is but another angle from which to approach the question of the origin of the Filipino peoples. Among the papers reproduced in the Appendix of the thesis were rare documents on the municipal histories of old Bisayan towns, accounts about early Filipino chieftains and the existing relationship between the pre-Spanish rulers of Brunei, Sabah, Mindanao, Ternate and Manila, and traditional history of the first settlers in the island of Panay. The most valuable of them is the Spanish translation by Fr Tomas Santaren of an old Visayan manuscript which he had obtained in 1858 from a family in the town of Janiauy, Iloilo.

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13b Luther Parker, *The Early Bisayans, 1913-1914*, in *Bisaya Set*, Volume 4, p. 64.

in the island of Panay. According to Parker, the original, or a copy of it, is supposed to be extant in the province of Iloilo and is highly prized.\(^{14}\) The Santaren manuscript was translated from Spanish into English by two students of Beyer in 1917, and appeared in a separate paper in the Bisaya Set as 'History of the First Datos who came from Borneo and Peopled these Islands'. It contained historical accounts on the first Bornean settlers in the island of Panay, their contact with the natives called Negritos or Ates, and how they spread themselves and populated various towns in that island and in other places.

Also included among the eighteen Bisayan papers which were not written by students, were unpublished records from the Division of Ethnology, the Bureau of Constabulary, and other official reports, and brief notes written by various persons between 1905 and 1922 — dealing with such topics as the Colorum movement, some sources of Bisayan archaeological material, Bisayan dialects, and etymological derivations of several names of Cebuan towns. The Set also contained correspondence and reports relative to the expedition to the islands of Panay, Negros, and Cebu in 1912, and the consequent investigations of reputed religious caves and sacred mountains in those regions; and twelve census reports of 1903. The censuses recorded existing conditions in twelve provinces in the islands of Mindanao and the Visayas during the early American period, with a great deal of information on population, topography and natural resources; the customs, general characteristics, folk beliefs, and modes of living of the inhabitants; the progress in religion, education, health, literacy, means of transportation, public works, social conditions, economy, and political administration since the Americans took hold of the country, and some description on the system of weights and measures used. The reports covered the provinces of Samar, Leyte, Cebu, Romblon, Romblon,

\(^{14}\) The Santaren manuscripts were furnished to Parker by Beyer in the original Spanish text. This, however, was not copied in his Appendix because the English translation had already been included in the Bisaya Set.
Bohol, Negros Oriental, Iloilo, Antique and Capiz in the Visayan islands and Surigao, Dapitan, and Misamis in the island of Mindanao. Five reports were written in Spanish, while the rest were in English. According to Beyer, some of the reports contain data of considerable interest and were given in full in the present Set, whereas only brief abstracts of them were published by the Census of 1903.15

There were three other printed works in the Series: a work originally written by H. Kern in Dutch, published 1881 in Leiden and translated 1923 in Manila by Abram V. H. Hartendorp and containing fifty-seven Bisayan words with Sanskrit elements and their meanings; and a collection of Bisayan folktales and folk beliefs compiled by two American teachers in 1904, and printed in two articles in the *Journal of American Folklore* during the years 1906-1907. The collected data were orally recorded from Bisayan pupils and teachers, in two places five miles apart in the island of Panay. Surprisingly, it was discovered that the collected narratives were substantially alike in both places, and were known by the natives in other localities of Panay.

A quarter of the 294 student papers dealt on folklore with some 400 folktales and traditional stories narrated in these papers. Fourteen folktales have been written in the Bisayan dialects and then translated into English. The folklore papers included many magic tales, some set in strange kingdoms, and dealing with fantastic adventures and legendary feats; tales filled with moral lessons; and traditional stories concerning revered patron saints, whose origin were obscure but worshipped from ancient days as protectors and helpers of the Bisayans against misfortunes, and whose miraculous feats were widely believed as still prevalent.

One paper dated 1925 by C. Canaya, for instance, related the history of a black child image called by the early inhabitants of Cebu, *Balahala*

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(protector), and found by the Augustinian friars who considered it a gift of Providence to find the Image of the Holy Child in a far-away place. Thus, the city and province of Cebu was later named Provincia del Santísimos Nombre de Jesus by the Spaniards, in honor of the Holy Child who later became its patron saint. Its divine feats before the arrival of the Spanish colonizers were believed to have saved the Cebuanos from many disasters and calamities, and its various miracles during the Spanish era were said to be recorded in Cebu's registered documents. The saint is venerated not only by the Bisayan people, but also among the other Christian tribes, and the celebration of the fiesta of the Santo Niño (Holy Child) is considered one of the most popular festivals throughout the Philippine Islands until today.

There were some interesting tales on how the earth, heavenly bodies, and living things including the first mortals were created, a few stories about Bisayan mythological gods and goddesses, and several beautiful fables. Notable among the animal stories are: the English translation in 1919 by J. Neri, of an old, anonymous Cebuan legend written in verse form about 1780, entitled 'King Locust and King Lion'; one Cebuan fable regarding the monkey Amuay, supreme ruler of the earth when the world was still young, which was written 1915 by E. Roa; and the 1916 translation of ten old Bisayan fables selected from a work of an Aglipayan priest, Reverend Buyser, called Mga Sugilanan'g Kara-an. Most numerous among the folklore materials were the fascinating myths and legends involving the origin of towns, provinces or islands in the Visayas, the appearance of rivers, underwater kingdom, mysterious isles, forests, highlands, rocks, volcanoes, caves and other geographical features, and explaining the origin and behaviour of fish, insects, birds, animals and other living creatures.

Nearly half of the student contributions comprised a collection of roughly 2,000 Bisayan customs, beliefs, and traditions preserved
through the centuries and prevailing among the people, particularly those inhabiting the countryside and the interior villages. Some of them have already disappeared, several were modified to some extent by westernization, but the majority represented remnants of the primitive beliefs and practices of their forefathers which were orally transmitted through many generations. Stories about the existence of witches, malignant spirits and powerful deities are heard everywhere throughout the Visayan islands, as the student accounts show. These supernatural creatures dwell anywhere, in big rocks, forests, valleys, mountains, rivers, deserted buildings and others, and though generally unseen, were respected and feared. Their displeasure or wrath caused fright, offensive attacks and misfortune among the populace; commonly, however, they were believed to produce certain sickness, physical defects and at times, mysterious deaths, particularly when their abodes are disturbed. Many stories were told about the few good ones, like the frolicking slant-eyed fairies dwelling in trees (tawawos) which are the most numerous, most interesting, and most powerful group of supernaturals which appear as exceedingly beautiful persons when they mingle occasionally with humans, the friendly bearded giants (cafres) who never do harm unless first assaulted, and the baby faced dwarfs (cama-cama or duende) who are considered tricky and mischievous, but harmless. Other Bisayan students spoke of frightful and harmful spirits and ghostly apparitions, called by different names and assuming various sizes and forms when seen. Some students mentioned the existence of people possessing extra-ordinary powers, like the usikan persons whose black spotted tongues could inflict physical injury on others, the sigbinan people in the islet of Siquijor who were feared for their witchcraft and the possession of harmful goat-like animals called sigbin, and the barangan whose power was said to correspond to the Tagalog mangkukulam (witch). The most popular tales, however, centered around the asuang, a nocturnal flying cannibal mostly feared among the Bisayans
whose origin is unknown, but represents the most widely known belief narrated by the students belonging to the other Christian tribes, as shown by the succeeding ethnographic sets. Conceptions of the asuang differed in various regions throughout the Philippine Islands, but is popularly represented as an ordinary person living among the masses, with supernatural powers of flying, changing into animal forms and feeding on human flesh.

The Bisayan Series contained many accounts regarding surviving forms of primitive religious feastings and invocations which were widely practised by the Bisayans in order to appease the anger of these supernatural beings, other deities and ancestral spirits, to attain their continuous goodwill, and to implore for their mercy and forgiveness. According to the students, such ceremonial offerings and invocations were performed by native medicine men (babaylan or ban-awan) generally believed to be favored by spirits and given the privilege to communicate with them and regarded as endowed with supernatural power of eradicating diseases. The most common of these religious food offerings is done during the advent of diseases and afflictions and is held in the forest, field, or near streams, and any place supposedly the habitat of these invisible beings. It is also performed before the building of their houses, before fishing and making new clearings in virgin forests, before, during, and after the planting and harvesting seasons in order to implore the protection of their rice fields or fish corrals and as thanksgiving for plentiful rice harvests and abundant catch of fish. Occasionally, rituals are also performed when there is drought and epidemic, before using new fish nets or fish corrals, and after a successful hunt of wild animals.

The Bisayan people are very rich in folk beliefs and it was said by a Bisayan student that 'there is not a single member of a family, young or old, who could not tell at least five superstitions the minute you ask him.' Countless queer beliefs and practices revolved around the varied objects that they see and their daily activities, such as when they build their
houses, when they embark on journeys or set sail, when they fish, sow, plant, harvest and thresh rice crops, and in planting fruit trees, root crops, and many agricultural products. Folk beliefs were involved in their social affairs, religion, commercial transactions, predictions for the future, and several auguries were recorded in connection with dreams, calamities, poverty, wealth, and good events. Peculiar to the Bisayan Series were some student accounts of practices performed in communicating with the spirits of dead relatives, when setting foot on a new place, when transferring from lowland to highland or moving into a newly built home, when lost in the forest, in determining the guilt of suspected persons, in foretelling the recovery of a sick family member and in curing certain diseases. The Bisayan students narrated many folk beliefs concerning plants, fruits, flowers, trees, minerals, and natural phenomena as comet, thunder, lightning, rainbow, earthquake, moon, sea, tide, storm, eclipse and others. For instance, the students related a widespread belief that the eclipse is caused by a big serpent locally called baawawal who swallows the moon, and the inhabitants of inland villages make all kinds of noise with drums, pieces of bamboo, tin cans and other instruments, raise loud yells, shoot arrows upward, and make a thousand demonstrations of grief to win the friendship of the monster in setting the moon free. There were accounts of Bisayan fetish beliefs about love charms, herb mixture, protective amulets, magical potions, sacred images and verses, believed to ward off the evil effects of witchcraft, inducing invisibility, supernatural vision and strength, and protection against sickness, any weapons, and all kinds of danger. However, the majority of the accounts dealt with insects, birds, and animals, whose appearances, unusual movements and sounds heralded a variety of events including the predictions of forthcoming weather, the presence of hovering evil spirits or souls of departed relatives, and and served as auguries for poverty, misfortune and calamities, sickness,
death, prosperity, success, peace and good fortune.

Included among these student papers were reports on many folk beliefs and customary traditions involved during pregnancy, when a child is born and christened, when the child is reared into adulthood; during courtship, betrothals, and marriages; and in times of death, burial, mourning, and widowhood. The Bisayan Set contained some information on other social-religious festivals observed during spirit offerings, feast days of the dead, town fiestas, Christmas, Holy Week, and during harvest time and religious pilgrimages. Majority of these customs and celebrations were commonly practised by their ancestors in the olden days, and observed as still in existence among the Bisayan people during the American period.

Some of the students described the general material and social progress existing in their hometowns, the typical life in the barrio, the social classes and their varying customs, religious sects, political organization, their native games, amusements, songs, and dances. There were more than 400 riddles and proverbs, and at least 150 native folk songs listed by the students in the Bisayan Series and a great part of them have been translated into English.

Seventeen student papers which were written 1915 to 1927 were devoted entirely to courtship, betrothal and marriage customs and beliefs practised among the Bisayans in the provinces of Cebu, Iloilo, Samar, Capiz, Leyte, Occidental Negros and Surigao in the island of Mindanao. These traditions were more or less similar to the other Christian ethnographic groups scattered throughout the Philippine Islands and appeared to have changed but little from what they were in earlier times. A peculiar Bisayan custom which seemed to be unknown among the other groups is the performance of the war dance (sinolog) in honor of the bride after the marriage ritual and is generally considered an important part of the marriage celebration in the provinces of Iloilo and Occidental Negros.
Apart from the data on folklore and social culture, a considerable number of student papers related to linguistics, literature, ethnology, customary laws, and economics. Notable among the few ethnographical reports were three papers which described the life, characteristics, and customs of two types of inhabitants dwelling in the island of Negros: the coast dwelling lowlanders composed mostly of Christians, and the pagan mountain people or highlanders. Another paper, written 1922 by P. Varona, 'The Town of Arevalo' recorded the oral traditions derived from old folks, relative to the first settling of the town of Arevalo in the province of Iloilo by the Malayans, how the Spaniards saw the natives and the place upon their arrival in the late sixteenth century, and the existing beliefs, customs, and folk beliefs of the people during the American period. A fifth paper by A. Tolentino dated 1919, 'The Origin and Development of the Town of Sigma', also traced the origin of their ancestors to the first Bornean settlers and related the economic, social, and political conditions of the inhabitants before and during the Spanish era.

Some of the contributions in the literary and linguistic fields were six papers which dealt with the characteristics, vocabulary, phonetics, and structure of the Bisayan dialects; two papers by A. Soncuya and G. Fabella which embodied texts written in the Aklan and Banton dialects, accompanied by their English translations; and a bibliography on Bisayan literature consisting of more than 450 titles of native plays, corridos, novels, stories, vocabularies, dictionaries, histories, biographies, religious books and other miscellaneous works produced from pre-Spanish times to 1917.16

Before the coming of the Spanish colonizers, the Filipino people had already a system of laws based mainly on customs which were handed down from generation to generation, many of which have survived to the

16 Volume 8 of the Bisayan Set contained two bibliographies written by Encarnacion Gonzaga in 1917. These preceded her thesis entitled Bisayan Literature: From Pre-Spanish Times to 1917, whose text is not found in the present Set.
present. Twenty-seven Bisayan papers discussed the customary laws common in the provinces of Capiz, Leyte, Cebu, Iloilo, Occidental Negros, Bohol, Antique and Masbate where the students resided. The papers have been written from the years 1925 to 1931 and covered several ancient customary traditions involving birth, marriage, death, filial piety, family relations and social behaviour; others related to religion, inheritance and the disposition of family properties among the heirs, and the relationship between tenant and landlord. There were also customs which governed master-servant relations, land tenure, house-construction, fishing, sailing, debts and loan transactions, cooperative labor among the village populace in certain endeavors, and traditions observed during the celebration of Christian festivities like Christmas, New Year and the Holy Week. In addition, a few accounts were narrated regarding the use of primitive ordeals in detecting crimes, highway rules, animal and property ownership, and the rights and privileges of political officials who were chosen by the villagers. One paper of 1926 by P. Calo briefly discussed some of the customary laws current among the Muslim Manobo tribes of Agusan Province in the island of Mindanao.17

The rest of the materials consisted of thirty-seven student papers dated between 1915 to 1928, chiefly dealing on the economic life of the Bisaya peoples and included data on the origin and development of native industries, the problems, progress and prospects of their economy during the American period, with recommendations for improvement in the future. The students also noted the ceremonies and folk beliefs connected with two basic occupations, fishing and rice culture, the development of transportation and clothing, and related economic data.

As far as Beyer was concerned, primary connection of the Bisaya Set occurs with the Negrito-Aeta Set in which all the data of the non-Christians in the Bisaya area have been included. He stated:

17 Pedro Calo, 'Folklore from Agusan Province', 1926.
While these non-Christians are not very numerous, those of Panay and Negros occupy considerable areas and further study of them is particularly important. Most of them are racially Indonesians rather than true Negrito or Australoid types; and a detailed study of their culture may throw much light on the history of the Christian Bisayans in pre-Spanish days. The Pavon manuscript and others already inserted in the Bisaya Set indicate such possibilities quite clearly; and the printed Blair and Robertson Series furnishes a wealth of comparative material.

Secondary overlapping with the Bisaya Set occurs in the areas indicated in the Pagan Peoples of Mindanao and Mindoro-Palawan Sets, and in the Moro Set. Practically all of the Christians in Mindanao, the Sulu Archipelago, and Palawan are Bisayans; and exchange of culture and speech has been particularly extensive in some areas. Some further overlapping with the Bikol Set, particularly in Masbate and Samar; and with the Tagalog Set, particularly in Masbate, Marinduque, Tayabas, and Batangas will also be found.

Regarding future work in the Set, Beyer mentioned the need for further research materials in the following fields: under the head of language are needed sufficient data on geographic distribution and differences of the minor dialects, as well as on local dialectic variations which would warrant an attempt at a more or less definite classification; in somatology, where a good series of measurements accurately classified by locality accompanied by a good series of photographs of both Bisayan men and women should be obtained, since a study of the distribution of the major types and sub-types may prove highly significant in connection with the distribution of dialect groups and culture types; and in culture, where the present Bisayan material is weakest on the economic side, though the social aspects are all well represented.

Culturally, Beyer commented on the need for good papers on house and boat types, tools and weapons, pottery, local games and amusements, social classes, rules of etiquette and others, to be obtained from as many localities as possible, since the whole collection is generally weak in material from the smaller islands. Linguistically, Beyer

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18 H.O. Beyer, 'Relationship to other Sets', General Index, Volume 2, pp. 261-262.
19 H.O. Beyer, 'Future Work on the Set', General Index, Volume 2, pp. 262-263.
wrote that in any extensive study or attempt at classifying the sub-
dialects of the Panayan dialect should consider the small Christian groups
known as Kuyonon and Kalamian, whose people speak dialects which are
related to Panayan, and data about these groups could be found in the
Mindoro-Palawan Set.\textsuperscript{20}

He added that a careful study of the materials he had collected in
his Bisayan Ethnographic Series and Customary Law Series may bring out
new facts that will make possible a defining of Bisayan characteristics,
and the traits which distinguish them from other surrounding groups to
an extent which was then not practicable.\textsuperscript{21}

\textsuperscript{20} H.O. Beyer, 'Miscellaneous Notes on the Set', \textit{General Index},
Volume 2, p. 265.

\textsuperscript{21} H.O. Beyer, 'Introduction to the Papers on Bisaya Customary Law',
CHAPTER B2
SET 2: BIKOL

The two Bikol volumes containing a total of seventy papers, were completed and bound during the years from 1922 to 1931.

Ethnographically this set includes all of the Christian people speaking the Bikol language or one of its sub-dialects. Geographically the Bikol language is spoken throughout the provinces of Camarines Sur, Albay, and Sorsogon, on Luzon; and on Catanduanes, Burias, Ticao, and various smaller islands around southeastern Luzon; on a part of the Island of Masbate and the northern end of Samar; and in portions of the province of Camarines Norte. In Manila and in most of the Christian provinces of the central Philippines there are small groups of persons and scattered individuals speaking this language.

Variations in physical type and culture in the Bikol area are probably not very marked, though as yet no definite attempts at racial or cultural sub-classification have been made. Such work must await the collection and study of much further data than is available. On the side of language, however, much more is known. In Camarines Sur alone there are four quite distinct dialects, the lines of demarcation of which are well known; while in Albay, Sorsogon, Catanduanes, and some of the smaller islands, various sub-dialects have been reported, though their exact boundaries and classification has not yet been worked out. The Naga dialect of Camarines Sur is generally regarded as the standard Bikol; and the other dialects classified in accordance with their nearness or remoteness from this standard. Of the other Camarines Sur dialects, that of the Partido de Lagonoy is the nearest to the standard Naga, while the Buhi and the Bao-Iriga-Eato dialects are rather remote. The later dialect is perhaps the most interesting. In addition to varying phonetically from town to town, it presents certain structural and lexical peculiarities that are quite different from the standard Bikol but show resemblance to certain of the pagan dialects of northern Luzon and the interior of Mindanao, wrote Beyer in 1923. In another article written in 1931, Beyer noted that

... generally speaking, the true Bikol culture stands apart from the Samar-Bisayan in the south and the Tagalog in the north - possessing sufficient characteristics of its own to warrant separation from its neighbors.

In the Bikol area, there live - in addition to certain wandering bands of Negritos - some remnants of pagan hill people of Indonesian or Malayan types. As yet, however, it is impossible to say how far these groups represent a survival of the pre-Spanish pagan Bikol - and considerable future study will be required before it can be said

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1 H.O. Beyer, 'Field Covered by the Set', General Index, Volume 2, pp. 267-268.
with certainty that a Bikol culture of pre-Spanish type still survives. And further, the Bikol people are of particular interest because of their intermediate position between the Tagalogs and the Samar-Leyte Bisayans, though there seems to be considerable evidence that their closest relationships lie with the Bisayans of Panay and western Negros. Further study of the present series of source material may serve to throw much light on this subject.

The Bikol Set contains a good collection of data of the usual types, ethnographic, historical and linguistic, which were reported mainly by students. Fifty-eight accounts were compiled, and all except one, were written by Beyer's Bikol students in the University of the Philippines during the years 1915 to 1931. This single paper was composed of eight contributions on Bikol folklore students from the Manila High School, National Academy, and Philippine Normal School compiled by H.C. Taylor, N. Seva and V. Garcia in 1917.

The Bikol material collected here was described by Beyer as relatively scarce in proportion to the population of the area because of the fact that only a few students from the Bikol provinces come to the University, and other sources of information have not been easily accessible. In addition to known Bikol material, all general or unidentified papers from the Island of Masbate were put into the Bikol Set—as the Bikol element is the most numerous there.

Twelve of the seventy papers were written by other authors, and possibly the most valuable would be the English translation of Fr. Jose Castaño's original manuscript in Spanish, Breve Noticia Acerca del Origen, Religion, Creencias y Supersticiones de los Antiguos Indios del Bicol, which

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2 H.O. Beyer, 'Field Covered by the Set', General Index, Volume 2, pp. 267-268.

3 H.O. Beyer, 'Preface to Volume 1', September 1, 1922, Bikol Set, Volume 1.


5 H.O. Beyer, 'Field Covered by the Set', General Index, Volume 2, p. 268.
was printed 1895 in the first volume of *Archivo del Bibliofilo Filipino*. The translation, *A Brief Account of the Bicol Region*, was done in 1920 by one of Beyer's students, S. Peña. It contained information on the origin of the Bicol people; the three races inhabiting the region and their distinguishing character, dialects and customs; the polytheistic religion of the primitive Bicolos, their superstitions and other customs as observed by Fr Castaño and had noted from the reports of missionaries who had been engaged in the task of christianizing these savages in the island of Luzon. As a supplement to his work, Fr Castaño had written down the 'fragments of a certain unedited manuscript in verse, which besides its poetic form in which it is written, gives a clear understanding of the custom of the Bicolos of antiquity.'

H. Kern, who wrote two articles commenting on Fr Castaño's manuscript, said that this rare mythological poem obtained by Fr Castaño from an old Bicol inhabitant was 'never before published... and shows in nature and object close correspondence with the oldest Indian Purâna's and also with the Völsuspá of the Edda and the Theogeny of Hesiod. It contains a mythical narration of the first inhabitants of the world, of the flood, of the battle of heroes against monsters.' He further noted that the fragment of the Spanish poem of the old Bicol singer '... is very peculiar, and although in some expressions Spanish influence is not to be mistaken, the whole seems to be a true echo of the old inland sagas.' Both articles of H. Kern were published in 1897 as they were originally written in Dutch and they appeared in the first Bicol volume in their English translations by A.V.H. Hartendorp in 1920, with revisions done by Beyer.

'The writings of Fr Castaño', wrote Beyer in 1931, 'and especially the fragment of an ancient Bicol epic which he has preserved for us, give

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8. Both originals were published in *Bijdragen tot de taal-land-en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie*, Volume 47, ('s Gravenhage, 1897).
most valuable data on conditions in pre-Spanish times.  

Unpublished works were 'History of the Aroroy Mining District and other Mineral Resources of Masbate Island' (1920), a personal narrative of mining in the Aroroy District under the Americans by W. Edelmaier, an American resident since 1899, with his accounts of ancient mine workings in Aroroy and other districts of Masbate Island; and a paper written 1921 by W. Smith in collaboration with Beyer, 'Notes on the ancient Cave Dwellings of Batwaan Valley, Masbate' which was said to be the first description of cave dwellings in the Philippines. The paper was based on Smith's visit to four ancient caves in the interior of Masbate Island, and was intended to put the descriptions on record as a preliminary contribution to further study of the caves. Both works are in Volume 1.

Included too were census reports of 1903 from the Bikol provinces of Ambos Camarines, Albay and Sorsogon, as well as Masbate Island in the Visayas where nearly one-half of the population is Bikol; and correspondence in Spanish obtained from the Division of Ethnology. The latter were written 1902-1904 by various municipal presidents and contained some information on the population, tribal composition, spoken dialects, manners and customs of Bikols inhabiting seven municipalities in the province of Albay. Their English translations which were done in Manila, in about 1904 and 1905, were copied in the second volume.

The 100-paged census reports served as important records on the general conditions among the Bikol people upon the arrival of the Americans - the population, characteristics, customs, and folk beliefs of the inhabitants, their natural resources like forests, mines and fisheries, economic and social life, progress in education, religion,

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public works and miscellaneous data.

The three linguistic works in the Bikol Set could be credited to E.E. Schneider, namely, 'Bikol Phonetics' and 'Notes on Bikol Dialects' which were both written in 1912, and 'Miscellaneous Notes on the Bikol Language with Comparative Reference to other Philippine and Malayan Dialects' prepared during the years 1910-1914. The first work was a complete table of the sounds, including dipthongs and triphthongs used in speaking the standard Bikol, written for the use of J. Carvan and H. Beyer, the last two works prepared exclusively for the use of Beyer. The second work gave important notes on the geographical distribution of several Bikol dialectic groups, and the last provided derivations from rootwords of some Bikol words, their meanings and phonetic changes as compared with other Philippine and Malayan dialects. Beyer, in his added notes to the last manuscript, spoke of Schneider who he said has been studying Bikol for the past twenty years, as the best authority on that language.

Topics on folklore and social customs formed the greater bulk of the fifty-eight student materials and half were on Bicolano folklore written over the years from 1915 to 1931. These folklore papers described some animal tales, stories of adventure and magic, many legends and origin myths, the heroic exploits of Juan Osong or Usong who is a prominent character in Bikol folklore famous for his wits, and whose stories are very popular among the elderly. There were also the usual traditional accounts of the miracles of patron saints, and of ghosts, witches, goblins, fairies, and other enchanted supernaturals whose tales never failed to excite the Bicolano imagination.

At least a hundred folk stories were recorded by the students, twenty being written in the native Bikol dialect and translated into English.

The myths and legends were dominant and mostly related was about the mysterious and beautiful Mayon Volcanoe in the province of Albay, a place widely believed to be inhabited by heavenly deities and its wildly forested vicinity abounding with malignant supernatural creatures. A
student, for instance, briefly narrated the story of Kalaon, 'a super-human being who lived in the bowels of the earth beneath the base of Mt Mayon' and worshipped in ancient times by the people inhabiting the sequestered place of Bantayan, located at the foot of the volcano. Kalaon was believed to be the God of Destruction bringing rain and lightning, and whose wrath brought forth lava from its crater; when there's rain and lightning, the people still attribute them to his power.\textsuperscript{10}

Myths and legends also surrounded certain Bikol towns, and of hills, mountains, islands, rivers, rocks, trees, waterfalls, hot springs, lakes, fishes, insects, and animals; others touched on the creation of the earth, mankind, and some on Bikol legendary deities. There were accounts of the good God Gugurang inhabiting Mt Mayon and considered the chief deity of the ancient Bikols, of the evil God Asuang in Mt Malinao or of a famous, invincible king who is dwelling in Mt Isarog and believed by the pre-Spanish Filipinos as the creator of the universe in days of old. A student spoke of two hot springs in Tiwi, Albay considered by some people in the town of Legaspi as Hell and Purgatory, and that Eicolanos near the vicinity claimed hearing human voices in agony and death especially during the rainy season.\textsuperscript{11}

A little less than one-half of the student materials recorded Bicolano customs, traditional beliefs and superstitions which the students observed in their hometowns. Included in these papers were popular stories about capricious and powerful supernaturals around them: frightful mountain creatures like the black hairy onglo, spirit of the unchristened dead child known as patianak, harmless, small people which can be befriended (duende), fairies dwelling in caves and forests, and other unseen spirits. The inhabitants generally attribute to their powers the appearance of bodily swelling, common fevers, miscarriage during

\textsuperscript{10} L. Cachuela, 'Kalaon, the God of Destruction', 1931.

\textsuperscript{11} S. Imperial, 'Popular Superstitions About Mayon volcano, and other Local legends of the Legaspi Region,' 1920.
conception, abnormalities in newborn babies, serious sickness, and sources of fright to travelers. Several accounts in the Set related the custom of ceremonial feastings, invocation, and food offerings rendered to the forest spirits believed to be the unseen owners of the land, the fairies, and to the spirits of departed ancestors said responsible for abundant harvests, as well as for their protection against ravages of rats, birds, and insects. These rituals were done in different areas of the Bikol region, before and during the planting and harvesting seasons and particularly after the harvesting of rice crops, as thanksgiving feasts rendered for their continued friendship and benevolence; and in the presence of sickness, designed to appease their anger and help them recover.

The students also related stories of blood-sucking, flying cannibal possessed with supernatural powers of assuming animal forms which they call asuang, a terrible and destructive creature greatly feared by Bicolanos and the other Christian tribes as well. However, native evil witch popularly named mongkukulan which are related by numerous students belonging to the other tribes was scarcely mentioned in the Bikol Set.

More than 200 accounts of Bicolano customs and folk beliefs were contained in the fifty-eight papers and the majority dealt with marriage and death. Interesting beliefs surrounded agriculture, and the observance of natural phenomena such as epidemics, drought, rainbow, thunder, full moon and others. For instance, it was told that Bicolano farmers in the province of Albay customarily kill a pig in the ricefields and let its blood run off with the water about the plants, believing that rice plants would thrive luxuriantly and yield them rich harvest; and that people inhabiting a remote barrio of the same province fire bamboo canons during epidemics and held a sort of procession called aurora at twelve in the evening, in order to frighten the duendes. Other folk beliefs pertained to animals, birds,
and insects, the occurrence of dreams, sickness, birth, when embarking on journeys, their religion, economic life and social behaviour.

A few papers described the natural resources and geography of the region, the characteristics and habits of the Bicolanos, their occupations, dwellings, clothing and personal adornment, amusements, songs and dances, their vices, morals and general social life under the Americans. Two papers listed seven Bikol riddles and three songs which the students translated themselves. In addition to the many descriptions of baptismal, marriage, and burial celebrations, there is some information on their socio-religious festivities like annual feast days honoring patron saints, narration of the life and sufferings of Christ through singing during the Holy Week (Pabasa), the celebration in May which is dedicated to the Child Jesus (Flores de Mayo), the Aurora which is done anytime especially during calamities, imploring God to drive away drought, pests, epidemics, earthquake, and to give their thanks in time of abundant harvests, and the Peñafrancia which is the greatest Christian festival of the Bicolanos in reverence to the Virgin of Peñafrancia and traditionally celebrated with much lavishness and splendour in the province of Camarines Sur.

Six student accounts which were written 1915 to 1923 were devoted entirely to the courtship, betrothal and marriage traditions of ancient days and still practised in the Bikol region, particularly in the remote inland districts. One paper by L. General which was written 1919, included brief descriptions of the primitive wedding customs among the Non-Christian Negrito tribes inhabiting Rapu-Rapu in the province of Albay.¹⁴

Three other student papers in the Bikol Set were: J. Reyes 'Bikol Relationship Terms' (1917) which listed twenty-six words in the dialect spoken on the eastern coast of Sorsogon, a dialect which is not pure Bicol but is mixed with some Visayan elements due to its proximity to the Visayan Islands; a report by S. Paz, 'Slavery in Camarines' (1915), regarding the

¹⁴ 'Folklore and Beliefs in the Bikol Region', 1919.
sale of Bicolano children to foreigners, especially Chinese, during the early years of American occupation in the Philippines as based on authentic reports and the author's personal observations; and E. Camara's 'Origin of Gubat, Sorsogon' (1925), narrating the foundation of the seaport town of Gubat from oral information she obtained from old folks - data which were valuable, considering the fact that the 'records of the first settlement of the town can not be found among the official and historical documents in that municipality'.

Five students wrote accounts dated from 1915 to 1920, on the principal industries and general economic living of the people in Masbate Island, Sorsogon and Camarines.

According to Beyer,

most of the student papers will be of great value for comparison with the older material contained in Fr. Castaño's manuscript and in the Blair and Robertson series.15

He wrote that

the primary contact [of the Bikol Set] is with the Negrito-Aeta Set, in which up to the present time all non-Christians in the Bikol area have been included. These non-Christians,

he continued

are by no means all true Negritos, some being straight-haired Proto-Malays and others wavy-haired Indonesians; but there has doubtless been some Bikol mixture with all types. Their dialects are known to consist largely of ancient Bikol words, though there may be important other elements. It also seems highly probable that many items of former Bikol culture and belief that have long disappeared among the lowland Christians, may still be current among these hill peoples. It is therefore highly important to consult the Negrito-Aeta Set for Bikol data; and vice versa, some data on the non-Christians will be found scattered through the Bikol papers.

It should also be noted that the Dumagat group, now included in the Negrito-Aeta Set, was formerly a part of the extinct Minor Christian Set. As the data from this group are much mixed with Bikol speech and culture, Minor Christian Volume III should be consulted.

Secondary, or border-line, Bikol contact occurs on the north with the Tagalog group and on the south with the Bisaya. The Tagalogs

are pushing into the Bikol area from the west and north, and have already acquired most of Camarines Norte.

The chief points of contact between the Bikol and Bisaya sets occur in material from Masbate and Samar. Probably nearly one-half of the population of Masbate is still Bikol: though in the past the proportion was greater. The remaining population is partly Bisaya and partly Tagalog. It is possible that there are also remnants of a unique group that had an original culture and dialect different from either the Bisaya, Bikol, or Tagalog. All general Masbate material has been put into the Bikol Set, and only papers specifically relating to Bisaya or Tagalog towns have been put into those Sets. Bikols have recently been pushing into northern Samar, and it is probable that some Bikol material is mixed with the Bisayan papers from that area. Conversely there has been a good deal of Bisayan influence in the Bikol province of Sorsogon; and there has been mixture in physical type and culture, as well as in language, along the whole Bisaya-Bikol border area.

Little Bikol material will be found in any other set; except, the [one] devoted to General Philippine Ethnography where all sets are represented.16

On future work, Beyer noted:

the Bikol material so far accumulated is weak in all lines - though under the heads of language and culture a good beginning has been made... The greatest present need is for personal research in the Bikol field: devoted first to photography and measurements of types, and second to a general survey of the cultural and dialectic sub-divisions.

He also commented on the need for securing more student papers on special subjects, and the filling in of the numerous existing gaps, as well as the need of a good Bikol bibliography.

And further:

Special subjects that should always be kept in mind for particular investigation if opportunity offers are: 1. Bikol-Fanayan relations, as indicated in both Bikol and Bisayan epic poetry. 2. Present-day survivals of fragments of the Bikol epic preserved by Castaño. 3. Character of the Bikol original culture and dialect of Masbate. 4. Survivals of old Bikol poetry and culture among the non-Christians of the area. 5. Survivals of a drift population along the Bikol eastern coasts. 6. Traces of ancient Japanese influence in Catanduanes, and the Parakale mining district. 7. Traces of ancient mines and mineral workings in Masbate, and the Parakale district: with special reference to identifying Chinese and Hindu (or Javanese) workings.17


The geographic names of the Bikol area show an unusually large proportion of Sanskrit and other Indian words. Lists should be prepared, and their significance looked into. The origin and significance of certain Japanese names should also be studied.

Though writing and written documents are frequently mentioned by the early Spaniards as existing among the Bikols, no copy of the Bikol syllabary seems to have survived. Any trace of the old characters would be valuable, and should be diligently sought.

Bikol specimens are almost entirely absent from the Philippine Museum. This institution should be encouraged to secure a good collection from that area... especially from Camarines Sur, Albay, and Catanduanes.\(^\text{18}\)

In conclusion, it can be said that while the Bikol material we have is of considerable interest and value, yet more remains to be done with this group than with any of the others of intermediate or large size.\(^\text{19}\)


CHAPTER B3

SET 3: TAGALOG

The Tagalog nineteen-volume set represents the most extensive series from the Christian groups and throughout the entire collection of ethnographic materials, comprising of 672 papers which were bound during the years 1918 to 1931.

Beyer described the Set as the most complete and satisfactory of the entire Ethnographic Series which he attributed to the nearness to the source of information, the larger number of Tagalog students in University classes, and the greater literacy development of the Tagalog group in general.

Beyer wrote:

Ethnographically, this set includes all of the Christian people speaking the Tagalog language. Geographically the Tagalog language is spoken chiefly in central Luzon, and on the islands of Marinduque, Mindoro, and Masbate (together with various small islands and groups of islands, such as the Lubang group adjacent to the above). ... On Luzon, the following provinces are wholly Tagalog: Tayabas, Batangas, Cavite, Laguna, Rizal, Bulakan, and Bataan; while Camarines Norte, Nueva Ecija, Tarlak, and Zambales provinces are partly so. The city of Manila is of course the center of Tagalog culture, though not more than one half the population actually belong to that group. ... On the eastern coast of Isabela Province, the municipalities of Palanan and Kasiguran are chiefly Tagalog; and the same is true of the large island of Polililo, and some of the smaller island groups in the vicinity. Elsewhere in the island, the Tagalog population is small but very widespread - probably more so, in fact, than any other Philippine group. There is scarcely a municipality in the islands where a few individual Tagalogs are not to be found.

The Tagalog language is one of the most uniform in the islands. Dialectic variations do exist - especially in Laguna, Cavite, Batangas, and Marinduque - but the extent of difference is not great; and the large amount of printed literature is rapidly standardizing both the writing and the speech of the literate classes. While these minor dialectic variations are interesting to study, and may ultimately throw some light on existing cultural differences, they are entirely too weak and uncertain to be used as a basic for ethnographical classification. Therefore, linguistically speaking the Tagalog ethnographic group is essentially a single unit; though... this does not at all apply to culture and physical type.
Within the Tagalog area, however, there are certain small dialects of very localized usage that are deserving of special consideration. Among these are the Ternate dialect of Cavite Province, the Caviteño of Cavite town, the Ermitano of a part of Manila, and the various dialects spoken by the Negritos and other hill pagans of the Tagalog provinces. The first three mentioned are essentially Spanish-Tagalog mixtures with a heterogeneous collection of terms from other sources (the Ternate dialect, in particular, containing an element of old Malay speech introduced from the Moluccas). Studies of these small dialects are included in the Tagalog Set. The dialects of the Negritos and other hill pagans have not been so well studied, but they are known to belong definitely to the Tagalog group and to contain many old Tagalog words and expressions long obsolete among the Christian population.... Further and more detailed studies of their dialects are much needed.

On the side of physical type and culture, the Tagalog group varies much more than in language. In a general way it can be said that there are two basic types in both items, each of which can be subdivided into several minor varieties. Since the two general types occupy different geographic areas, we may speak of them perspectively as the Southern and Northern Tagalogs. The Southern Tagalogs occupy chiefly Cavite, Laguna, Batangas, Tayabas, and Marinduque; are physically taller, larger bodied, longer headed, and darker in skin color than the Northern Tagalogs; mentally they are of the Indonesian psychologic type...; while in general economic culture [and certain social features] they show many striking resemblances to the people of Makassar and the Bugis group of southern Celebes, which the Northern Tagalogs do not have.1 The Northern type is probably present in Bulakan, Nueva Ecija, and Rizal provinces and represents a shorter, rounded head, lighter complexioned people, with a distinct proto-Malayan psychology.2

As much as possible, the materials in the Tagalog Set have been arranged by Beyer geographically, since no attempt was made to use these physical and cultural differences as a basis for classification of data, although he had noted that some simple scheme may be worked out and given a trial in the future. The following order of the various Tagalog provinces has been observed in the present Series:

Mindoro, Marinduque, Tayabas, Batangas, Cavite, Laguna, Rizal, Manila, Bulakan, Nueva Ecija, Tarlák, Bataan, General. Due to the

1  H.O. Beyer, 'Field Covered by the Set', General Index, Volume 2, pp. 277-280.

bulk of the compiled materials, this was only loosely followed however. The nineteen-volume Set contained 730 papers, but the full texts of some fifty-eight papers have been included in Beyer's *Folklore Series* and therefore the contents of the said papers were not repeated in the Tagalog volumes.\(^3\) The 672 papers actually compiled were chiefly the product of his students in the Department of Anthropology and Philippine Languages in the University of the Philippines and related to the usual interesting mixed collection of folklore, social, historical, ethnographical, linguistic, literary, economic and customary law topics. The student papers were written between the years 1914 to 1933. According to Beyer, the Tagalog papers will be found to cover the subject and the area with greater thoroughness than those of almost any other ethnographic group. This completeness, which also means - of course - greater reduplication of material, is due to the much larger number of students in the University from the Tagalog provinces. The reduplication is rather advantageous than otherwise, since the richness of the material enables a much better selection to be made for purposes of publication.\(^4\)

Of the 672 papers, three consisted of extensive collections of Tagalog native folktales, proverbs, customs and social life compiled from forty-six students of Cavite High School, Jose Rizal College and Philippine Normal School by Walter Robb, Gregorio Zaide and Hazel Taylor from 1916 to 1929. Though these materials are said by Beyer to be naturally inferior to the better class of papers from the University students, the writers are less sophisticated and

\(^3\) The *Folklore Series* are not available in the present Beyer collection.

their work will be found very valuable for comparative purposes.\footnote{H.O. Beyer, 'Preface to Volume 7', June 16, 1922, Tagalog Set, Volume 7.} Except for these three papers and some fifteen works prepared by other authors, all the accounts in the Tagalog Set have been done under the classes of Beyer in the University.

The fifteen works largely dealt on folklore and were mostly published. A unique unpublished paper in Volume 18 is the copy of a late nineteenth century manuscript in Spanish written in Oviedo, Spain, by Gil De Alazerna, 'Los Fantasmas de la Ciudad Murada' (The Ghosts of the Walled City) containing accounts of legendary traditions, folktales and historical data about the Walled City of Manila and its vicinity in pre-Spanish days, which he had compiled from ancient documents during his residence in the isla\n\nA unique unpublished paper in Volume 18 is the copy of a late nineteenth century manuscript in Spanish written in Oviedo, Spain, by Gil De Alazerna, 'Los Fantasmas de la Ciudad Murada' (The Ghosts of the Walled City) containing accounts of legendary traditions, folktales and historical data about the Walled City of Manila and its vicinity in pre-Spanish days, which he had compiled from ancient documents during his residence in the island. Unpublished too is the brief lecture in Spanish which was delivered by Epifanio de los Santos in 1911 before the University Institute and which discussed music and poetry among the Central Luzon Tagalogs with some references to the non-Christian Tinguianes, Ilongotes and Aetas inhabiting the province of Nueva Ecija.

Interesting to note among the published works were Jose Rizal's 'Two Eastern Fables' which was first published 1889 in Trubner's Record (London); Mariano Ponce's 'Una Tradicion, Sarong Bayani' printed 1889 in El Folklore Filipino; an article entitled 'El Cuento de la Tortuga y del Mono' written by H. Kern and first published in La Solidaridad (Madrid) in 1895; and 'Origen del nombre "Mariveles"' written by Gregorio de Guzman and printed 1920 in The Citizen (Manila). The last three were written in Spanish, with the first work appearing in the Set in its original text accompanied by an English translated version which was done 1916, titled 'Sarong Bayani: A Tradition of Bulakan'. In the first work, Jose Rizal, who is the national hero
of the Philippines, rendered a good analysis and intercomparison between the Philippine and Japanese versions of a well-known fable which he said represented one of the oldest tales in the Far East and in existence in both countries long before the coming of the European colonial powers. On one hand, H. Kern also made some interesting comments of the same legend (in the paper mentioned above) as known among the natives of Indonesia. The work by Mariano Ponce described the heroic feats and superstitions which surround a mythical Tagalog hero of Bulakan named 'Sarong-Bayani'; while that by De Guzman which was printed in the extinct Philippine weekly El Ciudadano (The Citizen) was described by Beyer as an interesting study of a type that is all too rare, and contains a valuable miscellany of history, tradition, folklore, linguistic data, and etymology. The Set also contained copies of all the Tagalog materials which had been published in the Journal of American Folklore until 1923 - all five articles being written by Fletcher Gardner. These included accounts of the superstitions and other idolatrous conceptions practised by the early Filipinos as taken from a very rare Spanish manuscript done by the Augustinian friar Tomas Ortiz in 1713 whose original is believed to be the only known copy in existence; his English translations of the Tagalog versions of the 'Aladdin' and 'Cinderella' stories which were related to him orally; a collection of twenty-three other Tagalog folktales which he translated from their oral versions; and description of five native games common chiefly among the Tagalog people in the island of Mindoro. The several stories recorded in the Ortiz Manuscript, especially regarding the malevolent supernatural creatures like the asuang, tiwana, and tikbalang seemed to have survived through the centuries.

