

The Ancestral Domain Claim of the Manobo Matigsalug

B. R. RODIL

Abstract

The main finding of this study is that the Matigsalug community has been in their ancestral territory for at least 51 generations. Multiplied with the standard 30 years per generation, this easily amounts to 1,580 years of uninterrupted occupancy.

Re-enforcing this genealogical claim are other basic items like the stories on the 65 names of places and sites, and their custom and tradition on the acquisition of their domain and the use of its resources, like land, wild games in the forests, and the fishes in the rivers. The actual presence of their traditional leaders in the various communities further enhances the claim.


The story about the 1975 uprising is a bonus, not anymore necessary to determine the basis of ancestral domain claim, but enables us to appreciate how strongly the Matigsalugs feel about the security and defense of their community.

Part 1

Introduction

This paper is the product of the research expedition undertaken by this writer in the Manobo Matigsalug country on May 4 - 11, 1994.

Guided by the Rules and Regulations for the Identification, Delineation And Recognition of Ancestral Land and Domain Claims laid down by the Department Administrative Order of the Department Environment and Natural Resources, No. 2, Series Of 1993, this study was commissioned by the Office of the Presidential Adviser on Peace Process (OPAPP) specifically to look into the historical basis of the ancestral land claim of the Matigsalug of Kitaotao in Bukidnon, Marilog District in Davao City and Arakan Valley in Cotabato.

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The need for such a research was felt at the OPAPP-assisted Matigsalug Manobo Tribal Consultation on Ancestral Domain held in Simada, Kitaotao, Bukidnon in February 26-28, 1994 to which this writer was invited.

Before I proceed, allow me to express my most profound thanks to all those who have contributed to the completion of this research, most especially to the following:

- A. Datu Lorenzo "Saligan" Gawilan, the Supreme Tribal Chieftain of the Matigsalug, for ensuring that we got the convenience and security that we needed. Also, his associates, Datu Melecio Man-ukil, Assistant Supreme Tribal Chieftain of the Matigsalug, and Datu Jose Dia-on, Tribal Chieftain of Sinuda, who were the most tireless respondents.
- B. Datu Cosme Lambayon who was designated by Datu Gawilan to work with me for the duration of the research. He was my guide, companion, translator, transcriber and friend, from day one to the day when the last tape was safely transcribed and translated. He also provided many valuable insights on indigenous culture which helped me put our data within correct cultural perspective.
- C. All the 58 datu-respondents for their unfailing patience and sincerity during the long interviews.
- D. Our gracious hosts for their limitless hospitality in allowing their homes to serve as interview centers and/or headquarters on short notice, in their order of appearance: Datu Mamerto Sogoy and family in Doroluman; Datu Maning Damlayon and family in Mantangkil; Datu Ruben Camad and family in Sagundanon; Datu Melencio Unday and family in Kulaman Valley; Datu Lorenzo Gawilan and family in Sinuda, and the families of Datu Ramos Benito and Datu Cosme Lambayon in Marahan.
- E. Datu Moreno Tumindog and Datu Manahan Sulang, along with Datu Cosme Lambayon, who alternated in providing me with constant companionship and reference, especially during the writing period.
- F. Amb. Manuel Yan, Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process, and Executive Director Maria Lorenza Dalupan for their confidence in providing this enviable opportunity for me to be in touch with the Matigsalugs, by contracting me to do a work very close to my heart.
- G. To Milet Mendoza whose entire External Affairs Division provided a most efficient, cheerful and healthy administrative support for the project. In particular, Nela who did the genealogical flowchart and organized the photo album; Juliet who took time to interview Dr. E. A. Manuel; Dorie who lent her taperecorder despite the risks; Charo and Mon who were always there to provide moral support and cheer. Milet herself allowed the liberal use of her computer.

- H. To Eli Capalla, Nancy Jadulco, Weng and Benjie for a thousand and one constant acts of kindness and support.

The Matigsalugs, estimated in 1981 to have a population of 110,492, are claiming as ancestral domain a land area estimated to be 64,691.22 hectares, encompassing the territory of the entire Municipality of Kitaotao in Bukidnon, a portion of Arakan Valley in Cotabato, and a part of Marilog in Davao City.