6 The Gardner papers in Tagalog Volume 12 were printed in the Journal of American Folklore, Volumes 19 and 20, from 1906 to 1907.
as shown by countless other accounts related in the present Series by the Tagalog students, during the American era.

The Set had a partial translation of Pardo de Tavera's *El Sanscrito en la Lengua Tagalog* (1887) written by Alexander Chamberlain, together with his comments and was printed 1902 in the *Journal of American Folklore*. It included thirty-one vocabulary words in Tagalog which pertained to ancient Filipino religious beliefs and folklore and noted by Chamberlain as a 'curious attempt to discover Sanskrit etymologies for Filipino words'. There is also a general review and criticism by Frank Blake of Leonard Bloomfield's *Tagalog Texts with Grammatical Analysis* (1917), a volume which he described as the most elaborate and pretentious work yet published on any Philippine language. Finally, Beyer compiled the census reports prepared in 1903 by the provincial supervisors of ten Tagalog provinces: Marinduque, Tayabas, Batangas, Cavite, Laguna, Rizal, Manila, Bataan, Bulakan, and Nueva Ecija. Only brief abstracts of these reports, written in English or Spanish, have been printed by the Census, although they were inserted in full by Beyer because they contained considerable data worthy of permanent preservation, as well as for their historical value. The reports recorded extensively on the topography, natural resources and population of these various provinces, the general characteristics, customs and folk beliefs of the people, their dialects, physical appearance, dwellings, clothing and adornment, family relations, conditions of their labor and industries, education, government, religion, health, means of transportation and social welfare. A few accounts related to the pagan tribes, although the majority of the information and statistics pertained to the Christian inhabitants and included some.

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7 The review was printed 1919 in the *American Journal of Philology*. 
recommendations for enforcement by the government to safeguard and further the interest of the people.

At least sixteen student works in the nineteen volumes dealt solely on the history of their hometowns, touching on their growth and progress from as far back as when they were first settled in the early days until the American rule, with accounts of the early founders and how the various towns and barrios were named and organized, the origin, racial ancestry, character, and general customs of the early inhabitants, and the existing present conditions of the people. Four good papers to note were: 'The origin and Foundation of Magdalena' (1925), a beautiful town at the foot of Mt Banahaw in Laguna Province; 'History of Hagonoy and Its People' (1928); a paper written 1923 by E. Corvite entitled 'The History and Development of the Different Towns around Mount Banahaw in the Province of Laguna'; and an unusual work by C. Gloria which was done in 1923, 'The History, Archaeology, Folklore, and Ancient Songs of Bauan and its Vicinity'. The last work described the etymological derivations of place names and some data concerning certain historical and archaeological sites in the town of Bauan, Batangas Province and other legendary traditions and native songs of the people. For instance, a forested place was called 'Sacabaong' (Coffinland) because of the skeletal remains of a giant believed to have been found in its hilltop; while 'Saguintoan' (Goldenland) derived its name from the rich archaeological deposits of copper, silver, gold pieces and earthenware usually unearthed by the farmers when plowing the fields.

As with the other Christian ethnographic sets, compiled materials on folklore, social customs and beliefs constituted the major part of the student accounts in the Tagalog Series. At least a quarter
of the 657 student papers were mainly on folklore, recording some 600 myths, legends, magic tales and fables of long ago which were heard from their old folks. These included magic tales of heroic feats, fairy tale romances, monsters, magical kingdoms some of which were set in foreign lands; proverbial folklore stories which carry moral lessons against greed, envy, cruelty, wickedness, ingratitude, deceit, pride, disobedience, disrespect to parents and sacred images which they worship; a few parables; fables; and adventure stories centered around 'Juan' who is a favorite hero-character in Philippine folklore to whom all kinds of stories, specially the humorous types are attributed, regardless of how inconsistent they are to each of the others.

The Tagalog volumes are especially rich in origin myths and legends and these predominated the folklore materials. Some dealt with legends explaining the origin of towns and barrios, of certain animals, fishes, insects, fruit trees, flowers; with myths surrounding natural phenomena like rain, thunder, sun, moon, stars, sea, sky, eclipse and others, the creation of the earth and the first mortals; and with some stories on pre-Spanish Tagalog mythology. However, the most numerous of these myths and legends concerned lakes, rivers, rocks, hills, caves, volcanoes, mountains, islands, and other geographical features found in the Tagalog regions. For instance, stories were told by the Batangas Tagalogs regarding the magical beings inhabiting an enchanted golden chamber inside Makolot mountain or of the goddess 'Taal' residing atop Taal Volcano; while a student from the province of Tayabas spoke of the Malatandang mountain and the hills of Casasajan as abodes of beings who were condemned to perpetual fire and allowed to return and mingle with the earth people. Some interesting legends were narrated about the Pasig River which flows through the province of Rizal, such as its beautiful
mermaid dweller and its famous mythical enchantress called 'Doña Geronima' who is believed to have contact with the people dwelling around the area, in the early days. Several unusual tales have been woven around mountains and their spirit keepers, such as the immortal fairies supposedly dwelling in Mt Arayat in Pampanga, Mt Makiling in Laguna, Mt Mariveles in Bataan; or the mountain kings of San Mateo in Rizal province and Mt Caraballo in Nueva Ecija. An interesting paper by P. Atienza, dated 1923, spoke of a fantastic belief by the people in Laguna regarding Mt Banahaw as having the garden of St Mary, a milky river which heals, a bloody brook and the three crosses to which Jesus and the two thieves were crucified.8

The most popular accounts among the folklore materials were the hundred or so stories about mysterious supernatural creatures which surround the lives of their ancestors, but whose fearsome presence and superhuman powers were popularly believed as still existing in their time, such as nymphs, dwarfs, giants, evil witches, enchanted river and forest dwellers, ghosts and many kinds of dreadful apparitions. The Tagalog students related legends involving miraculous streams and wells with healing powers, Spanish monks with supernatural powers, native magicians, magic charms and amulets (anting-anting). Some tales which were rare among the other Christian groups concerned the legendary deeds and supernatural powers possessed by some Tagalogs who became well-known revolutionary leaders and patriots during the struggle for independence against Spanish rule in the islands. The most unusual accounts in the folklore papers involved the histories, traditional revelations, and miraculous deeds performed by sacred wooden images who were later revered as the patron saints in the Tagalog areas to whom thousands of inhabitants from the neighboring towns go on yearly religious pilgrimages. Stories of their heavenly miracles, particularly in healing and punishment

8 'Beliefs and Superstitions in Laguna Province', 1923.
of crimes have been transmitted from generation to generation, and until now, they have countless of believers throughout the Philippine Islands. The Tagalog students narrated tales about the centuries-old miraculous cross in Batangas which is presently venerated as the patron saint in the town of Taal; or of Saint Santiago considered as the God of War and protector of the people of Laguna from the Moros in ancient times. A student described the miraculous deeds of the image of San Isidro in Marikina, another spoke of the Virgin image of Bataan who became famous for her bleeding fingers, and another regarding the Divina Pastora of Nueva Ecija who is believed to punish rustlers of cattle in certain pasturing areas. A legend was told about the perspiring Señor of the town in Montalban, believed to wander around the town and talk to the people in the form of a small boy and whose image has been in that region before their ancestors were born. Inhabitants from several towns in the province of Bulakan have several revered images such as the Santo Cristo who can make himself black and produce smoke from his mouth, the St Santiago who travels at night aboard a galloping horse, the image of the Holy sepulchre who can talk, the black image of the crucified Lord who can move, the image of Virgin Mary who sometimes disappears, and the image of Santa Ynes who caused the appearance of a fountain which can cure all diseases.

Among the 600 Tagalog folktales, nine have been written in the Tagalog language and four of these were accompanied by their English translations. Apart from two folklore papers, one titled 'The Legend of Diliwarirw' which was published in the *Muling Pagsilang* in about 1905 or 1906 and written for the Tagalog Set in 1918 by Marcelo Tangco; and the second, 'Tayabas Folklore' by Pío Mondragon which was first printed in *El Folklore Filipino* (1889) in the original Spanish text - all the folktales in the Tagalog Set...
were originally written by the students. The second paper mentioned previously was prepared in Guinayangan, Tayabas in 1887 and could be found in Volume 13, in the English translation done 1924 by Eduardo Palma. It contained accounts of the customs and traditions of the Christian Tagalogs during the Spanish period - their many traditional beliefs and practices observed in their daily living, their worship of dead predecessors whose spirits were believed to be surrounding them, credulous stories of terrifying supernaturals and magical objects, how they celebrate various feasts particularly during betrothals, marriages and funerals, their industries and amusements, the kind of governmental set-up which they have, the typical life of the common people in the country and their general social customs, and a few accounts on the general habits and characteristics of the pagan Dumagat people inhabiting a town in Tayabas. This old folklore paper by Mondragon would certainly be worth comparing to the many student accounts of Tagalog customs and folk beliefs current during the American regime.

One half of the entire 675 student papers dealt on social customs and beliefs, recording more than four thousand traditional beliefs and practices which have come down to the present days from the sixteenth century and probably practised by their Malayan ancestors even earlier than the arrival of the Spanish conquerors in the Islands. It is among the barrio folks inhabiting remote communities and inland areas that one finds the greatest number and variety of such beliefs which have been kept fresh and alive through the centuries because their observances have never been neglected. Though most types of these beliefs were similarly observed by the other Christian groups residing in other parts of the Philippine Archipelago, there were differences in their interpretations not only among these groups, but also within the different towns and provinces of one ethnographic group. And these variations are particularly evident among the Visayan and the
Tagalog people who constitute the two largest ethnographic tribes throughout the entire Philippines. Several Tagalog students described them as simply absurd and ludicrous, backward, products of ignorance and the unenlightened mind, or impediments to progress and prosperity; others considered them fascinating, queer, wonderful, charming in their quaintness, even sacred. But most students believed that they were here to stay and would go down to posterity as a priceless heritage for the generations yet unborn.

Predominant in the Set were the predictions and divinations of future events based on the appearance, behaviour, and movements of various animals, birds and insects, and the movements of certain phenomena of nature such as thunder and lightning, rain, rainbow, earthquake, red clouds, high tides, sunshine, eclipses, meteors, comets, shooting stars, the sun and others. Such events included, for instance, auguries for war, pestilence, death, accidents, diseases, rainy days, luck in certain endeavors or the possibility of gaining wealth. Several of these beliefs were found to be similar to those practised by the other Christian groups, although some are unique to the Tagalog people.

There were customs involving birth and christening, courtship and marriage, burial and mourning, widowhood, social relations and domestic affairs, religion, economic ventures, money transactions, when gambling, fishing, hunting, and doing ordinary activities like cooking, sewing, eating, sleeping and others. Included too were traditions which related to dead persons and their spirits, the significance of dreams and distinct bodily marks or features, countless omens of bad luck and good fortune, and fetishism concerning powerful talismans and amulets (*anting-anting*) popularly believed to induce lovability, invisibility, superhuman strength and intelligence, protection against diseases, poisonous snakes, deadly weapons, evil spirits,
and performing many other incredible miracles. In addition, the student papers recorded many folk beliefs which are rare in other Sets such as how they foretell the future of new-born babies and what they do to develop desired characteristics; taboos during conception, pregnancy and when giving birth; practices related to agriculture, particularly during the planting of certain root crops, rice, vegetables and fruit trees and the various omens which were observed to determine if a forthcoming harvest would be poor or abundant; and primitive cures for certain diseases. A few others dealt on ancient ordeals for the detection of guilty persons, finding lost objects, before embarking on pilgrimages or voyages across the sea, and before building a house or moving into a newly-built dwelling.

The Tagalog traditions included beliefs about mysterious and revengeful supernatural creatures believed to have everlasting existence and dwelling everywhere. These are considered guardians of the forests, rivers, caves, mountains, hills, rocks, and any earthly formations and are treated with reverence for they punish their enemies and reward their friends and favored persons. Thus, numerous stories were told about giant monsters (*cafres*), mischievous dwarfs (*duendes*), half human - half horse creatures (*tikbalang*), spirits of unchristened children (*tianac*) and primitive underground deities (*matanda sa punso*) whose displeasure caused all kinds of sickness among the inhabitants, especially to children who had disturbed their abodes in anthills or conical earth-mounds. To the latter group is generally attributed a form of ancestor worship - and the Tagalog people in Kawit, Cavite, for instance, believed that they are spirits of ancient people of their locality in the form of dwarfs, who have been resurrected after death. A customary tradition commonly practised throughout the Tagalog regions which the students noted, was the ceremonial offering of food when sickness occurs,
usually performed by a medicine man or family member near the earthmounds, in order to appease his feelings and obtain his favor in healing.

Ceremonial offerings and invocations were also done to gain the goodwill of these supernaturals when entering or clearing isolated forests, when felling trees, gathering fruits and flowers, before cultivating new fields, before and after the planting and harvesting of crops, and in passing through their supposed habitations. In order to drive away the evil spirits, religious processions are held in times of epidemics, droughts, and scarcity of harvests. The student accounts of these ceremonies in the present Series are few as compared to the other Sets.

Greatly feared by the Tagalogs of all evil spirits, reputed to be very cruel and around which many tales have been told, is the flying human being with cannibalistic habits called *asuang* who can transfigure into any animal forms as it wishes. There were also accounts of witchcraft and the most prevalent form of terrifying witchcraft described is termed *culam* and the person who practises it, *mangkukulam* or *mangagaway*. The *mangkukulam* is capable of inflicting mental and physical sufferings upon any of the *barrio* folks, out of hatred, revenge, or plain malice through the use of magical dolls (*ausim*). Stories revolved around the atrocious and barbarous methods of cure which were resorted to by certain native witch-doctors in their desire to heal the body of a person afflicted by this dreadful malady and to force the witch to abandon the body. The mystic powers of these witches were believed by all Christian tribes as hereditary, and so they continue to exist through the centuries.

The student accounts on social customs and beliefs, written from 1915 to 1933 not only discussed their numerous folk beliefs, but also included a considerable data on social culture. Of these papers, sixteen works were devoted wholly to burial and mourning
customs and rituals, while thirty papers were on courtship, betrothal and marriage. It is among these works that we find many traditional customs, ceremonies, and folk beliefs which were observed by the Tagalog students as bearing the stamp of ancient practices, but still preserved in many of their remote towns and isolated mountain villages. Interesting to note too, in the Set, were the variations with which these traditions were enacted in different towns and provinces in the Tagalog region, during the American period. A few students described the primitive beliefs and rituals as practised by the people during the pre-Spanish and the Spanish period as they compared with their present conditions, and it was widely noted that the customs inherited from their ancestors survived and there were few, if any, fundamental changes. For example, the dowry system in marriage and the after-burial dupluhan still existed. The duplo is the most elaborate and popular of all the Tagalog death ceremonies and is generally done on the ninth day after a person's death. It consisted of a peculiar drama-like contest in extemporaneous verse-making and is a rare event among the other tribes.

It must be noted that most of the papers on social customs and beliefs contained information on birth, marriage, and death, although their discussion is limited, unlike the above-mentioned papers.

The most varied of social culture papers throughout the entire Philippine Ethnographic Series are found in the Tagalog Set. Two students of Bulakan and Tayabas related the ancient thanksgiving feasts celebrated annually in their localities in connection with the rice harvesting season, locally termed pasalarat and suwisocn; and five others narrated the history and nature of the colorum, a native, mystical socio-religious sect centered on ancestor worship which was founded during the Spanish days and whose adherents were largely from the Tagalog provinces of Tayabas, Laguna, Batangas, and Cavite. The
seat of their religion is situated on a secret chamber inside Mt Cristobal located between the provinces of Tayabas and Laguna.

Ancestor worship was mentioned in several student papers and two of them are worth noting: a paper by R. Tirona (1916) which dealt on the Espiritista society in Malabon, province of Rizal, and another work about the Kapisanan ng Sanghiyang in Cavite province which was written in 1923 by C. Leonor. Both societies are dedicated to the worship of the spirit of dead ancestors.

Several students provided data on their various religious festivals which were mostly of Spanish origin, such as the Sta Cruz de Mayo, and numerous town fiestas honoring their patron saints which were celebrated in different ways among the many Tagalog localities; some wrote on the religious pilgrimages to the sacred shrines of revered saints; and others described the acts of penitence and flagellation common among the Tagalogs during the Lenten season.

Three students wrote on the status of criminality in their localities, one paper was about the beggar problem in the city of Manila, another paper described the history of the Sta-Isabel Convent which was established 1634 in Manila, and two others briefly related their adventures in the Sta-Isabel Convent and in a private religious school. One paper which Beyer said should be read in order to be appreciated was 'Life Impressions of a Manila Girl' (1931) which contained a general view on social attitudes and habits; and a second described the nature of relationship groups in the district of Trozo in Manila.

The majority of these papers extensively portrayed the typical social life among the Tagalog inhabitants during that time, with interesting accounts on the general characteristics, customs, and amusements of their social classes, the various civic and cultural societies in their community, the role of religion in social
interaction and general social progress through the years. A few added comments on the conditions of education, economy, religion and political administration under Spain as compared to that under the Americans. Interesting comments were also written on the changing status of women in society, family relations, relations between men and women, communal labor, and rules of etiquette governing conduct in social gatherings and public places.

The Tagalogs, like other Philippine tribal groups, had numerous native folk songs, proverbs, riddles, and nursery rhymes which have been orally transmitted to them by their forefathers, and many of which have never been printed. Recorded in the Tagalog volumes were some 200 folk songs which were written in Tagalog and have been mostly translated by the students themselves. Among them were nursery songs, lullabies and cradlesongs which are perhaps the oldest of Filipino songs, songs typifying moral lessons and proverbial wisdom, a few rare beggars songs and those sung by wandering minstrels, humorous folk songs, ordinary songs of young boys and girls for enjoyment, several working songs and country songs sung by the peasants during the planting and harvesting seasons. The most numerous were the serenade songs sung by lovers during moonlight serenades, songs during courtship, betrothal, and marriage, and many popular love songs which mostly depicted love's constancy, sufferings, as well as passion. Also included in the Set were the few songs sung on All Saints Day, those sung by prisoners who suffered under Spain, patriotic songs about love for the nativeland, and some revolutionary songs which honored the heroic deeds of Filipino revolutionary leaders and were designed to arouse nationalist fervor in the struggle against the foreign invaders. One paper written by F. Yan in 1924, contained his translation of a two-stanza Tagalog song of the type known as 'Danza Menor' which was printed 1910 in valentine form in Manila. Both
the Tagalog and English versions are in Volume 12.

At least a hundred native games and other forms of amusements have also been described in the Set. Several were said to be introduced by the Spaniards and the Americans, but some are known to be native in origin, still popular among children and grown-ups alike.

Beyer compiled a good collection of fifty-five student papers relating to linguistics and literature. Several of the linguistic papers dealt on dialectic variations, modifications in word usage, phonetics, grammar, vocabulary, foreign elements, measures of quality and quantity, and relationship terms in the Tagalog language. Two interesting works are, 'An Account of the Ternate Dialect of Cavite', written 1923-1924 and described by Beyer, in an introductory note to the paper, as an excellent piece of work, and 'The Caviteño Dialect' (1924), a study of the mixed Spanish-Tagalog-Caviteño dialect by A. Santos y Gomez which included five native texts. The first paper, prepared by T. Tirona with notes by O. Scheerer and H.O. Beyer, was noted by the latter as a linguistic study of unusual merit relating to the peculiar 'Ternate dialect' of Cavite Province.\(^{8a}\) The dialect originated from inhabitants of the island of Ternate on the west coast of Halameria, called Mardicas or Merdica, in the Moluccas, and brought to Cavite sometime in the seventeenth century. The paper listed some old Mardicas words collected by the author from Ternate, and five Ternate texts taken from Ternate students in Manila which he translated into English. Among the literary contributions were the several papers which noted more than a thousand native proverbs, maxims, rhymes and riddles, mainly translated in English, and a few papers on Tagalog literary forms. The metrical tale, generally termed corrido or awit, is one literary form intricately woven into the fabric of Philippine culture. The Tagalog people called the octosyllabic tale a corrido, while

briefer in composition and dodecasyllabic was the awit. These stories were sung in the vernacular by travelling minstrels to the tune of a guitar and were extremely popular in the nineteenth century. The Tagalog Set contained interesting synopsis of eight of the most common Tagalog awits, and included two accounts which noted the synopses of the most popular Tagalog corrido, Florante at Laura published in 1838, by Francisco Balagtas, the greatest Tagalog poet in his time.

The Tagalogs have preserved numerous old traditional customs and sacred traditions practised by their ancestors. Forty-five students wrote on Tagalog customary laws of yesteryears, observed as still prevailing in their hometowns and sanctioned by the inhabitants. The accounts, written 1916-1931, covered the provinces of Rizal, Bulacan, Nueva Ecija, Tayabas, Batangas, Marinduque, Laguna, Cavite, the city of Manila and the island of Palawan. Several involved courtship, marriage, death, mourning, and social customs, particularly involving family relations and social ethics. Other traditions concerned religion and the celebration of Christian festivals like Christmas, Holy Week and All Saints' Day, as well as those dealing with birth and baptism. The students related interesting customary laws regarding mutual aid and cooperation within the community, the relationship of landlords and tenants, and masters and servants. A few customs involved property rights, inheritance, debts, and loans, and some accounts regarding servitude, homesteading, farming, carpentry, lumbering, herding, fishing and other industries were recorded. Of note too, are the community laws which involved superstitions, tenancy, trading of goods, labor, and agriculture. Of the several interesting papers, Beyer considered one account as being of 'exceptional quality, 'Customary Laws in Tanay, Rizal (1927) by A. Bendaña, based mainly on original data obtained from several old mountain people, termed 'remontados'.

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inhabiting Tanay in the province of Rizal. Described were the existing tribal form of government with an old village chieftain exercising prerogatives under an unwritten communal law; social communal law on marriage which involve tribal rituals held sacred among them; unwritten community laws practised in times of harvest, housebuilding, fishing, hunting, fruit gathering, during burials, epidemics and public works; and folk beliefs concerning neighbor relations, hospitality to wayfarers, when proving petty thefts, particularly fruit stealing, the possession of mountain products like beehives, timber or floating firewood, and the rights to cultivate mountain lands and forest clearings. Another paper by Gregorio Zaide, 'Customary Laws in Pagsanjan, Laguna' (1927) contained customs among the Tagalogs of Laguna involving inheritance, marriages, land tenure, social classes, slavery, crime and punishment, and domestic relations.

The remaining student materials consisted of a considerable number of economic papers which Beyer noted as including the best collection of data yet made for the study of native Tagalog industrial development. Ninety-nine papers, dated 1915-1930, surveyed the principal economic industries in their native towns, their nature and importance to the entire nation, their origin, history, and introduction to the Islands, their growth and development, how the products are marketed and distributed, capitalization of the industries, their recommendations for improvement, and the prospects for the future. The ninety-nine papers covered conditions throughout the Islands, but mostly dealt with the provinces of Marinduque, Tayabas, Batangas, Cavite, Laguna, Rizal, Bulakan, Nueva Ecija and the City of Manila. Some economic papers contained illustrations, drawings, and technical terms in the native dialect. There were several papers which described land

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tenure and economic progress in their hometowns; the participation of women in the industrial and business fields and their effects on the economy; the development of land and water transportation since the Spanish era; the typical life of a Tagalog farmer or fisherman; the ancient Tagalog tools, implements, utensils, and musical instruments, the food and drinks of the ancient Filipinos - still prevalent during their time.

Generally, the economic papers were arranged by Beyer into the following subjects: chief industries of specific localities, transportation, commerce, hunting and trapping, fishing, agriculture, manufactures, and miscellaneous unclassified papers. Several students wrote different accounts on the customs, ceremonies, and popular folk beliefs connected with two principal Tagalog industries, fishing and rice culture. The numerous industries were generally believed to have flourished as far back as the late sixteenth century, or even earlier than the coming of the Spanish colonizers, though it was widely observed that the primitive instruments and antiquated methods of production and manufacture used long ago by their ancestors were still used. One paper worthy of special attention 'Economic Plants of Malabon' (1924) was noted by Beyer as consisting of a careful and scientific study of the ethno-botany of a Tagalog town in Rizal Province by a Botany instructor at the University of the Philippines. It listed forty-two edible plants, thirty-five medicinal plants and fifteen other plants used in other ways by the people of the town of Malabon in Rizal Province, accompanied by their scientific names, common names, and a complete description of their various uses.

As regards relationship to other Sets, Beyer noted that the Tagalog Set had primary connections with the General Philippine,
Negrito-Aeta, Mindoro-Palawan, Isinai-Ilongot, Minor Christian and Pampañgan Sets; and secondary overlapping with the Bisaya, Bikol and Sambali Sets. While outside the Philippines, the Tagal group in northern Borneo is of special interest.\(^{13}\) Beyer stated the reasons, thus:

Another important element in the Manila population is the Pampañgan; there is naturally a considerable Tagalog element in the Pampañgan Set as well as a certain Pampañgan element in the Tagalog Set. Pampañgan culture has probably been more influenced by Tagalog contact than vice versa; though a careful comparative study of the two cultures has yet to be made.\(^{14}\)

Among the Non-Christian Tribes, Beyer wrote that the Negrito-Aeta pagan peoples living within the Tagalog area or along its borders; the Mangyans especially those in the northern two-thirds of Mindoro Islands; a certain number of Ilongots in the East coast mountain region of Luzon; a small group of Tinggians who have lived in northern Nueva Ecija; and the Dumagats of the island region of eastern Tayabas - show some Tagalog contact and influences. While direct contact of the Tagalogs with the Bisayas occurs chiefly in Mindoro and Masbate, and with the Bikols in Camarines Norte and Masbate, with commercial contact across the intervening seas and on smaller islands along the coasts. The Tagalog-Sambali contact occurs chiefly in southern Zambales, and Bataan.\(^{15}\)

Though Beyer considered the Set as more complete than any other Set except possibly the Ifugao, he wrote that there is still plenty of important work to be one. He commented:

Like most of my ethnographic sets, the Tagalog is weakest in somatological material and strongest in language. In the field of language, in fact, little general work remains to be done except some further study of minor dialectic variations and the usual comparative studies. On the other hand, much somatological work is not yet desirable but is practically essential to the rounding out of my material on Tagalog ethnography. The

\(^{13}\) H.O. Beyer, 'Relationship to Other Sets', General Index, Volume 2, p. 289.

\(^{14}\) Ibid., p. 290.

\(^{15}\) Ibid., pp. 290-291.
copying of the measurements and photographs of the Manila Secret Service, together with Folkmar’s similar material from Bilibid, will provide a sufficient quantity of general material; but what is most needed is a series of specific somatologic studies by localities and types well distributed over the Tagalog area. Plans should be made to enlist teachers and graduate students in this work.

On the side of culture, Tagalog material is probably fairly complete in most subdivisions. The weak points, however, cannot be well picked out until the accumulated material has been thoroughly classified and checked up.... It will probably be found that the economic studies are weakest - especially along such lines as house-types, boat-types, metal working, old jewelry, general ornamentation, etc.

Archaeological work in the Tagalog area.. has been almost wholly neglected. Recent accidental finds of stone implements and old coins, however, show the interesting possibilities of such work; and plans for study and excavation should be worked out... especially for the region along the Pasig, and around Laguna de Bay and Lake Taal. Certain spots along the Cavite coast, and around Malabon, are also very promising.  

A study of the old forts, churches, gravestones, and other early Spanish remains, both in Manila and in the provinces, is a subject that should not be neglected.... For future archaeological work, a list of such remains - or of places where they formerly existed - would be valuable; and the quantity of old historical records in Manila makes the preparation of such a list quite possible.

Tagalog photographic material should be checked... and added to; and the Museum specimens should be listed - especially the Leslie F. Taylor collections.  

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17 H.O. Beyer, ’Miscellaneous Notes on the Set‘, General Index, Volume 2, pp. 293.
CHAPTER B4

SET 4: SAMBALI

The first and only Sambali volume was begun and completed in 1919. Beyer noted that the unusually slow rate of accumulation of material made it seem almost advisable for him, at times, to include the Sambali and Ibanag Sets in a single Minor Christian Group Set. Due reflection on his part, however, postponed such action because he considered both these groups are potentially important, both historically and ethnographically and should produce a sufficient quantity of material when time is available for such intensive work.1

Beyer wrote:

Ethnographically the set includes all of the Christian people speaking the group of dialects collectively known as Sambali. Geographically these dialects are spoken chiefly in the province of Zambales and the eastern part of Pangasinan, together with a small group in the north western part of Tarlak province. The only considerable group outside of this area is that in the city of Manila, where there are at least several hundred persons who speak Sambali.

While potentially one of the most interesting groups in the Islands, the people known as Sambali or Sambale (Sp. Zambales) constitute perhaps the least known element of our Christian population. It is therefore impossible to make a definite classification of this group until a greater volume of information has accumulated. The present grouping must therefore be regarded as a temporary one, subject to later modification.

Historically, in pre-Spanish days, the group seems to have occupied a much wider area; including a part or all of Bataan Province, and a greater area in Pangasinan, Tarlak, and northern Pampanga, together with a few settlements along the Ilokos coast, in La Union or Ilokos Sur. The group was then a very aggressive and warlike one, and occasioned more trouble to the Spanish conquerors than any other.

At present, however, the Sambalis cannot be regarded as either an aggressive or expanding group, and their territory is being steadily encroached upon by the Ilokos from the north and the Tagalogs from the south. In fact, the whole province of Zambales is permeated with members of other groups, and there is scarcely a town that does not contain a considerable non-Sambali element.2

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1 H.O. Beyer, 'Terminal Notes to the Set', General Index, Volume 1, p. 74.
2 H.O. Beyer, 'Field Covered by the Set', General Index, Volume 2, pp. 295-296.
There are three distinct dialects which are known: the Bolinao dialect, the standard Sambali or Iba dialect spoken by the majority, and the Tina dialect differing least from the Sambali and most from the Bolinao speech.

'The incomplete character of Sambali material, and the limited quantity, make any attempt to sub-group classification within the present Set entirely superfluous', Beyer added.3

Of the forty-five papers which comprise the single Sambali volume, thirty-five were written by students during the years 1914 to 1931. All thirty-five were done by Beyer's Sambali students in the University, except for one paper which consisted of a compilation by H.C. Taylor in 1917, from the Manila High School students. Taylor collected twelve reports on Sambali folklore, social customs and beliefs.

Twenty-four student papers resulted in an interesting variety of fifty-two folklore materials including many legends, origin myths, fables, some magical stories, tales of supernatural beings and ghosts. Two of the most popular Sambali folktale centered around the legendary chief of the wild Aeta tribes inhabiting Zambales, named Angkot; and the origin of Alindayat lake in the town of Candelaria. Another interesting myth which was recorded in 1930 by H. Crispin, entitled 'The Origin of the People' traced the godly descent of the first mortals on earth, from whose union were believed to have descended the various, wild tribes inhabiting the majestic Mt Pinatubu in the province of Zambales. The myth noted the first flood on earth, the origin of Mt Pinatubu, and the names of the gods and goddesses said by the Sambali people as dwelling in that mountain up to the present. The tale's version in the Sambali dialect, 'No Ayri Naibat A Tavo' was also given in this Set.

The students wrote eight folktales in the Sambali dialect, five were given in the Tina dialect and with the exception of one, all were supplied their English translations.

In addition to folklore, the twenty-four papers contained numerous accounts about traditional practices, customs, and folk beliefs which were handed down orally to the present generation by their early ancestors and practised by the people of Zambales during the first decades of American rule. Illness, some calamities like epidemics and droughts, dread and discomfort were widely attributed to the power of evil supernatural creatures, ancestral souls (anito), or to evil witches called mangocolam. The students spoke of such supernaturals like mysterious, ghostly animals of many forms appearing at nighttime (anianti, kapri or lampong), invisible dwellers of antmounds (kamana or apo) and small, mischievous fairies (patanaoaos). The inhabitants customarily give ceremonial food offerings and prayers in order to gain their goodwill and restore health. One paper, for instance, noted the food sacrifices to the anitos performed by farmers in the field, near brooks, in clearings or in trees, during the attack of worms in their crops, when clearing forest growth, before and after harvest-time; while another student from Iba, Zambales wrote on ceremonial offerings to the kamana inhabiting the earhmounds during sickness incurred by disturbing their abodes.5

Folk beliefs pervaded their everyday living, their dreams, religion, social relations, economic ventures, certain animals, birds or insects they see, even natural phenomena like lightning, rain, comet, and others. Many omens were connected to misfortunes in life as well as good luck. The students noted their traditions involving birth and baptism; while others related to courtship, marriage and burial which would be interesting to compare with Isabelo de los Reyes' account which appeared in his first volume of El Folklore Filipino printed 1889 in Manila. The Sambali volume contains his original Spanish article about the marriage and death customs of the ancient Sambals titled 'Folklore de Zambales' and its

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4 V. del Fierro, 'Beliefs of the Zambals in Connection with Agriculture', 1919.
5 A. Trinidad, 'Beliefs and Superstitions of the Iba Sambals', 1924.
English translation done by A. Ramos in 1920.

The remaining eleven Sambali student papers described such topics as the Kolorum religious sect which was established 1905 in the town of Masinloc; the ancient industries of the people; the customary laws practised in Iba, Zambales relating to death, marriage, christening, inheritance and agriculture; the differing customs and characteristics of the Sambali and the Ilocano people, the effects of extensive Iloko immigration upon the development of Zambales province and the general relations between these two Christian groups. Two papers of note were a one-hundred-word vocabulary of the Iba Sambali dialect with English terms which was written by V. del Fierro in 1919, and a paper by T. Edaño dated 1915, containing a synopsis taken from a typical comedia titled 'Niconor and Princess Helena' presented annually during the fiesta celebration in Masinloc, Zambales. 'The comedia de capa y espada, commonly known as moro-moro is believed to have originated from the traditional armed encounters between the Christian and the Muslim Filipinos...began in the sixteenth century. The moro-moro is unique in the sense that no nation has conceived and staged a similar play. It is only the Philippines that has engrossed herself in the creation of moro-moro to such an extent that this work eventually became identified with the Filipino way of life for nearly two centuries'.

In addition to the original student contributions, ten other papers in the Sambali Set provided materials on Sambali folklore, history, ethnography and linguistics. These included two translated papers, an extract from El Folklore Filipino by I. de los Reyes mentioned above which was translated by A. Ramos as 'Zambales Folklore', and the translation of some parts of F. Cañammaque's manuscript in Spanish, La Provincia de Zambales (Luzon) first printed in 1880 in Madrid. The

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English text, *A Monograph on the Province of Zambales* was written by E. Christie in Manila, in about 1907-1908. The monograph contained historical accounts on the discovery of the province of Zambales by the Spaniards, the savage customs of the ancient Sambals, their religious beliefs as seen by the early Spanish missionaries, the military expenditures sent, and the efforts in converting them to Christianity. Extensive accounts about the province of Zambales, its geography, natural resources, characteristics of the inhabitants, their customs, folk beliefs, and culture were likewise contained in *Relacion De Los Indios Zambales De La Playa Honda, y Su Sitio y Costumbres* written 1680 by Fray Domingo Perez, Dominican Provincial vicar of the mission stationed there, and in the census report of 1903 by the Provincial Governor of Zambales P. Lesaca. The census report added data on existing general conditions in Zambales during the early American era, conditions of peace and order, mortality, administration of justice, education and social welfare, manufactures, trade, commerce and economic conditions, natural resources found in the area. Both works are written in Spanish.

The Set had copies of unpublished documents submitted to the Division of Ethnology in Manila as of 1908, when the said office engaged itself in compiling materials on the etymology of Philippine geographical names under its Acting Chief E.B. Christie. These were: 'Correspondence Relating to Geographic Names in the Province of Zambales', mostly written in Spanish and submitted by three *presidentes municipales* and a supervising teacher in the Sambali towns of Botolan, Iba, Masinloc, and Cabangan; and a report titled 'A Study of the Etymology of the Geographic Names in the Municipality of Bolinao, Pangasinan' explaining the etymological meanings of one-hundred and sixty-six names of *barrios* and *sitios* in Bolinao which was written by its *presidente municipal* S. Cacho in 1908. The latter is written in Spanish.

In the field of linguistics, original contributions were furnished
by three unpublished papers: 'A Brief vocabulary of the Bolinao Sambali Dialect, together with Iloko and Tagalog Equivalents' collected in 1902 by an American ethnologist, A. Jenks from the municipality of Bolinao located in northern coastal area of Zambales Province and which he said is the only pueblo where the Bolinao dialect is spoken; a fifty-word comparative Spanish-Bolinao Sambali - Iba Sambali vocabulary prepared in 1902 for the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, by the municipal president of Bolinao V. Alegre; and a well-rounded collection of three-hundred and seventeen Sambali words, phrases and sentences by B. Gonzales of the Manila trade school. The 'English-Sambali Phrase Book and Vocabulary' was compiled in 1903.

Beyer noted very interesting comments about the Sambali people:

As with physical type, almost nothing is known of sub-group variations in Sambali culture. No trustworthy studies of variations in physical type within the Sambali Area have been made, but the general type most common in central Zambales is a very characteristic one. Curiously enough, it is very much like the type common to Antique and western Capiz provinces in Panay; though much significance cannot be attached to the resemblance until detailed comparative studies of cultural and linguistic data are possible. A historical connection is quite possible, since at least one of two dominating elements among the old Sambalis was of a fearless sea-roving type.7

In another article, he spoke of this distinctive racial type:

In culture also, there is a noticeable kinship with the Panayan-Bisaya and the southern Tagalog. In language, however, certain phonetic peculiarities are akin to those found in the mountain of northern Luzon, while the general structure of the speech is more like the Tagalog.

In the Zambales mountains, in addition to the largest and purest group of true Negritos in the Philippines, there lives also a group of pagan Indonesian folk who, if not wholly of Sambali descent, at least probably represent a culture-survival of the pre-Spanish Sambali. They practise metal-working and produce a great many of the finely worked arrows, spears, bolos, and similar weapons which are used by the true Negritos. In general, this pagan Indonesian group is much mixed with the Negritos, but it is purest in the area along the northern ranges of the Zambales-Pangasinan mountains, or in that part of the Zambales mountains that extends into Pangasinan. Undoubtedly, this group forms one of the most interesting for careful study, in Luzon; and such limited information as we already have should be carefully conserved.

7 H.O. Beyer, 'Field Covered by the Set', General Index, Volume 2, p. 296.
and augmented as rapidly as circumstances permit. This is particularly important on account of the rapid encroachment of the Iloko and Tagalog culture over the whole area.\(^8\)

On the relation of Sambali to other Sets, Beyer said:

The Sambali Set bears a primary relationship to two other Sets, the Negrito-Aeta and the Pangasinan; while secondary relations and overlapping occur with the Tagalog, Iloko, and General Sets.

All the non-Christians living within the Sambali area are included in the Negrito-Aeta Set, though some of them are undoubtedly pagan rather than true Negritos or other pygmies. Most of these non-Christians are known to speak the Sambali dialects (and probably have many other Sambali traits), though only a part of the area has been studied or even explored. Considerable Negrito-Aeta material will be found in the Sambali Set, as well as vice-versa.\(^9\)

As regards the other sets, Beyer wrote that certain Sambali materials will be found in the Pangasinan, Tagalog, and Iloko Sets, explaining the extensive intermixture among the Sambalis, Pangasinans and Ilokos people in northern Zambales and western Pangasinan; and of both Tagalogs and Ilokos penetration in southern Zambales. In addition, he mentioned that there are probably some materials included in the General Set.

Describing future work in the present Set, he continued:

Sambali material is so weak in every respect that any new data, of whatever character, is welcome.... A few items for special attention, however, may be pointed out.

Aside from the special interest of the Sambalis as a relatively isolated group having many unique culture features, about which very little is known, there are certain possibilities in the group that seem to have a much broader bearing on the general problems of pre-Spanish Philippine ethnological history. These possibilities center around the apparent historical division of the Sambalis into two quite different culture groups - one partaking of the nature of a sea-roving coastal population, while the other seems to have been an interior or land population bearing certain rather striking resemblances to the more advanced pagan peoples of the Mountain Province. The study and isolation of these two cultures should be attacked first from the historical side (especially from the unusually full friar accounts and Church records), and then from the side of cultural ethnology and physical anthropology.


\(^{9}\) H.O. Beyer, 'Relationship to other Sets', *General Index*, Volume 2, p. 298-299.
Field work in physical anthropology, archaeology, and general culture, among the Sambalis, gives promise of most interesting general results; and should be carried out at the earliest possible date - though until a modern roadway makes the province accessible from the land side, rapid changes there are not to be feared. Practically no field work has been done there in recent times, except the meagre accounts by Reed, Barrows, and Jenks, and a few studies by some of my University students. The Manila museums are also almost entirely devoid of specimens from the Sambali area, and few photographs are available.

Altogether, there is no region near Manila potentially so interesting as the Sambali area, and at the same time so little known.

The possible connection of the existing Sambali dialects with the old culture divisions should also be made the subject of a special study at an early date.\(^{10}\)

Finally, Beyer wrote that the varied nature of population in the Sambali area and the fact that this is one of the most interesting of the smaller Christian groups add further importance to carrying on extensive research.\(^{11}\)

\(^{10}\) H.O. Beyer, 'Future Work on the Set', *General Index*, Volume 2, pp. 299-301.

"The Pampañgans", wrote Beyer,

form one of our most uniform groups, both as to ethnographic and geographic distribution. The present Set is intended to include all of the Christian people speaking the Pampañgan language, which is a very uniform speech with few dialectic variations. Geographically this speech group covers the entire province of Pampanga and the southern half of Tarlac, with minor overlapping areas along the borders of Nueva Ecija, Bulakan, and Bataan provinces. The only considerable group of Pampañgan people outside this continuous area is in the city of Manila.... in other provinces and islands there are only a few scattered individuals. 1

Considering the size and compactness of the group, the three Pampañgan volumes containing one hundred and twenty papers which were completed and bound from 1918 to 1923, is a good representation, he said. 2 Another volume of thirteen papers were compiled in 1933, making a total of one-hundred and thirty-three papers.

Of the Pampañgans, he wrote: The general racial type in the area is a tall, light-skinned, and relatively uniform of Malay-blend type, though certain minor variant types appear around the border of the area. There appears to be a great deal of Chinese mixture throughout the Pampañgan group - and this is probably responsible for the tall, light-skinned type. In the region around the mouth of the Pampanga River, with Macabebe as the center, there is an extensive historic mixture with Mexican Indians who were brought to the Philippines during Spanish times. Culturally and linguistically, they have been absorbed by the Pampañgans, but in physical type and psychology their impression on the area mentioned is quite noticeable.

No groups of pagan people showing any relationship with the ancient Pampañgan culture exist in the area; but the Negritos of western Pampanga still speak an archaic form of the Pampañgan language - many of their words being unknown to the modern speech but easily found in the seventeenth century Pampañgan dictionaries made by Spanish friars. It is thus obvious that a closer contact existed between the Negritos and the pre-Spanish Pampañgans than is to be found today. 3 There are other limited areas in which darker coloured or shorter types appear - doubtless due to ancient Indonesian and proto-Malay mixtures.

According to Beyer, no attempt at sub-group classification has been made for this group, on account of its relatively small size and uniform

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1 H.O. Beyer, 'Field Covered by the Set', General Index, Volume 2, p. 303.
2 H.O. Beyer, 'Additional Notes on the Set', General Index, Volume 3, p. 60.
'It should be noted', he wrote further, 'that the old name of this group - "ka-pampaŋ-an" - essentially signifies "Dwellers on the River Banks"; and of itself more or less indicates that the original group were sea-farers who spread up and settled along the Pampanga River and its branches.'

The present four-volume Pampango Set contains a mixed lot of papers relating to folklore, social customs, beliefs and customary laws, history, ethnography, literature, linguistics and economics. As with the other ethnographic series from the Christian peoples, the majority of papers are works of Beyer's students in the Department of Anthropology and Philippine Languages in the University of the Philippines before the war. All the one-hundred and twenty-nine student accounts written between 1915 and 1935 were done under Beyer, apart from two papers containing Pampaŋgan folklore stories and proverbs which were collected in 1917-1918 from students in the National Academy, Philippine Normal School and the Manila High School by V. Garcia, N.M. Seva and H.C. Taylor.

Like other Christian sets, information about folklore, social customs and beliefs are best represented; ninety-seven student papers are related to these two aspects and more than one-half are dealing with Pampaŋgan folklore. The most popularly written Pampango folklore tale in the Set centered around Mt. Arayat, known locally as Mt. Sinukuan, a mysterious enchanted mountain located in the town of Arayat and its equally famous mythical dweller, Sinukuan or Suku. More than forty accounts spoke variously of Sinukuan as a 'magical healer', 'an enchanter', 'a fairy', 'a great magician', 'King of all nymphs', a wealthy, powerful superhuman being', 'giant mountain God', 'sole owner

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4 H.O. Beyer, 'Field Covered by the Set', General Index, Volume 2, p. 304.

of Mt. Arayat', 'God of lightning, rain, thunder, wind and all heavenly bodies', 'son of Heaven and Earth', and others. One paper represented him as the 'first born child in Arayat of the descendants of Adam and Eve, and hence was called the Father of the Pampangans. Many legends were related about Suku's supernatural powers, his fairy daughters and magnificent golden kingdom seen by certain gifted inhabitants. Likewise, their magical favors bestowed on a few lucky inhabitants had attracted the awe and imagination of people living within the vicinity of the majestic mountain. These acts were believed to have taken place in the olden days when the earth was young and before the white race landed in the islands, and retold from generations to generations. Two students rendered their original versions in the Pampangan dialect, with their English translations: 'Sinukuan' written 1915 by L. Gonzales and 'Ina Mala Ning Bunduk Arayat' (The Mystery of Mt. Arayat) written and translated by J. Santos in 1923. A distinct version in Spanish was by Pedro Serrano which appeared in the second volume of El Folklore Filipino printed 1889 in Manila and translated in the Set as 'The Fabulous Suku' by R. Galang, in about 1920. It related the story of an old favored Pampango native, who when he was young was said to be protected by Suku by a 'certain consideration that nobody has enjoyed, because he not only could travel with impunity all over the mountain but could also enter it'.

More than two-hundred Pampangan folktales have been narrated in the Set and the most numerous were the fairy tales and magic stories which recounted on fantastic exploits of mortals, magic kingdoms, ferocious giants, serpents, talking beasts, enchanted princes or princesses, wicked witches, magic charms and a host of incredible

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7 Translated by A. Nicado in 1918 in a separate paper.
stories (mostly humorous) of the phenomenal Suan or Juan, the most prominent character in Philippine stories, especially the Tagalog and Pampango tribes, who always emerged triumphant no matter how ignorant, how foolish, how dumb, how poor or how weak he could be. There were traditional stories of evil supernaturals, fairies, ghostly spectres, witches, mischievous nymphs and dwarfs of the forests and brooks, and of miraculous patron saints. Tales were told for example, of St. Augustin in Magalang, Pampanga whose figure taken out from the hole of a 'bleeding' tree was said to be still growing at the time the student wrote the tale in 1916; or of a miraculous altar with an image of the Virgin hanging in a huge tree in Ilokos Sur which had become an object of pilgrimages. These tales of miracles though highly the products of superstitious mind had their merits, according to a student, because of their interesting character, their moral influences and particularly their strong propagating roles in religious faith and beliefs during the early introduction of Christianity in the central provinces of Luzon. Most of the saints are still venerated today in the Philippines.

The students wrote myths explaining the origin of their hometowns, certain insects, birds, fruit trees or the appearance of lakes, rivers, volcano, mountain and other natural phenomena around them, as heard from the old folks. Notable among the myths and legends were some stories surrounding four native birds held sacred by the Pampangos; and two brief works on the Arayat and Guagua tribes, the most prominent, largest and strongest of several independent Pampangan tribes which were said to have flourished hundreds of years before the Spaniards came and whose ultimate union was successfully brought about by the powerful Godly ruler of Mt Arayat, Sinukuan.

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8 V. Mendoza, 'The Legend of Saint Augustin', 1916.
10 L. Serrano, 'Beliefs and Superstitions Regarding the Patron Saints of Capaz and Tarlak,' 1935.
11 The tales are 'Nunung Sinukuan' by M. Juco (1925) and 'The Inscription in Gold' by M. Carreon (1917).
Some papers depicted the creation of the earth, stars, sun, eclipse, earthquakes, the first mortals; others talked about the mythical Supreme ruler and various duties of their Malayan ancestors.

The coming of the Spaniards and the Americans and the imposition of the Christian religion and western culture wrought great changes in the lives of the ancient Filipinos, however despite these innovations survivals of pagan customs, traditions, and beliefs of their forefathers persisted throughout the Philippine Archipelago. Student papers from the nine Christian ethnographic groups abounded with accounts of dreadful supernaturals, ghostly apparitions, mysterious deities which permeated their daily lives, spreading fear and diseases among the people with their wicked, mischievous acts, vengeance and punishments, as they did among the Filipinos of ancient times. In the present Set, various stories are told about fierce, flying human cannibals (asuang), small doll-like creatures which are very popular among children (duende), and ancient deities or ancestral spirits (nuno) dwelling in large heaps of earth and mounds of anthills locally called punso; other students mentioned evil dwarf spirits (patianak), black giants called cafre and half-animal half-human creatures which they named tikbalang. These malignant beings were sources of fright, nuisance, dread to travellers, and generally caused various kinds of illness among the Pampañgans, particularly when their abodes were disturbed. It was customary in certain towns in the provinces of Pampanga and Tarlak, to offer food sacrifices near their habitations in order to appease their displeasure when the people are sick and in some instance to ensure success of coming harvest.

Traditional beliefs and practices among the Christian tribes which were practised many centuries back abound, as the student accounts show, and among the Pampañgan group more than six-hundred have been noted in ninety-seven works. A considerable number included predictions of weather, catastrophe, prosperity and others through the
appearance and behaviour of animals, birds and insects. Thus, dogs, owls, and hens are widely believed to possess prophetic sense of impending death or sickness. Farmers in Tarlak predicted poor harvest through the hovering crows seen during the planting season; on one hand, hovering wild red pigeons are welcomed for they meant abundant yield. Numerous omens were connected to natural phenomena like thunder, lightning, rainbow, eclipse, new moon, comet, storm, shooting star and so on. Old customs were practised in planting crops, before fishing, gambling or business ventures, before constructing their homes, when embarking on journeys, and in doing everyday chores. Many beliefs were related to dreams, sickness, their religious traditions, in predicting good luck and misfortune; in addition, peculiar Pampangañgan beliefs were recorded in the Set regarding distinct bodily features, foretelling sex of babies, locating drowned persons in the river, and ways of taming farm animals or multiplying their breeds.

The papers had accounts of witchcraft and sorcery, a universal belief throughout the entire islands. Several students wrote about the existence of persons possessed with evil powers (mangkukulam) and capable of harassing, tormenting or inflicting punishment on their enemies through supernatural acts of inserting a ring, bones or feathers of chicken, a piece of meat, a pencil, piece of clothing, few grains of uncooked rice or anything into the body of a person without his knowledge – thereby causing intense pain and even death. A native healer called arbulario was summoned to counteract these demonic deeds and drive away the witch believed to be inside the victim's body.

The Pampangos, like all other Philippine tribes, are very fond of feasts, ceremonies and festivals. Included among the ninety-seven papers were some accounts of the social-religious traditions celebrated continuously throughout the years, such as Christmas, New Year, the Lenten season, May fiestas, annual fiestas honoring patron saints, their
native thanksgiving festivals when planting and harvesting occur, and community socials newly introduced by the Americans. A few works described Pampanggan social classes, their modes of life, clothing, ornamentation, native dances, songs and use of primitive musical instruments common in earlier days. Interesting notes described the games of their ancestors which dated as far back as the Spanish era and were still practised by the Pampangans either for amusement or religious rituals.

The four-volume Pampango Set contains seventy-eight native proverbs, riddles and maxims, and sixty-four folk songs and lullabies which were largely written in the Pampango dialect and translated into English. As one would note, most Christian sets had similar accounts of their proverbs, riddles and folksongs - these literary forms were said to exist among the early Filipinos probably even in the pre-colonial days.

Although written down, most... had a popular or communal origin, were not the product of individual authors, and therefore were the property of the people, not of any one man. They were handed down from generation to generation by word of mouth before they were committed to writing.12

The majority of student materials in the Set dealt with birth, courtship, marriage, and death and the various folk beliefs, customary traditions and festivities connected with these social institutions. Five Pampanggan papers from 1915 to 1925 were devoted entirely to the customs traditionally observed when a person dies. The most popular religious ritual appeared to be the religious feasting and praying for nine consecutive nights and days after burial, designed to 'insure the happiness of the departed soul in heaven, to entertain mourning relatives and friends, and to protect family members from being annoyed or frightened by the returning spirit'. Survivals of pagan spirit worship lingered in the solemn ceremony celebrated on the third, the ninth, and the first year after burial, and are widely practised not only among the Pampangans but with other Christian tribes in the

Philippines as well. These practices had survived to the present. It was commonly believed that the spirit of the deceased, termed anito, visits the family on the third and ninth nights; and people in San Luis, Pampanga, for example, prepare offerings of ashes and choicest food covered with leaves of certain plants during those days so as to welcome and satisfy the returning spirit.  

Of the one-hundred and thirty-three Pampañgan papers, five discussed ancient customary laws prevalent among the Pampangos in the provinces of Tarlak and Pampanga, and in the city of Manila which involved baptism, marriage, family and social relations, inheritance, honor, crimes and their punishment, and religious customs. One student from Apalit, Pampanga related a certain tradition in his locality which was inherited from their ancestors, and this was the cooperation among neighbors in extending both personal and physical assistance during sickness, in times of marriage, baptism, death, birthday or other family affairs. The five papers were written in 1927.

Despite the civilizing influences of colonial powers in the islands, the Pampañgan students generally observed that many ancient traditions were practised with little or no modifications, and in most instances even triumphant over the provisions of legal codes.

The remaining works dealt with economics and literature, and few contributions in linguistics, history and ethnography. The three papers on linguistics brought out certain characteristics and peculiarities of the Pampango language which the students noted as more closely related to the Tagalog dialect than to any other in the islands, due to the geographical proximity of their province to the Tagalog-speaking regions. Eight literary papers gave brief accounts on the history of

13 V. Punsalang, 'Customs of the People of San Luis Concerning Their Dead, and their Belief about the Soul', 1917.
Pampangan literature from pre-Spanish days to the American period, the *moro-moro* play as given in Pampanga, the beginning and development of native poetry and drama; while others recorded proverbs, riddles, and folksongs. In the field of economics, sixteen students wrote from 1915 to 1935 on the various industries engaged in by the people of Pampanga and Tarlak such as weaving, pottery, metal-working, fishing, farming and others, the implements utilized, and the antiquated methods of production, marketing and transporting the products. The student accounts show that the provinces of Pampanga and Tarlak, like other places in the Philippines retained their earlier economic structure and had not progressed much since the Spaniards left the country.

Two brief papers narrated general accounts on Pampanga, its topography, natural resources, the origin of its inhabitants, their racial composition, relations with other Filipinos, characteristics, and general ways of living under the Spaniards and Americans.

Of the total one-hundred and thirty-three papers in the Pampango Set, four were not written by students. One of them embodied two-part extracts from the original Spanish text of Isabelo de los Reyes' *El Folklore Filipino* (Volume 2) which was printed 1889 in Manila and titled in the Set as 'Testamento de Don Fernando Malang Balagtas, Uno de los Regulos de Filipinas Del Tiempo de la Conquista' and 'El Regulo de Tondo Lacandola (Documentos Oficiales ineditos)'. The English translations of these Spanish manuscripts were copied in two papers; one done in 1916 by four students of Beyer in the Anthropology Department, and the second by R. Galang in about 1920. Beyer, in his preface to the

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15 Translated as 'Testament of Don Fernando M. Balagtas, one of the Chiefs of the Philippines of the time of the Conquest' by D. David and S. Macaraig. The second part about Lacandola was not titled and was translated by E. Gregorio and L. de Castro.

16 Translated as 'Will of Fernando M. Balagtas, one of the Petty Kings of the Filipinos at the time of the Conquest'. R. Galang did not translate the second part.
third Pampanga volume, wrote that the latter's translation was very faulty and probably not equal to that rendered by his students.

The first part of the extract consisted of official documents pertaining to the original wills of two Pampanga natives, that of Don Fernando Balagtas dated 1539 A.D., one of the early Filipino chieftains at the time of Spanish Conquest and first to be baptized in the Catholic faith and that of his descendant Andres Mangaya which was drawn in 1653. The documents were valuable sources of ancient inheritance laws and on genealogy as the wills traced the noble lineage of their ascendants and descendants scattered throughout the Philippine islands, including Pampanga. The second part contained records from the Real Audiencia of the Philippines about Raja Lacandola, a powerful lord of Tondo and other neighboring towns around Manila in the pre-Spanish days, and one of the early Filipino rulers to aid the first Spanish conqueror, Miguel Lopez de Legaspi. Certain documents also pertained to the ancient privileges of Lacandola's descendants.

The three other non-student papers were: a miscellaneous letter to Beyer in 1920, Luther Parker's list of the names of twenty-three oldest Pampanga families residing in the towns of Macabebe and Masantol, including nine old Pampanga towns or barrios which Parker considered as the 'best places to find pure types of Pampangos for taking physical measurements', and a collection of eighteen letters containing data on the origin and significance of geographic names found in the provinces of Pampanga and Tarlak.

Parker's list was prepared in 1913 for the use of H. Beyer; while the letters were submitted by supervising teachers and municipal presidents of various Tarlak and Pampanga towns to E. Christie of the Division of Ethnology in 1908. Most of the letters were in Spanish and a few were in English.
'The Pampangan Set', wrote Beyer,

bears a primary relationship to only one other Set... the Negrito Aeta... and a strong secondary relationship to the Tagalog. All of the non-Christian living within and around the Pampangan area are included in the Negrito-Aeta Set. Many of them speak archaic forms of the Pampangan language, and possibly possess other Pampangan traits. The Pampangan area is entirely surrounded by Tagalogs except on the north-west side (where there is some Pangasinan, Iloko and Negrito contact). There is therefore a strong Tagalog intermixture all around the border, as well as in the City of Manila; and considerable Tagalog material, as well as some Pangasinan and Iloko data, will be found in the Pampangan Set. Considerable general Tarlak material, however, will be found in the General Set - which needs to be consulted throughout for Pampangan data.17

As to future work, Beyer commented,

The Pampangan area has been more thoroughly worked up in proportion to its size than any other Christian group except the big three (Bisaya, Tagalog, and Iloko). Cultural and linguistic data are fairly well represented, and only on the sides of physical anthropology and illustrative photographs is there a decided weakness.18

Considering the size of the group, Beyer assessed the collection of ethnographic material as fairly satisfactory both as to quality and quantity.19

Beyer considered the Pampango group as potentially of much interest in connection with general Philippine ethnological problems and mentioned the following in connection with further work in the Set: the need to secure physical measurements and photographs; working up a bibliography of printed material; further research on the historical side, especially regarding important pre-Spanish material; compiling the important collections and studies of data by Luther Parker, despite his marked disinclination to share his material with any other workers.

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in the field of Philippine ethnology; and collecting as many Pampangan
genealogies as may be possible.... which should prove even more
fruitful in historical clues: than elsewhere.\textsuperscript{20} He noted further

There is some evidence that the present Pampangan language,
and certain elements of their culture, were derived from Sumatra
by way of Borneo only a few centuries prior to the Spanish
period. It will be interesting to note whether any evidence
of such contact appears in the customary law material.\textsuperscript{21}

Additionally, 'the peculiar phonetics of the Pampangan language, and the
extreme development of metathesis may offer certain clues as to origin
and migrations.'\textsuperscript{22} Finally, 'the close connection of Pampangan history
with that of the pre-Spanish Tagalogs, and certain various linguistic
and cultural relationships with Sumatra, make this work the first
importance.'\textsuperscript{23}

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\textsuperscript{21} H.O. Beyer, 'Introduction to the Papers on Pampangan Customary

\textsuperscript{22} H.O. Beyer, 'Miscellaneous Notes on the Set', \textit{General Index},
Volume 2, p. 309.

\textsuperscript{23} H.O. Beyer, 'Terminal Notes to the Set', \textit{General Index}, Volume 1, p. 82.
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CHAPTER B6

SET 6: PANGASINAN

From 1914-1926, three Pangasinan volumes containing eighty-five papers were compiled by Beyer. He said of the Pangasinan Set:

While the Pangasinans form a fairly compact group so far as geographic distribution is concerned, they are far from being of uniform type either physically or ethnographically, and only in the linguistic sense can the group be easily identified and set aside as a unit. The present set is intended therefore to include all the people speaking that more or less uniform speech-unit known as the Pangasinan language, and such dialectic variations as are easily identified with it. Geographically, practically the entire group is now comprehended within the boundaries of Pangasinan Province; though historically it formerly extended as far north as the center of La Union Province, and there are still a few scattered Pangasinan family and village group in the southern part. Outside of this area there are only a few scattered individuals in other provinces and islands - except in the City of Manila, where there is a considerable Pangasinan colony.¹

He stated further:

The Pangasinans are not an expanding group and have been barely holding their own, or perhaps even declining in numbers, before the incoming tide of Iloko immigration. Historically, they were probably a rice-terrace culture group occupying the Valley of Agno River and the entire coastal region around the Gulf of Lingayen.... the country was at one time thoroughly impregnated with Proto-Malay and Negrito types. The Pangasinans are probably, in stature, the shortest Christian group and preserve other physical features of the pre-Neolithic pigmy population of Luzon.

Linguistically, they preserve certain forms of speech nearer to the old mother tongue of the Malaysian languages than do most other Philippine speech-groups. For example, they retain the pepet vowel in its original form - a characteristic which is found in only one or two other Philippine dialects.

Culturally.... there is much that is interesting in Pangasinan life. A great diversity of type appears, and it seems likely that a considerable mixture of peoples and cultures took place in the area.²

In another note to the Set in 1923, he wrote:

The Pangasinans present a variety of both physical and cultural

¹ H.O. Beyer, 'Field Covered by the Set', General Index, Volume 2, p. 311.
types, and as yet it is not easy to identify any one of these as typically Pangasinan - in a way that would sharply differentiate the group from its neighbors. Only after the accumulation of much more data than the present set yet contains, can we hope to lay down lines of demarcation and set up a system of sub-grouping based on type or culture. It is possible to say at once, however, that much of the diversity is undoubtedly due to a mixing on the Pangasinan plain of a variety of peoples who have come from all around its borders; of Sambali and Negrito-Aeta peoples from the west, and of more than one variety of Igorot peoples from the east and north. These have mixed with such seafaring peoples as may have settled on the coast or made their way up the Agno River valley, and with another and populous stream of immigrants coming down from the Ilokos coast. The one key that seems to be of immediate use in tackling this problem lies in the widespread use of the relatively distinct Pangasinan language, with its original *papet* vowel and other noticeable phonetic and structural peculiarities.

For the reasons just cited; no sub-grouping has been utilized in the Pangasinan Set up to the present date, nor does it seem either wise or necessary to attempt any in the immediate future.3

Beyer described the intermediate-sized Pangasinan group as potentially one of the most interesting Philippine Christian groups. Of the total number of eighty-five papers compiled in the three-volume Set, only four were not written by students. These included a census report of 1903 for the province of Pangasinan which was written in Spanish; a report of the Chief of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes D. Barrows to the Secretary of Education in 1901 stating briefly his impressions on the operation of American civil rule in Tarlak and Pangasinan provinces and his notes on the general attitude of the people towards the newly instituted civil government; and two papers containing records from the Division of Ethnology which were written in 1908. The records were: a manuscript in Spanish, 'Etimologia de los Nombres Geograficos de Este Municipio de Balungao' prepared by the Municipal President of Balungao (a municipality in Pangasinan) dealing with the history of Balungao and etymology of its geographical names,4 and the second consisted of twenty-four short reports of

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4 Prepared by C. Soliven for the use of the Division of Ethnology.
supervising teachers and municipal presidents to E. Christie of the Division regarding the meaning and significance of some Pangasinan geographic names. Some of these reports were written in Spanish.

The census report contained valuable information about Pangasinan in the early years of the present century: the population, characteristics of the inhabitants, economic and social life, the natural resources of the province, state of public health, criminality, mortality, education, worship, public works, labor conditions, transportation, commerce, industries and general conditions then existing.

In common with other Christian ethnographic sets, a greater bulk of the Pangasinan Set consisted of student accounts, with data on folklore, social customs and beliefs predominating. Eighty-one Pangasinan papers were produced by the students during the years 1914 to 1935, and three-quarters pertained to these two fields. Two papers consisted of collections of eleven Pangasinan folklore and twenty-four proverbs from the students of the Manila High School, the Philippine Normal School, and the National Academy which were compiled 1917-1918 by H. Taylor, N. Seva and V. Garcia. The rest were all the work of Beyer's students.

More than one-hundred popular folktales were narrated by the Pangasinan students and of these, the most numerous were origin myths and legends. Described too were magic and adventure stories, fables, tales of ghostly apparitions, tales of the miracles of patron saints, humorous and moral stories, and few accounts about celestial deities. For instance, the students described legends of the origin of man, the earth, the moon, certain insects, animals, flowers, lakes, mountains, and of barrios and towns in Pangasinan. Thus, Luzon was said to be named by the early Spanish arrivals in that island who saw most natives pounding rice in a mortar (lusong); or that the name of the salt-

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5 T. Edrada, 'Traditions and Folklore from Pangasinan', 1927.
producing province of Pangasinan has been derived from a local term signifying 'a place where the salt is'. An interesting Pangasinan legend recorded in 1918 by T. Montemayor 'The Legend of Alaminos' described the mythical beginning of a remote coastal town in the province of Pangasinan, the bloody massacre of its inhabitants by pirates from Borneo or Jolo Archipelago, the heavy flood which completely erased the town from the shore, and the rebirth of the new town 'Alaminos', named after the Spanish governor who supported its foundation.

Twenty-two folklore stories were written in the Pangasinan language and half have been translated into English.

Nearly one-half of the student materials dealt with social customs and beliefs current in their hometowns and said to have long been in existence. Stories were told of powerful supernatural malevolent beings dwelling in mounds of earth, forests or rivers, to whom it was customary to give ceremonial food offerings for satisfaction of their whims or recovery from sicknesses believed they had caused. Mentioned too were some accounts about the Pangasinan evil witch (ibawanen) whose evil powers of witchcraft were inherited from their ancestors and who were believed to be capable of producing most intense headaches, boils, head swellings, internal tumors and other bodily aches through magical dolls.

The students related more than three-hundred folk beliefs and practices observed among their townfolks especially those in the countryside. These involved planting, harvesting or other agricultural activities, fishing, house construction, gambling and business ventures, embarking on journeys, and daily household chores. Many beliefs dealt with certain ominous birds, animals or insects, as well as natural phenomena like stars, eclipses, full moon, comet, thunder and lightning.

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6 P. Austria, 'Beliefs About Diseases and Other Collected Folklore from the Town of Dagupan, Pangasinan', 1933.
rain, high tide or rainbow whose unusual appearances, sounds or actions were believed to foretell an amazing variety of misfortunes and good luck. There were also folk beliefs concerning magical charms, spirits and ghosts, visitors, the occurrence of dreams, sickness, and various omens concerning prosperity, poverty, good fortune, calamities and accidents. The majority of the works discussed traditions on pregnancy, birth of a child, courtship and marriage, death and mourning.

Included among these student papers were accounts of the characteristics of Pangasinan people, their general social life, their games and amusements, their religio-social festivals during Christmas, New Year, All Saints' Day, the Lenten season, fiestas, pilgrimages, as well as their traditional celebrations during birthdays, baptisms, weddings, burials, harvests and in time of epidemics. One paper described the Chinese, Hindu, Spanish and American influences in the life of the people of Lingayen, the capital of Pangasinan province. Another work written in 1930, 'Games and Amusements in Bani, Pangasinan' recorded twenty-six ancient amusement games of the people in Bani, a remote locality on the westernmost part of Pangasinan. These native games were said to be unique and different from other localities due to its seclusion, however, they have been altered with the construction of the provincial road in 1918 facilitating easier contact with neighboring towns. Four other students wrote solely on the customary traditions and folk beliefs connected with courtship, betrothal, and marriage as practised in ancient days and the changes brought about through the introduction of western culture in the Philippine Islands.

It was generally noted by these students and in various accounts in the Set as well, that several ancient features have survived and are common during the American era. Of note, too, were three interesting papers dated between 1916 and 1921, with data on Iloko-Pangasinan
relationships; the inevitable sectionalism and rivalry between the Ilocano immigrants and the Pangasinan natives; consequences brought about by differences in culture and the factors which tended to foster amicable relations between the two Christian tribes.6a

Among the eighty-five Pangasinan papers, fifteen discussed customary laws covering the Ilocano town of Aringay and the Pangasinan towns of San Carlos, Manaoag, Binmaley, Pozorrubio, Villasis, Alaminos, Lingayen, Asingan, San Fabian, and Umingan. These valuable works which were written 1927-1931 recorded various communal unwritten laws which were derived from the customs and traditions of their ancestors and still common among the inhabitants. The papers mainly described customary laws in connection with courtship, betrothal and marriage, death and mourning, and family relations; others involved agriculture, property rights, inheritance, landlord-tenant and master-servant relationships. A few community laws pertained to baptism, fishing, adoption and inheritance. Also included were customary traditions which concerned about the victims of mad dogs, native medical practices performed by the herb doctor, communal labor during house constructions, road buildings, other community improvement projects, and during social feasts. One paper, for example, noted five strange ceremonial methods of cure practised by the barrio medicineman in Alaminos, Pangasinan; another paper by E. Fernandez, 'Customary Laws in Binmaley, Pangasinan' (1928) rendered accounts on customs and traditions prevalent in ancient Philippine Society, most of which have 'undergone several stages of evolution and served as the foundations of present laws'. These unwritten laws related to judicial procedure in civil and criminal suits, crimes and their punishment, trade and commerce, witchcraft, inheritance, marriage, slavery, tribute, adoption, laws of succession to the chief, and wars between barangays.

6a By Felix Jugo, Jose Cobangbang, and Paulino Bugayong.
Besides these, the three-volume Set produced some literary, linguistic, historical and economic student papers. Of note are: a brief account on the history of Pangasinan literature with accompanying collection of nineteen Pangasinan native songs, a paper titled 'Ipanbilay Na Taloran Maria: Maria Salome, Maria Mercedes, tan Maria Marina' which is an eighty-one stanza metrical romance in the Pangasinan dialect recorded by F. Aldana in 1923; an extensive two-hundred and eighty-titled bibliography of mostly rare manuscript sources and publications in or about the Pangasinan language compiled in 1929 by P. Siso; and a paper dated 1916 by F. Jugo, which discussed affixes, reduplication the *pepet* law and euphonic changes in the Pangasinan language.

The Pangasinan Set contains twenty-four folksongs and twenty-four Pangasinan-Ilocano proverbs recorded in the Pangasinan dialect, and which are largely untranslated.

Two brief papers related accounts of Pangasinan's legendary rulers, Captain Tainio and Palaris, and the founding of Pangasinan by the Spanish missionaries.

Nine students wrote about the important industries common in the province, which, like the rest of the Philippine Islands, were noted as being still in the primitive state during the American era. Of these economic papers, four described rice culture as practised in the Pangasinan towns of Burgos, Lingayen, Asingan and Agno, with some accounts on the traditions and customs practised by farmers like, weather predictions for the year or customs during planting, harvesting and others.

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7 'Pangasinan Literature', written 1917 by Carlos P. Romulo, a pupil of Beyer, and who later became the President of the University of the Philippines and one of the Philippines' internationally renowned diplomat-writers.

As far as Beyer was concerned, the Pangasinan group is potentially important in every way; historically and somatologically, as well as for linguistic comparison and cultural ethnology.\(^9\)

As far as Beyer was concerned, 'the Iloko group is the third largest in the Islands (counting the combined Bisaya groups as first and the more uniform Tagalog group as second'). Another American ethnologist, E. Christie wrote that the country inhabited by the Ilocanos maybe divided into Ilocos proper and greater Ilocos - the former comprises the territory of Ilocos Norte, Ilocos Sur, and La Union provinces, and one municipality, Tagudin, of the Mt. Province which the Ilocanos occupied at the coming of the Spaniards to the Islands; while the latter term maybe used to designate the territory which they have gradually taken possession since then, including parts of Abra, Cagayan, Isabela, Nueva Vizcaya, Pangasinan, Zambales, Tarlac and Nueva Ecija where the Ilocano element is gaining ground. The Ilocos proper region are often referred to collectively as 'Ilocos', both by Spanish historians and other writers, and by the people themselves. Since the coming of the Spaniards, the Ilocanos have spread themselves considerably into every province in the northern two-thirds of Luzon.

The Iloko Set was said by Beyer to contain the richest collection of ethnographic material - next to that from the Tagalog group. This material, he continued, represents a considerable accomplishment towards compiling a balanced ethnographic account of a group which, in addition to having a rich history of its own, and an extensive foreign contact (especially with the Chinese and Japanese), is also the one which has most greatly influenced the pagan mountaineers of all northern Luzon... While most of this Iloko emmigration has been to other parts of Luzon (notably the Cagayan Valley and the central Luzon plain) some of it has gone to Mindoro, Palawan, and Mindanao;

2 E.B. Christie, Notes on Iloko Ethnography and History, Iloko Set, Volume 2, pp. 1 and 12.
and within the past twenty years a considerable percentage have even migrated to foreign lands - especially Hawaii, the United States, China, Indo-China, Borneo, and the Straits Settlements.⁴

He considered the Ilocanos as the chief emigrating people of the Philippine Islands.⁵

At the end of 1929, eleven full Iloko volumes containing 293 papers were completed. Beyer commented in 1933:

The Iloko group is one of the three largest and most interesting in the Philippines. Iloko students have proved to be good and prolific recorders of local ethnography, folklore, etc.; and our collection of material from this group is one of the best. The group is widely scattered, and nearly all provinces in the northern half of Luzon are well represented in our Collection. Linguistically the group is compact, and has few sub-dialects; but there is considerable variation in social culture, customary laws, and such matters.⁶

As with the other Christian ethnographic sets, papers on folklore, social life, customs and beliefs, economic life, customary laws, linguistic and literary accounts are represented. Two-hundred and eighty-four papers were written 1915 to 1931 by Beyer's students in the Department of Anthropology and Philippine Languages, and two additional papers consisted of collections on Iloko folklore and proverbs which were obtained from students in Philippine Normal School, Manila High School, and National Academy from 1917 to 1918 by H. Taylor, N. Seva and V. Garcia.

Besides the student accounts, there are seven contributions by other authors, including a copy of the original manuscript left by an American ethnologist, E. Christie, Notes on Iloko Ethnography and History.

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⁵ H.O. Beyer, Population of the Philippine Islands, p. 46.
which he wrote in Manila in 1914. The one-hundred and forty-six typescript paged manuscript consisted according to Beyer 'of a series of more or less disconnected manuscripts prepared... as a partial result of his study of the Iloko people during the years 1911-1913 while collecting for the Philippine Museum'. 'Such other notes', wrote Beyer, 'on the Ilokos as he may have possessed were taken away with him, and no copy left in the Philippines' - a fact which made this paper of extreme value.

Christie's extensive notes described the geography and topography of the Ilocano country; early migrations in the area; historical accounts of the Iloko people before the arrival of the Spaniards to the end of the Spanish regime - including their habits and customs, culture, economic, social and political life; their dresses and ornamentation at the time of Spanish conquest, their general progress under Spain as compared with that existing during the first decades of American rule; with some related data on the history of Ilokano literature. The latter part dealt mainly with developments during the American era: Iloko emigration to neighbouring regions in Luzon, the founding of the Filipino Independent Church by an Ilocano native, C. Aglipay, and Iloko social customs as actually observed by Christie in Ilocos Norte. His accounts of mourning, betrothal, and marriage customs were seen by Beyer as 'especially full and interesting'. According to him, 'the historical data are of value, the most noteworthy being the original account of the history of the "Candon Republic", given to Christie by the president of this curious and ephemeral organization, Don Fernando Guirnalva. This so-called Iloko revolutionary republic was organized in Candon, Ilocos Norte in 1898 against the Spaniards, shortly before the arrival of the Americans into the islands.'

Two important manuscripts by T. de los Reyes are included. One, Historia de Ilokos, was copied by Beyer from a very rare second edition.


7a H.O. Beyer, 'Preface to Volume 2'.
printed in 1890 by 'La Opinion' in book form. The first edition was published in 1888 in a periodical which was no longer obtainable. Its first volume, here copied in the original Spanish, dealt with Iloko ethnography, paleography, philology, social traditions, law, mythology, and ancient customs when the Spaniards arrived. The second volume which is not compiled in the Set was said to contain the history proper. The second work was 'Folklore Ilocano' taken from the first volume of his *El Folklore Filipino*, published 1889 in Manila. Its original Spanish text was regarded by Beyer as 'exceedingly rare', with only three copies being known to him in Manila. A little less than half the Spanish original was translated by various students of the Department of Anthropology in 1920 and was entitled 'Iloko Folklore'. Both Spanish and English versions were compiled here. It contained considerable notes on Iloko folklore, mythology and ancient religion, with descriptions of their folk beliefs, festivities, social customs and their origin.

The rest of the non-student materials are all unpublished: a brief 1911 report by E. Christie regarding the progress of his ethnographical study among the Ilocanos; census reports from Ilocos Norte, Ilocos Sur (1913) and La Union (1919) written by two Provincial governors and a Census inspector; and an interesting paper, 'A Grammar of the Iloko Language' written 1918 by F.C. Bartter who spent many years in missionary work in the Iloko region. The grammar consists of fifty-four lessons and exercises in Iloko grammar, vocabulary, orthography, accent and pronunciation, while the census reports were written in Spanish and accompanied in this Set by some abstracts from the reports, which were translated into English. They provided important data on population, customs, and traditional beliefs of the people, their dialects, industries, social and economic life, the resources of the area and the general conditions existing in the Ilocos region during those years.

Copied by Beyer from the private collection of O. Scheerer.
Of the 286 student papers, sixteen could be considered literary in nature. The Set had two original Iloko versions in verse of *Biag ni Lam-ang*, an Ilocano epic which was accompanied by English translations done by the students entitled 'The Life of Lam-ang'. The two Iloko versions were that of G. Blanco, which was first recorded in Bangar, La Union about 1889 for the use of I. de los Reyes and translated in 1916, and another recorded in about 1906 by C. Medina, which was translated in 1919-1920 by C. Valdez. The former work was considered by Beyer to be the first known Iloko version. Another student, R. Pagaduan wrote an English prose version in 1929. The *Biag ni Lam-ang* is believed to be among the oldest (some people consider it the oldest) collection of Filipino poems in existence whose authorship has not yet been established. It was considered by many, including Beyer, to be pre-Spanish in date, and is generally agreed... 'that the poem existed in oral form before the Spaniards came to the Islands, and that it was handed down orally from generation to generation till, sometime in the seventeenth century, it was committed to writing by certain writers who infused some Christian element into the story.' According to Beyer, it contained valuable data on early Iloko social customs, beliefs and general economic life... as well as an especially interesting description of the warfare between the ancient Ilokos and the tattooed Igorots. It is about the only work in the vernacular which gives any first hand information about how the ancient northern people lived.

Among the other literary papers, of note were: the English translation of an Iloko metrical tale (*awit*) 'The King with the Golden Beard'; Iloko-English versions of 'Ti Guibos Ti Lubong' (The End of the World), a popular

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9 Translated by A. Gerardo, M. Vega, A. Nicolas and M. Mencias.
Iloko drama said to have been prevalent even far back to the beginning of the Spanish era in the Philippines; an English synopsis of the Iloko novel *Uray Narigat No Paguimbaan* (*One's Welfare knows No Difficulties*), a work which, according to Christie in 1914, throws more light on the daily life of the Ilocano people than anything that has been written in the last 300 years.\(^{13}\)

Three papers listed more than one-hundred Iloko proverbs and riddles, half of which were translated in English; eight other works recorded more than fifty Iloko folksongs, native texts and poetry, largely translated into English. These included working songs, lullabies which often create spirit of reverence and obedience in the hearts of children, orphan songs, serenades, wedding songs, fiesta songs, love songs (*badeng*), poems of love and patriotism, brief religious stories, conversational texts, mournful death chants (*dungaw*); several *dallots* sung during rice harvests, marriage proposals and social feasts. According to an Ilocano writer, the *dallot* is believed to be one of the most primitive Iloko songs and most possibly contains the genesis of the Iloko drama.\(^{13}\)

Five students wrote general ethnographic accounts of the Iloko people and four others gave brief linguistic studies on Iloko.

Some 234 papers written by students 1915 to 1931, recorded many and varied Ilocano native folklore, traditional beliefs, and practices of their ancestors and still in vogue among the Ilocanos of Abra, Pangasinan, Zambales, Nueva Ecija, Tarlak, Cagayan, Isabela, Ilocos Sur and Ilocos Norte. Of these accounts, one-third pertained to folklore and there were some 350 folktales described. In the Ilokos region and in most places in the Philippines where the Christian tribes dwell, many natural phenomena are associated with folklore. Iloko folklore described strange myths surrounding mountains, lakes, rivers, cliffs, birds, trees and animals; others related the legendary origin of Iloko towns and *barrios*.


\(^{13a}\) E.B. Christie, *Notes on Iloko Ethnography and History*, p. 119.
Most commonly narrated, for example, concerned the legend of Nang-guyudan lake in Ilokos Norte, said to have been a beautiful small town; and the famous mysterious, man-like statue of a big, black cliff called 'Lacay-Lacay' which is located near Claveria, Cagayan on the northern coast of Luzon. Ancient legends tell of its supernatural powers which caused travellers and sailing ships in the early days to perform ceremonial offerings to avoid danger while sailing past the site. This belief is common both among the Ibanags and Ilocanos. Less popular, but unique, was the legend told about 'Ang-ñgalo', reputed to be the greatest man in the world and the supergiant helper of God in creating the universe, and whose huge footprints were said to be preserved along the Abra River and in certain areas in Ilocos Sur and Cagayan Valley.

The folklore stories likewise included fables; numerous tales of fantasy, mortals performing magical feats, mysterious kingdoms, beasts, birds, trees and objects with magical powers; ghost stories, some myths on the creation of the earth, sun, stars and other heavenly phenomena; and a few stories of miraculous images of patron saints. Accounts spiced with humour and moral lessons, exalting the virtues of humility, charity, kindness were fairly widespread in the Iloko Set.

The remaining two-thirds of the 234 papers were concerned with the many different ancient Iloko customs, beliefs, and traditions which governed all aspects of their lives, gradually losing ground but were still observed by the students especially in the barrios and villages. The students recorded popular stories of ancestral spirits interceding in their everyday affairs, of powerful and malignant supernatural beings which appear in human, gigantic or animal forms dwelling everywhere, and all these were feared and revered for they were believed to cause accidents, various kinds of sickness, mysterious deaths, and other human distresses, once angered or provoked. The latter included the Iloko fairy (catataoon); mischievous land nymph (caibaan); sea nymph (sirena); guardian spirit of
rice granaries (*ogao*); ghostly apparitions of dead family members (*al-alia*); bad spirits which caused children's diseases (*mangmangkit*); frightful priest-like demons in the forest (*sinan-padi*); rolling fire-like spirits which mislead travellers (*santelmo*) and a host of other spectres. The existence of flying cannibals called *asuang* which were the nightmare of most Christian tribal groups seemed to be unknown among the Ilocanos.

To gain the goodwill of these ominous creatures and ancestral souls, to placate their punishment and displeasure during calamities, for recovery to good health, for productive harvests, and for success in many of their ventures, the Ilocanos perform various propitiating ceremonies and occasionally, religious processions. These various ceremonies were usually accompanied by singing, dancing, feasting, and food sacrifices conducted in the secluded chambers of the house, in the fields, forests, near the sea or river, and in their other habitats, and performed by a native officiating priest or medicineman called *bagnen* or *mamarhang*. These were done before and after the planting and harvesting seasons; before, during, and after the construction or repair of irrigation ditches; in constructing a house and before occupying a newly built home; in clearing forests; when putting up a new fishing net, raft or boat; before fishing and any economic or business enterprise; during droughts, epidemics, locust infestation, poisoning, insanity, and most particularly during sickness. The two most widely practised rituals noted among the students' accounts were the *atang* and the *paniang* or *pantang*, called variously by other names, performed in different ways and for different purposes. Generally, the former involve the offering of choice food from time to time, to bring good luck in certain ventures, and bounteous blessings upon the health and investments of the family. The *paniang* on one hand, was a healing rite designed to appease the evil spirit believed to have lodged itself inside the body of a sick or insane person, to
drive it away, and to win back the healing spirit.

The Iloko Set contains ancient beliefs and unique ceremonials regarding the spirit, many of which were known only among the Ilocano tribe. For instance, there were certain rituals done when the spirit of a dead person enters the body of a living person or when an Ilocano temporarily drops his spirit during sudden surprise, terrible fright and after journeying to distant places. In addition, there were some accounts of mysterious procedures for locating lost objects and properties, for determining the guilty party, in divining whether a sick person will recover from sickness or die eventually, and others involving primitive medicinal practices still common among country folks.

The singing and wailing of birds, the behaviour and certain sounds of animals or insects, and the observation of natural phenomena like flowers, trees, volcanoes, stones, rainbows, comets, thunder, lightning, earthquakes, floods, tornadoes, the formation of earthmounds, springs, fountains, warping of rocks, landslides and many others are harbingers of numerous ill and good events. The sun and the moon are still venerated as possessing divine powers in remote barrios. The more prominent folk beliefs pervaded the occurrence of pregnancy, birth, betrothal, marriage and death. There were beliefs and practices during fishing, agricultural activities like planting and harvesting, house construction, and when embarking on voyages; others involved dreams and visions, business and commercial endeavour, their social relations and religion. Auguries were widespread and countless omens were connected with many calamities as war, famine, epidemic, drownings, pestilence; with accidents, sickness or death; with prosperity, happiness and good fortune; or with poverty, misery, and bad luck. The students wrote about magical charms of various forms and sizes, like certain stones taken from animals, insects and serpents, some plants, flowers, herbs, roots, corals believed to repel diseases, wounds, lightning, conflagration, and any danger, bring invisibility and great physical power to the
possessor, bring luck and wealth, and even the power to see and drive away all kinds of devils and malignant spirits.

More than a thousand of these ceremonials, traditional beliefs, and customs have been noted throughout the eleven-volume Iloko Set. A student, in recording what he termed as tribal idiosyncrasies described their value, thus:

The recording of these anthropological data is of utmost importance and interest particularly to us the Ilocanos and to all Filipinos and to our posterity in general, in view of the fact that these customs and superstitions are being slowly but surely eradicated by modern civilization and are being gradually supplanted by new and foreign ones, as a natural consequence of popular education.14

Included among the 234 student papers were extensive accounts on the existing material conditions of their time, their dwellings, clothing and ornamentation, native games and amusements of which fifty have been described, their dances and primitive musical instruments still in use, the characteristics and morality of the Ilocanos, their social classes, the relations between the Ilokano and the Pangasinan settlers, and the typical social life during the American era. There were many accounts of Iloko communal cooperation and festivities during the celebration of engagements, weddings, birthdays, baptisms, burials as well as during the plowing, planting and harvesting seasons; during the construction and inauguration of homes; during calamities such as locust infestations; during town fiestas, Christmas, New Year, Lent and other popular Christian holidays.