The claim is without precedent in Mindanao and it is important for OPAPP to ensure that the claim stands on solid customary and legal grounds. Hence this study. [True, enough, on May 15, 1995, almost exactly a year after, DENR Secretary Angel C. Alcala issued to the Federation of Manobo-Matigsalug Tribal Councils the Certificate of Ancestral Domain Claim for 77,134 hectares, the biggest such claim so far in Mindanao.]

As originally planned, the project's main component was two weeks of field research and two weeks of paper work. Due to pressure of time and other concerns, field work was later reduced to nine days, May 4 - 12, 1994, including the two days for travel to and from the research site, but work time was increased.

The compression of the timetable did not in any way negatively affect the output. What actually happened was that when the schedule of the researcher was explained to the people and the importance of the research to their ancestral claim was clarified, the respondents cooperated fully and without complaints. They readily went to and gathered where the researcher was on short notice. A total of 58 respondents took part. On the average, each day's interview session lasted from between seven to eight hours, usually between 3:00 p.m. to 12:00 midnight. While a respondent spoke, the others listened quietly. When a fact was missed, there was always someone who would spontaneously volunteer the correct information.

Travel between destinations in the research area was usually between 9:00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m., deemed by the people there as the most convenient time, either on foot or on horseback, or both. Lunch was between 2:00 and 3:00 p.m. The terrain was rugged most of the way and the dew on the grass did not evaporate until around nine o'clock. Only in the last two barangays was it possible to rent motorbikes or take the bus. We had reached the Bukidnon-Davao highway by then.

The research trip covered the barangays of Mantangkil, Sagundanon, Kulaman Valley, Sinuda to which a delegation from nearby barangay Tawas were invited to come, and Marahan which was attended by datos from the neighboring sitio of Ladian. It was not feasible to travel to East Dalurong and West Dalurong, and Digongan, the last three barangays in the itinerary due to ongoing military operations against the New Peoples Army (NPA). There were, however, datos who attended the Sinuda interviews who were sufficiently informed about these places.

Owing to the tight timetable, the interviews were focused on what this researcher considered to be the most vital and the most pertinent data, namely, genealogy of the acknowledged leaders within the tribe, names of places, list of tribal leaders within the claimed territory, and custom law on acquisition and disposition and use of land. A bonus was the story of their 1975 rebellion, of which the respondents spoke with great pride.

Part 2 Defining Terms, Setting Directions

Limited Literature on Matigsalug

For the purpose of establishing the validity of the Matigsalug claim to their ancestral domain, there is very little documentary evidence with which to go on. This was a given at the start of the research project.

The name "Matigsalug" did not appear in any ethnographic reports written during the Spanish period. Nor is there any mention of it in Henry Otley Beyer's 150 volume compilation called the Philippine Ethnographic Series. Fay-Cooper Cole, too, who did field work in the Davao area in the first decade of the 20th century and subsequently came out with his book *The Wild Tribes of Davao District, Mindanao* in 1913 said nothing about it.¹ It was because he did his field work near the coasts. Matigsalug territory is deep into the interior of central Mindanao. While this does not prove the existence or inexistence of the Matigsalug, it certainly tells us how little documented data we have to go by and to what extent we must rely on field data from oral sources.

It was not until the mid-50s that we are able to get something definite. First, there is the Matigsalug epic *Ulod* which Dr. E. Arsenio Manuel documented in 1956.² He followed this up in 1973 with his monumental work, *Manuvu Social Organization*, which provides us with an ethnographic map showing the location of the Matigsalug and neighboring tribes along with some pertinent descriptions.