Of the social papers, eighteen were devoted solely to marriage customs among the Iloko people of Ilokos Norte, Ilokos Sur, La Union, Abra and Tarlac; while four papers recorded native burial and mourning practices common in La Union, the two Ilocos provinces, and Pangasinan. These accounts were written 1915 to 1928. One paper, written in 1924, dealt on a vanishing social tradition which had existed a long time ago among the Ilocanos, known locally as arin.15 It was originally

14 G. Alisangco, 'Some Iloko Customs, Beliefs, and Common Sayings', 1924.
an informal gathering of country people at night-time in a certain site for amusements and craft activities, and was noted as still practiced in Ilokos Norte with some modifications. Of note too were three student papers all dated 1929, which listed Iloko kinship terms covering blood, marriage, and adoption relationships, with equivalent English meanings;\(^1\) and another which listed fifty medicinal plants used by the old folks of a Pangasinan town as remedies for certain diseases.\(^2\)

In the field of economics, twenty-seven accounts could be found in the present set. The students surveyed existing economic conditions in the Iloko provinces as they had seen during the first decades under the Americans — the typical occupations engaged in by the people, their chief industries which had flourished even before the Spaniards came, the commercial products for domestic consumption and export to other countries, how the products were processed, manufactured, transported and marketed, and the nature of inter-town and inter-provincial trade. A general observation seemed to be the stagnant economy which had scarcely improved since the early days of Spanish colonization — as the students described the antiquated farm implements and manufacturing devices, operated mainly by man power, which were utilized in the industries.

Customary or unwritten laws which existed in ancient days, probably as far back as the pre-colonial era, have survived in many Philippine regions and among them in the Ilocos country. Thirty of Beyer's students from Ilocos Sur, Ilocos Norte, Tarlak, La Union, Cagayan, and Zambales recorded in 1927 to 1931 many surviving unwritten laws observed in their hometowns in accordance with the practices of their ancestors. Among the 234 papers were descriptions of these unwritten laws handed down from generation to generation, and involving courtship and marriage, the most numerous and most interesting among all traditions in the community, birth and baptism, death and mourning. Plenty of community laws were

\(^1\) V. Ruiz, 'Iloko Relationship Terms', 1929.
J. Singson, 'Iloko Terms in Family Relationship', 1929.
C. de Castro, 'Kinship Terms in Iloko', 1929.

\(^2\) M. Nencias, 'Primitive Medicines Among the Ilokogs of Pangasian', 1916.
discussed regarding property division and inheritance, commonly followed despite the legal provisions of the law and especially due to the relative absence of will among the common people, the relationships between the landlord and tenant or between master and servant, regarding religion, and Christian festivals like town fiestas, Christmas, All Saints' Day, and the Holy Week. A student paper, dated 1927, related an original Iloko traditional celebration handed down centuries ago by their ancestors and still practised in their hometown. This was the yearly festival in Ilokos Sur honoring Bioag and Malana, two legendary giant rulers of the ancient Ilocanos whose foot prints were believed to be found near a natural stone bridge which the giants have built in the town of Santa Maria, long ago.18 The Set had accounts on customs involving family and neighborhood relations, social manners and civilities; while some dealt with debts, loans and their redemption, the adoption of children, the construction of houses, or those observed during planting and harvesting time of the year. In addition, communal laws were also evident in the system of cooperative labor and mutual help exercised by the rural populace in such public undertakings as construction of public roads, bridges, irrigation ditches, canals, and wells; during calamities such as floods, epidemics, when fire breaks out, when swarms of locust threaten the area and outlying districts, and when robbers or marauders enter the villages. Some Iloko students mentioned certain customs involving the right of way in the fields; the uses of owners' nets in catching wild animals, fishes or locusts; uses of fishing nets and sailboats; caring for other people's animals; renting of cultivated lands and consequent division of products; cultivation of land by hired labor; and the ownership of animals and orchards.

Regarding the Iloko people which comprised this Set, Beyer said:

Linguistically, the Ilokos are fairly well united, though there are local dialectic peculiarities in various areas -

particularly as between Ilocos Norte and Ilocos Sur.

On the social side the Ilokos exhibit the close form of family organization distinctive of Mongolian peoples - though they have rather more cooperative instinct (covering village community migrations, etc.) than is to be found in other Philippine groups. Much evidence of this will be seen in the Iloko customary law papers contained in the present series.

Racially, according to Beyer,

the tall dark Indonesian types of the Cagayan Valley... have greatly affected the Ilocos Norte population. In general, the people of Ilokos Sur are considerably shorter... and lighter skinned than those to the North. Nevertheless, running throughout the area - particularly among the masses of the peasantry - there is a certain distinctive racial type which may be termed "typically Iloko". Recent researches along various lines - in archaeology, racial and cultural history, and in ancient written records - all seem to indicate that this type was derived from a direct (though probably accidental) migration from Indo-China into Luzon. The original habitat seems to have been the region around the Gulf of Tongkin and the Island of Hainan - the same region, as is indicated elsewhere, from which we now believe the rice-terrace culture to have reached Luzon. In fact, the original Iloko migrations, if we may term them so, may have been late waves of the terrace culture itself - though there is good evidence that the culture-strata represented by the terrace-culture of Ifugao and Rizal Province types has an earlier origin.

Beyer was also of the opinion that the present day Tinggians of central and western Abra undoubtedly represent a pre-Spanish Iloko culture-group.

He classified three culture stages represented by the living Tinggian: an original pagan-Indonesian culture in the east; roughly the same racial group in the central part, but with an Ilokoized culture dating from pre-Spanish times; and in the west, a group who have been absorbed by the Christian Ilokos of the coast and have lost all their Tinggian characteristics. As between the first and third groups, Beyer noted the vast difference in many essential culture elements: one representing a typical Indonesian group, and the other a terrace-culture of Asiatic origin.

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18a On this, see page 62.


19a Ibid.
The first and only volume of the Ibanag Set was compiled in 1919, and originally consists of 34 papers. The first eleven papers are found in Beyer's twenty-volume, *Special Folklore Series*, and hence were not included in the present Set. Only their titles are cited.

The present Set contains twenty-three papers dealing mainly with the Ibanag people (or Cagayanes) inhabiting the Cagayan Valley of Luzon, in the provinces of Cagayan and Isabela. These people constituted the dominant tribe of the most northern province of the island of Luzon, Cagayan. Since the closing of the Minor Christian Set, Beyer decided to include the Christian Gaddang, Ivatan, and Isinai groups in the Ibanag Set - thus the present Set included all these Christian groups of the Cagayan Valley except the Iloko.

Beyer wrote of these people:

From the standpoint of ethnography this group is certainly one of the most interesting and unique in the Philippines - though by no means uniform within itself. On the side of language, several groups are easily distinguished by fairly well-marked linguistic peculiarities. On the west, the Itavi or Malaueg group is doubtless allied to the neighboring pagan Kalingas, though today the people who bear these names are all Christian. In the south, the Yogad and Gaddang groups speak related but very distinct dialects of the Ibanag family. Within the main valley itself, the spoken Ibanag is fairly uniform throughout the greater part of Isabela and Cagayan provinces.

Racially, the Ibanags present an interesting condition - being almost wholly of a marked Indonesian B type... the ordinary Malayan - blend types are almost wholly absent; and the Ibanags are therefore the largest, tallest, and darkest-complexioned people in the Philippines.

There is good theoretical evidence for believing the Ibanag basic type to have originally come from south Borneo... they appear to be identical in type, as well as in name, with the Ibanas or Sea Dayaks of southern Borneo who are the largest and darkest of the Borneo peoples.

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1. *Said Series is not available in the Beyer Collection, N.L.A.*
2. C. Ascaño, 'Social Customs and Beliefs Among the Ibanags', 1919.
The Ibanags stand apart from other Philippine peoples in many cultural traits as well as in speech and racial type. Phonetically, the language contains the sound of English 'Z' - which is not found in any other Philippine dialects; and the sounds of 'f' and 'v' which are very rare in Philippine speech. The boat-types used by the Ibanags are also unique in the Philippines - as they built a three-piece canoe sewn together in a manner quite un-Malayan. Historically they were famed as persistent and ferocious fighters who long resisted the Spanish efforts at pacification and christianization; though today... they have become a very peaceful and even indolent people.

This Set contains the smallest number of compiled materials throughout Beyer's eighteen-volume Ethnographic Series. Eighteen of the total twenty-three papers were written by Ibanag students under Beyer during the pre-war period 1916 to 1930. Beyer attributed these scarce sources as due to the fact that few university students come to Manila from the Ibanag region.

Of the eighteen student papers, eleven related to Ibanag customs and ways of life, their dresses, ornamentation, dwellings and amusements; their folk beliefs concerning magical emblems, certain supernatural beings, animals, birds, natural phenomena and so forth. Included were accounts of their beliefs and ceremonies during birth, marriage and death; before embarking on journeys, when planting or harvesting, in time of illness or epidemics and when constructing a new home. Such rituals and feastings were designed to honor departed ancestors for their protection and guidance in their everyday lives. Among these eleven, one paper noted the birth, marriage and death customs of the Negritos residing in the mountains of Cagayan province; another contrasted Ibanag and Iloko social life. Two others described the

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5 J. Tomas, 'Social Activities of a Local or Special Type among the People in and around Alcala, Cagayan Province', 1930.

6 F. Ponce, 'Contrast between the Ibanag and Iloko Social life in Cagayan Province', 1924.
characteristics, life and customs of a particular group inhabiting the hilly town of Alcala in Cagayan, and the people inhabiting the relatively unknown, small volcanic island of Dalupiri northwest of Cagayan province. One paper dated 1916 described tobacco culture in Cagayan valley which was first developed during the Spanish period.

The remaining seven student papers described some thirty-six Ibanag folktales, fables, magic stories and legends derived from oral tradition. The most interesting legend centered around two famous Ibanag mythical heroes, Biwag and Malana, believed to have lived in Cagayan before the coming of the Spaniards and whose superhuman feats were known even during the Spanish era. It was said that the first chief who established the Ibanag tribe was 'Biwag', 'Binag' or 'Banag' so that from him the people and language of the Cagayan Province are named Ibanag.

Besides the student works, five other papers were compiled in this single Set. Of these, two were unpublished. From the files of the Division of Ethnology in Manila, Beyer obtained copies of a short manuscript, dated 1908, accompanying two models of Cagayan ships then displayed in the Philippine Museum; and of E. Christie's collection of reports pertaining to the geographic names in the Province of Cagayan. The Spanish text of the former was originally written by A. Alvarado at Aparri, Cagayan, and was translated into English by M. Miller, Chief of the Division. Both versions appeared in a paper here entitled, 'Notes on the Native Sailing Ships used in the Province of Cagayan'. The latter manuscript consisted of unpublished reports

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7 F. Ponce, 'The Inhabitants of the Barrio of Ankiray: Their Customs, Beliefs and Superstitions', 1923.
8 E. Enrile, 'The People of Dalupiri Islands: Their Customs, Practices, and Folktales', 1924.
9 C. Ascaño, 'Social Customs and Beliefs Among the Ibanags', 1919.
of municipal presidents from various municipalities or towns in Cagayan Province, largely written in Spanish, providing data on the etymology of geographic names in their areas. These were submitted to E. Christie during the years 1908 and 1909.

The three published works were two census reports of 1903 for the Provinces of Isabela and Cagayan, and an extract from an old volume of *Voyages*, printed 1729 in London and which was noted by Beyer as being in the possession of Major-General F. McCoy. The extract, titled 'An Account of Dampier's visit to the Batanes and Babuyan Islands' briefly recounted Dampier's encounter with the friendly inhabitants dwelling in some isles within the Philippine Archipelago during his search for wrecked treasures.

Both census reports were written in Spanish and constituted the most extensive manuscripts found in the entire Sarabali Set. They furnished valuable materials concerning general conditions in Isabela and Cagayan at the turn of the century: geography, products and natural resources, population and racial types, language and dialects, customs and beliefs of the inhabitants, both Christians and pagans such as the Kalingas, Apayaos and Negritos, the economic, political and social conditions of the people; conditions of public works and transportation, education, public order and administration of justice, religion, health and material progress. A fourth printed work *Diccionario Español-Ibanag* was compiled in one Ibanag volume and was prepared by two Dominican Fathers of the Province of Cagayan.

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10 F. Dichoso (Province of Isabela) and G. Gonzaga (Province of Cagayan).

11 This was printed 1867 in Manila upon the authority of the Dominican Provincial Fr P. Payo. The said volume has been incorporated in Beyer's library holdings in the Australian International and Ethnic Division, N.L.A.
As far as Beyer was concerned, the relative poverty of the collection of papers from the Ibanag area was to some extent compensated by their interesting character, and efforts should be made to collect more materials from this unusual Philippine group.\(^{12}\) He noted the need for more materials on the interesting Yogad and Itavi dialect groups which were then practically untouched; as well as the need for comparative study of the Ibanag group with the Itneg-Kalinga peoples.\(^{13}\)

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The Isinai-Ilongot and Minor Christian Set contains three very mixed volumes of numerous subgroups which were compiled from 1913 to 1919. Beyer explained how this mixed set came about:

When this set was begun in 1913, under the title "History and Ethnography of the Isinai-Ilongot Peoples", it was intended to include all data relating to the area lying between the Magat River and the main stream of the Cagayan - originally inhabited almost exclusively by the Isinai and Ilongot peoples. It soon became apparent, however, that the pagan Ilongots properly belonged partly with the Indonesian Itneg-Kalinga peoples and partly with the Negrito-Aeta groups. Likewise, the Christian Isinais (or rather, the data relating to them) are constantly associated with the Christian Gaddang group of the Magat Valley. It was therefore decided in 1918, to transfer the Ilongots to the Itneg-Kalinga Set, and to include in the present set all the minor Christian groups of the Philippines. (Those recognized at that time as separate groups were the Isinai, Gaddang, Ivatan, Dumagat, and Kuyonon).  

Thus, when the third volume was begun in 1919, the name was changed to Minor Christian Set and included all the available materials from the above named five groups.

The new arrangement, however, had its shortcomings, for as Beyer continued:

The new plan has proved but little more satisfactory than the old. Gaddang and Ivatan material is constantly associated with Ibanag, and really should be considered in connection with that group (which already includes the minor Yogad and Itavi groups); while the Isinais could either be included with the above groups (geographically), or with the Pangasinans to whom they are even more closely related (ethnologically, at least). Likewise, the Dumagats really belong with Negrito-Aeta groups of eastern and southern Luzon; while the Kuyonon are a part and parcel of the Mindoro-Palawan groups, though they have been notably influenced by the Panayan Bisayas.  

After the third volume was closed in 1922, Beyer decided to eliminate the Set altogether, and since 1923, had distributed the small tribes formerly comprising the Isinai-Ilongot and Minor Christian Set in the various groups he had mentioned above.

The three volumes of forty-six papers presented a good variety of

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1 H.O. Beyer, 'Terminal Notes to the Set', General Index, Volume 1, p. 107.

1a Ibid.
materials ranging from printed articles, extracts, government reports, census reports to original records from the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes and Division of Ethnology, student works and rare documents. At least two-thirds of the entire contents were unpublished. Fifteen papers contained accounts written in the Spanish language, three in Isinai, three in Gaddang, two in Cuyoten, and one in Bikol and of these materials there were six papers with English translations.

Beyer said of the pagan Ilongot people:

The Ilongots of Nueva Vizcaya are quite uniform as to culture, but in physical type and in dialect they maybe divided into three distinct groups: the Egofguts, in the eastern part of the area; the Italons, in the central part; and the Ibilacs or Abakas in the western part. The Italon group is the purest culture type. Physically they are of the Indonesian type, with some Negrito, Ainu, and short Mongol mixture which is especially apparent among the women. The men wear long hair, and a characteristic hair-net over the forehead. They have a unique house-type, ornamentation, spear, shield, etc., and they use the bow and arrow. They practice dry agriculture only, and are entirely ignorant of weaving. Their clothing was formerly made of tapa, but now largely of commercial cloth obtained by trade with the Christian Filipinos. Their dialect is probably related to the Ibanag language group, but is too little known to say definitely.

The most numerous in the Set were the accounts in Spanish by three Dominican missionaries engaged in the conversion of Northern Luzon pagans like the Ilongot, Ifugao and the Igorot tribes, which they wrote during the years 1885 to 1894 for their mission magazine, the El Correo Sino-Annamita. The most interesting was Fr Buenaventura Campa's monograph on the Ilongot which was written in Diadi, Nueva Vizcaya in 1891 entitled 'Una Visita a las Rancherias de Ilongotes' and printed same year in that periodical. Fr Campa's sojourn for several years in the Nueva Vizcaya

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3 These eleven accounts appeared in the Ifugao and Igorot Series because they also contained information related to these two pagan groups, and in order to avoid repetition only their titles are found in the present Set.

4 This paper appeared as Ifugao paper fifty-nine in the Eleventh Volume of the Ifugao Series and hence, was not reproduced here.
Spanish missions had enabled him to describe the modes of living, geographical distribution, habitat, physical characteristics, and traditions not only of the Ilongots, but also of the Ifugaos, Negritos, Gaddangs and the Ibanags.

Data on the head-hunting Ilongot people were also provided by Beyer's original unpublished manuscript containing the physical measurements he recorded on four Ilongots in 1910; brief reports to the Secretary of Interior during the years 1906 to 1907 by the Provincial Governors of the provinces of Isabela and Nueva Vizcaya, Blas Villamor and William Bryant; and the extracts from David Barrows' 'Population' which was included in the Census of the Philippine Islands in 1903.

Of the Christian Isinais which constituted another group in this Series, Beyer wrote:

Once quite numerous and occupying a considerable area, the Isinais are now almost exclusively confined to the three towns of Aritao, Bambang, and Dupax, in the province of Nueva Vizcaya.... They practise irrigated agriculture, and have much of general Spanish-Filipino culture. They grow considerable cotton and do excellent weaving. Their designs are unique and characteristic. Social customs are also distinctive, and such of their former culture as survives shows some relationship to both the Ifugaos and the Ibaloi group of the Igorots. The language though distinct is related to Pangasinan and Iloko.

Among the forty-six papers, six related solely to the Isinais, the most important of which was the unpublished 237-paged manuscript handwritten in the Isinai dialect and believed to be one of the only two existing copies in the Philippines. The rare original work, Pannomnom an Me ristianan, prepared by Fr Domingo Caro (O.P.) in Dupax, Nueva Vizcaya, on November 14, 1775 was noted by Beyer as having disappeared or possibly been preserved in the Archives of the Dominican Convent in Manila. 'The only known copy',

5 H.O. Beyer, 'Measurements of Three Ilongot Men and One Woman, of Dupax, Nueva Vizcaya', July 8, 1910. Roberto Laperal assisted Beyer in taking the measurements.

stated Beyer in a handwritten note to the manuscript dated 1913,

besides the present one, is that belonging to Tomas Dallot of Dupax, Nueva Vizcaya—which was copied (probably direct from the original) in 1854 by two Isinais.... On the occasion of my visit to Dupax in August, 1910, I found that this copy had been appropriated by E. de 'It', the Belgian missionary there. Having aided Dallot to recover the manuscript he agreed to make me a copy of it with his own hand—and the present manuscript is the result.

The Isinai document which Dallot copied in September 1910 had occupied the entire second volume. There were copies of two works of Otto Scheerer: an Isinai folklore he had collected in 1913, 'The Isinai Story of the Monkey and the Turtle', which was written in Isinai language with his English translations, and a manuscript dated 1913 which he later submitted to the University of the Philippines as a Master's thesis, titled On the Particles of Relation of the Isinai Language. According to Scheerer, he had chosen the Isinai language on two accounts which were: first, because the language has not yet been made known to philologists, by any grammar or vocabulary and thus affords entirely new material; and, second, because its highly developed system of particles of relation makes it specially apt to throw an instructive light upon that of other languages. Beyer, who was acquainted with Scheerer's previous publications dealing with various Philippine dialects, commented in 1915:

Mr Scheerer exhibits a greater knowledge of the psychological structure of Philippine languages, and more painstaking exactness in his work than any other writer on Philippine linguistics. The [thesis] does not only deal exclusively with the Isinai dialect, but only uses that dialect as a basis for giving us an insight into the structure and psychology of Philippine languages in general.  

Beyer's comments on Scheerer's monograph and on his linguistic work appeared in an article found in the last volume. Two other unpublished articles resulted from Beyer's trip to Nueva Vizcaya in 1910 and both were in the present Series: 'Measurements of Seventy-two Pure Isinai Men,

7 According to a Filipino writer E. Arsenio Manuel, Otto Scheerer's dissertation got published in 1918, with the title The Particles of Relation of the Isinai Language.

Women, and Children, at Bambang, Dupax, and Aritao, Nueva Vizcaya' and 'Miscellaneous Notes on the Culture of the Isinai People'. The latter had some data on the Isinai rice culture and particularly the native terms related to agriculture, names of their malevolent spirits, and municipal records during the years 1902 to 1910 on the number of births, deaths, and marriages in the town of Dupax.

There were several unpublished sources relating to the other minor Christian ethnographic groups, such as the Dumagat, Gaddang, Ivatan and Kuyonen people. The Christian Dumagats dwell in Kalawat Islands and other small islands off the north coast of Camarines in the island of Luzon. 'Physical type is essentially Indonesian but nearly all individuals show marked Papuan characteristics.... The Dumagats make a very unique boat which is constructed of planks sewn together, and is decorated with black stripes. There is considerable evidence that these people are Melanesians or Micronesians of comparatively recent arrival in the Philippines; but they maybe related to the negroid Dumaga group of eastern Luzon', wrote Beyer in 1917. He also mentioned that they practise tattooing, teethfiling, subsist on little agriculture and live chiefly on fish and other sea products. Their clothing is largely made of tapa (cloth made of beaten bark) which is the characteristic of the Indonesian peoples of purer culture everywhere. Four unpublished papers which dealt on the geographical distribution, language, customs, and general culture of the Dumagats were John Garvan's 'The Dumagat and Baluga Peoples of Alabat Island, Eastern Luzon' based on his personal exploration trips in 1914 in the island of Alabat, province of Tayabas; and two works written by Celedonio Salvador who is the supervising teacher assigned in the province of Ambos Camarines. According to Garvan, the sea-faring Dumagat people used to call themselves 'Lakandola' (meaning wanderer or

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8* Ibid.
rover) and were called 'maritimos' (maritime) by the early missionaries and other Spaniards.

In 1912, the Director of Education F. Crone suggested to Beyer, then ethnologist of the Bureau of Science, to prepare adequate instructions and an outline of work which would guide C. Salvador in his ethnological survey among the Dumagats in Ambos Camarines. One paper compiled here contained the Beyer-Crone-Salvador correspondence (1912-1913), Beyer's outline of work and directions for securing information, as well as the letters and memoranda submitted by Salvador to the Bureau of Education, which had a bearing upon the studies he had conducted among the Dumagats based on Beyer's suggestions. The paper also contained Salvador's final report to the Bureau, which was written in 1913 and titled as 'Final Report on the Investigation of the Dumagat People Based on the Suggestive Outline Prepared by Beyer.' The sixty-paged report embodied extensive accounts necessary in determining the biological origin and proper classification of the Dumagats, which included records of their geography, history, characteristics, physical types, and measurements, distribution, language, religion, folklore, beliefs, and general culture. In a note of 1919 which was included in the first paper, Beyer said: 'Mr Salvador... came to Manila and received personal instruction from myself before beginning the work.... As he is a native Bikol he was able to converse with the Dumagats from the beginning and I believe his investigation to have been very painstakingly and intelligently made.' The final report also contained a collection of one native folktale and one song in the Bicolano dialect, which Salvador had obtained orally from four Dumagat natives and were later translated into English by Nicanor Seva. The native texts were copied in a second paper, together with the translations which were done in 1917. Language and folklore were the subjects of seven original papers covering the Christian Cuyonen or Kuyonen people inhabiting Cuyo Islands in Palawan. Of note among them were: Irvin Cobb's 'Grammatical Sketch of the

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8b C. Salvador, 'Ethnography of the Kalawat Island and vicinity'. (A Systematic Study Based on an Outline prepared by H.O. Beyer).
8c 'Dumagat Folklore', collected in 1913 by C. Salvador.
Kuyonen Dialect' and 'A Partial Vocabulary of the Kuyonen Dialect' by Cobb and A.V.H. Hartendorp, both compiled in 1917 from Cuyo Islands; a collection of thirty-six Palawan High School student papers pertaining to Kuyonon folklore, compiled here by Hartendorp in a single paper dated in the same year; and three papers containing some thirteen Kuyonen folktales which were recorded by two of Beyer's university students in 1919 to 1920. Seven of the tales were written in the Kuyonen dialect and have been translated into English.

The three-volume Set had student accounts of the Gaddang people, noted by Beyer as predominantly of the Indonesian type with some mixture of Papuan and short Mongol. According to him, the Christianized Gaddangs live in the Magat river valley in Nueva Vizcaya and Isabela, and the upper Cagayan river in Isabela; the pagan group is found in the southeastern part of the subprovince of Kalinga and along the northwestern border of Isabela. The Christian group has adopted the general Spanish-Filipino culture of the lowlands, but the pagan group has many unique characteristics. Many of them live in tree houses, built from twenty to sixty feet above the ground, but there are other house types built directly on the ground. The pagans plant chiefly dry crops, but the Christians practice irrigated agriculture. The language is closely related to Ibanag and is divided into a number of dialects.

Six University students from the Christianized Gaddang tribe wrote on their ancestors, and their old customs in courtship and marriage still in existence. Of the six papers written between 1917 and 1921, three accounts were in the Gaddang dialect with some English translations. An interesting paper by D. Baluyan, 'Gaddang Stories' briefly described two legendary heroes of the province of Cagayan, 'Biwag and Malana' who are also well-known among the Ibanags.

One paper in the last volume consisted of translated extract from a manuscript which was originally written in Spanish by Jose Peñaranda, 'Memoria Sobre Las Islas Batanes' (1830), such accounts being the results of his visit to the Batanes Islands in 1830 upon the orders of

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the Spanish Captain-General Don Pascual Enrile. The extract contained historical-ethnographical information concerning a small group of Ivatan people occupying mostly the small islands in the Batanes - before and after Spanish colonization.

The original typewritten manuscript was said by Beyer as being in the hands of Dr Warren D. Smith of Bureau of Science, and the work 'An Account of the Batanes Island' as it appeared in the Series was copied from a translation made in 1922 for Dr Roy E. Dickerson.

The rest of the materials were mainly descriptive accounts of Nueva Vizcaya province, its important municipalities and districts, and the numerous tribal inhabitants occupying the territory, including not only the Isinaiis, Ilongots and Gaddangs, but other groups like the Negritos, Tinguians, Ifugaos and Igorots. There was a copy, for instance, of a folio in Spanish, written originally by Agustin de la Cavada Mendez de Vigo and Carlos Pavia in Catalan paper and first printed 1872 in Manila, entitled 'Memoria Descriptiva De la Provincia de Nueva Vizcaya'. It provided data on the geography, natural resources, population, inhabitants and general conditions existing in Nueva Vizcaya during the latter part of Spanish rule. The Set had also a collection of five letters written in Spanish by the municipal presidents of the Province of Nueva Vizcaya, with important reports on tribal population and dialects spoken in various towns and which were translated by the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes in 1902; and two brief undated, anonymous memoranda in Spanish, regarding two comandancias created in Northern Luzon during the last century under Spain. Beyer obtained the latter from the Records of the Division of Ethnology in Manila.

Other works were: a rare, undated document whose authorship is unknown, written in the Isinai dialect and copied exactly from the fragments of an original manuscript preserved in the Archives of the town of Bambang, entitled by Beyer in the Set as 'A History of the
Town of Bambang, Nueva Vizcaya; census report in 1903 relating to the Non-Christian Tribes of Nueva Ecija; and Dean C. Worcester's 'The Non-Christian Tribes of Northern Luzon' which was published in 1906 in the *Philippine Journal of Science*.10

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Worcester's account is identical to Ifugao paper eight in the Seventh Volume of the Ifugao Series and only the title was given in the First Volume of the present set.

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CHAPTER B10
SET 10: MORO

The Series on 'Moro Ethnography', a comprehensive collection of original sources relating to the Muslim peoples of the Philippine Islands, was begun in 1918 and the last volume completed in 1924. The scope of the seven-volume Series was described by Beyer:

For the purposes of this ethnographical series it seems most convenient to include all of the papers relating to the Mohammedan peoples of the Philippines in a single set of consecutive volumes, while the Pagan Peoples of Mindanao are included in a single other set. These two sets therefore cover all of the peoples in the Department of Mindanao and Sulu, with the exception of the Christian Bisayans of Misamis and Surigao who are included in the Bisaya set, and a few papers relating to the Namánuas and Atás which will be found in the Negrito Set. This combination has been rendered almost necessary by the character of our sources of information, especially by the confused terminology and lack of distinction between separate ethnographic groups.1

Regarding the use of the term 'Moro', he noted in another article:

The use of the word Moro as a convenient designation for all the Mohammedan peoples of the Philippines is derived, of course, from the Spanish - the original name Moro simply meaning 'Moors', or a native of Morocco. Unfortunately, however, just as all Mohammedans became 'Moors' to the Spaniards, so in modern times many Filipinos and even Americans have applied the name Moro to all the non-Christian people of Mindanao and Sulu regardless of whether they are really Mohammedans or not - in the same way as all the pagan mountain peoples in northern Luzon have become 'Igorots', and many of those in the Visayan Islands and elsewhere 'Bukidnons'; and even the native words Aeta, Ita, Ati, Baluga, etc., which originally meant 'Negritos' have come to be applied to many pagan hill-people of an entirely un-Negrito type. The scientist, of course, regrets this misnaming, but it must be taken into practical consideration when dealing with quantities of papers from miscellaneous authors, localities, and dates such as those contained in my manuscript series. A synonymy of Philippine names as applied to local groups will be found elsewhere in my papers, but for practical purposes in the present series it is to be understood that the word 'Moro' unless otherwise indicated always refers to a nominally Mohammedan Philippine group.

Peoples included in the Moro Set, however, maybe divided into seven Mohammedan and one mostly pagan group (the Badjao or Bajao) which however are always designated by their own special names. Of the seven Islamic groups, four are numerous people occupying areas of considerable size, while the other three (the Yakan,

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1 H.O. Beyer, 'Preface to Volume 1', June 15, 1918, Moro Set, Volume 1.
Sanggil, and Palawan) are small groups occupying limited areas and having a more or less special history. Of the larger groups, the Sulu Archipelago is occupied almost entirely by the Suluses and the Samals, the former being essentially an inland population and the latter either consisting of a semi-sedimentary sea-roving or a more or less permanent coastal population. The Samals are nearly everywhere subjected politically by the Suluses, except in the southwestern part of the Sulu Archipelago where they enjoy a certain degree of independence. On the mainland of Mindanao, the Maguindanao people form a numerous group occupying the great Cotabato river valley and considerable sections of the Mindanao west coast.

For practical purposes the Moros of Lanao province, the fourth large group, are usually referred to by that name: though, locally, the large inland group living around Lake Lanao and in the neighboring mountains are known as 'Maranaos', while a smaller group on the south coast is called 'Ilanun'. These were doubtless different peoples originally, and still remain distinctly so in Borneo where groups of Malanaos and Ilanuns occupy quite different areas in Sarawak and British North Borneo. It is not known for certain whether those of Borneo or those of Mindanao are the original stock, but the evidence seems to favor the latter; and even in most books dealing with the Borneo peoples, the Malanaos and Ilanuns are believed to have come there from an original Philippine source. It should be noted, however, that the name Malanao appears in the old records of the empire of Majapahit, as far back as the middle of the fourteenth century, apparently referring to the Borneo group.... It should also be noted that a large number of Sulu and Samal Moros occupying the neighboring coast of Borneo regard themselves as subjects of the Sulu Sultanate, so that the total culture-group is considerably more numerous and widespread than [those] who are politically within the Philippines.2

The original nine-volume set contains an extensive collection of one-hundred papers and two-hundred and seventy plates with valuable data relating to all the eight groups mentioned above.3 Two-thirds of the entire series consist of unpublished material.

Noteworthy contributions included three of Majeeb Saleeby's original manuscripts on Moro ethnography and history: 'Moro Magic', 'Establishment of the Mohammedan Church in Sulu and Mindanao' and 'The Moros', all of which were written in 1906. Dr Saleeby was a member of the United States Army Medical Corps who was appointed in charge of Moro Affairs in 1903.

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3 The present set at the N.L.A. consists of seven volumes - the fifth and sixth volumes which are not available were noted by Beyer as containing two-hundred and seventy photographs.
under the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes. He was stationed in the Moro regions, particularly in the island of Jolo where he subsequently devoted his time studying their law, history and religion. His native tongue is Arabic. According to Saleeby, the Spaniards applied the term Moro to the Mohammedan tribes of the southern Philippine Islands and in the application adopted in English... the term has lost its original signification and no longer refers to any particular race, tribe or nation but .... has come mainly to signify Mohammedan and indicates no unity whatsoever except that of religion. The Moros call themselves Islam. By this term, they do not recognize any particular race or tribe of people but refer to the religious belief which unites them all.\(^3a\) The Spaniards invaded the Moro country... but their conquest was only partial and they failed to reduce the Moro power, to change its faith or subvert its government. So, practically speaking, the Moro land of today is what it was three hundred years ago with no significant changes in its size or boundaries.\(^3b\)

The manuscripts contained valuable information on the geography of the land of the Moros, the history and customs of the inhabitants, the introduction of Islam by the Arabian missionaries, with emphasis on the considerable influence of superstitions, divinations, mythology, curative arts and witchcraft in the life of the people. A fourth paper was devoted to a complete record of Saleeby's correspondence and reports relating to the Moros, which he had submitted to the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes in Manila, especially to David Barrows (Chief of the Bureau), while stationed in the island of Jolo as Agent for Moro Affairs and volunteer worker for the Bureau. The records were written from 1902 to 1912 and contained his various notes on Moro life, customs, folklore, and folk beliefs his observations on the political conditions existing in the region, his recommendations to the Insular government, and other related data, based upon his personal investigations in the field.

From the Records of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, Beyer obtained for the Set, a complete collection of the Gunther papers relating to the Sulu Moros (1901-1903); Frank Dunleavy's correspondence and reports relating to the Magindanao Moros and the Pagan peoples of Cotabato Province (1902-1904); a paper with extensive notes on the Yakan Moros in


\(^{3b}\) Ibid., p. 5.
the island of Basilan which was written by an American teacher in 1902, in response to the first ethnological publication of the Bureau; and two miscellaneous papers. Adolf Gunther was detailed in charge of all records pertaining to Moro affairs in Jolo Archipelago soon after the American occupation in 1899, and became a part-time employee of the Bureau under the instructions of David Barrows to gather systematic data and authentic information of whatever nature pertinent to these people. Among those reported in his collected papers: Moro laws adopted in 1255 A.H., laws enforced by the Jolo Sultan in 1318 A.H., the life, manners and government of the Sulu Moros, the Moro calendar and the flag of the Sultan, the Moro celebration of the birthday of Mohammad, their superstitions, burial customs and treatment of the sick, and a copy of a school primer translated in the Moro language. Both the Gunther and Saleeby collection contained reports on conditions in Moroland during the early part of the American regime. The Dunleavy papers, on the other hand, resulted from Dunleavy’s private explorations within the Mindanao region while prospecting for commercial ventures, and recorded many of his personal observations on geography and on the customs of the pagan and Muslim tribes encountered during his travels. According to William Reed of the Bureau, while the papers do not contain much information regarding these tribes, yet there is much geographical information that may prove valuable in the case of future expeditions. One of his papers furnished an eighty-one word Moro-Bilan-Manobo vocabulary.

Among the one hundred Moro papers were unpublished military documents, and the most notable were two extensive monographic studies almost wholly occupying the first volume. The first was written in 1915 by Major Charles Livingston entitled Constabulary Monograph of the Province of Sulu and the second, Constabulary Monograph of the District of Tawi-Tawi prepared

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4 H.O. Beyer, 'Preface to Volume 3', November 25, 1918, Moro Set, Volume 3.
by Deputy-Governor Lieutenant Bruce Stephenson in 1917 about Tawi-Tawi, which is one of the two principal islands in Sulu.

These two papers contained indispensable information on the legendary and authentic history of Sulu and Tawi-Tawi, their location, geography, natural resources, fortifications and points of interest for tourists, political subdivisions and American administration of the region, civil and royal officials, names of foreign residents in the area and included accounts on population, characteristics, dialects, customs and general modes of living of their Moro inhabitants.

There were excerpts from historical accounts on Spanish military operations against the Moros (1578-1898) which were compiled by Lieutenant William McKinley in 1903 and filed in the Military Information Division in Manila; brief reports by some American military officials on Moro affairs during the first decade under America; an interesting paper on the customs of the Lanao Moros written in 1910 by Lieutenant G. Summer; and a set of guide questions prepared in 1908 by General Tasker Bliss regarding tribal customs, characteristics, manners and beliefs, to be used in securing ethnographic information about the pagan and Muslim peoples of Mindanao and Sulu. One paper titled 'Ethnography of the Magindanaos of Parang', was written 1908 by Chaplain Oscar Scott and Lieutenant Ira Brown answering these questions, and it immediately preceded the guide material of General Bliss, in the fourth volume. Major Livingston wrote in 1912 a second paper which was likewise copied here, A History of the Cotabato River Valley and of the Magindanao Moros: 1595-1899. This unpublished 155-paged manuscript recorded the history of Spanish relations with Mindanao and Sulu, with more detailed accounts of events in the Cotabato River Valley and biographical data on prominent Magindanao leaders and chieftains. Beyer noted in 1923: 'An original copy [of the work] formerly existed in the provincial records of Cotabato Province, but was destroyed in the fire that completely
consumed the provincial government building in 1921. Several copies of the original had been made by former Governor William C. Bryant (c.1917-18) and he kindly furnished me with one of these in 1922. The only other copy that I know of is one in the hands of ex-Governor John Early, who also obtained it from Governor Bryant.'

Apart from the military documents and Records from the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes discussed above, Beyer compiled official records from the Bureau of Archives, Department of Mindanao and Sulu, Philippine Commission, as well as census reports and papers written by government officials. From the Bureau of Archives in Manila, he obtained true copies of fifteen historical manuscripts furnished by Chief Manuel de Iriarte of the Bureau which appeared in some six papers in the Moro Set. One, dated 1880, was entitled, 'Official views on Spanish Policy in Sulu and Mindanao'. Four other papers contained thirteen documents and of these, five records related to the Magindanao Moros (1837-1891), four related to the Samal and Zamboanga Moros (1843-1845), two documents concerned the Sulu Moros (1884-1886), and another two were about the Lanao Moros, both dated 1895. All five papers were translations from the original Spanish texts. Contained in the sixth paper were the exact copies of the original Spanish and Moro documents filed in the Archives called *A Collection of Twenty Spanish Expedientes* (with accompanying Moro documents) relating to affairs in Sulu, Lanao, and Zamboanga, 1889-1893 which were secured by Beyer through the cooperation of Governor Frank Carpenter, first civilian governor of the Department of Mindanao and Sulu. Beyer said in a note to the manuscript in 1920: 'Probably none of these documents have been published, though some of them are of very considerable historical importance - especially those relating to the Sultan of Sulu and the wars with [Datus] Kalbi and Zulkarnayn'. The collection also included documents and biographical data which pertained to other chieftains and officials of the provinces of Sulu, Lanao and Zamboanga.
Eight papers were derived from official records of the Department of Sulu and Mindanao, dating from 1899 to 1920, and were related to the sovereignty and status of the Sulu Sultanate in the Philippines. The most important was the copy in the original Sulu vernacular of the renowned 'Bates Treaty' of August 20, 1899, signed between Brigadier-General John G. Bates and the Sultan Najji Muhammad Jamalu'l-Kiran of Sulu which declared and acknowledged the sovereignty of the United States over the whole archipelago of Jolo and its dependencies, with accompanying documents dated from 1899 to 1904. There was a copy of the original draft of the Memorandum Agreement of 1915, considered as the first real surrender by the Sultan of sovereignty over the Philippine portion of the Sultanate of Sulu in favor of the United States Government, and articles of incorporation of the Sultan of Sulu as the titular-spiritual head of the Mohammedan Church in the Sulu Archipelago and related data (1915). Other records pertained to the correspondence of the Sultan of Sulu with American Governor-General Luke Wright in 1904 and the official claims he made in 1915; the renunciation of land rights by the Sultan and his direct heirs (1917-1919); and the correspondence of Governor Carpenter, Governor-General Francis Harrison and others (1915).

Four papers contained data obtained from the Records of the Province of Sulu (1915-1924), including copies of official correspondence between the Sultan and other American governors in 1915, and three provincial circulars of Sulu (1917-1919). From the records of the Philippine Commission, Beyer secured copies of two Acts of the Commission relating to the payment of certain sums of money to the Sultan and his principal advisers; and excerpts from the minutes of the conference held between the Sultan, his advisers and the Philippine Commission in July 1904.

Seven additional official papers concerned the Sulu Sultanate, such as copies of the official Spanish papers dated 1893 regarding the formal
recognition by the Spanish authorities of the accession of the Sultan Kiram of Sulu, as published 1894 in the Gaceta de Manilla; the correspondence and papers of Governor John Pershing of the Moro Province, Governor-General Leonard Wood, and others (1904-1913); and a copy in Spanish of the original stenographic report on the conference between Governor Carpenter and the Sultan in 1915. A very important paper in the seventh volume was the 1919 English translation of the Bates treaty from the Sulu vernacular in which it was originally written, done by Francis L. Link, the Provincial Secretary-Treasurer of Jolo, together with related correspondence. The English translation was noted by Neyer as 'accurate and trustworthy', in his official letter to Carpenter in 1920 which accompanied Link's manuscript in the Series.

Several American military officials stationed as census enumerators in the districts of Malabang, Lanao, Zamboanga and the islands of Basilan, Jolo, Siasi, and Tawi-Tawi, prepared eleven census reports which are found in the Moro volumes. All were made in 1903, and most were included in the first official census of the Philippines islands in 1903 conducted by the Philippine Commission after American rule began. These reports contained a great deal of data relative to the distribution, population, beliefs and customs of the various Muslim tribes of southern Philippines, their languages, physical types and characteristics, food, dwellings, costumes and personal adornment, weapons, industries, laws, government, economic and social life, as well as descriptions of the geography and natural resources in the regions. Some data pertained to their customs of baptism, marriage, burial, polygamy, divorce, slavery and family relations. The most extensive report for the Census was Emerson Christie's 'The Non-Christians of the Northern half of Zamboanga Peninsula', with his personal observations on the life and habits of the Muslim tribes living near the seashores in Zamboanga Peninsula and the pagan Subanuns dwelling on the upper waters of the small rivers. The
report of the American ethnologist dealt mainly with the seafaring 'Sama Laut' people, popularly known as 'Rajaus' among the Americans, which were dominant in that region both in numbers and influence and believed to be the lowest grade of people among the four Samal tribes. Charles Livingston, in his constabulary monograph, wrote that the Samales and the Bajaos were the fiercest and most blood-thirsty of pirates particularly in the northeastern part of the Sulu Archipelago. The Bajaos commonly live in their vintas or in houses often built thirty or forty miles from freshwater. These sea gypsies excel in diving and in the quest for pearls and corals, they have been known to go to a depth of thirty-five fathom. The report of Christie included a list of twenty-five Sama Laut words derived from Sanskrit through Malay.

Other unpublished records consisted of official documents, mostly in Spanish, dealing with the legendary and historical origin of the town of Malabang in Lanao Province, collected 1911 by the municipal president in compliance with the American Governor-General's Executive Order (January 26, 1911) and which he obtained from the information of Moro Sultans and Datus; a brief historical account about the Sulu dynasty and the American-educated Muslim Princess Tarhata Kiram, which was written in 1927 by Walter Bubb based on data chiefly furnished by Beyer; a paper by Beyer 'Miscellaneous Notes on the Moros' (1917) and another dated 1928 which he furnished to Provincial Governor Carl Moore of Sulu. The latter listed the origin and English signification of forty-eight civil, religious, and miscellaneous titles or ranks in use in Sulu and Mindanao.