Two years after that, Datu Lorenzo Gawilan, the acknowledged supreme datu of the Matigsalug, led his people in a two-and-a-half-month rebellion to which President Marcos responded quickly and decisively. Not only did he give full and unconditional amnesty to the rebels, he also cancelled all logging, pasture, and agro-industrial leases operating within their traditional territory, except those consented to by the Matigsalugs themselves. Then, he directed the Presidential Assistant on National Minorities or PANAMIN headed by Manda Elzalde to attend to their tribal needs. PANAMIN had a direct hand in popularizing the name Matigsalug as one referring to a distinct ethnolinguistic group. We must hasten to point out though that PANAMIN's move was both a response to Matigsalug initiative and an affirmation of what was already there in the first place, that is, the Matigsalug existence and their cultural institutions.

Matigsalug: Part of Manobo Linguistic Family

Then, still in the mid-1970s, Richard Elkins published the results of his studies on the Manobo tongue, which are of direct relevance to us on three intertwining counts. One, not only does he confirm the existence of the Matigsalug as a distinct ethnolinguistic group; two, and more important, he also puts them in their proper cultural and tribal perspective within the Manobo linguistic family: he lists the Matigsalug as one of 18 subfamilies of the Manobo mother tongue in the entire Mindanao region; and, three, he provides us with definite leads by which we can assume quite safely that the Matigsalug, like the rest of the Manobos, have lived in Mindanao since a very long time ago. His findings are so revealing.

they must be quoted here extensively. He says:

Today, at least 18 different languages and dialects of the Manobo subfamily may be found in Mindanao, Camiguin Island, and Cagayancillo Island. Their linguistic prehistory together with their geographical locations enable us to make some assumptions about early Manobo migrations. First of all, speakers of Proto-Northern Manobo separated from the main body of early Manobo speakers and migrated northward, eventually reaching the north coast of Mindanao.

Secondly, the speakers of Proto-Southern Manobo separated and migrated into the mountains of south Cotabato and the western side of the Davao Gulf. The remaining body moved northward, probably under pressure by this time from other peoples who had settled in Mindanao. This body eventually divided into two groups. Speakers of Proto-Western Manobo settled in what is now southern and western Bukidnon and north Cotabato, west of the Pulangi River. Speakers of Proto-East-Central Manobo settled in the mountainous area east of the Pulangi River and north of Mount Apo. From this group Proto-Eastern Manobo and Proto-Central Manobo developed. Speakers of eastern Manobo languages today occupy the Agusan River valley and the mountainous areas in north-western Agusan and in Surigao. Speakers of central Manobo languages are found along the Davao River and the Libuganan River in Davao Province, in the Arakan Valley and surrounding areas in north Cotabato, and along the Tigwa River in eastern Bukidnon.

Elkins continues:

Present-day Mindanao languages which are members of the Manobo subfamily include the following: Cotabato Manobo and Tasaday in south Cotabato; Sarangani Manobo in southern Davao; Tagabawa and Obo, west and southwest of Davao City; Dibabawon, Ata and Matig Salug in northern Davao; Livunganen, Hianen, and Kulamanen in northern Cotabato; Western Bukidnon Manobo and Tigwa in southern Bukidnon; Binukid in northern Bukidnon; Agusan Manobo with its several dialects in Agusan and Surigao; and Higaonon in Misamis Oriental, Bukidnon, and Agusan. Kinamigin in Camiguin Island north of Mindanao and Kagayaneu on Cagayancillo Island in the Sulu Sea have only recently been identified as members of the Manobo subfamily.²

What remains to be documented for our present purposes are those matters that will answer certain key questions. Who are the Matigsalug? How long have they lived in their claimed ancestral territory? What is the extent of this territory? We felt that this could best be done by zeroing in on genealogy, stories on the names of places, custom law on acquisition, disposition and use of land, and putting together a comprehensive list of traditional leaders.

Origin and Genealogy

Hand in hand with their genealogy is the question of the origin of the Matigsalug and how they came to live in their ancestral domain.