There are accounts of a provincial teacher L.R. Malinao, on his stay among the Ilanon Moros; a paper written 1926 by Albert Herre of the Bureau of Science describing the non-Christians dwelling in Sibutu Islands, which form the southernmost extension of the Philippines and belonging to Borneo, ethnographically and ethnologically; and miscellaneous notes by Christie and Abram van Keyningen Hartendorp. Beyer also copied a decision of the Supreme Court involving the legality of Muslim and Chinese
marriages in the Philippines (1922) and the English translation of Fr.
Mateo Gisbert's historical paper on the conquest of Davao region by the
Spaniards. The latter, according to Beyer, first appeared in 1902 as
an exhibit appended to the report of the American Commanding Officer in
Davao province.

The Set contained three linguistic contributions, namely; a brief
one-hundred and three word 'Sulu, Malay, and Yakan Vocabularies' which
was compiled by Gunther and John Whitaker in 1902; Major W.O. Johnson's
extensive 'Sulu-English Vocabulary' compiled 1916 in Jolo, and which he
noted as 'not the work of a Sulu Scholar, but contains all the Sulu
words to be found in available Sulu literature'; and the monumental
'English-Sulu Vocabulary' of Francis Link which was written also in Jolo
a year later.

Beyer had collected nine papers written by his students between
1916 and 1930, and three of them consisted of ethnographical-historical
information on the Moros, particularly those inhabiting Lanao and
Zamboanga. The rest of the student works recorded seven Moro folktales.
There were four other papers, besides those of the students, which are
literary in nature: one contained a poem written in the Sulu dialect by
Madji Usman in 1924, another had some thirty-eight stanzas taken from Sulu
epic poetry Parang Sabil, transliterated in 1919 by Julpa Schuck and compiled
in Volume seven in the Sulu dialect together with the English translation,
and two other articles printed 1902 in the Journal of American Folklore,
authored by Major Ralph Porter, a surgeon of the United States Volunteers
assigned in the Philippines during the early years of the American
occupation. The articles related the traditional stories evolving around
Bantugan and Datto Pata Mata, two legendary heroes of the Muslims
inhabiting the Rio Grande de Mindanao. The English texts were done in
1900 at Cotta Dato, in the island of Mindanao, and according to Porter
represented the first translations out of the original stories given to
him orally, in the same year.
Of the few published works on the Moros, the most valuable are the translations of five historical Malay manuscripts, which were printed 1800 and 1885 in the *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Singapore) entitled: 'Selesilah (Book of the Descent) of the Rajas of Brunei', 'List of the Mohammedan Sovereigns of Brunei', 'History of the Sultans of Brunei and of their Descent', 'Transcription and Translation of a Historic Tablet Engraved on Stone in the Malay character', and 'Genealogy of the Royal Family of Brunei'. The first four were annotated translations by Sir Hugh Low, a British resident in Perak - of the original Malay manuscripts he had secured in Brunei about 1873. The authors and dates of these originals were not stated, but the historic inscription mentioned in the fourth paper was copied by Low in 1873, from the original stone monument in the city of Brunei which was erected in the year A.H.1221 (A.D. 1804). Both the original and English versions of the fourth paper were compiled in Volume seven. The last was a translation by U.H. Treacher, Governor of British North Borneo, of another Malay manuscript of a later date than those used by Low. Their various historical and genealogical data on the rulers of Brunei provided relevant materials on the history and genealogy of Sulu.

Historical and geographical records about the islands of Sulu and Mindanao were also provided by the extracts from three printed works - from Agustín de la Cavada and Mendez de Vigo's *Historia Geografica, Geologica y Estadistica de Filipinos* (in Spanish) printed 1876 in Manila; M. Sonnerat's *Voyage A La Nouvelle Guinee* (in French) written 1776 in Paris; and from *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition* written by Commander Charles Wilkes which was printed 1845 in Philadelphia.

Beyer, in an article dated 1931, wrote that for many centuries before any Europeans arrived in the Sulu Archipelago, the dominant culture in Sulu and Mindanao was of Hindu-Malayan type, until sometime in the fifteenth century when the Islamic faith first overran the region. It is not believed that any great number of outside Mohammedans came into the Archipelago, but that the new faith, like Christianity in the
north, was spread chiefly by missionaries. The people converted were native pagan groups whose general characteristics had been developed long before the first Moslem teacher entered.\textsuperscript{4a}

And further:

Much study will be necessary before the true make-up of such groups as the Sulus and the Lanaos, for example, can be definitely determined. It seems evident that there is a considerable Bugis element in Sulu; and on the other hand, the Sulu language is very closely related to the Cebuan-Bisaya - which represents the type-speech and type-culture for Hindu-Malayan influence in the Philippines. It is significant that the Mindanao Bisayan spoken in Butuan, and in neighboring parts of Agusan and Surigao provinces, is intermediate between Cebuan and Sulu and, if anything, is even more closely related to the latter than to the former. Since there is no evidence that the Mohammedan faith ever penetrated either to Butuan or the Cebuan area, it is evident that a once wide-spread cultural similarity existed within this area prior to the fifteenth century, which later developments tended to destroy and break up into groups of quite different affiliation. When we really work out - through the aid of archaeological, and of comparative historical and ethnological research, a more detailed history of this region for the great period of, say, a thousand years preceding the fifteenth century, we will doubtless find that this was not only the most important period of native cultural advancement, but also the most characteristic and basic for interpretation of the true character of the present-day population when once the outer layer of Europeanization has been peeled off.

In the same article Beyer added some interesting remarks relative to future research among the Moro tribes:

...such studies as those by Miss Benedict of 'Bagobo Ceremonial, Magic, and Myth' (New York),\textsuperscript{4b} have brought out clearly how deeply the Indian and South Asiatic influences have penetrated into the religious life of even the most isolated pagan peoples in Mindanao. We must, therefore, look for strong elements of such influence also in the customary-laws throughout the Mindanao region, both among those people who have still remained pagan and those of the same general stock who have long been Mohammedanized. It is here that a careful comparative study of the customary-law material from Mindanao and Sulu with that of the Visayan Islands and again with that from the southern and northern Luzon peoples, should bring out interesting differences that may enable us to form tentative conclusions as to the degree of penetration of the South Asiatic element northward - perhaps in the same way as the similar penetration of an inflected speech-type (certainly also from a South Asiatic source) has penetrated northward, gradually dying out and expiring almost completely in the neighborhood of the


The Moro volumes included data on Moro political institutions, as well as their written and customary laws which, Beyer wrote:

"...is significant because of the effort of our Government toward curbing the Moro power and endeavoring to gradually win them away from their independent institutions. While it maybe doubted whether this will ever prove successful until there has been a change also in their religious life, study and record of the changes taking place is certainly important.

It may be noted that the Bajao and Samal groups have little in common with any other groups of true Philippine type, and that the data concerning them should be studied in connection with information from similar groups in Borneo. In fact, nearly all the Philippine Moro groups have their Bornean counterparts, and a comparative study of the two areas will doubtless produce interesting results."
CHAPTER B11

SET II: PAGAN PEOPLES OF MINDANAO

The present five-volume Series entitled 'Ethnography of the Pagan Peoples of Mindanao' is a comprehensive collection of original sources relating to the various pagan peoples of the island of Mindanao, and was begun in 1912. In a preface to the third volume, Beyer wrote:

The present series is intended to include all of the non-Mohammedan peoples of the Department of Mindanao and Sulu, with the single exception of the Christian Bisayas. The sources relating to the people of this region are so mixed that it is difficult enough to separate the Mohammedan materials, to say nothing of attempting to isolate the matter relating to the different pagan groups.

It is too early to attempt a definite classification of the pagan peoples of Mindanao. Some groups are well marked; but in the south-central part of the Island, and in the region of Mt. Apo in particular, there is great confusion. The following tentative group classification will be adopted for this series until we have sufficient evidence to attempt a more accurate grouping:

Negrito-Aeta (Mamanua sub-group), Manobo, Bukidnon (Banu-aon sub-group), Subanun, Tirurai, Bila-an, Mangguangan, Ata, Mandaya (Debabaon and Mansaka sub-groups), Bagobo (Giangan sub-group), Tagaka-olo, Kulaman, and Isamal.

And in another article written in 1931

.... There has always been considerable confusion between the Moro and Pagan groups in Mindanao and in fact a good many of the former were simply Mohammedanized from groups considerable sections of which still remain pagan. Also, a good many of the writers of the papers inserted in our series were in contact with mixed groups or with Moro and pagan groups living in the same locality. It is, therefore, to be expected that much data on the pagans will be found in the Moro Set; considerable in the Pagan-Mindanao set which has some bearing on present Moro ethnography.

Aside from the mixed pagan groups living in contact with the Moros, there are, a number of interesting peoples in central and eastern Mindanao who have either been altogether isolated or have had contact only with the Christian Bisayas of the coastal area and not with any of the Mohammedanized groups.

1 The original Set was composed of six volumes and the fifth volume which is unavailable had 140 photographs.

Of the latter class the most interesting perhaps are the peoples of the Agusan River Valley, chiefly known by the name of Manobos. In addition, there are also the pagan groups of Davao Province who may be divided into three distinct culture types each composed of several separate ethnographic groups. The first type is typified by the Mandayas of eastern Davao; the second by the Bagobos and related peoples around the head of the Davao Gulf; and the third by the Bilaans in Cotabato Province and along the western Davao border.

The Subanun people of the Zamboanga peninsula and the Tirurays of Cotabato are the best representatives of the groups who have long been in contact with the Moros and have been much affected by them. Lastly, the Bukidnons of north central Mindanao represent a triple culture-contact - with the Mohammedan Lanaos on the west, the Christian Bisayas on the north, and the pagan Monobos on the east and south. In addition might be mentioned the primitive pygmies represented by the Negrito-like Mamanuas and the interesting Mangguangan group of Proto-Malay type.

All these pagan peoples were represented among the sixty-six papers contained in the present Pagan Mindanao Series and the major bulk are unpublished. Most accounts were in the form of correspondence, brief notes and reports regarding the conditions existing in various Non-Christian regions of Mindanao during the last decades of the Spanish era and under the American period, with related ethnographical and historical notes on their diverse pagan dwellers. The majority of the papers were records filed in the Division of Ethnology in Manila, including several works of American ethnologists John Garvan and Emerson Christie, which constituted more than a third of the contents of the entire Set. There were other accounts and letters provided by provincial governors, municipal officials, supervising teachers, students, a few military personnel engaged on survey trips, a ranger, a land inspector, and other government officials; however, the most extensive were those written

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by the Spanish Jesuits appearing in Volume four and considered by Beyer as the earliest and most valuable source of information regarding all of the pagan peoples of Mindanao.

Eight were done by students of Beyer between 1915 and 1930, and they included notes on the Bukidnon tribe; an English translation by E. Boa of a certain Subanun legend as told to him by the son of a Subanun chief; an old legend known in Agusan Valley which was narrated both in English and in the mixed Manobo-Bisayan dialect; and extensive accounts on Manobo customs, beliefs, and certain features of their economic, social, and religious life based on the students' personal observation, contact, and association with the Manobo people in the provinces of Agusan and Surigao.

The first two volumes of the set consisted entirely of Garvan's monumental twenty-nine chaptered monograph entitled *The Ethnography of the Manobo Peoples of Eastern Mindanao* which was published twenty-nine years later in the *Memoirs of the National Academy of Science* (1941). Originally written in Manila from 1911-1912 for the Bureau of Science, it was considered by Beyer as representing what is probably the best ethnographic record of any Philippine group that has yet been put into written form. The first volume dealt with the classification, physical types and characteristics, tribal affinities, and geographical distribution of the Manobos and other tribes and races in eastern Mindanao, and a more detailed portrayal of Manobo material culture, their dwellings, elaborate costumes, personal adornment, and bodily mutilations: food, alimentation, narcotics and stimulants: their means of economic subsistence, various weapons and implements, and industrial activities. The second volume covered the sociological aspects of Manobo culture,
with chapters on domestic life and marital relations, social amusements, the system of political organization and social control, the inception of war, inter-tribal relations, customary laws and the administration of justice, their religious conceptions, various spirits and divinities, priests, religious ceremonials and sacrifices, divinations, and mythology.

Carvan, who lived for some years among the pagans inhabiting the Agusan River Valley in eastern Mindanao, described twelve existing groups in that monograph, namely: Mamanuas or Negritos; Banunons which are probably an extension of the Bukidnons; Mangguangans branded as the lowest people, after the Mamanuas; Mansakas which might be classed as a sub-tribe of Mandayas with whom they form one dialect group; the Dehabaons which claim relationship with Manobos and follow Manobo religious beliefs and practices; the Mandayas which form the greatest and best tribe in Eastern Mindanao; Moros or people with a preponderance of Moro blood; Bilans; Tagakaolos; Loaks; the Conquistas or recently christianized peoples, a term of universal application in the Agusan Valley to the pagan tribes or to their descendants, that have been christianized since 1877; and the Bisayans or Christian Filipinos sometimes called Viejos Cristianos or Old Christians.

The voluminous manuscript concluded with an account of the great religious movement known as 'Tungud' which was propagated among the Agusan Valley tribes during the years 1908 to 1910, considered by Carvan as a religious swindle that victimized at least 50,000 people.

Five additional papers contained Carvan's official letters
and reports (1909–1912) as an ethnologist of the Division of Ethnology, based in the Agusan River Valley region - and included a detailed itinerary of his explorations covered both on land and water, with interesting descriptions of the geography and economic potentialities of the region, the native drinks in use among the inhabitants, their general characteristics, folk beliefs and customs. Included too was Garvan's list of places where portraits typical of a given tribe may be secured, list of suggested subjects accompanying the photos and some ethnological specimens he had acquired for the Philippine Museum in Manila.

In one of the reports dated 1910, addressed to the Director of the Bureau of Science, Paul Freer, Garvan mentioned some of the motives that impelled him to select the head waters of the Agusan River Valley for his principal field of observation and these are:

The greater prospect of purchasing in that region ethnographical specimens characteristic of all tribes in the Agusan Valley and [my] comparatively adequate acquaintance with tribal customs and conditions in the middle and lower Agusan, two years having been spent as supervising teacher in the district of Talacogon and one year on (another) town... during which [my] commercial dealings brought [me] into every nook and cranny of the middle Agusan.

Garvan also wrote

I adopted a slow, patient method, posing under my old guise of trader. English trader in places where hostility had been aroused against the Americans. Acting on this policy, and making myself all to all with them, even so far as to blacken my teeth, etc. etc. I succeeded, I think in getting a knowledge of their inner life that will be of scientific and historical value, especially in the course of a score of years when my pagan friends shall have lost their tribal identity and their good old primitive culture, in their fusion with the great modern system of civilization.

Governor Frederick Johnson of Agusan Province remarked in a

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John M. Garvan. 'Report to the Director of the Bureau of Science on a Study of the Peoples of the Agusan River Valley in the years 1909 and 1910', 1910.
letter of 1910 compiled here that Carvan’s knowledge of the Mindanao tribes is unsurpassed, and that ‘there is no one man today in the Philippines, and few if any in the world, who is so thoroughly conversant with the inner life of a savage tribe as he is with that of the Mandaya-Manobo people’.5

The Manobos were observed by the French writer Montano, in 1885, as the most numerous, the most powerful and the most ferocious indigenes in eastern Mindanao. Two other personal accounts related to this tribe in the set were written by American school supervisors Edward Taylor and Lot Lockwood. The first account in story form, related Taylor’s experiences in a Manobo village when he founded a government farm-school peopled with the sons of various datos and more important men of the village – designed to bring about amicable relations among the various factions of the tribe. The paper dated 1921, and called ‘The Urath of Mandalingan: An Account of Some Manobo Beliefs and of the Trials and Tribulations of an American School Supervisor in the Agusan Valley’ brought out some of the Manobo religious traditions he had observed. On the other hand, Lockwood’s report of 1906 to the Director of Education embodied his investigations among the Manobo people in the District of Butuan, province of Surigao, and his recommendations for improving their conditions, especially in education.

Roughly a third of the five-volume Series treated on the Subanuns, occupying the interior of the whole Zamboanga Peninsula in the island of Mindanao. Of the twenty-two Subanun papers,


6 Montano, ‘Indonesians in the East of Mindanao’ (translated in the Set). Rapport Sur Un Mission Aux Îles Philippines, Paris, 1885, is the title in French of the original work from which this translated extract was taken.
thirteen were written by the ethnologist Emerson Christie during the early years of the American era, 1903 to 1907, and were chiefly unpublished. One paper contained Christie's series of letters and reports (1904-1906) which he submitted to the Division of Ethnology relative to the progress of investigations among the Subanun people, summaries of his movements, observations and fieldwork conducted during his exploration trips, together with several of his original notes on Subanun history and ethnography. The Chief of the Ethnological Survey Merton Miller, in a letter of 1904 to the Secretary of Interior which was included in the above-mentioned paper, commented on the reasons for Christie's assignment among these pagans: first, due to his familiarity with these tribes, having done some work in connection with the Census of 1903; second, the fact that the Subanuns form a rather definite group of people for study; third, their relations with the Moros have been interesting and it is believed will throw light on the treatment by Moros of other tribes with whom they come in contact; and fourth, they are reported to have some interesting and peculiar customs whose existence seems worthwhile to verify. And in one of Christie's letters to Miller, dated 1905, he wrote that 'in addition to the opportunities for scientific work offered by this tour of fieldwork there were many occasions for explaining to the people of the hills the purposes of the American government towards them.' The American ethnologist further reported in 1906 that the extensive notes on the Subanuns he had taken during these several months of exploration covered three groups: those taken among the Subanos of Dumanquillas Bay who, owing to their nearness to

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7 Emerson B. Christie. 'Letters and Reports Relating to a Study of the Subanon People for the Ethnological Survey and Division of Ethnology in the years 1904-1906'.
to large settlements of the Maguindanaw Moros whom they have acknowledged as overlords, are the most affected by Maguindanaw culture, especially with regard to their customary law; the next concerned the Subanos of the Sinkun region, having been influenced by the Maguindanaw Moros through their political relations, by the Jolo-anos by trading relations of long standing, and by Spanish culture through the action of the Spanish government and of Spanish Jesuits; and lastly, those notes taken on the coast of Sindangan Bay.

Though the reports contained data on these groups, a great deal pertained to the Sindangan inhabitants, they being Christie's main field of investigations. According to him, it seemed probable that the culture center of the Zamboanga region might be found about Sindangan Bay, a region which seemed likely, because of its distance both from Dapitan and from Zamboanga, to have escaped the impress of foreign influences brought to bear through Spanish priests. He wrote: 'Both the Dumanguilas Bay and the Sinkun Subanos consider the Sindangan Bay Subanos as less civilized than themselves; the Sinkun group goes so far as to frequently designate the Sindangan Bay people by a contemptuous term, Subanun Turlut, which I was told to mean barbarous or rude Subanos. In fact, the Sindangan Bay people, through being on the mere outskirts of both the Maguindanaw and the Spanish influence seem to be nearer the original Subano conditions than any other Subanos I saw'.

Christie's scientific investigations culminated in the publication in 1909, in Manila, by the Division of Ethnology of his well-illustrated volume, *The Subanos of Sindangan Bay*, accompanied by twenty-nine plates.
Among the thirteen papers were materials copied by Deyer directly from Christie's original manuscripts and which were not published in that volume such as, two folk tales common among the Sinkun Subanuns which were noted by Deyer as similarly interesting as Christie's three tales that were published; some of the traditional and legendary accounts on the arrival of Islam in the Subanun country, their ancestors, and the general conditions existing among the ancient Subanuns as related to Christie by the Subanun Dato Maulano; and a story originally written in the Subanun dialect which was given here in that form, since no translation of this text has been found. All of these accounts were collected by Christie in 1905. Five other papers contained original information which pertained to Subanun marriage customs, social life, and domestic relations; native ceremonies; omens and superstitions; ornaments and manufactures; and an account of a certain tradition regarding the arrival of the Moros. According to Deyer this information has been published in considerably changed and abbreviated forms in Christie's 'The Subanons of Sindangan Bay', doubtless due to the editing of his manuscripts by Dr Merton Miller and others, and contained general interesting notes and paragraphs which were not printed in that edition.

Unpublished sources on the Subanuns were also provided by four papers in the Pagan Mindanao volumes, two written by Frank Redding and F.P. Williamson in 1903, a third done in 1910 by Captain Frank Nickerson of the Philippine Scouts, and the fourth by A.V.H. Hartendorp, entitled, 'An Accusation of Poisoning Among the Pagan Subanuns of Sibuguey Pay District, Zamboanga and their Sapa Oath'. Most of these materials resulted from their personal visits to some Subano settlements
or some months of residence among these inhabitants and were generally ethnological in nature, with descriptions of the environment which the Subanuns occupy, their food, dwellings, weapons, industries, how they clothe and adorn themselves, their religion, government and laws, economic life, social customs, and relations with the Moros. The last related Hartendorp's story of an impressive and beautiful 'sapa' ceremonial ordeal which he had witnessed in 1920 among the Subanuns of the Sibuguey Bay District.

In addition to Christie's Subanun manuscripts which were obtained from the Division of Ethnology, the Set included a few pertinent records filed in the same Division. For instance, the two letters in Spanish which were written in 1906 by certain municipal presidents of Misamis Province, Merton Miller's correspondence (1903) with the Jesuit friar Pio Pi regarding missionary conversions of the Society of Jesus in Mindanao during the late Spanish period, and an anonymous manuscript in Spanish which described a Subanun ritual which Beyer noted as probably recorded by Christie's Bisayan interpreter sometime in 1905 or 1906. The latter was found among Christie's miscellaneous papers and was called 'Ceremonias Que Se Nacen En Las Rancherias Del Piau en Obsequio de Salut y Siau'.

Two linguistic papers, both unpublished were: 'A Spanish-Subanun Vocabulary' whose authorship was not known, but was also said to be probably prepared in 1905 by the Bisayan interpreter of Christie and consisted of vocabulary, grammar and texts; and a fifty-paged translation of Sarah Arnold and Chas Gilbert's Stepping Stones to Literature. First Reader into the Subanun dialect spoken in Patalun, Noro Province. The translation, done 1906-1907 in Zamboanga was noted in the Set 'as an exercise for learning the language and has not been
published.' In a letter of 1906 to Albert Silver which is found in Volume 6, Christie commented on his translation:

In the course of a tour of field duty in Mindanao (in 1905) I translated a large part of the Arnold Primer into the Subanun dialect but this was done for my own instruction... in order to reduce to a minimum the chances of misunderstandings between the Subanun chief who taught me, and myself, a well-illustrated book was very desirable. It goes without saying that the Arnold Primer was found to be most useful.

The Tirurais, another pagan tribe in Mindanao, inhabit the western coast from Cotabato south to the Tran river, in the province of Cotabato. They are predominantly of the short Mongol type with some Indonesian mixture. Both sexes file their teeth and wear long hair. They are said to make artificial teeth of iron and bamboo. The houses have no sidewalls and are built high above the ground. Access is had by means of a notched pole, which is drawn up at night.8

In 1892, the 'Amigos del País' printed in Manila Fr. Guillermo Dennasar's manuscript Costumbres de los Indios TirurayeS, Traducidas al Español y Anotadas por un Padre Misionero de la Compañía de Jesús, which he had annotated and translated into Spanish from the work of Jose Tenorio a Sigavan, a native of the Tirurai tribe who had written it originally in the Tirurai dialect. Volume three contains the English translation done 1918 by Marcelo Tangco of Fr Bennasar's Spanish edition, entitled Customs of the Tirurais. Sigavan wrote: 'I am the first Christianized Tiruray, about the year 1863, and if I know now any little thing; this I owe to the teaching of the Jesuit Fathers. These fathers were the ones who asked me to write all our customs in this paper and I am glad of it. I have said all about the good and bad customs of the Tirurayes.' Fr Bennasar stated the importance of Sigavan's work in an introduction to the document.

Jose Tenorio a Sigavan, the author of these interesting customs, belonged to the first family that was baptized by the mission of Tamentaca... He learned to speak Spanish fairly well and by the request of the Fathers he wrote these customs. In the

description of these customs we can guess that he was assisted to a great extent by his good mother, who still lives, especially in those details referring to religion and ancient traditions... And though the style seems too simple and dragging yet it is a true picture of the simplicity of the author to whom you ought to be grateful for knowing their customs, religion and traditions that will help you a great deal in understanding the things of this land.

This very comprehensive document by Sigayan contained a considerable amount of historical and ethnographical materials bearing upon the Tirurai tribal life, such as their manner of dressing and ornamentation, the nature of their territory and dwellings, their weapons, general economic life, belief in witchcraft, divinities and many superstitions, religious conceptions, several customs during birth, marriage, burial, sickness and in fighting and killing, and political organization. Miscellaneous Tirurai notes were also supplied by the letters of Lt. Turner and Provincial Governor D. Gutierrez of Cotabato, dated 1903 and 1924 respectively.

The Bagohos can be found along the north western coast of the Gulf of Davao, and the eastern and southern slopes of Mt. Apo and its tributary peaks, all in the province of Davao, Mindanao. They are of mixed physical type, with the Malay blend and short Mongol predominant. Art is almost exclusively confined to personal adornment, but there it runs riot - the Bagohos being the most extensively ornamented people in the Islands. The men file their teeth to points. Six papers dealt about this group, and were derived from the Records of the Division of Ethnology, Bureau of Science, and the Bureau of Lands. These included a compilation of reports and correspondence (1902-1905) by Orville Root when he was assigned to the Bagobo settlement in Santa Cruz, Davao province, engaged in educational work and ethnological collections for the St Louis Exposition; a few miscellaneous letters (1905-1907) written by an American ethnologist Laura Benedict; and a two-part confidential report to the Director of

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Lands which was written by Public Lands Inspector Orin Walk-up, from 1919 to 1929. His official reports, 'Bagobo-Japanese Land Troubles in Davao Province' attempted to explain the history, causes, and certain features of the Bagobo-Japanese conflicting land claims, brought about by the occupation of Bagobo ancestral territory by Japanese agricultural corporations in the district of Guinga, province of Davao, with his recommendations on the matter and additional remarks on Bagobo customs, beliefs, individual and racial peculiarities, which he said would be vital in understanding the pagan tribes and appraising the problem in the proper perspective. Two rare reports on the Bagobos which are worth noting, were written by District Governor Allen Walker of Davao to the Secretary of the Moro Province 19. Sadie and by Warren Smith of the Bureau of Science to the Chief of the Division of Ethnology. Both accounts were made in 1908 and recorded a most interesting tribal religious custom of human sacrifice among the Bagobos which was believed by the then Secretary of Interior Dean Worcester as 'the first really authentic evidence as yet obtained relative to human sacrifices in Mindanao and... certainly the first since the American occupation'. In December 9, 1907, the Bagobos at Talon, Davao province held a human offering to the God of Evil by sacrificing a deaf and almost blind slave boy, originally from the Bilan tribe. Governor Walker's investigations and related correspondence concerning the incident were contained in a paper in Volume 3, called 'Report On A Human Sacrifice Among the Bagobos'. The report stated in part: 'Dato Ansig and his followers appeared utterly unconscious of having committed any crime, told their story with frankness, said it was a matter not talked about among their own people... they claimed the offering of human sacrifice by their tribe to be an old custom and as far as they knew the only way to appease the wrath of the evil spirits.... Dato Ansig, a man about 60 years of age, says that in his life he has attended or officiated at fifty human sacrifices, more or

9a From a letter of Dean Worcester dated March 6, 1908 which is included the report of Governor A. Walker.
loss, both among the Bagobos and the Bilanes... the last sacrificed before this, was held at Talon during the year of the drought (about 1905) when a Bilan slave, an old man who was paralyzed in one arm, was sacrificed by his Datto Oling, his master'.

In the second report, Warren D. Smith who directed the geological reconnaissance in 1907 of the island of Mindanao and the Sulu group under the Bureau of Science, described the Bagobos they had encountered along the route: 'In physique and in features, [the men of the Bagobo tribe] surpass any other of the native peoples of the Archipelago whom I have seen and I have seen many of the tribes. It is reported that, like the ancient Greeks, they strangle at birth all deformed children'. Smith's report gave the narrative of Governor Walker in its entirety and additionally, contributed extracts he took from letters of Jesuit Missionaries (1885-1886) bearing on that primitive Bagobo custom. As regards the Talon incident which took place a week before they arrived in Talon, Walker added: 'I know of no white man who has witnessed this event. The fact that none of our party learned about the sacrifice until we had passed through the place where it took place shows how secret the whole affair was kept'. Smith's report is also in Volume 3.

The fourth volume consisted largely of extracts from the valuable volumes of missionary reports and correspondence of the Jesuit Fathers called Cartas de los P.P. de la Compañía de Jesús de la Misión de Filipinas, which were printed in Manila consecutively from 1816 onwards. The English translations of a good selection of these letters were in three papers of some 380 pages, titled as follows: Synopsis of Jesuit Letters, Book VIII, Years 1885-86; Translation of the Letters of the Jesuit Fathers in Mindanao' (Vol. 8, 1889); and Synopsis of the Jesuit Letters, Book IX, Years 1889-91. These abstracted letters have been written 1885-1891 by the numerous Spanish Jesuits stationed in the mission fields in Zamboanga, Basilan, Davao, Misamis, Surigao and Mindoro, and were addressed to their religious
superiors. The Spanish originals were on file in the Military Information Division in Manila, and the translated versions were prepared by James McDermott Sheridan and others of the same Division in 1901-1902. Among the writers of this great mass of materials which were mainly of historical import were the names of Pablo Pastells, Juan Doyle, Jacinto Juanmartí, C. Bennasar, Quirico More, Mateo Gisbert, Pedro Rossell, Juan Heras, and many other illustrious Jesuits. The compilation dealt largely with church missionary work, with lengthy narrations of their foundation and growth, the difficulties encountered and the success in converting the natives into Christianity; in addition, incidental information were also recorded on the terrain and natural resources, the physical types, characteristics, geographical distribution, language, folklore, general customs and beliefs of the many pagan and some Muslim groups inhabiting Mindanao. Hence, Garvan wrote:

Though containing little ethnological data of a detailed character, they afford in their ensemble, a vivid picture of the work of the missionaries in reducing the pagan tribes of Mindanao to civilization and outward Christianity. Dates of the formation of the various towns and rancherias (a rancheria is a small dependent settlement of Christianized people) are furnished; the names of the Chiefs, friendly and unfriendly, are mentioned in many cases; the opposition on the part of the mountain people to the adoption of Christianity, and the armed resistance on their part to its implementation are set down; the interclan feuds etc. are mentioned, frequently with details as to the number of slain and of captives; and the number of converts in each district is stated. In a word, these letters form a most valuable and accurate account of the Christian subjugation of a large portion of the pagan peoples of Mindanao.

In the present Set were three other translated extracts: two taken from J. Montano's *Voyage Aux Philippines* and *Rapport Sur Un Mission Aux Iles Philippines*, published 1885-1886 in Paris and a third article by Ferdinand Blumentritt, 'The Peoples of Mindanao' whose source was, unfortunately, not evident. The dates of translation and the names of their translators were not indicated; they, however, gave supplementary sources on the heathen and Moro tribes in Mindanao, which are of

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ethnological value. A fourth brief extract came from an Asian journal, pertaining to a religious movement observed by H. Wise in 1891 in Borneo, and which Beyer noted as almost identical with that seen by Garvan in eastern Mindanao, in the years 1908-1910.

The remaining materials consisted of some official reports, notes and recommendations of Merton Miller, Chief of the Division of Ethnology (1905-1907) regarding the general conditions existing among the non-Christian settlements in Mindanao as he had seen from his inspection trips, and while involved in collecting for the Exposition Board in 1903; a few official accounts (1905-1909) on the customs, general culture and administrative control of the Manguangans of Davao and the Bukidnon people in the provinces of Bukidnon and Misamis; and other miscellaneous correspondence during the early American period. Worthy of note were Lt. Escolastico Zapanta's special report, which was endorsed by the Bureau of Constabulary in Mindanao to the Secretary of Interior in 1909; and Otley Beyer's interesting paper, 'Notes for Trip Around Mindanao', prepared for the use of Colonel George Langhorne and the United States destroyer squadron on their trip to Mindanao made in 1923, with his brief notes on the terrain, sceneries, industries, products, and people inhabiting the coastal regions, the places of historical interest and towns worth visiting, and the names of some prominent American residents, who could furnish more information about the surrounding territory. The report written by Lt. Zapanta, 'The Native Tribes and Natural Resources of the Agusan River Valley' contained much important ethnological matter dealing with the Manobos, the most numerous tribe of non-Christians in the Agusan Valley, where he was stationed during the last seven years. It was originally written in Spanish, but was compiled in Volume 3 in the translated English version done by Merton Miller and included data on the natural resources and industries of the Sub-province of Butuan, and a few notes on the Benuaon, Debabaon, Mandaya and Mamanua groups.

10a Journal of the Straits Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, 1894.
Though the pagan tribes of Mindanao were covered in the Pagan Mindanao Set in varying degrees, as far as Beyer was concerned, 'the ground has only been scratched, however, and in no area should research be more diligently pushed.' He wrote in 1931:

It should be noted that this manuscript material [of Garvan] should be supplemented by the valuable printed volumes of Cole, Benedict, Christie, and others, which have been issued within the past twenty years. It will be interesting to see into how many subdivisions the customary law material from this region will ultimately fall. Such a study may give us valuable clues as to the source and number of the various migrations that have spread over the area - though here again it must be remembered that a decided pre-Christian and pre-Mohammedan influence from Java, Sumatra, and India has had a marked effect on the entire social life and organization of the population.

Moreover, 'more extensive studies are needed in areas available for Christian settlement where many Bisayans and Ilokos are now migrating'.

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11 H.O. Beyer, 'Terminal Notes to the Set', General Index, Volume 1, p. 123.


The first and only volume of the Mindoro-Palawan Set of twenty-eight papers was begun and completed in 1918. Beyer wrote in 1931:

The islands of Palawan and Mindanao have always stood apart from the remainder of the Philippine Archipelago on various scores. In the first place, Palawan and the small surrounding islands show strong evidence of recent land connection with Borneo and their flora and fauna are connected with those of both Borneo and the Malay Peninsula. Mindoro shows a less specific connection, but still inclines rather more to the Palawan-Borneo region than to the Luzon area.

In human population also, there are certain decided differences. The more primitive groups of people again show Bornean and Malay Peninsula affinities... It may be noted in passing that this area contains the only two ancient syllabic alphabets still in use (among a limited number of the pagans) in the Philippines. They show close connection with those current in the Bisaya and Tagalog areas, and elsewhere in the islands, at the time the Spaniards arrived. Mindoro is also particularly interesting as there is strong evidence that it was the first of the northern islands to be known to the Chinese and long constituted one of their chief marts of trade - the first record concerning it dating back to the tenth century, A.D.

As to the actual population itself, while considerable miscellaneous data exist (making up nearly two volumes in our ethnographic series) still we know only too little concerning the actual character and divisions among the more primitive pagan peoples. What appears rather definite is this: In Mindoro there exist two quite different groups of pagans, all generally known under the name Mangyan, but one group showing quite pure proto-Malay antecedents while the other or southern group is decidedly Indonesian in major ancestry. Of the more primitive group, there are many subdivisions covering a wide area in the Island - particularly in the northern and western parts. Of the more advanced Indonesian-type group (who seem to be the only one using the ancient syllabary) there is strong evidence that they present chiefly a survival of the pre-Mohammedan coastal population - pushed back into the forested interior, perhaps by the extensive Mohammedan invasion (probably from Borneo) in the fifteenth century. These Mohammedans were still dominating the entire coastal area when the Spaniards first arrived. No trace of the 'Moro' population still survives, however, as the entire coastal area is now occupied by Christians.

That the old Mangyan group was very extensive is shown by the fact that semi-primitive pagans of almost identical type still exist in the neighboring islands of Sibuyan, Tablas, and possibly Negros - and seen once also to have occupied Romblon (though now extinct there). They probably represent an old Neolithic Indonesian population, more or less civilized by contact with the cultured

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1 Another volume of 125 plates which was cited in the Index is not available at the N.L.A.
Bisayas of the 'Maragtas' period. On the whole, there is probably no more interesting island for careful archaeological and ethnographical investigation than Mindoro, and it is a pity that so little has been done there.²

The northern and southern Mangyan groups differ in all ways, racially, culturally, and linguistically. Further study may even warrant one or two other sub-divisions.

The Christian population of these two provinces consist in Mindoro of Tagalogs, in the northern three-fourths of the coastal area, and of Panayan Bisayases and Kuyonons. Data from the Tagalogs and Bisayases will be included in the Sets relating to those groups, while the Kuyonons are considered in the Set entitled 'Minor Christian Group.'³ This single volume included materials dealing mainly with the non-Christian peoples in the provinces of Mindoro and Palawan, and contained several original contributions of great value, especially the Gardner manuscripts on the Mangyans and those by Venturello which pertained to the Batakis and Tagbanuas of Palawan. One half of the entire contents related to the Mangyan group. The Set also included several reports and correspondence filed in the Division of Ethnology, official and governmental papers, a few student works, census reports, miscellaneous notes, and manuscripts derived from the Bureau of Archives. Roughly two-thirds of the twenty-eight papers are unpublished.

Fletcher Gardner's sojourn for some time among the forest-dwelling Mangyan pagans culminated in two extensive papers: 'The Mangyans' written in 1905 in Bulalakno, Mindoro and relating mainly in story form, accounts of their origin, general customs and modes of living based on his personal associations and experiences with them, and a longer manuscript named The Hampangan Mangyans of Mindoro dealing with the Hampangan Mangyans occupying an 'ill-defined area' somewhere in the southern coast of the


³ H.O. Beyer, 'Preface to Volume 1', December 30, 1918, Mindoro-Palawan Set, Volume 1.
island of Mindoro, which he wrote at Fort Crook, Nebraska a year after. Gardner, who was contract surgeon of the United States army stationed in Mindoro, described in the latter work their habitat, industries, dwellings, costumes and ornamentation, their weapons, social characteristics, morals, religion, and culture. While the first work included a thirty-four word Mangyan-Tagalog-English vocabulary, the second contained a more extensive Hampangan-English vocabulary, valuable notes on their grammar and syllabary, together with a chart of the Hampangan alphabet which Gardner traced from a syllabary made by two natives, and seven examples of Hampangan love songs termed Manga-Ambahan with his own English translations. 'These few examples here given', wrote Gardner, 'are only a beginning on the wealth of Ambahan that this tribe possesses. If diligently collected and carefully translated, they should throw great light on the philosophy of life of a very amiable, though exceedingly primitive people'. As regards culture, he stated:

Although but little above the line of savagery in many respects, in one way at least, the Hampangans have attained a considerable degree of culture, in that they have a written language. This writing is syllabic and not alphabetic in character, and is written on bamboo, with any sharp pointed instrument... the Hampangan alphabet has the largest number of signs of any Philippine alphabet based on the primitive Malay character with the exception of the Bisayan, which has an equal number. It resembles the Tagbanyua alphabet of the Calamianes group more closely than any other.  

A third paper contained a few of Gardner's letters to the Chief of the Ethnological Survey which were written in 1904, with his miscellaneous notes on the distribution, habits, and general culture of the Mangyans. Several other accounts of these tribes were the official letters and reports by government officials (1902-1915) such as by the Supervisor-Treasurer of Mindoro, Thomas Weeks; Niurio Ordonñez, the President of the municipality of Bululacao in Southern Mindoro; Rafael Medina, Assistant Forester assigned in Mt Malcon, northeastern Mindoro; Captain R.S. Offley, Governor of Mindoro who was engaged in collecting ethnological specimens for the Philippine Museum; and Merton Miller whose complete set of reports

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3a The Hampangan Mangyans of Mindoro found in the present Set.
and correspondence in the present volume resulted from his exploration trips among the Mangyan settlements in various parts of Mindoro, while doing ethnological work for the Exposition Board and later, as Chief of the Division of Ethnology. These accounts described the general conditions existing among the Mangyan tribes during the early American period, their population, environment and geographical distribution, industries, natural resources, customs and other related ethnographical data, together with certain recommendations in maintaining friendly and helpful relations with these inhabitants who are still practically unknown and the means of improving their conditions. These included the proposed plans for the permanent advancement of the Mangyans, set forth to the Secretary of Interior in 1914, by Jessee Ward, Delegate of the Provincial Governor for work among the Mangians, the Supervisor-Treasurer Thomas Weeks and the Governor of Mindoro Juan Morente, with their specific recommendations on the means of inducing them to give up their semi-nomadic habits, why and how these could be done, and the possible results obtainable in a few years time. The rest of the Mangyan papers consisted of a manuscript in Spanish, written by S. Leuterio in 1902, in response to the first publication of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes in 1901 which was designed to procure information on the ethnography of any non-Christian tribe in the Philippine Archipelago; and three student papers dated between 1915 to 1916 which dealt for the most part on their ethnography, and in addition, on their economic and social relations with the Christian settlers occupying the coastal areas.

A brief work by Beyer which he wrote in 1914, 'Some Notes on Information Regarding the Mangyans of Mindoro', had some names of persons and titles of manuscripts and books which can be consulted regarding Mangyan life, customs and history, including the number of bamboo roll manuscripts written in the old Mangyan characters, ethnological specimens and photographs, in his possession or deposited in the Philippine library.
and the Bureau of Science Museum during that time.

The Island of Palawan is the western and southernmost of the islands in the Philippine Archipelago. It is also one of the largest.

In the island of Palawan itself, we find the most interesting condition of all. What is left to us today, geographically, is the phenomenon commonly known as a drowned island; in other words, simply an extensive mountain-chain protruding from the sea with the greatest possible irregularity of coast line - which represents all that is left of an island once nearly as large as Borneo and, at various times, directly connected with that land-mass. It is probable, therefore, that the more ancient human population of Palawan - as well as its fauna - represents a concentration from a greater land-mass, now beneath the sea. Actually, we find a strange collection of survivals of pre-Neolithic and metal-age peoples there.

The little group known as the Bataks is closely akin to the Semang of the Malay Peninsula and undoubtedly represents a fairly pure Negrito type. They differ, however, in many particulars, from the Negritos of the rest of the Philippine Archipelago - who show closer connection with the New Guinea group. In addition to the Bataks, who live chiefly in the north, the whole central part of the island is occupied by a series of pagan groups known by the generic name of Tagbanua. There is strong evidence that many culture-stages, both of Neolithic and of past-Neolithic types, are represented among the Tagbanuas - and it is only the central group which retains the ancient syllabic writing which indicates their contact with the old Sri-Vishayan civilization from Sumatra. In the southern end of the island there lives a group of Mohammedanized Tagbanuas known as the 'Palawans', who share the country in the southern part of the island and the adjacent archipelago with a considerable number of true Sulu Moros, and in some places, also with the sea-faring Samals and Bajaos.4

Major sources of information on Tagbanua and Batak ethnography were furnished by the original manuscripts of Manuel Hugo Venturello, a resident in Palawan Islands for many years, and that of the Governor of Palawan, Lt. Edward Miller of the United States Army. Venturello's work entitled 'Usos y Costumbres de las Tribus No Cristianas de la Isla de Palawan' was written originally in 1906 at Puerto Princesa, and the English translation done by Mrs Edward Miller was later published in the

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Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections (Volume 48) in 1907. Both the English version, 'Manners and Customs of the Tagbanuas and other Tribes of the Island of Palawan, Philippines' and the Spanish original were copied by Beyer. The manuscript gave a large amount of original ethnographical material relative to the six tribes inhabiting the southern portion of Mindoro and a small part of the north: the Tagbanuas Apurahuanos in the entire central part which are the most numerous, the Palawanos differing from the Apurahuanos only in dialect and minor customs, the mountain-dwelling Queneys, the Bataks, a small group of nomadic Tagbanuas Tandulanos considered as the lowest of all Palawan tribes and occupying coves, headlands and beaches in the Bay of Tugdunan, and the civilized Tagbanuas or Silanganen who have been christianized and have adopted the civilization of the inhabitants of Cuyo Island. Venturello also contributed a 146-word 'Castellano-Tagbanua-English' vocabulary he had collected in 1903. The rest of the papers were miscellaneous letters (1906-1913) filed in the Division of Ethnology containing some cultural notes on the Tagbanuas, such as their primitive phonetic alphabet that has disappeared in all other parts of the Philippines, but observed as still used by the natives.