In the Matigsalug tradition, they say: "the origin of the Manobo-Matigsalug tribe was Apo Tahoranon."⁴ He and his wife, Apo Simbal, were considered to be the original couple in Pantaron mountain. From this mountain flowed important rivers in central Mindanao: Salug (now also known as Davao River), Pulangi (popularized by the Spanish as Rio Grande), Tigwa, Talomo, Libahanon, Tahalawan, Langilan and Simong. They had twelve children. From this mountain, too, the children spread out to neighboring places.⁵

Apo Magdayao, the eldest son, and his families moved to where Salug River and Mibolo river met and merged and called themselves Matigsalug. Matig means taga (place of origin or residence) in various Philippine languages, followed by the specific place of origin or residence. His brothers and sisters and their descendants fanned out to nearby places. And so, we now have people who call themselves Matig-Pulangi or Pulanguihon, Tigwahanon, Matig-Talomo, Tinananon, Kulamanon, Matig-Langilan, Matig-Libahanon, Matig-Tahalawan and Matig-Simong. Those who identify themselves as Tala-ingod tribe now constitute the indigenous inhabitants of Tala-ingod municipality in Davao del Norte. Tala-ingod means "real owners of that territory."⁶

Matigsalug Habitat

Do we have more specifics on Matigsalug territory? Dr. Manuel, by focusing in on the immediate neighbors of the Manuvu, also pinpointed the specific location of the Matigsalug. In his ethnographic map he had the Manuvu territory occupying large portions of southern Bukidnon down to Carmen, Kabacan and Kidapawan in North Cotabato, then on to the northern part of Davao City. Exactly on the eastern side of the Manuvus were their immediate neighbors, the Matigsalug, straddling both east and west sides of Salug or Davao River, also occupying lands encompassed within the boundaries of the present North Cotabato, Bukidnon and Davao City. Neighbors on the southern side are the 'Tahavawa', the Jangat and the Attaw.⁷ This is how close we have so far been able to get.

Now, we come to the important question. Why do we consider this as a major, in fact the most vital, evidence of the ancestral land claim?

Genealogy and Historical Time Depth

First, we can establish an estimated historical time depth. There is a need to clarify what exactly is meant by ancestral domain. How far back must we go to prove that they have lived there since time immemorial? Or that the territory has been handed down to them by their great-great ancestors? We have in this study a genealogy whose continuity is traced through 51 generations. Given the universally accepted average of 30 years per generation, our 51 generations easily give us a time depth of 1,530 years. This is more than sufficient proof with which to establish the Matigsalug ancestral land claim.

Possible Complications from Biblical Data

Some details, however, need to be clarified. The first generation is set with Apo Adan and Eba, followed by Apo Damlasanon and Apo Day-asonon. After this is a note which says "several unspecified generations". The third specified generation names Apo Nowaan and Apo Lingunayan.⁸

Objectors might wish to find fault with the first and third generations which refer to biblical personalities, namely Adam and Eve, and Noah, locally known as Nowaan. It may be argued that if their first and third generations start with such personalities, then their genealogy is relatively young, beginning as it does with the time they were first exposed to the Bible, which is sometime during the first half of the present century. And so, it may be asked: When did the first Christian missionary come to the Matigsalugs? This question seems logical because it is assumed that this is the only way knowledge of the Bible may have reached the Matigsalug, and Adam and Eve would have been integrated into their indigenous folklore from there. Or so we assumed.

This point has been raised with them during our interviews and their answer is that this has been their folklore since time immemorial, even before they were introduced to the various Christian denominations early in the present century.⁹ And we have no answer to this. While we have allowed doubt to set in the interpretation of their genealogy, the truth is our only source of doubt is purely circumstantial, the assumption that they could have taken their knowledge of Adam and Eve and Noah from nowhere else but the Bible. It may be mentioned here that this writer came across the great deluge and the Noah story among the Dibabawons of Davao del Norte in 1974, and they, too, the respondents, do not attribute knowledge of these biblical details to the arrival of Christian missionaries. Incidentally, in the course of our field work with the Matigsalug recently, we listed at least 12 religions being presently practiced by and among them: General Baptist, Southern Baptist, Missionary Baptist, Iglesia ni Kristo, Four Square, Pentecostal, Jehovah's Witnesses, Baha'i, Faith Tabernacle, Catholic, Missionary Alliance, and One Way Charismatic. But these constitute no positive proof against their insistence that Adan and Eba and Nowaan have been an integral part of their genealogy since time immemorial. Queried on the possible divisive effects of so many religions among them, the respondents uniformly reply that in their tribal gatherings, they always go back to their *panubad*, their indigenous religious ritual common to all of them, and to which they all identify.