In 1902, Venturello wrote a brief report in Spanish about a certain group distinguished for their Negroid or Negritic characteristics and dwelling in the mountainous interior of the island of Paragua. These are the Batak tribes, and the report was translated in Cotabato, Mindanao, a year after by Captain Eli Helmick and was titled 'Historical Notes on the Batak Settlements in the Island of Paragua Giving an Account of their Customs and Characteristics'. It provided interesting notes on their characteristics, costumes and adornment, the weapons they use, their laws and punishment, birth and marriage customs, religious beliefs, and the origin of their settlement as told by the old men of the tribes. Helmick wrote in his translation: 'The writer of the following notes
[Venturellello] is personally known to me as he was a resident of Puerto Princesa, Paragua, where I was stationed for more than a year after the first occupation of the island by the American Government. He was a member of the Council and later President of the Municipality of Puerto Princesa. He has lived at the latter place for more than twenty years and has become very familiar with all the native tribes of the central part of the Island. His long residence in the Island and familiarity with the native tribes described, should make his notes not only interesting but valuable. The translation could be found in the present Set and served as supplement to another work by Edward Miller, 'The Bataks of Palawan', which was published by the Ethnological Survey in 1905. The printed report of Miller was accompanied by six photographs of the Bataks taken by him and believed to be the first authentic pictures ever made of these primitive groups; however, only the text was copied in the Mindoro-Palawan volume.

Included among the twenty-eight papers were the English translations of two original Spanish manuscripts of 1753 which were on file at the Division of Archives in Manila; two census reports (1903) regarding the pagans in the provinces of Mindoro and Paragua, with additional data on the natural resources of Paragua, and the population, economic and social conditions of its Christian settlers; and a short letter about the Mangyan and Christian population of Mindoro in 1908, by Acting-Governor L. Van Schaick. The Spanish documents were translated in 1903 for the use of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes and appeared in the paper, 'Reports on the Spanish Occupation of Palawan and Balabak'.

Beyer wrote:

Lying between Mindoro and Palawan are the numerous Kalamian and Kuyo Archipelagoes; [sic] where, again, investigations should prove of the greatest interest. Though now most entirely Christianized, here again the basic population seems to have survived from a series of pre-Spanish types of much interest - but whose antecedents will require careful study before any definite attempt at classification should be made. Nevertheless, they show connecting links with Mindoro, Palawan, and Panay - and possibly with other areas far to the south, in Borneo or the
Dutch East Indies.  

In another note to the Mindoro-Palawan Set, he commented on future work:

Only a few uncopied papers are now on hand, and the isolated character of Mindoro and Palawan is such that little additional material is likely to accumulate without special research, planned and carried out in some definite way. The development of a promising plan for such work is one of the most important problems for the coming years.

Careful ethnographic and archaeological work in Mindoro and Palawan is of primary importance to the study of Philippine pre-Spanish history — especially in the period of Hindu and Chinese contact. The oldest Chinese records about the Philippines yet discovered seem to refer to Mindoro; while the ancient Hindu writing and many other culture features have continued to survive in both Mindoro and Palawan in a most remarkable way. Palawan seems likely to maintain its isolation for some time to come; but any productive work in Mindoro must be begun promptly, since the development of the sugar and copra industries is rapidly turning that island into a Christian province.

Another matter for early attention should be the copying and translating of all known Tagbanua and Mangyan bamboo manuscripts, of which a considerable number are to be found in the various museums and libraries in Manila, as well as in private collections and in some of the museums and libraries of Europe and America.6

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6 H.O. Beyer, 'Terminal Notes to the Set', General Index, Volume 1, p. 128.
The word "Igorot" is properly applied only to the people inhabiting the former subprovince of Benguet, Lepanto, and Amburayan of the Mountain Province - together with the old population once existing in eastern Pangasinan, parts of La Union, and the district of Kayapa. But like the words "Moro" and "Negrito", the term Igorot has come to be incorrectly applied in a general way to designate all the pagan mountaineers of Luzon. This latter usage began in late Spanish times and is still popular - but for the purposes of this series, and for all real scientific discussion of the people, the word is confined to the general culture-group occupying the three subprovinces first named above.

Probably in the future, we shall find it necessary to divide the true Igorot population into a number of localized groups having distinct peculiarities, which set them apart from one another. Heretofore, however, and for our present purposes, the general group is divided only into the two main dialect groups known as Nabaloi and Kankanai - the first occupying southern and central Benguet only, whereas the latter dialect is spoken by most of the Lepanto, and Amburayan Igorots, and extends over into the northern third of Benguet.

Beyer stated that these two distinct groups differ considerably in physical type, culture, and language. The Nabaloi or Iniibaloi group or Ibaloiis resemble the eastern Ifugaos in economic culture though their social life and language is quite different, while the Kankanais present many unique features in their economic culture, but resemble the western Ifugaos in their social life and language. However, there is considerable resemblance in culture between the two groups which distinguishes them from other surrounding groups that he had temporarily included them together.

Begun in 1913, the first three pre-war volumes have been reserved for some 400 plates, and the last three for textual materials. The present three text volumes of fifty-six papers have been completed in 1921 and


3 All three volumes of plates are not available at the N.L.A.
covered data from both groups of the Igorot tribe. At least half of the accounts are not published. According to Beyer, the volumes contain considerable amount of important material, the value of which is enhanced by the lack of printed data in English on general Igorot ethnography.\footnote{H.O. Beyer, 'Terminal Notes to the Set', \textit{General Index}, Volume 1, p. 136.} Twenty-three papers are written in Spanish.

The Igorot Series recorded accounts of the Spanish Dominicans and documents obtained from the Division of Ethnology which are the most numerous, reports of Spanish and American government officials, some printed works and extracts from the same, various unpublished manuscripts, census and other official correspondence.

Eight accounts were written by the Dominican Fathers Joaquin Lazaro, Agustin Ran, Teodoro Jimeno and Mariano Rodriguez from such places as Bambang, San Nicolas, Cayapa and Pangasinan, written between the years 1887-1896 during their missionship among the Igorots and other pagan people inhabiting the vastly unexplored regions in Northern Luzon. Most were in the form of letters addressed to their Provincial head which were printed in \textit{El Correo Sino-Annamita}, a Dominican missionary magazine which made its appearance in Manila from 1866. Two published extensive manuscripts were written by Fr. Mariano Rodriguez, the parish priest in Pozurrubio, Pangasinan and these were 'Igorrotes y Salvages de la Cordillera Nordeste de Pangasinan' (1894), and 'Ethnografia Filipina. Igorrotes de Pangasinan' (1895). Though the letters dealt mainly with happenings in the missionary stations, a great deal of information of an ethnological nature has been brought out in the last two works such as their origin, language, appearance and physical characteristics, customs and folk beliefs, religion, ceremonies, and general culture.

Two works of the Augustinian friars Mariano Isar and Angel Perez

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were compiled, both of their Spanish texts being printed in El Mercantil in 1902: one, 'Distrito de Tiagan' as written in the original Spanish and the other, the translations of Fr. Perez' Igorrotes: Estudio Geográfico y Etnográfico sobre algunos Distritos del Norte de Luzon which were prepared by four of Beyer's students in 1917-1920. The translated parts of his monograph related the history of the mission created at Cavan, with details on the work of the missionaries, as well as the Spanish military and civil officials assigned in the region, and much matter on the origin of the Igorots, their general habits and culture, social and religious customs, ceremonies, the subraces into which the tribe is divided and the more important peculiarities of each of them.

The creation of many non-Christian comandancia político-militar stemmed from the policy of the Spanish colonial government of subjugating and christianizing the inhabitants, particularly in the relatively inaccessible mountain regions of Northern Philippines, and integrating them into the politico-social organization of the nearby christianized settlements. From the records of the Division of Ethnology were collected five unpublished anonymous manuscripts, relative to the decrees which established the Comandancias of Tiagan, Cayapa, Benguet, Lepanto, and Amburayan, their geographical boundaries and the rancherias composing each settlement. All five were written in Spanish.

There were five other historical papers concerning Amburayan, which is peopled by the Kankanai Igorots and organized as a comandancia under the province of La Union by the royal decree of the Governor General Heyler in 1890. It was later established as a Sub-province under the jurisdiction of the Lepanto-Bontoc province in 1905. These were: a brief paper in Spanish, 'Relación de las Rancherías de Infieles de las Provincias de Ilocos Sur y La Unión que Deben Formar Parte de la Comandancia P.M. de Amburayan' written 1889 by Don Luis del Valle, its first Spanish comandante;
several official correspondence and reports of Spanish civil and ecclesiastical personnel (1889-1890) from the Records of the Division of Ethnology; a paper entitled 'Memoranda on Amburayan' (1901) containing few notes about that district and its Igorrote populace as observed by Severino Paredes, an Ilocano native who was maestro habilitado of the boys' school at Quempusa, Amburayan in 1897; David Barrows' 'Memorandum on Amburayan', a work brought about by his visit to Amburayan in 1902 as Chief of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, in which he described the region, its history, the economic and social organization of the Igorrotes, and his recommendation for administering the area; and a paper containing two Acts of the Philippine Commission regarding the creation of the Sub-province of Amburayan.

Among the many original unpublished accounts included in the Set were descriptions of the districts of Lepanto and Benguet and their pagan inhabitants - 'Memoria del Distrito de Lepanto' written in 1872 by two Spanish officials, Carlos Pavia and Agustin de la Cavada Mendez de Vigo,'Usos y Costumbres de los Igorrotes del Distrito de Lepanto' prepared in 1901 by Don Sinforoso Bondad from personal information he had gathered from his long residence among the Lepanto Igorots, and the interesting report of the Acting-Governor of Lepanto-Bontok, Captain Charles Nathorst to the Secretary of Interior in 1906, titled in the Set as 'Marriage and Burial Ceremonies of the Lepanto Igorots and the Bontoks'. In addition to information on geography, natural resources and population, these papers have information concerning the general characteristics of the Lepanto Igorots, their religious practices, ceremonies, division of the year, their birth, marriage and burial traditions, administration of justice, and some statistics on their economy and social status under Spain, as of 1872. There were two papers in Spanish and both dated 1902, which pertained to the
Igorrote tribes dwelling in the district of Benguet, Esteban de Guzman's 'Breve Informacion Sobre Costumbres, Usos, etc., de los Igorots de Benguet' and a brief article by the President of the city of Baguio entitled 'Casamiento Igorrote'. The first afforded a survey of Benguet at the beginning of the present century, its topography, flora and fauna, mines, rivers, other natural resources, the population, accompanied by a large proportion of ethnographical data about the inhabitants; while the second largely concentrated on their social traditions and a little on their religion and tribal organization.

Important data were also furnished by three census reports of 1903 which were written by Provincial Governors William Pack of Benguet, William Dinwiddie of Lepanto-Bontok, and some census enumerators recording population, the modes of living, folk beliefs, and customs of the inhabitants, and the progress made in the first few years under the Americans, particularly in the economic and social aspects.

Worthy of note were the series of five Provincial Papers from the Philippine Library which were compiled in the last volume in a paper named, 'History of the Township of Angaki, Subprovince of Lepanto, Mountain Province' written and attested to by sixty old men or principaltias and township officials in the township of Angaki during the years 1880, and 1911. The historical accounts, written in Ilocano and English, related the origin of Angaki and five of its barrios, the names of the earliest settlers and town officials and their places of origin, how their forefathers received their official appointments from the Spanish government and how they lived in the ancient days, with some very interesting notes on their social customs, especially with regards to marriage and their traditional feast locally termed cañáo.

There were five brief vocabularies which dealt with the Igorot dialects: two undated and anonymous papers from the Records of the
Division of Ethnology, 'Breve Vocabulario en Ingles, Igorrote e Ilocano' and 'English-Ilocano-Nabaloi Vocabulary'; Esteban de Guzman's 'Breve Vocabulario Español-Ilocano e Igorrote Nabiloy' written 1902 in Benguet; a 'Spanish-Iloko-Kankanai-Nabiloi Vocabulary' (1903) authored by Vicente Garcia; and a collection of Otley Beyer's 112 Igorot terms he had gathered from the villages of Naiba and Malaya in the Subprovince of Amburayan, together with equivalent Ifugao and English words. The latter was entitled, 'A Brief Vocabulary of the Malaya Igorot Dialect', and was dated in 1912.

Other official reports and correspondence during the first decades of American rule were by David Barrows, Chief of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, the Secretary of Interior Dean Worcester, and Otley Beyer, then an ethnologist employed in the Bureau. Included in the set was one of Barrows' report to the Secretary of Interior where he narrated the details of his reconnaissance trips to the Cordillera Central, the longest and most generally elevated mountain range in the Philippines and inhabited by a diverse number of primitive tribes called by Barrows in that report as 'Igorrote'. Barrows also described their villages, general characteristics, and certain features of their culture, but mainly touched on their social customs and economic life. Four papers were devoted to Beyer's unpublished reports and notes. One briefly noted his trip to the District of Kayapa in Benguet in 1910, two others consisted of official records he had obtained from the Bureau of Science and the Philippine Museum (1915-1920) together with his comments on the acquisition of the said Bureau of an ancient male tattooed Igorot mummy which was found preserved inside a wooden coffin in a cave in Buguias, Benguet, and was traditionally believed by the Igorots as already in that grave when their forefathers were born. While the fourth work entitled 'Papers Relating to the Use of Dog as Food Among the Igorots of Benguet' was composed of official

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5 David Barrows, 'A Preliminary Report on Explorations Among the Tribes of the Cordillera Central of Northern Luzon', 1903.
records (1920) including one by Beyer, commenting on the existence of a
dogmarket for the Igorrotes in the city of Baguio and the Igorot custom
of using dogs as food and as sacrificial animals during their religious
rites.

The Series had also an ethnological account regarding the Igorrotes
of San Nicolas, Pangasinan which was written by B. Loarca in 1902 in
answer to the Bureau's first publication issued in 1901, a brief myth
recorded 1910 at Benguet by Donato Cariño concerning the deities of the
Igorrotes, and another article about the Igorots of the Cordillera Central,
done by one of Beyer's students in 1917. Of interest was Victor Lednicky's
'The Palidan Slide' (1916), with its history and methods of mining utilized
in that old gold-mining area situated in the southwest corner of Lepanto
region, said to have been worked by at least four generations of Igorot
natives before the arrival of the Spaniards. Two works of unusual
interest are Otto Scherer's 'Report on the Linguistic Exploration of the
Mountain Province' (1918) addressed to the President Ignacio Villamor of
the University of the Philippines, and his English translation of a half-
fable, half-fairy tale given him by a young native from a Benguet village,
in the native Katawan dialect. In the first report, Scheerer wrote about
a collection of original native texts he had recorded from the Kalinga,
Itneg, and Bontok tribes. It also contained some extracts taken from an
Ibaloi story he had gathered from Benguet. According to Scheerer, these
extracted texts, appearing in the report in the original Inibaloi dialect
in which it was given and with his added translations, possessed historical
import besides the linguistic value, because it represents the unofficial
history on the origin of the Benguet people and at the same time provided
a wonderful insight into Ibaloi thought and customs - as it traced back
for some eight generations the progenitors of almost the entire principalia
of southern and central Benguet. The second work embodied his critical
analysis of the Benguet tale which he considered as a 'genuinely
national product representing a phase of cultural development of our people far antedating the advent of the Spaniards. The paper was entitled 'Talia: A Fairy Tale from the Philippine Alps' (1919).

Three published works containing considerable Igorot sources were written by Fr. Angel Perez, Dean Worcester, and Otto Scheerer, their titles were cited in the Index although their contents were not reproduced in this Set. The extracts from published materials, besides those from El Correo Sino-Annamita were from Sinibaldo de las Islas Filipinas en 1842 (1843) and from Beiträge zur Kenntniss der im innern Nord-Luzons lebenden Stämme (1889) by Dr Alexander Schadenberg. The latter extract is given in the original German and contains a German-Lepanto vocabulary.

The area covered in the Igorot Series was said by Beyer to be so considerable and local studies have been so comparatively few that the Set cannot be regarded as by any means satisfactory - particularly from the customary law point of view. However this deficiency regarding Igorot customary law in his manuscript materials he stated is partly supplied by the important printed publications by Moss, Vanoverberg, and Robertson - wherein customary law matters are given special preference.6

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The Ifugao Series, together with the Sets from the Igorot, Bontok, and Itneg-Kalinga peoples of Northern Luzon, were the first ones to be begun, and were compiled in 1912-1913. The original Ifugao Set of twenty ethnographic volumes was compiled by Beyer with the co-editorship of Roy F. Bartan, during the years 1912 to 1920, and consisted of one hundred and sixty-four papers. Five Volumes were devoted exclusively to 670 plates.¹

The surviving ten-volume Set of one hundred and forty-nine papers comprises a collection of manuscripts, records from the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes and Division of Ethnology, Census Reports of 1903, Annual Reports of the Sub-province of Ifugao and the Provinces of Isabela and Nueva Vizcaya, other government and military records, extracts from the Reports of the Philippine Commission and El Correo Sino-Annamita, and other published works. Of these diverse accounts, at least one third are unpublished. Seventy-one papers are written in the Spanish language and one had been translated in the present Set.

Beyer had described the arrangement and numbering of the Ifugao papers as more irregular than in the other sets due to the fact that his ideas of classification and arrangement for the ethnographic series had not yet been fully worked out during that time.² After the completion of the twentieth volume, he had plans to start a new Ifugao Series early in 1923. Thus he wrote:

More original unworked over and unarranged Ifugao material remains on hand than that available for any other set. This is, of course, largely due to my years of personal residence among the Ifugaos.

¹ Volumes 5, 6, 18, 19 and 20 containing the photographs; and another five volumes of text materials are not available. The surviving ten-volume Set actually contained 149 papers, although the papers were numbered until 154.

and to my continued contact with them through more or less regular annual or semi-annual visits. In working up the first series, my own notes have been much neglected and the accumulation of all data recorded by others has been given first preference. The mass and ill-assorted condition of my accumulated notes, however, is now such as to make their arrangement and working up into some usable form a prime necessity. It therefore seems wise to devote the early volumes of the new Ifugao Series to a cleaning up of my own material - so far as may be practicable. In order to facilitate this, my former scheme of putting all my own material directly into publishable form best be abandoned for the present, and the material inserted in whatever form will best insure its accurate preservation and availability for future use in working up suitable publications - either by myself or literary heirs.3

The second Ifugao Series never materialized.

The habitat of the Ifugao is completely embraced in the political division termed the "Sub-province of Ifugao", one of the seven sub-provinces comprising the Mt. Province... Ifugaoland occupies the region between the high central range of the Cordillera Mountains on the West and the Magat river on the east... The extreme length north and south is twenty-eight miles. The area, if the country were a plain, would probably be near 850 square miles; but ridged by high mountains and cut by deep valleys as the region is, the superficial area is very much greater... The entire region is mountainous. The mountains are, generally speaking, very steep, and the valleys narrow.4

According to Beyer, at least one-third of the Sub-province is habitable, with the inhabited areas having an average elevation between 3,000 and 4,000 feet above sea-level.5

Beyer stated:

The pagan mountain peoples of northern Luzon have been cut off by war-like customs, and by impassable mountain barriers, from their christianized and semi-civilized neighbours of the plains, ever since the Spanish conquest. They have thus preserved their ancient cultures - some of which are by no means low in grade - almost untouched. The Ifugao people rank highest in this group, both in material and in social culture....6

3 H.O. Beyer, 'Terminal Notes to the Set', General Index, Volume 1, p. 154.

   This was quoted from Barton's detached notes to the above manuscript, which followed the entire text.

5 This was taken from Beyer's notes in the Appendix to the above-mentioned Barton manuscript, written in September 1911.

6 Taken from Beyer's introduction to the Barton manuscript, which was part of the Appendix written September 1911.
And further:

The Ifugao people... represent the purest and most developed type of the living "terrace culture" people of Luzon. In addition to being the largest pagan group still surviving in the Philippines, they represent in many phases of both economic and social-religious culture the highest developed group carrying on the old Iron-Age civilization - which seems to have entered Luzon direct from Northern Indo-China, something over two thousand years ago, and to have spread northeastward and southeastward from the Agno river valley in Pangasinan.  

The boundaries of the Sub-province of Ifugao exactly coincide with the territory occupied by the Ifugao people. Some mixture of blood, culture, and language has taken place all around the border line with the peoples inhabiting the Sub-provinces of Kalinga, Bontok, Lepanto, Benguet, and Nueva Vizcaya - but this influence extends only a very short distance inland. Part of the people of mixed blood live in Ifugao, and part in the surrounding sub-provinces. Outside of these mixed bloods, all known Ifugaoos live within the Sub-province with the exception of a small group of a few hundred people who have permanently located in the towns of Solano and Bayombong in Nueva Vizcaya.  

Beyer described the Ifugao people as

possessing a quite unique and distinctive culture, with characteristic house types, clothing, adornment, basketry, utensils and implements, an extensive mythology and a very highly developed polytheistic religion. Their language is distinct but belongs to the Iloko group. Ifugao genealogies are often preserved for from fifteen to thirty generations. They are of very mixed race, with practically all the physical types represented: Malay, Indonesian, short Mongol, and Ainu. 

The contributions of the Spanish missionaries are the most numerous in the Series. These included letters, and extensive reports of the Dominicans to their superiors, relative to Ifugao life, beliefs and customs, and other events in the missions which they have observed while stationed along the borders or within Ifugao country in the last century of Spanish colonization. Fifty-two accounts in Spanish, written from 1867 to 1896 by eleven missionaries, were abstracted by Beyer from El Correo Sino-Annamita, an important missionary magazine printed in

8 From Beyer's introduction to the Barton manuscript.
9 H.O. Beyer, Population of the Philippines in 1916, p. 44.
Manila which was run by the Dominican Order. Among the principal writers of the periodical whose accounts were collected in the Set were Fathers Juan Villaverde, Buenaventura Campa, and Julian Malumbres.

Fr Juan Villaverde, the celebrated missionary and great apostle of the Ifugao arrived in the Philippines in 1867, and was assigned to various regions in the interior of Nueva Vizcaya including Ibaay, Bayombong, Lagaui, Ibung, Solano, Aritao and Magulang. He was missionary in Kiangan, Ifugao from 1868 to 1872, and again from 1891 onwards, until he had to go to Manila because of a serious sickness in the beginning of 1897. He left the Philippine Islands the middle of the same year, dying aboard the steamship 'Covadonga' during the journey back to Spain on 4 August. According to Fr. Malumbres, the first productions of Fr Villaverde's pen from October 1, 1868 were published in the important collection of El Correo Sino-Annamita wherein he related on how he found the mission of Ibaay, in Kiangan, and the many vicissitudes and privations which he had to undergo. In addition to his many printed works, Fr Villaverde left some important works unpublished, which Fr Malumbres wrote were related to the happenings in that region during the said period - events that are the more worthy of consideration from the fact that the Ifugao on one hand and the revolutionaries on the other destroyed everything that existed in the archives of Kiangan, Bontok, and other districts.⁹a

Twenty-four accounts of Fr. Villaverde, mainly letters, written from 1868 to 1895 at various mission sites and published in that collection, were compiled in three Ifugao volumes. The most important is Supersticiones de los Igorrotes Ifugao, a manuscript that was originally written in Kiangan from 1891 to 1896, and which was considered by Fr Malumbres as the crowning masterpiece of his many interesting documents. The original Spanish edition which appeared in 1912 in El Correo Sino-Annamita (Volume 38) was edited by Fr Malumbres and was one of the two

⁹a From an introductory note by Fr Malumbres to Fr Villaverde's The Religious Beliefs of the Kiangan Ifugao found in Ifugao Set, Volume 3.
monographs in the twelfth volume. It was translated by three American ethnologists in the Division of Ethnology in Manila, with the first part done by Otley Beyer and John Garvan in July and August, 1912 and the second part prepared in July 1913 and October-November 1914 by Beyer and Emerson Christie. The translated text was bound as Volume three, and provided a comprehensive and valuable exposition on the mythology and religious conceptions of the Ifugao tribes of Kiangan, their customs and folk beliefs, their many legends and traditional stories as told by the old people. It contained, according to Fr Malumbres, 'conditions existing among the Ifugao tribes and which are now given to the world with the certainty that they will be pleasing to filipinologists scattered here and there across the seas, both because of the importance of the subject, and because of the recognized authority of Fr Villaverde, who had lived some twenty-five years among the Ifugao tribes at the time he wrote the work.' The Ifugao Set had two other extensive manuscripts he had written while stationed at Ibung, Nueva Vizcaya and printed 1879 and 1881: 'Informe Sobre La Reduccion de los Infieles de Luzon' and 'Plan de Misiones Para Reducir a los Igorrotes de Nueva Vizcaya, Isabela y Cagayan'. These works described the general culture and modes of living of the various infidel tribes inhabiting the mountains of Cagayan, Isabela and Nueva Vizcaya, generally designated by the name Igorrotes, as well as accounts on the organization of the mission of Ibung, his recommendations for the conversion of these tribes and the means of extending effective governmental control over their settlements.

Fr Julian Malumbres, another renowned Dominican missionary of Kiangan, who edited Villaverde's 'Supersticiones de los Igorrotes Ifugao', contributed in the present Set five mission letters which were published 1887 to 1891; an extensive Spanish-English-Ifugao vocabulary
compiled in Ifugao volume 12 in the original printed edition of 1911; and a brief article dated 1903, concerning the pagan tribes of Northern Luzon such as the Isinayes, Igorrotes, Calingas, Mandayas, Ilongotes, Catalanganes and the Negritos.

Two mission reports and a manuscript, 'Una Visita A Las Rancherias de Ilongotes' which were authored by Fr Buenaventura Campa, a Dominican missionary who resided for a considerable time in a Christian town bordering the Sub-province of Ifugao, were included in the Set. The latter had data not only on the customs and existing conditions among the Ilongotes, but on other mountain groups like the Ifugaos. These accounts were published 1879 to 1891.

Dominican records concerning the conditions among the various pagan inhabitants of Luzon during the latter part of the Spanish era were also contained in Fr Francisco Gainza's 'Memoria Sobre Nueva Vizcaya' which was published 1849 in Manila; and the collection of documents compiled by the Dominicans and published 1881 in Manila. The second largely consisted of official decrees and circulars of Governor-General Primo de Rivera relative to the administration of the non-Christians in the provinces of Cagayan and Isabela with related information on the immigration of the Christianized Ilocanos, his recommendations and policies on such matters, together with reports on existing conditions by government officials and missionaries assigned in these regions.

Beyer compiled two published accounts by Augustinian friars: 'Distrito de Quiangan' by Fr Mariano Isar, and the 157-paged extracts from Fr Angel Perez's Igorrotes: Estudio Geográfico y Ethnográfico Sobre Algunos Distritos del Norte de Luzon. Both were printed 1902

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A fourth work, Los Mayoyoos y la Raza Ifugao (Apuntes Para Un Estudio) printed 1892-1893 in El Correo Sino-Annamita, was copied and bound as Ifugao Volume 8. This volume is not available. The work was later printed in Madrid, retitled Etnografia Filipina. Los Mayoyoos y la Raza Ifugao (Apuntes Para Un Estudio).
in *El Mercantil* and contained historical accounts about the *comandancias* and missions in the mountains of Luzon, and much geographical and ethnographical data about the many pagan tribes in the region, their general habitat, origin, customs and cultural peculiarities.

Materials relevant to the pagan Ifugaos during the American period could be found mainly in the works of two American ethnologists who had resided in the Ifugao sub-province, Otley Beyer and Roy Barton; in the accounts of some military officials; records of the Division of Ethnology and Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes; early Census Reports; Annual Reports of governors in the provinces of Nueva Vizcaya and Isabela; official records filed in the sub-province of Ifugao; and several published accounts of foreign scholar-writers, historians or ethnologists.

According to Beyer confusing terminologies have been applied mostly by Spanish writers to groups of Ifugao, who are a people of essential unity both in culture and language. Thus, they were called Alamit, Alimit, Alimut, Altabanes, Altasanes, Ayangan, Bungananes, Bunnayan, Bunsianes, Epocaos, Silipanes, Ilabanes, Ifugagos, Ifumangies, Ilamut, Ipucao, Ipugao, Iraya, Mayaoyao, Mayoyao, Panibuyes, Pannipuyes, Punquianes, Quianganes, Silipanes. Indeed, a careful reading of the materials in the present Series would indicate this to be so. Beyer was one of the first to classify the numerous Ifugao clans into five more or less distinct culture groups occupying five areas, namely: Kiangan Ifugao, Western Ifugao, Central Ifugao, Alimit Ifugao and Mayoyao Ifugao. He wrote:

The people of Alimit Ifugao are known to the literature of the past as "Silipanes", and the people of Mayoyao Ifugao as "Mayoyao", "Buncianes" or "Bungianes". These people all speak the Sub-Ifugao or Silisan dialect - and also differ considerably in religion from the pure-Ifugao speaking people... the religious districts of the Pure-Ifugao speaking people are two - Central Ifugao and Western Ifugao together forming one, and Kiangan

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Ifugao the other. The Central and Western Ifugao areas have been studied chiefly by myself, and Kiangan Ifugao chiefly by Mr Barton. I have confined myself largely to Banauol, Pokitan, Pugu, Anganad, Lugu, Kababuyan, Balaois, and Angode clans in Central Ifugao — and to Polod, Hungduan, and Auwa clans in Western Ifugao — most of my work being done in Banauol clan. Nearly all of Mr Barton's study has been carried on in Kiangan clan district, (more properly two clans, Otbobon and Bobok).  

Roy Barton's monumental work, entitled The Religion of the Kiangan Ifugao, was one of his two works in the Ifugao Set which essentially dealt with the religion of the Ifugaos of Kiangan. The monograph was completed by him in 1910, at the end of his first period of residence among the Ifugao, and was rearranged and edited by Beyer from 1911 to 1912, then bound as Volume two in the present manuscript Series. In editing the work for the 'Ifugao Series', Beyer added an Appendix which was prepared September 1911 and consisted of an introduction, considerable notes, and cross references of 180 items to the monograph, which he said were intended chiefly for the use of Barton in revising the manuscript and in making new investigations. Beyer also stated that the copy in Volume 2 has been made from Barton's original manuscript, with the form and arrangement being preserved.

Of interest in the Appendix was Beyer's sketch map of the five culture areas in the Ifugao sub-province drawn in 1912, and a series of two statistical tables which he said are the result of long and careful investigation and is believed to be the most accurate statistics obtainable at that time. The tables supplied general data and statistics on the sub-province as regards government personnel, population distribution by

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12 Taken from Beyer's introduction to Barton's The Religion of the Kiangan Ifugaos.

13 The other work is 'The Harvest Feast of the Kiangan Ifugao' which appeared in Volume 7. That volume is not available. It was printed in 1911 in the Philippine Journal of Science.
class divisions and culture areas, geography, and interesting figures as
the wealth of the Ifugao people in terms of land, houses, livestock, and
other forms of personal and public property, including ancient Chinese jars,
bronze gongs and amber-agate beads, highly prized among the Ifugao and
probably brought into the Islands through the Chinese traders, centuries
before the coming of the Spaniards. Barton's work contained a vast amount
of information on the nature of Ifugao hierarchical deities and spirit
beings, their many wonderful origin myths and traditional stories, and
their many religious ceremonies connected with ancestral souls, the
occurrence of sickness, birth and reproduction, courtship, marriage and
divorce, death, when taking heads or burying beheaded bodies, during
ordeals and peace-making, involving agriculture, public ceremonies and
others. In his introduction, Beyer brought out the value of Barton's
work:

Kiangan Ifugao would seem to be the religious center of the
sub-province. Many of the religious conceptions now current
in other districts undoubtedly originated in Kiangan. However,
these original conceptions and ideas have been much modified in
their new homes, as a perusal of my notes to Mr Barton's paper
will readily show.

The best way of getting at the Kiangan man's outlook upon life is
by giving Mr Barton's paper a thorough and careful reading. His
work has been performed with great attention to detail, with
accuracy of statement, and with an especially admirable attempt
to always express from the Ifugao's point of view, where possible,
the idea set forth.

To Beyer, the manuscript as it stands is the most important
contribution yet made to the study of the native religions of the
Philippine Islands.

Beyer's ethnological career started among the Ifugaos, where he
was first assigned to work by David Barrows upon his arrival in the
Islands in 1905, and where he resided continuously for three years, from
1905 to 1908. On the Ifugao people alone he had written several reports,
manuscripts, brief articles of importance, of which fifteen, written
1908 to 1913, were compiled in this Set. Eleven articles, including the
letters, were unpublished.\textsuperscript{14}

As ethnologist under the Bureau of Science, Beyer made four official visits to the Ifugao Sub-province during the years 1910 to 1912, engaged in collecting ethnological specimens, taking photographs and physical measurements, pacing distances and elevations, making rough sketch maps and generally verifying old data and acquiring new information. These travel accounts, mostly by foot and on horseback, throughout certain districts in Central, Eastern, and Western Ifugao were embodied in a series of four letters written between 1910 to 1912 which were filed in the Bureau of Ethnology in Manila, and copies were included in the Ifugao Set. The letters were addressed to the Bureau Director, Paul Freer and Division Chief, Merton Miller and contained detailed itineraries of his trips, together with descriptions of the pagan tribes he had encountered and the interesting routes he travelled through, which were relatively unexplored by white men. One of Beyer's reports, written June 1911, contained some topographical data on the distances and elevation of forty-six points he had observed in the two sub-provinces of Benguet and Ifugao ranging from 3,000 to 7,000 feet above sea level. His other unpublished brief works included: an article with anthropometric measurements of fifty Ifugao men and women, which Beyer together with Roberto Laperal took in 1910 from twelve clans in the Ifugao Sub-province; a detailed list of 2,011 specimens, including their cost prices, contained in Beyer's ethnological collection from the Ifugao, Igorot and Bontok peoples of Northern Luzon sold to the Peabody Museum of Ethnology in Harvard University in 1908; a list of eleven volumes of The Philippine Islands with specific reference pages related to the history of the provinces of

\textsuperscript{14} Two works are found in Volumes 4 and 7, volumes which are not available. These were 'An Ifugao Burial Ceremony' which was published 1911 in the Philippine Journal of Science, and an unpublished account which he co-authored with Roy Barton, entitled Miscellaneous Data on the Ifugao Language (Texts, Grammatical Notes, and Vocabularies). The latter was fully bound as Volume 4.
Ituy and Paniki; and an original paper which he co-authored with Elmer Merrill, botanist of the Bureau of Science, called 'Ifugao Economic Plants'. This Beyer-Merrill report was prepared 1911 in Manila, based exclusively on 171 plant specimens actually collected by Beyer near Banaue and in Kiangan inside the sub-province, and the Ifugao-Benguet borderline, at an average elevation of 4,000 feet above sea level between the period September 1910 to June 1911. All identifications incorporated in that paper were done in Manila by Merrill, in the year 1911. The manuscript consisted of the Ifugao names of the native plants, their scientific and common names, origin, designation as to whether wild or cultivable, and description of uses. Fifty-four years later, in 1965, Harold Conklin of Yale University rendered an edited reproduction and evaluative interpretation of the unpublished Beyer-Merrill contribution to science, in a paper 'Ifugao Ethnobotany. The 1911 Beyer-Merrill Report in Perspective'. In his paper, Conklin described their report as 'the first and only account devoted entirely to Ifugao ethnobotany and the only written account dealing with the cultural significance of a large number of Ifugao economic plants'. A copy of Conklin's paper has been included in the Ifugao Series as a separate bound volume.

Copies of Beyer's published works in the present Set included: a paper read before the Philippine Academy in 1912, named 'Origin Myths Among the Mountain Peoples of the Philippines'; 'The Non-Christian Tribes of Northern Luzon' with his brief descriptions of the culture of six pagan Malayan tribes of Northern Luzon - the Ilongots, Tinggians, Kalingas, Igorots, Bontoks, and Ifugaos - occupying a very mountainous country almost wholly comprised within the Mt Province, Province of Nueva Vizcaya and the sub-province of Abra; and a 1910 report to Paul Freer concerning the use and manufacture of a certain ceremonial rice drink common among eight tribes in Luzon, including the Ifugaos. The latter is titled, 'Report on the Use of A Fermented Rice Drink in Northern Luzon'. 
All of the above-mentioned papers were published in the *Philippine Journal of Science* from 1911 to 1913, apart from the second work which appeared under a different title, 'Head hunters and others of Northern Luzon' in the 1911 Yearly Review edition of the *Cablenews-American*. The second work also contained a few notes by Beyer on the progress of American administration of the Mt Province and its people. The most notable and most important was the paper he read before the Philippine Academy and which chiefly dealt with the oral myths of the pagan mountain peoples of the Philippines which traditionally form part of their religious ceremonials.\(^{14b}\) According to Beyer, 'no representative collection of Philippine myths has yet been made - and [his] paper can only be considered a beginning in that line. Most of the myths and legends [in the paper] were collected by men well acquainted with the dialect of the people from whom the myth or legend was obtained; they are therefore of much greater value than if they had been secured through interpreters.' In this work, Beyer commented on the sources which pertained to the religion and mythology of the primitive pagan groups like the Tagbanuas and Mangyans of Palawan, the Subanums, Manobos and other pagan tribes of Mindanao, the Tinggians of Northern Luzon, and the Igorot, Bontok, and Ifugao tribes. Of note in the manuscript were the recording of representative legends from the Igorot, Bontok and Ifugao people whose order of beliefs, as far as Beyer was concerned, is the highest among the Northern Luzon pagans, in addition to possessing the best developed material and social culture of any of Philippine mountain tribes. It also contained Beyer's free translation into English of two Bontok myths taken from Seidenadal's *The First Grammar of the Language Spoken by the Bontoc Igorot (With &'Vocabulary and Texts)* published 1909, since the interlinear literal translation done by Seidenadal was observed by Beyer as slightly inaccurate in some places; and Beyer's translations of five original myths which he had collected from two clans
in Central Ifugao, during the years 1906 to 1909.

In 1910, Beyer made a literal copy of an original manuscript in the Ifugao dialect prepared during the years 1907-1910 by Pablo Imatung, a priest of the Banawol clan in the district of Banaue. The original manuscript copied at Banaue was here reproduced and titled by Beyer 'Ifugao Religious Ceremonies'. Other works which pertained to Ifugao religion and mythology in the Set were: a paper containing a few collections of mythological stories and beliefs obtained in 1907 from Quiangan by William Bryant, Norman Conner, Frank Killen and William Wooden from two old men of Pindungan as interpreted by the presidente, Bulayyungan; a popular legend among the Ifugao of Banaue concerning Uigan and Bugan, who were traditionally believed to be the progenitors of their race and related in about 1905 to Lt Levi Case, the American commanding the Constabulary post at Banaue, by an old Ifugao priest of the Banauol clan named Bindadan, through an interpreter; and a paper consisting of transcribed extracts taken from the first part of the Hudhud, one of two great Ifugao epic poems which was said to correspond in general type to the Hindu Mahabharata. The second paper was titled 'Folklore of the Igorrotes' and according to Beyer, was published in the Philippine Journal of Science in 1909 in a revised form. The extracted text from Hudhud referred to in the latter work was transcribed in 1902 by a Christianized Gaddang native who used the Spanish alphabet, which Beyer said was very correct despite its many phonetic errors. Its original Ifugao version was obtained at Kutug, Nueva Vizcaya from Leon, a famous Ifugao priest from the Kiangan clan who died about 1905 or 1906. A copy of the Spanish transcription was in Volume 9. Beyer stated in the preface to that paper:

...the Hudhud is a very long poem which would require more than fourteen hours actual time to sing... So far as I know [it] is unique to the Pure Ifugao dialect group, and is best known in Kiangan Ifugao.
The Hudhud consists of a series of great song stories - hero stories - sung about famous hero ancestors of long ago, detailing their lives and adventures and their dealings with gods and men.

Men who know the whole of the Hudhud are celebrated for their knowledge.

Their importance is great, both as pure literature and because they maybe one of the greatest helps in solving the problem of the origin of the Ifugao people.

The Ifugao Set contained three unpublished descriptive and historical records which pertained to Kiangan (Quiangan), a beautiful, panoramic and mountainous region which was formerly one of the politico-military commandancias organized under Spain for the administration of the inhabitants of Northern Luzon: an anonymous Spanish manuscript from the Division of Ethnology 'Datos Acerca Del Distrito de Quiangan', 1892, and two works by David Barrows and Elmer Merrill which were both written in 1903.

The few military records included Captain Lewis Patstone's 'Report of an Expedition into the Igorrote District of Quiangan, Nueva Vizcaya' (1903); some official correspondence of Lt Charles Bates during the years 1903 to 1904 while commanding a Philippine Constabulary detachment in Nueva Vizcaya; and Lt Maximo Meimban's compilation of historical documents regarding the historical and legendary origin of nineteen districts in the Sub-province of Ifugao as well as of the various rancherias and barrios comprising each district.

Included in the last work were many accounts on the etymological derivation and significance of the names of these places, accounts of their descendants and the early settlers in the place, the early Spanish military personnel and missionaries who were stationed there, the inter-tribal wars and feuds and other important historical events in the past which occurred in these regions. The documents were compiled in 1911 in accordance with the provisions of Executive Order No. 2 (January 26, 1911) of the American Governor-General William C. Forbes, which informed:

In view of the fact that the history of Philippine Islands cannot be fully ascertained from a perusal of official records only, and there being a great wealth of historical material in the possession of the people, which will be lost in a few years, since it is in the form of manuscripts, many of which are destroyed each year by
fires, storms, and other untoward happenings, and much of which is committed to memory only and will pass away forever with the death of those whose memories serve as a veritable treasure-house of all that pertains to the Filipino people and their history:

The Government desires to recognize those individuals who have made the retention and transmission of the history of their people a sacred duty and to gather and preserve in proper historical form all that is interesting and valuable from a historical and ethnological standpoint.

The information embodied in the collection of Lt Meimban were chiefly obtained by a careful and tedious questioning of the old men of the different ranacherías in Kiangan because of the relative absence of written records.

From the Records of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, Beyer obtained the correspondence of American government personnel written during the first years of American rule in the Islands, relative to the administration of the non-Christians in Mt Province; a list of Silipan ranacherías as of 1902; and an accurate copy of the first mimeographed circular published by the said Bureau in 1901 in Spanish, titled *Preguntas Para El Estudio Etnologico de las Tribus*, and of which 1,000 copies have been sent out to all presidentes of municipalities and government officials throughout the Philippines in 1901-1902. The list of 401 questions contained in the circular which were originally prepared by Dean Worcester aimed to secure ethnological data on the numerous Philippine tribes found by the Americans during their arrival in the Colony at the turn of the century. Over 500 manuscripts were received by the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes as responses to that publication, and two related to the Ifugaos and were reproduced in Volume 9. These were the accounts of Wenceslao Valera and Inocencio Gaduang regarding the Ifugaos inhabiting the municipalities of Bagabag and Bayombong in the province of Nueva Vizcaya, both dated in 1902.

Valuable data about the Ifugaos were also provided by four Census Reports of 1903 and ten Annual Reports covering the years 1904 to 1908.
which were written by the provincial governors of Isabela and Nueva Vizcaya. These reports concerned the Christian and non-Christian inhabitants in the provinces of Isabela and Nueva Vizcaya and contained a considerable amount of information pertaining to the general political, economic, and social conditions of the people, as well as the progress of American administration especially in the fields of health, education, public works and peace and order, and their recommendations for maintaining the confidence and goodwill of the inhabitants. The annual reports were extracted from the Reports of the Philippine Commission.

There were several Records from the Sub-province of Ifugao, mainly written at Kiangan by Capt. Jeff Gallman, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Sub-province of Ifugao. These were in the form of annual reports and official letters written from 1910 to 1912, and contained some data on the progress done in the construction of roads, trail works and other public works, and the maintenance of peace and order under his supervision, with related information on population, natural resources, economic and social conditions.

Of note among these Records were two papers, one containing two court cases on crimes of beheading in 1911, extracted from the Records of the Justice of the Peace Court in the Sub-province wherein Lt Gallman acted as Ex-Oficio Justice of the Peace; and the other was Lt Gallman's report of 1912 to the Secretary of Interior, Dean Worcester, regarding the existence of several cases of transactions in the sale of human beings under investigation in Kiangan during that time. The report, titled 'Slave-Dealing in Ifugao' described thirty-nine cases which occurred between 1898 to 1909 in the Ifugao Sub-province. According to Gallman, there were several hundreds of other uninvestigated and unrecorded transactions between the evacuation of the country by the Spaniards and the establishment of the American authority in Ifugao and

There were hundreds of Ifugaos living in Nueva Vizcaya and Isabela
who had been sold to the Christians as slaves.

More than one-half of the Ifugao materials were published works or extracts from published works. The former included a paper called 'Sapao', written by the American bishop Reverend Charles Brent as a result of his trip to Sapao, an ancient Ifugao district situated in the same culture area as Quiangan, together with Beyer who acted as interpreter during their journey in 1907; and two descriptive articles describing beautiful Ifugaoland, its tribal inhabitants and mountain rice terraces considered as among the wonders of the earth and 'the most stupendous task ever accomplished by a thoroughly savage people.'\textsuperscript{15} These two articles, 'Glimpse into Ifugao', and 'Savage Irrigation in Luzon. The Wonderful Rice Terraces of the Headhunting Ifugaos' resulted from personal visits of the authors who had included some photographs of the people and the scenery in the articles, especially the panoramic pictures of the terraced pyramids. They were printed in The Philippines Monthly (1911) and Scientific American (1912), respectively; while the article 'Sapao' was published in Manila in the 1907 edition of Manila Outlook.

Ethnological and historical Ifugao materials were also provided by the several extracts taken from published works of well-known foreign scholar-writer-historians like Sinibaldo De Mas' Informe Sobre El Estado de las Islas Filipinas En 1842, Sir John Bowring's A Visit to the Philippine Islands, Wenceslao Retana's Mando del General Weyler en Filipinas, Blair and Robertson's The Philippine Islands, Frederick Sawyer's The Inhabitants of the Philippines, A. Henry Savage Landor's The Gems of the East and from Dr Alexander Schadenberg's Beiträge zur kenntnis der im innern Nord-Luzons lebenden Stämme (part 2). Beyer also compiled extracts from four printed works of Ferdinand Blumentritt: 'Diccionario Mitologico de Filipinas' (1896); Die Bungianen (1893), Versuch einer Ethnographie

\textsuperscript{15} Hamilton, Wright. 'Savage Irrigation in Luzon. The Wonderful Rice Terraces of the Headhunting Ifugaos'. Scientific American, February 3, 1912, p. 108.
der Philippinen (1882), and Neuere Werke über die Philippinen (1895); and from three works of David Barrows, first Chief of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes - 'Population' printed in the Census of the Philippine Islands (1903), 'The Negrito and Allied Types in the Philippines' published in The American Anthropologist in 1910, and 'A Preliminary Report of Explorations Among the Tribes of the Cordillera Central of Northern Luzon', an original manuscript addressed in 1903 to Dean C. Worcester, Secretary of Interior for the Philippines.

The extracted parts from the last two works in German by Blumentritt, mentioned above, have been translated into English and annotated in 1912 by Edwin Schneider, and copies of translations were here included together with the German originals.

There were extracts from Balonglong, The Igorot Boy published in 1907 (Chicago) and written by Ernest A. Jenks, former chief of the Ethnological Survey of the Philippine Islands; and from The Flight and Wanderings of Emilio Aguinaldo. From His Abandonment of Bayombong Until His Capture in Palanan, written by Dr Simeon Villa. The original diary was prepared in Spanish by Dr Villa, a medical officer on Aguinaldo's staff which accompanied the Filipino revolutionary leader during his flight from the American forces (1899-1901); along with other papers, the diary fell into the hands of American authorities when Aguinaldo was captured at Palanan, Isabela, on March 22, 1901. The extracted portion was taken from the English translation which was done in 1902 by Lt J.C. Hixson of the U.S. Volunteers and covered the years 1889-1900, after which date Beyer said 'the data are no longer pertinent to Ifugao'.

Another paper, 'Notes From My Diary' consisted of extracts from the original diary of Captain Levi Case, stationed at Constabulary posts in Kiangan and Banaue during the early American period. The information was extracted by Levi himself and Beyer in 1912. Their chief value, wrote Beyer, is that they are almost the only consecutive

16 As taken from 'Affairs in the Philippine Islands', 57th Congress, Senate Document No. 331, 1902.
record of events in Ifugao during the period covered from January 1903 to October 1905.

Beyer wrote in 1931:

On the whole it maybe said that the Ifugao area has been more thoroughly covered for Customary Law and general ethnographic material - through the work of Villaverde, Barton, myself, and others - than has any other area of similar size in the Philippines; and the very profusion of material has a certain merit of its own. The local variations are quite numerous however, and are due chiefly to the division of the Ifugao group into a large number of clan districts, each with each own political and social system; and there is opportunity [in the Series] for a very complete and rounded-out study not only of a well-developed system of customary law but also of its local differentiation and variation - developed through the operation of varying environmental factors over a long period of time.

For the present Series, it maybe said that the Ifugao group is as well covered, for the type of material desired, as any other pagan Philippine group - with the possible exception of the Manobo and Bagobo groups of eastern Mindanao.17

And in another note, Beyer speculated on future work:

I think it may be fairly said that Fathers Villaverde and Malumbres, Dr Barton, and myself have worked Ifugao culture much more thoroughly than has been done for any other single Philippine group. But this very thoroughness of getting an insight into the numerous phases of Ifugao life has led both Dr Barton and myself to see how much remains to be done in the way of recording the details of ritual, magic and myth; of the epic literature; of the many local differences in social usages and customs from clan to clan; of similar economic differences; and of many other details, all important to a thorough rounding out of such an ethnographic study as might be deemed satisfying, even to its authors. Despite the amount already accomplished, therefore, Ifugao research must not be allowed to halt, but should be carried forward with even greater energy while the facilities for such work remain as easy as at present - which condition most surely cannot last for long.18


18 H.O. Beyer, 'Terminal Notes to the Set', General Index, Volume 1, p. 154.
CHAPTER B15

SET 15: BONTOK

The northern Luzon pagans fall culturally into two sharply divided groups - which we may term the "Indonesian" and the "Terrace-culture" groups, respectively. The peoples comprised in my Igorot, Bontok, and Ifugao sets are basically of the terrace-culture type (but present different racial complexes which would require a separate classification on the basis of physical type); while those comprised in the Itneg-Kalifgga Set present a very different culture type which I have designated "Indonesian", wrote Beyer in 1931.\(^1\) As regards the Bontok people with which the present Series deals, he said:

The word "Bontok" has now come to be commonly applied to that group of culturally distinct people dwelling in the major part of the Sub-province of Bontok. The men almost universally wear long hair and carry a head-axe of characteristic shape. They also live in compact towns of considerable size, with a type of house rather uniform and distinctive - except in the northern part of the area.

In Spanish days these people were known by various names, the commonest being "Itetepanes". Their language is fairly distinctive as to phonetic structures, though there are decided local differences in vocabulary distinguishing the central part of the area from the border regions.\(^2\)

The original pre-war Bontok Series of five volumes was begun in 1913 with the first three volumes reserved for 400 photographs.\(^3\) The present two-volume text contains twenty-four papers and two-thirds of the sources are unpublished.

The greater part of the material in the two volumes is of a linguistic character, and very little purely cultural material has been gathered to supplement Jenks interesting volume (The Bontoc Igorot, published in 1906 by the Philippine Ethnological Survey). The lack of interest in carrying on further Bontok work has of course been largely due to the very existence of Jenks monograph and the general tendency to devote all time possible to the untouched or little worked areas.\(^3\)

Of the valuable linguistic contributions in the present Bontok Series, the following maybe mentioned as especially worthy: A Vocabulary of the Igorot Language as Spoken by the Bontok Igorots written by Reverend Walter Clapp, missionary to the Bontok Igorots, which was published in Manila.

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\(^3\) The first three volumes are not in the Beyer Collection at the N.L.A. but was mentioned in the Index as consisting of 400 photographs or plates.
1908 by the Division of Ethnology; an exact copy of an original work by Margaret Waterman, *Vocabulary of Bontok Roots and their Derivatives*, which she wrote 1912 at the All Saints Mission in Bontok and published by the Division a year after, in a different title [*A Vocabulary of Bontok Stems and their Derivatives*]; and a two-hundred and thirty paged manuscript of 1915 entitled, *Grammar of the Bontok Language*, said to have been made from the material collected by Waterman during a residence of ten years among the people of Bontok. It later appeared as a monograph of the Bureau of Science (Number 28) in 1932, retitled *A Study of the Igorot Language as Spoken by the Bontoc Igorots*. According to the introductory notes to the vocabulary prepared by Waterman, it may be considered a supplement to Clapp's vocabulary, differs from it in arrangement, and contains many words learned since the publication of the first vocabulary. The Series had three brief unpublished vocabularies, namely, Truman Hunt's 'Vocabulary of Bontoc Igorrote' prepared in Bontok for the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes and submitted in 1902 to Secretary of Interior Dean Worcester; 'A Brief Vocabulary of the Dialect of the Bontok Language' by Reuben Morley which was made in Bontok in the same year; and a 112 English-Ifugao-Igorot vocabulary collected in 1912 from the Sub-province of Amburayan by Otley Beyer, called 'A Brief Vocabulary of the Igorot Dialect as Spoken by the People of the Villages of Naiba and Malaya, Sub-province of Amburayan'.

Reverend Henry Swift, chaplain of the United States Army, who as Secretary of the Convocation of the Missionary District of the Philippine Islands undertook the publication of Reverend Clapp's vocabulary, made an interesting comment in 1907: 'In the course of [Clapp's] work in a new and untrodden field, we were struck by the main resemblances between the Igorot and other Filipino languages [and] ... indicate a common original source'. Reverend Swift's notes, to Clapp's manuscript, together with a list of Bontok vocabulary words as they compare with the Iloko,
Tagalog and Spanish terms have appeared in a paper dated 1907 titled 'Notes on Walter C. Clapp's Bontok Vocabulary' found in Volume five. Another paper, 'A Review of Dr Seidenadal's Bontok Grammar' (1911) by Otto Scheerer, presented his critical review on the linguistic study made by Dr Seidenadal which was published in 1909 and was written without his leaving Chicago where he resided. Dr Seidenadal has been in contact for a time of not more than six months (in 1906 and 1907) with two successive groups of Bontok people, who, from their mountain home in far Luzon, were sent there for exhibition. The grammar was finished by October 1907, two months after the departure of the last group of Bontok people from Chicago. The most impressive feature of the book, he continued 'was Seidenadal's profound humane sympathy with his Bontok friends... a guarantee of the faithfulness with which he has interpreted in his grammar genuine Bontok thought and speech'.

The Set has a compilation of five historical documents pertaining to Bontok and descriptions of their inhabitants, all of which were written in Spanish. These included: 'Memoria Descriptiva del Distrito de Bontoc' by the Spanish Brigadier Vice Presidente Carlos Pavia and the Secretary, Agustín de la Cavada Mendez de Vigo, printed in Manila in 1872 and two brief unpublished manuscripts without dates or authors which were taken from the Records of the Division of Ethnology, 'Comandancia of Bontoc' and 'Datos de las Memorias de la Comandancia Político-Militar del Distrito de Bontoc, Correspondientes a los Años 1890 y 1892, por los Comandantes Político Militares Don Juan Alfaro y Don Ventura Verejas, respectivamente'. The latter were said by Beyer to be 'probably consisting of extracts from original documents preserved in the Bureau of Archives, in Manila'. The Presidente Municipal of Bontok, Petronilo Hombrebuenc, contributed two original unpublished works which were both written in 1901 in Bontok entitled, 'Data Relating to the Population of Bontok' and the more

3a The First Grammar of the Language Spoken by the Bontoc Igorot with a Vocabulary and Texts.
extensive 'Memoria del Modo de Vivir y Costumbres de los Igorrotes Sometidos y Semi-Sometidos de Bontoc'. Bontok which is located in Mountain Province used to be a political-military comandancia under Spain which was created by the Royal Decree of June 24, 1858 and these various manuscripts furnished interesting data on history, topography, natural resources, industries and agricultural products, population, customs of the inhabitants, and general conditions existing in the district during the late Spanish and early American rule. The two memorias dealt largely with the character and modes of living of the various tribal groups inhabiting the district of Bontok, their costumes and personal adornments, dwellings, amusements, and economic life, social culture especially concerning marriage and burial, their form of government, religious conceptions, various customs and folk beliefs. Two other unpublished accounts in English had Bontok data, Reuben Hitchcock Morley's 'Data on the Bontok People' written in 1902 at Talubin, Bontok, and an anonymous manuscript from the Records of the Division of Ethnology - 'Province of Lepanto-Bontok, Sub-province of Bontok: Names of Pueblos and Names of Officials, April 1, 1903.'

The literary works were few and these included two brief, anonymous poems, 'Bontoc School' which was written about 1914 by some resident at the Teachers' Camp in Baguio City, Mt Province for use at a local gathering, and 'The Bontoc Igorrots', a humorous seven-stanza poem on the manners and customs of the Bontoks which was composed on the occasion of the reading of a paper on the Bontoks before the Cambridge University Anthropological Club, by Leslie F. Taylor in 1912. One of the literary papers dated 1917, entitled 'The Origin of Mountains', contained an ancient origin myth on the ancestors of the Igorrots of Bontoc which was recorded by Clement Irving (Fokang), a baptized Igorot. According to Fokang, the legend is known by almost all the people of Bontoc and was related by his grandfather, parents and many other old people. This
legend is very long and is told in various ways. Daniel Folkmar, a Lieutenant-Governor of the sub-province of Bontoc under the American occupation, had written a manuscript for the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes in 1906, in which he described the social and political culture of a relatively unknown group of Philippine pagans, dwelling in an unexplored region which immediately adjoins the Bontoc culture area. This original work, 'Social Institutions of the Tinglayan Igorot' had been included in the fourth volume for many years before it was published in 1962 by the Sagada Social Studies. The Tinglayan culture area is one of the least known portions of the little-studied ethnological field in North Luzon occupying nearly the central one-third of the Bontoc Sub-province, and his manuscript brought out the distinctive cultural features of the Tinglayan Igorot tribal group, which distinguished the area from the nearby country of the Bontoc Igorots. Folkmar wrote that at the time of his visits in 1904, 'there were barriers into which the natives said no white man had entered.... No native soldiers or other representatives of the Provincial Government were stationed within the area until after his visits]. No Ilokano or other Christian Filipinos dared live there.... the Tinglayan area had probably not been entered on an average more than once a year by American officials.'

The Set also contained copies of some published works and extracts. The former included The Bontoc Igorot by Albert Ernest Jenks, a former chief of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes. This comprehensive and well-illustrated volume which was published in 1905 by the Ethnological Survey resulted from his residence of many months among this Northern Luzon tribes.

David P. Barrows, the first Chief of the Ethnological Survey in Manila commented on Jenk's monograph, in his report to the Secretary of Interior in 1904: 'Doctor Jenk's study shows, among a wealth of detailed information, that the Igorot of the Bontok culture area, an area nearly
coextensive with the old Spanish comandancia of Bontok, is probably as primitive a Malayan type as there is in Luzon.... Both the social and political organization reveal conditions never before brought out in writings on Philippine tribes....'4

Two other printed works were Dean Worcester's 'The Non-Christian Tribes of Northern Luzon' which appeared in the Philippine Journal of Science in 1906,5 and 'An Account of Some Bontoc Igorots' by Leslie F. Taylor, published in the Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1912. The copy of Taylor's article came from an original reprint presented to Beyer by the author in Manila in 1913, with his general remarks on the racial and physical characteristics of some fifty-four representatives of the Bontok tribe exhibited at Earl's Court, London in 1912. Taylor mentioned a set of photographic prints presented to the Royal Anthropological Institute and copies of which are cited by Beyer as found in Bontok Volume 2 - a volume which is not available, unfortunately. The only extracts in the Set were some forty-four pages taken from Alexander Schadenberg's two-part volumes Beiträge zur Kenntnis der im innern Nord-Luzons lebenden Stämme which were both printed at Berlin in 1888-1889. The extracts which were copied from the original German included a German-Bontoc vocabulary, in addition to the ethnographical information on the pagans of Northern Luzon.

4 The contents of Jenk's monograph were not reproduced in the Set and only the title was cited. The report was included in the Reports of the War Department (1903) which were contained in House Documents, Volume 7, Philippine Commission, 58th Congress of the United States (1903-1904), p. 774.

5 The contents of this work were not reproduced because it is identical to Paper eight in Volume Seven of the Ifugao Series.
In an introductory note dated 1931, Beyer made these comments:

The Bontok culture presents a number of unique characteristics that seem to tie up with certain groups of Pacific islands lying southeast of the Philippines, particularly the small islands between the Sunda group and New Guinea. They are also closely akin to the Yami people of the Island of Botel Tabago between the Batanes Islands and Formosa. How they came into Luzon, and survived only in this one area, is still an unsolved problem. They are thrust like a wedge between the typical Indonesian groups of the Kalingga-Apayao-Tinggian area and the two older and more typical terrace-culture group, the Ifugaos and Igorots. The Bontoks themselves, however, have been overrun by the terrace-culture peoples - though actually there is strong evidence, .............................................. that the terrace culture is much younger among them than with either the Ifugaos or Igorots. It is evident also that this latter culture has gone much deeper than mere economic effect, and the Bontoks have strong elements in social institutions and beliefs that have unquestionably been derived from their Ifugao and Igorot neighbours. There is much more in their social life, however, than appears on the surface - and probably nowhere in northern Luzon would a detailed and careful study of social institutions be more productive of interesting results. In fact, until such a study has been carried out it would be premature to attempt to straighten out and classify the extremely complicated societies that cover the wide area from eastern Ifugao to northern Kalingga. The importance of making such a study was noted long ago by two great leaders in modern social anthropology, Drs Baddon and Rivers of Cambridge University; and it was a real misfortune to the science that the two years' fellowship obtained by them for Mr Leslie F. Taylor for carrying on this work (in 1913-14) should have produced nothing - due to a serious illness of the latter which prevented him from reaching his destination. To some extent, this gap is supplied in a temporary and partial way by the early work of Jenks, and the very interesting paper by Daniel Folkmar included in the present volume. The latter, however, deals more with the northern Bontoks (of the Tinglayan area) whose culture has been considerably modified by Kalingga contact - and unfortunately we have as yet no really adequate study of the pure culture of the central Bontok area itself.6

In another note dated 1923, Beyer stated that more studies are needed to supplement the work of Jenks

On account of the purity and highly interesting character of the Bontok culture and in the light of our recently acquired knowledge of the complexity of the neighbouring Igorot and Ifugao cultures. The Ifugao and Igorot studies clearly indicate the weakness of Jenk's work on the social and religious side especially; and at the same time demand real Bontok data for comparative purposes.6a

Additionally Beyer mentioned


6a H.O. Beyer, 'Terminal Notes to the Set', General Index, Volume 1, p. 160.
the importance in having a bibliography of printed materials on the Bontok in Spanish days, which are very little and mostly scattered items and accounts as do exist.7

7 H.O. Beyer, 'Terminal Notes to the Set', General Index, Volume 1, p. 160.
Beyer had classified the pagans dwelling in North Luzon into two sharply divided culture groups - the Igorot, Bontok, and Ifugao people belonging to the 'terrace-culture' type, as distinct from the groups occupying Apayao, Kalinga, and Abra provinces where the typical Indonesian culture is most dominant and where the pure terrace-culture has intruded but little, mostly in the central and western areas. These groups presented a very different culture type which he designated as 'Indonesian'.

Beyer wrote of the Set:

The primary purpose of this set is to include all pagan groups in northern Luzon that are distinctively of the 'Indonesian' culture-type. When the set was begun, the Ilongot group was omitted, as it had been previously inserted in the now defunct Isinai-Ilongot Set. Beginning with Volume III, however, the Ilongots and pagan Gaddangs are included - thus finally accomplishing the primary purpose of the Set.

The area in which the groups included in this Set dwell is ethnographically one of the most complex in the Philippines. In the sub-province of Kalinga alone, there are at least eight distinct dialect groups, some of which differ very radically - and the people speaking them also show marked cultural and racial differences. In Apayao to the north, and Abra Province to the west, there is a greater uniformity in racial type and culture as well as in language - while to the south of the Kalinga area come first the related pagan-Gaddang, and far to the south around the headwaters of the Cagayan River and its branches, the interesting but complex Ilongot peoples.

I suspect that when we come to study our material more carefully, it will be necessary to set off the Apayaos and Tinggians in the north, and the Ilongots in the south, from a very mixed and complicated central area which will have to be most carefully studied and a multitude of small countries examined separately before an adequate analysis and classification can be attempted.

In no other part of the Philippines do we have so little published information in proportion to the number of ethnographic types existing. In fact, outside of the Tinggians, the literature regarding these Indonesian groups is exceedingly poor. The Field Museum of Chicago attempted to remedy this condition as far back as 1906 by sending Dr William Jones for a three-year

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study among the Ilongots of Nueva Vizcaya and southern Isabela —
expecting that he would later work northward, through the pagan
Gaddangs and Kalinga country east of the Ifugao and Bontoks.
Unfortunately for science, the results of Dr Jones' three years'
work among the Ilongots were a total loss due to his death at
their hands during the last month of his proposed stay among
them. Practically none of his notes or papers of any value
were recovered.

While a good many interesting papers regarding these people are
to be found in my ethnographic series, our knowledge of the whole
group, except the Tinggians, is still very unsatisfactory.²

Beyer stated that the ninety-four papers and the 273 photographs he
had collected had made this Set one of the most valuable in his collection,
not so much on account of the quality of the material, some of which might
be considerably improved upon, as due to the almost entire lack of
published material on all the group included in the Set, except the
Tinggians.³

The five-volume Itneg-Kalinga Series was compiled between 1913
to 1919, with the first three volumes being devoted to textual materials
and the rest to photographs. The three text volumes consisted of census
reports, extracts from publications, printed works, letters and reports
of the Spanish Dominicans as originally written in El Correo Sino-
Annamita, some student reports, nine papers containing the unpublished
reports and notes of Beyer concerning the Gaddangs, Tingians, and
Apayaos, several unpublished correspondence and documents from the
Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, and unpublished records written by

² H.O. Beyer, 'Introduction to the Customary Law Papers from the Itneg-

³ H.O. Beyer, 'Terminal Notes to the Set', General Index, Volume 1, p. 172. Of the original 400 photographs he had compiled, only 273
are currently available in the Beyer Collection, N.L.A. and these are
found in two volumes. These plates mostly depicted tribal physique,
costumes and personal adornment of both sexes. There were also
some photos of their natural habitat, their dwellings, weapons,
musical instruments and dances, native looms and photos of some
members of the tribe doing different activities like washing clothes,
pounding rice, spinning or hunting animals. A few photos were taken
with the tribal members accompanied by American constabulary
officials. All photos have no proper identifications but are just
numbered consecutively by Beyer.
military and government personnel.

Eleven accounts of five Dominican missionaries were copied in the first volume, as they were originally written in Spanish and these provided a large amount of data on mission matters, as well as on the beliefs, customs, characteristics and general modes of living of the Calingas, Mandayas, Gaddanes, Apayaos, Igorrotes, Ilongotes, and other tribes dwelling in settlements surrounding the mission sites in the provinces of Cagayan, Isabela, and Nueva Vizcaya. These missionary reports were published in the *El Correo Sino-Annamita* from 1891 to 1897.

Some ethnographical information were also furnished by five census reports of 1903, relative to the pagan Gaddangs of Isabela and Nueva Vizcaya and the Tinggians of Abra, with added notes on their population number as scattered in the towns, barrios, and rancherias of these provinces.

Majority of the ninety-four papers were official notes, correspondence and reports written by lieutenant-governors, provincial governors, municipal presidents and other government officials, during the years 1891 to 1914, and containing their observations of the non-Christian tribes under their jurisdictions. These included the pagans in the provinces of Cagayan, Isabela, Nueva Vizcaya, Ilokos Sur, Abra, and the sub-provinces of Apayao and Kalinga, such as the Tinggians, Gaddanes, Ilongotes, Kalingas, Apayaos, Igorrotes, Ifugao, Negritos, Diangos, Alzados, and others, with some related data on the Christian inhabitants. The many unpublished official reports dealt with population, their dialects, their habitat and geographical distribution, general characteristics, customs, relations of some groups with the Christians, and general conditions existing among these tribes, with some recommendations in establishing administrative control over their settlements, bettering their present conditions, and maintaining friendly relations with these inhabitants. A notable paper, among these accounts, consisted of an address before a Tinggian group gathered together in commemoration of the death of a tribal member,
collected in 1903 by the Secretary of the interior Dean Worcester during a trip through Abra province and found in Volume 2 in the original Tinggian dialect with Spanish translation.\(^3\) 

At least a quarter of the total Itneg-Kalinga papers consisted of unpublished official records and letters obtained by Beyer from the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes and written between the period 1893 to 1909. Of interest are: brief historical notes about two Spanish political-military comandancias in Cagayan, that of Itaves and Cabugaoan, and of the various tribes which inhabit these regions; a provisional list of twenty-one tribes and their geographical distribution in the provinces of Cagayan and Isabela from a manuscript dated in 1902; and four papers which were all written in Spanish (1902-1903) as responses to the first publication of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes in 1901 soliciting information on any pagan group found in any part of the Philippine Islands.\(^3\) The four papers furnished a great deal of information on two relatively obscure tribes, the pagan Diangos and the Catecuminos Parananes, as well as the Tinggians of Abra and Ilocos Sur, their habitat, customs and beliefs, economic, social and political life, general culture and various other peculiarities. Merton Miller, the Chief of the Division of Ethnology and the Secretary of Interior Dean Worcester contributed four interesting accounts as a result of their inspection trips through the northern Luzon region during the years 1904 to 1909, with their reports on how the numerous pagan tribes live in the wilderness, how they are being organized to form local government and induced to come down from the hills and live in settlements, and some of their recommendations by which the conditions may be improved. In addition, there were other papers prepared by several provincial and municipal officials and personnel of the Bureau from 1901 to 1903, relative to the Diangos, the Catecuminos, Negritos, Igorrotes, Ilongotes and the Tinggians, describing their physical appearance, clothing, adornment, weapons, general customs, economic and social life, language, geographical

\(^{3a}\) 'An Address to Tinggians gathered together to commemorate the death of a Neighbor.'

\(^{3b}\) Written by R. Gonzalez, A. Aurora, E. Molina, and E. Bayaon.
distribution, population, and relations with the Christian settlements.

Eight papers embodied a few records of the Philippine Constabulary personnel assigned in the districts of Lepanto-Bontok, Apayao, Cagayan, Ilokos Sur, and Nueva Vizcaya which were dated from 1902 to 1910, and supplied information on the maintenance of peace and order among the wild inhabitants, the difficulties encountered in curbing their hostilities against the Christians, particularly head-hunting attacks, as well as the success of military expeditions in gaining their confidence and goodwill, and aiding in their administration.

The Set had nine papers written by Otley Beyer, one containing the physical measurements he took in 1910 among nine Gaddangs in Nueva Ecija, and eight others pertaining to the pagan Apayaos, a relatively unknown river people dwelling in the mountainous and forested areas along the Apayao river, in the sub-province of Apayao. The name of the tribe, according to Beyer, is derived from the Apayao river, but among the people themselves, the term 'Isneg' is used almost exclusively. The eight papers consisted of his official letters and reports, written from 1913 to 1917, as a result of his two-months trip for the sub-provinces of Apayao and Kalinga in 1913 to 1914, primarily to acquire a complete museum collection illustrative of the life of the Apayao and Kalinga peoples for the Panama-Pacific Exposition, and secondly, to gather necessary ethnological information regarding these tribes. Three consecutive reports (1913-1914) were directed to the Acting Director of the Bureau of Science Alvin Cox and all three, together with another paper entitled 'A Brief Account of the Apayao People' (1917) provided much valuable ethnological matter on the Apayao people - their number and geographical distribution, tribal division, somatology, their language which is said to be a lexical mixture of Ibanag, Iloko, Tinggian and a possible fourth original element, their clothing and
adornment, weapons and utensils, amusements, religion and government, economic and social culture, their complex headhunting customs which Beyer believed to be remarkably similar to the Kachin people of Upper Burma, their general characteristics and psychology, their trading relations with the Christian lowlanders, and the progress in the sub-province during the first decade under America.

Beyer observed three distinct groups of people among the Apayaos which he noted in these accounts: an Ibanag speaking people who are similar to the Negritos and showing strong relationship with the Sakai of Malay Peninsula, a small group of Kalingas who are sharply marked off from the true Apayaos, and the true Apayaos called 'Mandayas' or 'Isneg' from whom he made the collection and whose culture he had described in the reports. The Apayaos were described by Beyer as possessing the most elaborate hairdress of any Philippine ethnographic group. They were also known to use old Chinese jars (dumili) as their chief standard of value and basis of their wealth, and to utilize a certain composite boat made of three sewn-planks which is the type found only in the Melanesian region in Oceania. In their economic, social, and mental life, Beyer observed a closer resemblance to the Manobos, Subanuns and other non-Christians of Mindanao than that of the neighboring Ifugao-Igorot-Bontok group in Northern Luzon. Majority of the men are of the Indonesian types, while that of the women of the primitive Mongol type and though such remarkable differences among the sexes is common in the Philippines, Beyer commented that it is nowhere more noticeable than among the Apayaos. And from the physical measurements he took, Beyer recognized three fairly well marked types of Apayaos which roughly correspond to the social classes, a significant fact which he said form another link in the chain of evidence relating to the origin of the peoples of northern Luzon.

The rest of Beyer's accounts on the Apayao tribe included a
description of the Kalinga calendar in use among certain towns in the
Apayao Sub-province, a collection of Apayao texts, and other miscellaneous
notes. Beyer recorded three original texts from the Apayao people of
Bubulayan during that trip in 1913-1914, namely, a twenty-one-versed
poem, a drinking song, and a conversational text between two friends which
were all written in the Apayao language with equivalent Ilocano and English
translations added by him. Another work, 'Apayao Isneg Vocabulary',
resulted from several words compiled in 1912 from the villages on the
lower Apayao river, by the Lieutenant-governor of Apayao Norman Conner, with
equivalent Ifugao words supplied by Beyer.

In the field of literature and linguistics, besides the above works,
the present Series had also a vocabulary from the settlement of Guinaan
in the sub-province of Kalinga with equivalent German words, contained in
Dr Alexander Schadenberg's *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Banao-Leute der
Guinamen, Gran Cordillera Central, Insel Luzon, Philippinen* which was
published 1887 in Berlin; and a Spanish-Igorot-Tinggian vocabulary
compiled in Abra by the Provincial governor Juan Villamor. There were two
valuable papers prepared by Otto Scheerer, 'Linguistic Travelling Notes
from Cagayan, Luzon' which was printed 1909 in *Anthropos* and a more
extensive manuscript written 1919 in Manila, entitled 'Kalinga Texts'
which was later published in a Philippine periodical. The first work
incorporated two word-lists, one of which he obtained from a Kalinga
settlement in Cagayan, and the other from a small Negrito group called
'Agta' inhabiting a ranch in Cagayan. The second work of Scheerer
consisted of a collection of seven native texts - six were written in the
Kalinga dialects spoken in three districts in the sub-province of Kalinga
which he obtained from some Kalinga students at the Teachers' Camp in
Baguio City and the Farm School at Trinidad, Mt Province, while the seventh
text was recorded in the Tinggian dialect from a Tinggian student of the
same Farm school. The seven texts have been translated into English.
According to Scheerer, the Tinggian text he had recorded is the first text ever published from that language, to his knowledge.

The six texts have been collected by Scheerer from one Kalinga group designated as the 'Balbalasang-Ginaan' group which is one of the six groups into which the Kalinga tribe has been sub-divided by Beyer, according to the admixture of blood, culture or dialect. Scheerer had recognized Beyer's classification in his work. Scheerer noted the importance of such a collection, due to the advent of the American regime and the profound changes it had brought about in the lives of formerly hostile hill-tribes who are now in peaceful intercourse with each other and with the coastal inhabitants, thus he said:

No wonder that under these circumstances smaller tribal distinctions should begin to become obliterated, and that traditions of the past should be fading away from the memory of the living generation, precursory signs of the time when whole dialect groups will be swallowed up by their stronger neighbors. In view of this, it would seem to be the duty precisely of the linguist to invite these otherwise not readily understood hillmen into the witness stand in order that they may give, in and by their speech, evidence of their inner nature, as well as affinity to, or distinction from, the more civilized people in whose midst they live and with whom they are about to merge.

Other notable unpublished works were the English translation of 1902 from the original Spanish text written by Isabelo de los Reyes, entitled *The Tinguitanes of Luzon*; two original papers on the customs of the headhunting Kalinga people, observed by Dr Thomas Moss, while he was lieutenant in the Constabulary Medical Corps stationed in Cagayan valley during the years 1908 and 1909; and a brief work written by Scheerer in 1911 concerning the existence of a quinary notation among the Ilongots of Northern Luzon which he found in an old Egongot (Ilongot) catechism dating from 1892 written by Fray Francisco de la Zarza. Scheerer noted that the quinary notation is generally assumed to be a more primitive form of counting than the decimal system.

The extensive manuscript of Isabelo de los Reyes has been translated and annotated into German in 1887 by Ferdinand Blumentritt, in Vienna,
the English translation by an anonymous author was made from this version. It dealt largely with the history, descent, characteristics, modes of living, customs, and beliefs of the Tinggians dwelling in the province of Abra, an area believed by the author as where the original character of these people is better preserved and where their culture is less influenced by the peculiarities of the Ilocanos, as was true in other settlements. The translation is in Volume 2.

Of the ninety-four papers, eight were written by Beyer's students in the University between the years 1917 to 1921, and were based on their personal observations of the Apayao, Ilongot, and Tinggian tribes. The students described their habits and physical characteristics, habitat, language, housetypes, food, dress and ornamentation, their weapons, products and industries, the form of government they have, their beliefs and social customs particularly in birth, marriage and burial, their headhunting and warfare practices, their ceremonies and superstitions, their relations with other pagan groups and with the lowlanders, and their present conditions under the administration of the Americans.

The few published works consisted mostly of extracts and these were: an order of the Spanish Captain-general Weyler establishing the political military comandancia of Itaves in 1889 as taken from the Gaceta de Manila (1889); extracts from Dr Schadenberg's Beiträge zur Kenntniss der im Innern Nordluzons lebenden Stämme which was published 1889 in Berlin; extracts from Dr Simeon Villa's The Flight and Wanderings of Emilio Aguinaldo (1902) relating the travels of General Emilio Aguinaldo's party through Northern Luzon in 1900; and extracts from a historical manuscript written by Dr E. Müller-Hess of Berlin which was published 1913 in The Indian Antiquary. Of interest was a paper written by N.W. Thomas which was published in London 1906, in Man and containing notes about a Spanish manuscript in the British Museum, said to be about 100 to 120 years old and describing the general appearance, characteristics, and vocabulary.
of the headhunting Ilongotes (or Egongotes) inhabiting the Pacific coast of Luzon.

Beyer summed up the researches done among these people and commented on future work:

Cole's studies of the Tinggians have been sufficiently comprehensive to warrant the temporary elimination of the group from any general program for present field research; but this cannot be said of any of the other groups. It may later be possible to recover some valuable Ilongot data from such of Dr William Jones' papers as reached the Field Museum, but otherwise the results of his two years' unique work with that group are permanently lost - and the group itself remains one of our most tantalizing ethnological enigmas.... The Apayao and Kalinga material collected by myself, together with that of Otto Scheerer and Dean Worcester, constitutes the first even approximately accurate account of these groups that has yet been recorded. Much of my own data on the Apayaos and Kalingas (especially the somatological, linguistic, and religious material) has not yet been copied.... Nevertheless, despite its considerable extent, this data really comprises only the necessary beginnings toward getting on record a true ethnography of the groups concerned, and most of the field still remains unworked.

The pagan Gaddangs and many of the Kalinga sub-groups remain practically untouched, and constitute a most pressing problem on account of the inroads of Iloko and other Christian culture into their territory. The importance of further Apayao and Kalinga research in connection with Formosan studies and the general problems of Philippine and south Asian ethnography can scarcely be over-estimated, and more detailed studies are imperative. The mixed Tinggian-Kalinga-Igorot border groups are also of much interest in connection with Cole's work and should be studied soon.

This area, like others, has greatly suffered from a mixed nomenclature. For example "Kalingga" has been applied quite indiscriminately by the lowlanders of the Cagayan Valley to all the mountain tribes (the word means simply "enemy" in the Ibanag language) - particularly to the Apayaos, as well as to true Kalingas and Gaddangs. The greatest confusion will be found as between the northern Kalinggas and the southern Apayaos where various writers, including a number of Americans, have applied the name Kalinga indiscriminately to both.

The above notes indicate the primary importance of working out some definite program for pushing forward the present set, and enlarging it through productive original work.

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4 H.O. Beyer, 'Terminal Notes to the Set', General Index, Volume 1, p. 172.
In his preface to the first volume of the Negrito-Aeta Series, Beyer wrote:

The most puzzling and difficult to classify of the various peoples appearing in this Philippine ethnographical series, are the numerous and exceedingly primitive groups known as Negritos, Aetas, and various other names according to locality. The opinion generally accepted among previous investigators has been that these peoples constitute a single primitive race (called the Negrito), mixed to a greater or lesser extent with the later Indonesian and Malayan invaders of these islands. In my own study of these peoples, however, I early came to believe that we have among these groups remnants of several primitive races differing very widely in physical characteristics, though in both culture and language they have become assimilated among themselves and with other later-arriving peoples. But we have as yet insufficient evidence to definitely isolate these types, and therefore in the present series all of the unclassified primitive groups of the Islands will be lumped together. As the series progresses, it maybe that the evidence now lacking will become apparent.¹

In another note, he stated:

The scattered small groups, mostly of quite primitive types, comprised in my ethnographic set entitled "Negrito-Aeta" present a great variety of physical type, culture, and language. They fall naturally into two main groups: first, a group showing decided Negrito, or at least Negroid, characteristics; and second, a group in which other types with little or no Negroid mixture are predominant.

Since the ethnographic data relating to the above two classes of scattered peoples (who present every variety of cultural development) are as a rule so mixed together that it has been impracticable to attempt any separation of the specific papers except along geographic lines. In my Negrito-Aeta series, therefore, the material relating to all these scattered groups, and particularly to those living in or along the borders of Christian provinces, has been simply arranged in a geographic order under the following general subheads - wherever it has been possible to separate them: first, the distinct Negrito and Negroid types dwelling in the east coast of Luzon, Zambales mountains, southern Luzon, Apayao Swamp region, Surigao, Palawan, and Ilokano mountains; and second, the non-Negroid or semi-Negroid types which included the hill peoples of Negros, Panay, South Luzon, central Luzon and Samar.²

¹ H.O. Beyer, 'Preface to Volume 1', September 16, 1918, Negrito-Aeta Set, Volume 1.
According to Beyer, the latter groups have been occasionally augmented by remontados or outlaws from the Christian towns who have fled to the hills and there mixed with wandering bands of Negritos, nevertheless, the basic element is not the Negrito but rather certain other quite different types. Both the Negroid and the non-Negroid groups are pagan in belief according to Beyer, although he noted there are several quite highly developed groups in Negros and Panay.

As might be expected, the amount of customary law and other ethnographic data obtained from most of these groups [in the Series] is limited, though what we have is often of considerable interest and quite different from that obtained from the more advanced peoples...

Another item that should be noted here is that considerable data from more advanced groups is included in the papers relating to the primitive pagans - and also that some of the latter group, of non-Negroid type (particularly in the Christian provinces), were not originally so very primitive, but probably represent chiefly survival-groups from pre-Spanish peoples now mostly christianized or mohammedanized. Furthermore, the culture found among the living peoples of these primitive types - such as the Pure Negritos, etc. is often very little their own, and represents mainly acquired culture derived from Neolithic, Iron Age, or even historic peoples who have entered the Islands.

The purer primitive peoples live mainly in a forest environment and seem not to be able to survive in close contact with civilization. As a result, with the disappearance of the forests which accompanies the advance of modern culture, the Negritos and other aboriginal groups disappear also. It is therefore incumbent upon the ethnologist to preserve as much as possible of this disappearing culture before it has faded out altogether and the opportunity of studying it is gone. This is particularly important in the Philippines, because we have here a much greater number of such remnants of past peoples (some dating back undoubtedly into the old Stone Age) than is to be found in any other equally accessible region.

The five-volume Negrito-Aeta Set of 120 papers was compiled between the years 1918 to 1922, with the fourth volume consisting of 154 photographs, and the rest, of the usual text materials. The collected data covered the

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5 The 154 photographs were not identified, but mostly showed Negrito physique, clothing and adornment, with some photos of their dwellings, natural habitat in the forest, their hunting and trapping weapons, their lances and Negrito skulls.
distinctly Negroid, Semi-Negroid and non-Negroid types found inhabiting a
great number of geographic regions throughout the Philippine Islands, with
information dealing mainly with their language and dialects, and cultural
ethnography. The 120 papers consisted of diverse official documents,
official correspondence and reports, various notes and records compiled
from the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes during the early years of American
rule, several student reports, and a few printed works or translated
extracts from printed works. The majority are unpublished.

In the field of linguistics, fourteen papers produced eighteen
vocabularies and wordlists of which only two have been published: one,
Ferdinand Blumenrutt's Spanish-Bikol-Agta vocabulary taken from an article
published in the original German in 1896; and the other, a wordlist compiled
from the Agtas of Ambos Camarines, with English meanings and comparisons with
Bisayan, Tagalog, Javanese, Malay and other languages. According to the
author H. Kern, the language of the Agtas of Ambos Camarines is a pure
Malay Polynesian language and is similar in structure and grammar to the
Bikol language for they both belong to the same Philippine group, however
despite the relation, they appear noticeably divergent in word selection.
The article of H. Kern which was originally written in Dutch was published
1896, and have been translated in English for the Negrito Set by Abram V.H.
Hartendorp in 1918. While the unpublished materials included: two brief
comparative vocabularies collected in 1901 by David Barrows, first Chief
of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, from the Negritos in certain
localities of the provinces of Bataan, Pangasinan, and Rizal showing the
corrupting influence of the Tagalog and Pangasinan languages upon the
speech of these Aetas; a vocabulary compiled in 1903 by C. Cooke, who
noted his recorded words as pronounced by all the Negritoos of Bataan he had
consulted from various localities he visited, as pure Negrito sounds; and a
phrase book - vocabulary, 1921-1922, by Paul Verzosa, from the Aetas in the
mountains near Orion, Bataan. There were two vocabularies by Frank Crone,
Division Superintendent of Schools in the province of Ambos Camarines, contained in his official reports during the years 1906-1912 relative to his exploration visits among the non-Christian tribes - one collected from the Negritos inhabiting Iriga and Baao in Ambos Camarines with comparative words in the Bikol and Baao dialects, and another vocabulary from the pagans of Tigaon, Ambos Camarines; an extensive comparative vocabulary recorded in 1913 by John Garvan, from the Negritos of Tayabas province with equivalent Tagalog and English terms; and a series of five original Negrito vocabularies prepared by Garvan in 1913-1914 and said by Beyer to be the most extensive Negrito vocabularies then recorded. The latter work contained several wordlists from the dialects of the Negritos of Tayabas, Camarines, and Bataan, with related lexical comparisons from other unrecorded dialects like the Apayao, Nanobo, Mandaya, Mangguañgan and other dialects of the non-Christian tribes in the Philippines which were contributed by various students of Philippine languages, including Otley Beyer, Edwin Schneider and others. In 1914, Schneider added several vocabulary words in English to Garvan's vocabularies and these notes were in a paper which preceded Garvan's work in the first volume of the Negrito-Aeta Set. The paper of Schneider was never completed, however, due to the suspension of the activities of the Division of Ethnology in the latter part of 1914. The present Set also contained a vocabulary of the Negritos of Tarlak province, written by Ramon Martin in 1902, with Spanish comparative words; a valuable vocabulary obtained by an unknown writer from three sitios inhabited by a pagan group of pure Negritos and half-breed Negritos of Bulakan province known as Negritos of the Dumagat tribe, whose inhabitants were largely one-half to three-quarter casts due to intermarriages with the Christians of neighboring towns; Luther Parker's English-Malay-Pampango vocabulary as compared with those spoken by the Aetas of Pampanga province (1908); and an interesting vocabulary obtained from the pagan Mamanua.

5a 'The Negritos of Bulakan', 1902.
tribe in the island of Mindanao by Governor Acuña of Agusan province in 1919.

One third of the four-volume Negrito-Aeta Set were unpublished documents, correspondence, and reports of personnel involved in ethnological investigations and scientific studies of these aboriginal primitive groups and written during the first two decades of American rule. Of these accounts, nineteen papers were written by government officials and volunteer field workers throughout the Philippine Archipelago, as responses to the first ethnological publication of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes which came out in 1901, entitled Preguntas Para El Estudio Etnologico de las Tribus, aimed in securing information about various Philippine tribes, their language, manners and customs, and general culture which would guide the American Insular government, particularly in the administration of the non-Christians of the islands. The nineteen papers, dated from 1902 to 1903, were copied in the Set, as they were originally written in Spanish and furnished a considerable amount of geographical, historical, and ethnological data on the Negroid tribal groups, variously called locally as 'Negritos', 'Balugas', 'Aetas', 'Agtas', 'Taong gubat', 'Taong bunduc', 'Fugot', 'Diango', 'Paranan' and other names, inhabiting the provinces of Bulakan, Zambales, Cagayan, Ambos Camarines, Bataan, Tarlak, Rizal, Antique and Oriental Negros. Additional accounts pertained to the non-Negroid or semi-Negroid pagan mountaineers dwelling in the provinces of Ambos Camarines in the island of Luzon, and in Oriental Negros, Capiz, and Antique in the Visayan Islands variously known as 'Buquidnones', 'Simarrones', 'Remontados', 'Monteces', 'Mundos', 'Calibuganes', and others. Among the several records of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes which Beyer had obtained for the Series were information on the distribution of the Negritos in twenty-three Philippine provinces and the local names in which they were known, and a few documents dated from 1907-1913, involving the investigations on the
frequent purchase of Negrito slaves and regular traffic in Negrito children by the Christians in Pampanga and Bataan. Included too were reports and letters (1901-1914) written by David Barrows and Merton Miller, chiefs at the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes (later known as Division of Ethnology) and by American ethnologists William Reed and John Garvan, regarding their official investigations and exploration trips in Pangasinan, Zambales, Southern Luzon, and Occidental Negros. These records contained their observations on the population, geographical distribution, habits, language, customs, or general conditions existing among the Negritos, the mixed blood Negrito or other mountain tribes, together with certain recommendations to improve governmental control over them, protect them from abuses, and ensure friendly relations with the lowland Christians. Of note among these records were three papers which contained Garvan's official report on certain deceptions and injustices practised by the Tagalogs on the Negritos of Tayabas, and his detailed accounts of their folk beliefs, customs, and ceremonies for conception, pregnancy, birth, death, and mourning gathered during his exploration trips in 1914 among the Negritos in the Ragai Gulf region, Southern Luzon; and a fourth paper by Dallas Henderson relative to his report made to Barrows in 1901 on the conditions among the Negrito slaves in Pampanga who were captured by the Christian people from the Zambales mountains. Beyer contributed two papers to the present Series: one, an article entitled 'The Aborigines' published in the Cabileneus-American in July 1911, and the second consisting of few letters dated 1929, with his miscellaneous information on the probable sources and geographical distribution of the Negrito, Australoid, Papuan and Melanesian types found in the Philippines. The first article briefly commented on the general characteristics of certain Philippine tribes, showing Negrito mixture, such as the Bataks and Tagbanuas of Palawan, the Mangyans of Mindoro, the Dumagat people in Ambos Camarines, and the Montescos or
Bukidnons found in most hilly or mountainous regions throughout the Archipelago which Beyer said would prove to be a rich field for ethnological study.

One-third of the Series constituted of additional ethnographical materials furnished by the letters, documents, and miscellaneous notes of officials of the municipal and provincial government, teachers and superintendents, military personnel, census enumerators, foreign scholars who had visited the Islands, and native residents, which related to the population, language, geographical distribution, characteristics, and modes of living of the Negritos and non-Christian inhabitants occupying several rancherias and localities in the islands of Luzon and the Visayas, together with some recommendations on how they could be administered and governed effectively. Three of the notable papers were written by Luther Parker, principal of the Bacolor Trade School in Pampanga, the Division Superintendent of Ambos Camarines Frank Crone, and Lieutenant Frank Dorn of the United States Army. The result of Parker's ethnological investigations made upon the Negritos of Pampanga were set forth in a 1908 report to Barrows, here compiled in Volume 2 - in which he described the genealogies of some Negrito families, a Negrito vocabulary he had acquired, four systems of counting obtained from three natives said to be practically obsolete and very old, and a burial ceremony he had witnessed. There were two Negrito burial songs noted in his report, one written in the Pampango dialect with his free translation, and another in the Negrito dialect which he was able to translate partially. The report of Crone in Volume 2 contained historical accounts about the province of Ambos Camarines situated in the southeastern part of the island of Luzon, its geography, and the distribution of the non-Christian populace as he had observed during his several visits from 1906 to 1912. All the pagan groups were seen as possessing varying percentage of Negrito blood, of which the most obscure were the seafaring Dumagat tribe whose origin is not definitely known, but theorized by Beyer as
descendants of shipwrecked seamen from the Caroline or Ladrones Islands. The report provided data on the general physical appearance of the tribal inhabitants, their mental characteristics, how they live in the settlements, their clothes, adornment, weapons, utensils, products, their music, dances, folklore, beliefs, general culture, the relations among the different groups and with the Filipinos in the nearby towns.

The most detailed and comprehensively written work on Negrito habits and modes of life in the entire Series was Frank Dorn's *A General Descriptive and Ethnographic Study of the Negritos of the Zambales Mountains* (1927-1929), a 142 typescript-paged manuscript found in the fifth volume which he wrote at Camp Stotsenburg, Pampanga in 1929. Dorn had confined his study only to the Negritos inhabiting that part of Zambales mountains running through Zambales, Tarlac, Pampanga, and Bataan provinces. In a note to the manuscript, Beyer stated:

 Lt. Born began the study of the Negrito language - on his own initiative while engaged in military surveying around Mt Pinatubo, Zambales in 1927. Col. Herron, Chief of Staff sent him to me for an estimate of the work done, and suggestions as to further activities. I suggested that he write up an account of his observations on Negrito life and customs - and the present paper is the result.

The manuscript included a summary description of the Philippine Negritos, their distribution, history, physical characteristics, language, psychology and relations with the lowland Filipinos, then on to a more lengthy account of the general character, habits, and culture of the Negritos in the Central Luzon region. It contained much ethnological matter; with discussions of their physical type and characteristics, material culture, government and political institutions, punishment of crimes and warfare practices, medical practices, economic life and property ownership, superstitions and ceremonial feastings, their songs and dances. There are interesting accounts of their social culture, such as how they care and train their children, general behaviour among both sexes during the period of adolescence and puberty, customs.
during marriage and death, their attitude toward the people of the lowland and the Americans who visit them, and the effects on Negrito culture and morality brought about by their contact with civilization.

Lieutenant Dorn concluded:

In this discussion I have perhaps seemed overly sympathetic and defensive of these little savages, who to the average are a dirty lot of degenerates little removed from the monkeys of which they are so fond of eating. Such has not been my intent. But a study of their lives and character as far as we can go reveals them to me much as I have described them, friendly little anachronisms that excite the keenest interest. In dealing with them and in seeking their aid they have always been more than helpful and anxious to please, and when approached in the proper way I have even found them amenable and willing to labor for short periods of time.... So many hasty conclusions have been drawn on the subject and so much information dissipated [sic] more for entertainment and amusement than the truth, that I cannot help but feel that many of my statements and conclusions may be protested. I can only offer the opportunity to investigate thoroughly before making a contradiction.

Beyer also compiled four census reports of 1903, all written in Spanish, and containing more than twenty names of Negroid and semi-Negroid tribes scattered throughout the Philippine Archipelago and their geographical distribution, as well as the population and tribal distribution of the Negritos and mountain people dwelling in twenty-nine towns in the provinces of Bulacan, Ambos Camarines, Iloilo and Capiz, as of 1903.

Reports written by Beyer's students in Anthropology at the University of the Philippines are as numerous as the ethnological records filed in the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, with some thirty-six reports constituting another one-third of the total Negrito-Aeta papers. The reports were written between 1915 and 1930 and served to further our knowledge of the Negritos and related pagan peoples of the semi-Negroid or non-Negroid types, as the students discussed their beliefs, customs and general culture as actually observed in their various hometowns and from information supplied by friends and acquaintances who had dealings with them; a few data were said to be obtained from the Negritos themselves. Sixteen papers contained data on several mountain inhabitants like the 'Bukidnons' or 'Montescos' in the
island of Panay, the 'Solod' and 'Mundos' in Iloilo province, the mountain inhabitants of Occidental Negros, the headhunting 'Apayaos' and 'Kalingas' of Cagayan province, the 'Haitans' inhabiting Laguna, the 'Cimarrones' of Camarines, the 'Dumagats' dwelling chiefly in the regions between Laguna de Bay and Pacific coast, and the 'Remontados' in Rizal province. Some interesting accounts related to the 'Remontados' who were generally believed to be of the original Malayan stock who fled to the mountains in order to evade the tyrannical rule of Spain during those days, and were absorbed by the more numerous Negritos with whom they were in close association, resulting in a mixed Negrito-Malayan populace. The rest of the student papers discussed the Negritos living in the Luzon provinces of Bulakan, Pampanga, Zambales, Sorsogon, Cagayan, Rizal, Tarlak, and Camarines, as well as in the Visayan island of Panay. The reports provided a great deal of ethnological material and a little of their history - including such data as their origin, their habitat and geographical distribution, their physical types, general characteristics, their language, the way they dress and decorate their bodies, how they procure food and transport their products in the mountains, agricultural, hunting, and warfare practices, the types of weapons and household ornaments they use, their diet, principal crops and forest products, their social culture particularly their primitive ceremonies during sickness, marriage and burial, how they receive their names, their amusements, their belief in spirits and other superstitions, their punishment of crimes, the form of government they have, their intercourse with the Christian people of the lowland and changes brought about by such contact, and the improvements in their present status due to the progressive efforts of the Americans in civilizing them and uplifting their conditions.

One student work, written in 1915 by J. Rodriguez, contained a Negrito myth on the origin of Pinatubo volcano in the province of Zambales. All these student reports are particularly valuable in
view of the fact that many of the folk beliefs and customs which were related were then rapidly disappearing or being modified to some extent, due to their contact with the lowland inhabitants and the successful efforts of the American government in concentrating and governing them within their settlements adjacent to the Christian towns.

The few printed works in the Series consisted largely of translations such as three extracts taken from Montano's *Mission aux Philippines* and *Voyage aux Philippines* regarding the Negritos of Bataan and the Mt Isarog region in Bikol which he had visited, published 1885-1886 in Paris, and appearing in the Set in their English translations done by the Division of Ethnology in Manila (1902-1903); and H. Kern's article on the Agtas of Ambos Camarines, written in Dutch and published in 1896, and found in Volume 3 in the 1918 translated version. Other translations in the Set, but unpublished, included two brief articles in Spanish with information on the characteristics and customs of the Negritos inhabiting Antique province and translated 1902-1903; and a brief letter in German regarding the pagan Dianggo tribes of Cagayan translated in 1919 by Otto Scheerer.

Other published works were: a summarized translation and comment on the works of Karl Semper, Feodor Jagor and R. Virchow among the Philippine Negritos, written by an anonymous English author entitled 'The Negritos of the Philippines', published 1870 in the *Journal of Anthropology*; and extract from J.B. Steere's letter about his observations on the Negritos of Bataan, dated 1875, which was published in the *Ann Arbor Courier*; and a work by Ferdinand Blumentritt in German entitled 'Des Padre Fr Castano Nachrichten über die Sprache der Agta (Philippinen)' which was published in 1896.

Beyer, in a terminal note to the Set commented on future work in the Set:

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5b 'Negrito Customs' translated by E. de Guzman from an anonymous Spanish document and 'The Negritos and Non-Christians of Antique Province' by A. Salazar, translated by H. Karlson.

5c 'Notes on the Dianggos of Cagayan' by H. Weber.
To the anthropological world in general, the subject matter of this set will probably always remain that of greatest interest from the Philippines, since it deals chiefly with the surviving remnants of some of the world's most primitive peoples. While our knowledge of the actual life of these peoples is still in a very crude state, it may be said with safety that the hundred papers listed above add a very material amount to what as previously known; and some attempt should be made to publish the more important data within the next few years.

The matter of carrying on further field research is of course always of great importance, but it is not so pressing a need in the present case as with some of the other Philippine groups. Despite various opinions to the contrary, it is probably true that the Negrito-Aeta peoples are and will continue to be less affected by the penetrating influences of civilization than most other Philippine groups. They are forest peoples whose lives are essentially bound up with the continued existence of virgin forest lands, and when the forests are destroyed they also will disappear. The greatest enemies of the Negrito are the lumbering companies and the Christian homesteaders; but fortunately for anthropological science the very regions where the Aetas are most numerous have so far been free of major lumbering operations. This condition seems likely to continue for a time at least, and the primitive life of the purer Negrito-Aeta groups is being but little touched or changed by contact with the outside world. This lack of urgency, however, should by no means excuse further procrastination in planning systematic Negrito research; and the fact that it will be the most difficult to carry out should merely react as a stimulating challenge to our ingenuity.6

6 H.O. Beyer, 'Terminal Notes to the Set', General Index, Volume 1, p. 182.
'The present series is intended to include all ethnographic papers of a general character and those that deal indiscriminately with several groups in such a way as to render separation of group data impracticable except by means of an index', wrote Beyer in a preface to the first volume. ¹ And in another note:

The experience gained thus far in the preparation of this Set indicates that it will be one of the most useful numbers of the Ethnographic Series - despite, or perhaps partly because of, the very miscellaneous character of its contents. It forms the connecting link between the other sets, and contains matter pertaining to all of them. It also contains much of the comparative data connecting Philippine ethnography with that of other countries; and by its inclusion of archaeology and prehistory, links the present with the past. Much material of the latter class are on hand or known to be available for insertion in future volumes.²

The six-volume General Philippine Set produced an interesting variety of 151 papers dealing with such topics as folklore, social customs and traditions, mythology, religion and folk beliefs, Philippine ethnography and pre-Spanish history, racial origins, customary laws, foreign influences on native culture, linguistics and economy. Of the total contents of the Series, ninety-seven consisted of reports of students of Beyer in the University written during the years 1914 to 1929. While five papers constituted different collection of student works compiled by Beyer from the same University, and by other teachers from other schools and colleges in the city of Manila. These were: a 1917 compilation of 142 papers on Philippine ethnography from the Manila High School, by Hazel Taylor, an instructor in English literature; a collection of twenty papers regarding Filipino folklore from the students in the Manila High School, Philippine Normal School and the National Academy which were compiled by Taylor, Nicanor Seva, and Vicente Garcia in the same year;

¹ H.O. Beyer, 'Preface to Volume 1', September 1, 1918, General Philippine Set, Volume 1.

² H.O. Beyer, 'Terminal Notes to the Set', General Index, Volume 1, p. 191.
a collection of Philippine beliefs related to agriculture as gathered in 1920 by Nemesio Catalan, an instructor in the College of Agriculture (University of the Philippines) as they prevailed in twelve provinces in the Luzon and the Visayan Islands; Otley Beyer's compendium of 106 reports on general Philippine customary laws observed by his students who hailed from twenty-six provinces and which they wrote in 1927-1928 under a course in Philippine folklore, social customs and beliefs; and seven papers dealing on Philippine folklore, general life, and customs which were collected by Gregorio Zaide in 1929 from second year students in the Jose Rizal College. While most of these papers dealt on folklore, customs and beliefs and are of great interest, the most noteworthy contributions were those prepared by the students of Beyer - as they described the provisions of statutory laws as they differed from the customs in their hometowns, and how in various cases, the latter persisted and were generally recognised by the people by force of tradition. Among these customary law papers, one was written by a Chinese student and dealt with some customs regarding punishments for adultery and robbery, and compensation for certain crimes which were committed, as practised in his hometown in Amoy, China. The 106 papers covered customary laws on birth, marriage, death and mourning, adoption, family ties, domestic relations, inheritance, ownership and division of property, servitude, tenancy, master-servant relationship, commercial transactions, contracts and negotiations, loans and payment of debts, cooperative labor among the community folks, punishment of crimes, hired labor, celebration of certain festivities, house building, fishing, stock-raising, and other industries, especially involving agriculture.

A considerable number of the ninety-seven student works pertained to general social life and institutions, their progress and development, and conditions in the past as they differed with the present. For instance, the students described the evolution of social status of the
Filipino women, the development of clothing, music, and education from the early times before the arrival of the Spaniards to the present; there were also general accounts regarding religious pilgrimages to sacred shrines in certain parts of the Archipelago, on ancient and modern Filipino games and their social values, on the history of charitable institutions and, on criminality and the successful experiments of the government in criminal reformation. Of these papers, one by D. Ambrosio included his English translations of several native folksongs common among the Tagalog, Ilocano, Pangasinan, Visaya, and Igorot peoples which were sung during weddings, funerals, planting, harvesting, fishing, cockfighting and other of their daily activities.

Two Americans and one Chinese-mestizo student wrote on their personal impressions of the typical Filipino characteristics and way of life as they had observed during their visit and residence in the islands. While six other student papers discussed marriage customs as practised by the ancient Filipinos dwelling in the coastal and lowland areas, the changes brought about by the Spanish and American colonization, and the present practices among the Christians as well as the pagan tribes such as the Negritos, Igorots, Bataks, Subanuns, Tinggians, and Moros.

The Set had eight student papers which contained general accounts on pre-Spanish Philippine Society: their early form of government, the social classes and their duties and privileges, how they punish crimes and administer justice, their religion and economic life, customs and folk beliefs, physical appearance and apparel, and other miscellaneous cultural notes. Four other papers dealt mainly on religion, and included accounts of the pagan religion of the ancient Filipinos and on the establishment of a native Filipino church during the early

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American period, named the Philippine Independent Church or popularly 'Aglipayano Church' after its founder, Gregorio Aglipay. One paper, written by Jose and Vicente Hilario in 1916, brought out the role played by folk beliefs upon the growth of Philippine institutions and showed its effect on government, private property, marriage, family stability, religion, agriculture, industries, and regard for human life. In addition, five other works were written about the general folk beliefs and practices among the Christian inhabitants of the three major islands. The papers were dated from 1915 to 1924.

Two student works contained several folk stories which were collected from various Christian localities; one dealt on customary laws; and eighteen described the racial origin and blend of the present Filipino race, the influences of foreign elements upon the native culture and comparison of certain aspects of Philippine culture with those of surrounding countries. Four other student works, written from 1917 to 1918, have discussed cultural similarities between the Christian and pagan people of the Philippines and those inhabiting South China, Burma, Borneo and south Japan, regarding apparel and bodily adornment, dwellings, musical instruments, agricultural practices, fishing, house building, kinships, domestic relations, birth, marriage and death practices, primogeniture, punishment of crimes through ordeals, celebration of harvest feasts, ancestral and spirit worship, divinations, superstitions, magical beliefs, and many others. A fifth paper by P. Tupas compared the characteristics and modes of living of the aboriginal Negritos with the Ainu of northern Japan.

The remaining student materials related to such topics as economy, literature, metathesis as found in some of the languages of the Christian and pagan tribal groups, the many tribes of the islands, their present conditions, the importance of 'civilizing' them, and the progress of the government and mission work towards that goal. The
most numerous of these accounts were on economy, with twenty-one
papers devoted to the nature and development of native industries, the
kinds of materials being utilized and how they were manufactured and
distributed, and the economic prospects in the years to come.

Apart from the original student contributions which constituted
two-thirds of the entire Set, there were copies of printed reports and
manuscripts, translated extracts from works published in foreign
languages, extracts from theses, and unpublished documents and correspondence
which were mostly written by Beyer.

The most outstanding of the printed works were the extracts taken
from the rare Spanish original two-volume manuscript entitled *El Folklore
Filipino* (*The Philippine Folklore*) which was written by Isabelo de los
Reyes, a prolific writer from the Ilocano group who is one of the few
Filipino authors with a European reputation. The first volume had been
awarded the silver medal in 1887 during the Philippine exposition which
was celebrated in Madrid, and the entire two-volume work was printed in
Manila two years later in 1889. A great bulk of the first volume Spanish
edition were copied and compiled by Beyer in four of his ethnographic
series, namely, the Iloko, Sambali, Tagalog and the General Philippine
Series and have been translated by his students in these same sets. The
Spanish texts were all copied directly from a rare printed original in
the collection of Otto Scheerer. In the present General Philippine Set,
four papers incorporated the introduction and another chapter in Spanish,
taken from the first volume, accompanied by the English translations
which were done by five students of Beyer in 1918. These extracts dealt
with the nature and history of Philippine folklore and the importance
of its study, the barbarous customs of the ministers of the ancient
Philippine religion, and the many peculiar religious ceremonies,
observed by de los Reyes as performed in various parts of the island
by so-called pseudo-prophets who had mixed Christian ideas with pagan
conceptions.
Beyer secured a complete specimen of the equally rare second volume of de los Reyes in Paris; however, unlike the first volume, he was not able to insert the extracts in Spanish from this original edition and the materials for his ethnographic series largely consisted of English translations from Volume 2. The translations, which were done by several students from 1916 to 1924, have been distributed in the Tagalog, Pampangan and Iloko Sets.  

Another original work by De los Reyes, _La Religion Antigua de los Filipinos (The Ancient Religion of the Filipinos)_ , printed 1909 in Manila, appeared in General Philippine Volume two, in the translated version which were done by various students of Beyer at the Department of Anthropology during the years 1916 to 1920. This historical-philosophical treatise rendered extensive discussions on the Christian religion, as well as on the mythology, religious conceptions and practices of the pre-Spanish inhabitants of the Philippine Islands - from the nomadic aborigines called 'Negritos' or 'Agtas', the pagan tribes, and the lowland peoples who were later christianized upon Spanish conquest in the middle of the sixteenth century. 'In this study', said Beyer, 'Don Isabelo los Reyes has given us the best treatise on Philippine folklore ever prepared by a Filipino. While his comparisons are often wide of the mark, his original Philippine data are of much interest'.  

The Set had incorporated three rare documents in Spanish which were written by Isabelo Artacho in Hong Kong in 1889 - 'Declaración', 'Carta Dirigida A Un Ciudadano Americano', and 'Pueblo Filipino' and

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4 See Beyer's paper in the present Set, 'Note on Isabelo de los Reyes' _El Folklore Filipino_ for his listing of the extractions in Spanish taken from the two original volumes, their distribution in the various sets, and where to find their corresponding English translations.

5 H.O. Beyer, 'Preface to Volume 2', October 15, 1920, _General Philippine Set, Volume 2_. 
were noted by Beyer as of considerable historical importance in connection with the Filipino revolutionary leader General Aguinaldo and the Philippine Revolution. The Artacho originals were printed in Hong Kong in the form of a small pamphlet said to be exceedingly rare, as most of the copies were destroyed by the followers of the General. Beyer had copied them from an original loaned by Charles J. Bates. A work of ethnological import was Fr Martinez Vigil's 'La Antigua Civilizacion de las Islas Filipinas' published in three issues of *La España Moderna* in 1891 and containing valuable accounts on the general customs, traditional practices, and culture of the early lowland inhabitants based upon his residence of several years in the island. The manuscript has been written by the Spanish friar in the seventeenth century.

The present Series has several extracts from works which have been published in foreign languages and appearing here in their translations, such as: John Garvan's translation in 1919 of an extract originally written in Latin in the year 1580 by Friar Paulus de Sanctis to Pope Gregory XIII, and was printed 1918 in *Anthropos*, entitled 'Relatio De Insulis Philippinis Ex Anno D. 1580'; an English translation by Dr Daniel Folkmar in 1902 for Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes of the introduction to Ferdinand Blumentritt's monograph, *Versuch einer Ethnographie der Philippinen* which was published in German in 1882; and translations from nine chapters of Juan Delgado's work in Spanish, first printed in 1892 in the city of Manila. The third work which was written from 1751 to 1754 have been translated by Robert Zingg in 1928-1930, and was titled in the Set, *History of the Philippines*. It contained important description of the general character and superstitions of the natives of the Islands in antiquity as seen by the first Spanish missionaries - their savage customs of warfare, slavery, burial, ceremonial offerings to the spirits, their political
organization, social classes, punishment of crimes, their practise of witchcraft and other pagan traditions which persisted through the centuries, their system of weights and measures, division of time and seasons, and some related cultural data. The first work by Friar de Sanctis also briefly commented on the customs and beliefs of the early Filipinos, especially on religion, as well as their attitude toward the Spanish friars; while that by Blumentritt gave some of his accounts on the geographical distribution of the original inhabitants of the islands, their migrations in pre-Hispanic times and a few of their customs and general characteristics.

The original Latin edition of Fr Sanctis' work has been extracted from the Apostolic Archives of the Vatican and appeared here in the Set, together with its translation titled 'A Relation Concerning the Philippine Islands from the year 1580'.

Other important printed works in this Series included: a summarized translation and discussion by an anonymous English author of Karl Semper's observations on the heathen Malayan tribes which the latter had encountered during his years of residence in the Philippines; three papers concerning Filipino folklore written by Clara Bayliss and Alexander Chamberlain which were printed in the *Journal of American Folklore* during the years 1903, 1907 and 1908; an article by the Dutch scholar, C. Van Vollenhoven concerning the importance of the study of customary laws, and what has been done and should be done in Indonesia and the Philippines in order to enrich our knowledge of native customs and usages, printed 1918 in the *Illinois Law Review*; and one paper which related to the customs and folk beliefs of Filipino farmers connected with the culture of rice and other crops, written in 1918 by Emma Yule in the province of Laguna. The customs she had collected were

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6 'The Yrayas, Igorrotes and Manobos of the Philippines'. This was published in London in the *Journal of Anthropology*, 1871.
said to be fairly representative of the beliefs and practices of the Christian Filipino farmers in different parts of the islands of Luzon and the Visayas where the major portion of the five most important Christian tribes dwell. Her work was printed 1919 in the Journal of International Relations in Massachusetts.

There were extracts from three thesis presented to the University of the Philippines during the years 1916 and 1929 by V. Bunuan, F. de la Paz, and T. Tirona embodying a collection of ten Filipino mythological themes, and important accounts on the general status of customary laws in Philippine judicial tribunals, the role of American common laws and doctrines in the courts, and specific customary laws relating to irrigation, water rights, and cooperative agriculture as practised by the Christian Filipinos inhabiting fifteen provinces scattered throughout the archipelago.

Beyer had also included the first drafts originally prepared in 1915 by George Malcolm for his book entitled Government of the Philippine Islands, but which were considerably revised before the final publication. These original texts, found in Volume five, discussed the meaning and nature of customary laws and their existence in Philippine society, with specific cases in which they have been recognized, and the enforcement of the 'Luwaran' and 'Magindanao Code of Laws' among the Moros of the south.

Two published reports furnished important sources on the population, geographical distribution, and modes of living of the numerous Christian tribes, and more importantly on the progress done under the American colonial administration in the fields of politics, economy and social welfare. These were the Census report of 1903 for the province of Tarlak which was submitted by a census enumerator, and a longer and detailed annual report of 1920 for the entire country prepared by the American governor-general Francis B. Harrison. Beyer
had noted that the latter paper has been printed in a Congressional document in America but was not circulated in the Philippines nor added to the regular series of reports.

Of note among the unpublished materials were: a paper read by Dean Rusk in 1913 before the Philippine Academy and the University Extension Institute concerning the origin and descriptive variations of certain nursery sagas, fabliaux and pourquoi stories current among the natives, derived from the reports of about 150 Filipino university students representing every Christian province in the Islands; a brief paper written in 1920 by Governor-General Harrison to Beyer, noting similarities in cultural features and practices between the Filipinos and the Hindus occupying a geographic belt in Northern India as observed in his travels; and a confidential report on literacy in the Philippine Islands under America, submitted by Governor-General Dwight Davis to the Bureau of Insular Affairs in Washington, in 1930. There were three papers with miscellaneous notes of Merton Miller, Chief of the Division of Ethnology, on ethnographical collection and his inspection trips among the non-Christians from 1904 to 1906, and two official reports outlining proposed plans and general policies necessary for the governmental organization, supervision of the nomadic tribes, and their amalgamation with the Christian people of the Archipelago. The reports were prepared 1902 and 1923 by Governor William Johnston of Isabela province and Director Jose Sanvictores of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes.

Of the 151 General Philippine papers, five were bibliographical in nature - three student papers written in 1916 which dealt with collections of bibliographical entries on Philippine marriage customs, general customary laws and literature, and a fourth paper by Alexander Chamberlain relating to Filipino folklore which was printed in 1903 in the Journal of American Folklore. The fifth paper was done by Beyer and contained a list of the forty best general works in English on the
Philippine Islands classified under seven subjects of history, government and law, ethnology and physical anthropology, folklore and beliefs, statistical and economic data, general description, and bibliography. It was prepared in 1921 for the use of the associate editor of Asia magazine and included his brief comments on the various works.

The contributions of Beyer to the present Set equalled that in the Ifugao Series, both of which constituted the highest number of papers he prepared which appeared in his Philippine Ethnographic Series. Two of the fifteen papers which Beyer prepared for the present Set, dated 1921 and 1927, have been described previously. Of the fifteen, the only published accounts were: 'Notes on the Bearing of Recent Investigations into Philippine History and Racial Origins on the Question of the Present and Future Status of the Philippine Peoples' containing a historical sketch of Philippine history from the beginning of the Christian era until the American rule, the foreign influences in the native culture, the basic Philippine racial types, their origin and geographical distribution, and the problem in westernization and assimilation brought about by the extremely complex Philippine population; and an unfinished paper entitled 'Ethnographic Grouping in the Philippines' done in 1916, which later appeared in a revised form in the 1917 issue of the Philippine Review. The latter work, found in Volume 16, contained a list of forty-three Philippine ethnographic groups recognized by Beyer, which he compared to other classifications which have been

7 These papers are: 'Brief Philippine Bibliography', 1921, and 'General Philippine Customary Laws' (Collected from University students taking a course in Philippine Folklore, Social Customs and Beliefs), 1937. See pp. 300, 308-309 for discussion.

8 This was published in 1921 as Appendix 9 to the Report of the Wood-Forbes Special Mission which was sent by American President Harding to investigate the state of affairs in the Islands, with Beyer as one of the members.
published by other writers, and a discussion of the broader physical, linguistic and economic culture groupings of these tribes. He also described the six distinct racial types among the native inhabitants which he recognized and he believed to be the result of a more or less complicated intermixture of the seven basic races in the world.

Of the unpublished accounts, one paper embodied his comments on the origin of the ancestors of Filipinos, their general characteristics, how they were distributed geographically when they migrated to the Islands in pre-historic times, and the effect in Philippine population of the blending of these diverse racial elements, while two other papers noted some of the interesting topics discussed by the delegates, including Beyer, represented in the conference of the First Institute of Pacific Relations held in Honolulu in 1925 — such as the issue of Philippine independence, the history of racial migrations in the Pacific, basic racial types, and the outcome of these racial intermixtures especially with reference to the Philippines. A fourth paper entitled, 'The Non-Christian Inhabitants of the Philippines' (1918) concerned the non-Christian tribes whose relations with the Christian populace presented a problem of considerable magnitude and importance not only to the Filipinos, but also the American administrators during that time.

Two important papers by Beyer dealt on customary law: one titled 'Memorandum on Philippine Customary Law' written 1929 for Vice-Governor E. Gilmore; and the second work containing historical accounts of local efforts in the compilation of customary laws in the Philippines, from 1919 until the arrival of the Dutch scholar F.D. Holleman in Manila

9 'A Brief Statement Regarding the Racial History of the Philippine Peoples' (together with certain related documents), Manila, 1920-1923.

10 'Note on the Opening Session of the First Institute of Pacific Relations', Honolulu, July 2, 1925.
'Round Table Discussion of the Effect on Immigration of Racial Aspects', Honolulu, July 6, 1925.
in 1931.\textsuperscript{11} It was through the persistent and untiring efforts of Dr C.V. Vollenhoven that the foundation for a systematic study of native laws had been laid in the Philippines. In the first work mentioned above, Beyer discussed the sources of present Philippine laws, the enforcement of customary laws among the Christians, the Muslims, and the pagan peoples, accompanied by specific examples of customary usages practised in eight Christian provinces and among the pagan Ifugao in the Central Ifugao region. The data on the Ifugao had been personally gathered by Beyer during his many years of residence in Banaue, Central Ifugao.

The rest of his unpublished accounts in the Series were miscellaneous in character, and included: a list of forty-five principal dialects spoken in the Philippine Islands which he prepared in 1914-1915 for the Philippine Census Office;\textsuperscript{12} a letter of 1916 to the Director of the Bureau of Science with information on the varieties of ancient weaving and spinning looms still utilized by the Christian, Muslim and pagan peoples;\textsuperscript{13} a paper dated in 1922, with some notes to I. de los Reyes' \textit{El Folklore Filipino},\textsuperscript{14} and two papers containing mainly his correspondence with government officials from 1919 to 1920. This collection of letters related to labor migration in Asia particularly to the Philippines, and the nature, status and problems of ethnological research in the Philippines, particularly the study of the several

\textsuperscript{11} 'A Brief History of the Study of Philippine Customary Law and of the Various Committees Constituted for that Purpose', 1931.

\textsuperscript{12} 'Philippine Dialects and Abbreviations', 1914-1915.

\textsuperscript{13} 'Notes on the Types of Spinning and Weaving Apparatus in Use in the Philippines, and the Possibility of Making a Collection of the Same', 1916.

\textsuperscript{14} 'Note On Isabelo de Los Reyes' \textit{El Folklore Filipino}', 1922.
language and tribal groups in the Muslim and pagan regions. According to Beyer, the materials in this six-volume Set are of fair or good quality and would make a valuable addition to the general ethnographic collection. Despite the general character of many of the papers, however, several contained valuable data on Philippine ethnology and customary laws. Beyer further noted that the most urgent present need of the present Set is time for collecting scattered notes, the preparation of bibliography for the general papers, the copying and translation of rare printed papers of general character and research of a general or comparative character.

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15 a. 'Correspondence Relating to the Labor Population of South-eastern Asia, and the Question of Labor Immigration for the Philippines', 1920.


17 H.O. Beyer, 'Terminal Notes to the Set', General Index, Volume 1, p. 191.
The areas designated Malay, Indonesia, etc., were originally of the racial stock indicated. In recent years there has been much migration of Malays to areas formerly occupied by other groups.

Adapted from a Map prepared by

Dr. H. Otley Beyer
Professor of Anthropology
University of the Philippines
**PHILIPPINE POPULATION TABLE**

Population in the Philippines, listed according to recognized ethnographic groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pygmys:</th>
<th>Estimated number in 1942</th>
<th>...</th>
<th>Indonesians:</th>
<th>Estimated number in 1942</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Aetas of Luzon</td>
<td>22,550</td>
<td></td>
<td>26. Tirurey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Aetas of Visayas</td>
<td>2,300</td>
<td></td>
<td>27. Yakum Woro (Basilan)</td>
<td>31,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Batek (Palawan)</td>
<td>350</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Manana (Surigao)</td>
<td>1,600</td>
<td></td>
<td>28. Biko! (Christian)</td>
<td>1,245,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Mangquangan (Mindoro)</td>
<td>2,100</td>
<td></td>
<td>29. Bontok</td>
<td>32,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Mangyan (Mindoro)</td>
<td>17,500</td>
<td></td>
<td>30. Ibatan (Christian)</td>
<td>9,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>31. Ifugao</td>
<td>80,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>32. Igarot</td>
<td>117,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>33. Iloko (Christian)</td>
<td>2,105,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>34. Ilongay (Christian)</td>
<td>3,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>35. Kuyonon or Kalamian (Christian)</td>
<td>44,850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Apayao</td>
<td>13,500</td>
<td></td>
<td>36. Lanao or Maranao</td>
<td>191,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Aya</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>37. Magindanao</td>
<td>187,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Bagobo</td>
<td>21,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>38. Pampangan (Christian)</td>
<td>665,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Badjao</td>
<td>1,650</td>
<td></td>
<td>39. Pangasinan (Christian)</td>
<td>602,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Bilaan</td>
<td>52,500</td>
<td></td>
<td>40. Sambali (Christian)</td>
<td>85,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Bukidnon (Christian and Pagan)</td>
<td>41,800</td>
<td></td>
<td>41. Sanggili Woro</td>
<td>2,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Gaddang (Christian and Pagan)</td>
<td>28,150</td>
<td></td>
<td>42. Sulu Woro</td>
<td>256,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Ibanag (Christian)</td>
<td>271,500</td>
<td></td>
<td>43. Tagalog (Christian)</td>
<td>3,320,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Illongot</td>
<td>7,800</td>
<td></td>
<td>44. Tinggil or Itneg</td>
<td>41,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Isamal</td>
<td>2,750</td>
<td></td>
<td>45. Visayan or Bisa (Christian)</td>
<td>7,300,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Kiligan</td>
<td>41,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>46. (Asiatics, Europeans, Americans, etc.)</td>
<td>217,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Kulanan</td>
<td>250</td>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL 1942 population</td>
<td>17,435,450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Mandaaya</td>
<td>36,200</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Manobo</td>
<td>76,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Saeai Woro</td>
<td>133,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Subanun</td>
<td>73,500</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Tagabili</td>
<td>9,100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Tagakaolo</td>
<td>21,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Tagbanau (Palawan)</td>
<td>15,200</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The figures given above have been printed through the courtesy of Dr. H. Otley Beyer, Head, Department of Anthropology, University of the Philippines.
APPENDIX 2

A CHECKLIST OF THE WORKS OF H. OTLEY BEYER
IN THE PHILIPPINE ETHNOGRAPHIC SERIES.

1908 October


1909 June 1

'A Brief Study of the Material Culture of the Ifugao of the Island of Luzon, Illustrated by the Ifugao Collection in the Peabody Museum, and by the Collection of 100 Photographs Herewith Presented by me to the said Museum', Harvard University, in Ifugao Set, Volume 15, Paper 125.

1910 June 29

'Brief Report to the Director of Science Regarding a Trip through the District of Kayapa', Pampang, Subprovince of Benguet, in Igorot Set, Volume 6, paper 51.

1910 July 5-9

'Miscellaneous Notes on the Culture of the Isinai People', Bambang and Dupax, in Isinai-Ilongot Set, Volume 1, paper 22.

1910 July 5-9

'Measurements of seventy-two Pure Isinai Men, Women and Children at Bambang, Dupax, and Aritao, Nueva Vizcaya', (assisted in taking the Measurements by Roberto Laperal), Manila, in Isinai-Ilongot Set, Volume 1, paper 21.

1910 July 8

'Measurements of three Ilongot Men and one Woman, at Dupax, Nueva Vizcaya', (assisted in taking the Measurements by Robert Laperal), Manila, in Isinai-Ilongot Set, Volume 1, paper 20.
'Physical Measurements of Bayombong Caddangs', (assisted in taking the Measurements by Roberto Laperal), Bayombong, Nueva Vizcaya, in *Itneg-Kalinga Set*, Volume 2, paper 32.

'Anthropometric Measurements of fifty Ifugao Men and Women taken in the Subprovince of Ifugao', (assisted in taking the Measurements by Roberto Laperal), Subprovince of Ifugao, in *Ifugao Set*, Volume 16, paper 164.

'Letter from H. Otley Beyer to the Director of Science', Manila, in *Ifugao Set*, Volume 14, paper 100.


Arrangement of data in the History and Ethnography of the Ifugao People (being a collection of all the proposed tables of contents and schemes for arranging the data in various sections of the work), Manila, in *Ifugao Set*, Volume 1, paper 1.


1911 'Two papers entitled "The Negritos and Minor Non-Christian Tribes"', Manila, in *Negrito-Aeta Set*, Volume 1, paper 5. The second paper was published under the title of 'The Aborigines' in the Special 1911 Edition of the *Cablenews-American*.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>December</td>
<td>'Apayao Texts', (collected from Apayaos of Bubulayan), Subprovince of Apayao, in <em>Itneg-Kalinga Set</em>, Volume 3, paper 85.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


1914-1915 'Philippine Dialects and Abbreviations', (being a memorandum prepared for the use of Charles Cameron of the old Philippine Census Office), Manila, in *General Philippine Ethnography Set*, Volume 4, paper 114.


1917 'Miscellaneous Notes on the Moros', (collected by Beyer from various persons), Manila, in *Moro Set*, Volume 4, paper 47.


1920-1923 'A Brief Statement Regarding the Racial History of the Philippine People', (together with certain related documents), Manila, in General Philippine Ethnography Set, Manila, Volume 4, paper 112.

1921 January 1 'Brief Philippine Bibliography', (being a tentative list of the forty best general works in english relating to the Philippines), Manila, in General Philippine Ethnography Set, Volume 4, paper 108.


1922 December 31 'Notes on Isabelo de los Reyes El Folklore Filipino', Manila, in General Philippine Ethnography Set, Volume 3, paper 47.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Set</th>
<th>Volume</th>
<th>Paper</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>December</td>
<td>'Note on the Classification of Tagalog Language Papers',</td>
<td>Manila</td>
<td>Tagalog Set</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>November 25</td>
<td>'Notes for Trip around Mindanao', (Prepared for the Use of Colonel George Langhorne and the United States Destroyer Squadron on their Trip made in November-December)</td>
<td>Manila</td>
<td>Pagan Peoples of Mindanao Set</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>July 2</td>
<td>'Note on the Opening Session of the First Institute of Pacific Relations',</td>
<td>Honolulu</td>
<td>General Philippine Ethnography Set</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>July 6</td>
<td>'Effect on Immigration of Racial Aspects', (Round Table Discussion),</td>
<td>Honolulu</td>
<td>General Philippine Ethnography Set</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>October 8</td>
<td>'General Philippine Customary Laws', (collected from University students taking a course in Philippine Folklore, Social Customs and Beliefs),</td>
<td>Manila</td>
<td>General Philippine Ethnography Set</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>September 30</td>
<td>'Memorandum on Philippine Customary Law', (prepared for the use of Vice-Governor E.A. Gilmore),</td>
<td>Manila</td>
<td>General Philippine Ethnography Set</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td></td>
<td>'Correspondence Relating to Negrito, Papuan, and Australoid Types in the Philippines',</td>
<td>Manila</td>
<td>Negrito-Aeta Set</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td></td>
<td>'A Brief History of the Study of Philippine Customary Law and of the Various Committees Constituted for that Purpose',</td>
<td>Manila</td>
<td>General Philippine Ethnography Set</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX 3

A COMPLETE LIST OF THE MANUSCRIPT VOLUMES OF OTLEY BEYER IN THE RARE BOOK AND MANUSCRIPT READING ROOM, N.L.A., IN ADDITION TO THE PHILIPPINE ETHNOGRAPHIC SERIES

1. BEYER, Henry Otley


(Consisting of the class notes of fourteen students who attended the lectures in Anthropology 106, given at the University of the Philippines, 1915-1920).

3. 1921 The Philippines Before Magellan: A Study in the Sources of Malayan civilization. Manila. (A complete collection of the original manuscripts of the work entitled 'The Philippines Before Magellan', which was published in 1921 in Asia).


Manila, Volume 1.

(Accession Book and Catalogue of the Beyer-Boston Archaeological Collection from the Central District of Rizal Province).

5. 1926-1927 ________ Manila, Volumes 1-2. (General Accession Book from the Novaliches District).


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