But even if by some fluke, the objector is right, the conclusion that the genealogy is relatively young, or dates back only to the time the Bible reached the Matigsalugs does not hold much water. We still have to account for 47 generations or 1,410 years of continuous occupancy, starting from Apo Tahuranon.

For whatever it is worth, we must mention here that among the Subanens, too, of Mt. Malindang, especially the Subanen of Salug residing in the towns of Josefina in Zamboanga del Sur and Don Mariano Marcos in Misamis Occidental, "Aran and Eba" were the first man and woman in their origin stories.¹⁰

Extent of Physical Occupancy

Second, physical extent of occupancy. Very early in the genealogy, we are told how the children of Apo Tahuranon resettled themselves in various places, and succeeding generations have continued to live there. There are no reported contrary claimants to these lands.

Inter-marriages and Inter-tribal Relations

Third, genealogy also indicates intermarriages with neighboring tribes, providing us with insights and leads into how they handled inter-tribal relations. This also touches on the issue of land.

Finally, we must say that genealogy should not be viewed apart from the stories on the names of places.

Stories of Names of Places

Stories about the names of places reveal four elements: (a) the language used is Matigsalug; (b) the content of the stories themselves are peculiarly Matigsalug; (c), in stories involving traditional community heroes, a historical time depth of occupancy, may be estimated and compared with names in the genealogy, and, (d) the physical extent of occupancy itself may be indicated, or how far and wide the Matigsalug have occupied their claimed territory over several generations of open, continuous and uninterrupted occupancy (See Part 5 for details.)

Custom On Land Acquisition and Use; View on Land

According to Datu Jose Dia-on, concepts like "my land" or "my kaingin" did not exist in the old days. Their ancestors cleared lands in groups. There were no boundaries then. They felt free to move within their accustomed territory. People from Panganan would do their clearing in Sinuda; those from Arakan would clear lands in Sinuda. There were no restrictions. Land was held in common for the use of all. We did not own lands then; it was believed that it was land that owned the people. God created land for the people. The truth is, if we die we are buried in the land. This was why our ancestors believed that land owned the people. The boundaries came later when people from other tribes would trespass occupied lands. (See part 3 for details.)

But what was the physical extent of the moving about from one kaingin to another? Added Datu Melecio Man-ukil: From Kalagangan, Panganan, Digongan, Kiulum, Pang. Marahan, Dalurong, Kitubo, White Kulaman, Sagundanon, Cabalantian and Campo Una on the Davao side, etc. That is how far we go. But only within: (See part 3 for details.)

Why not outside? Because outside, stressed Datu Dia-on, does not belong to us. There are other natives there, Manobo communities. We stay within our group, within our territory. (See Part 3 for details.)

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List of Tribal Leaders

The extent of physical territory within which they moved about are reflected, too, by the presence of traditional leaders in various sitios and barangays. The list of traditional leaders in these places will enable us to pinpoint with greater accuracy where Matigsalug communities might be in existence. Our listing covers all barangays, encompassing portions of Kitaotao, Bukidnon; Arakan, Cotabato, and Davao City, as follows:

- A. Kitaotao: 248 tribal leaders in 14 barangays. The Supreme Tribal Chieftain Datu Lorenzo Gawilan and his deputy reside in Barangay Sinuda.
- B. Arakan, Cotabato: 18 tribal leaders in three barangays.
- C. Marilog District, Davao City: 59 tribal leaders in 8 barangays.
- D. Paquibato District, Davao City: 7 tribal leaders in one barangay.

The Matigsalug Rebellion of 1975

In addition to the above items, we must also include the story of the Matigsalug rebellion of 1975 because the circumstances of the uprising would indicate how strongly the Matigsalugs felt about being harassed by outsiders in their own land, about security of life in their home homeland, and about self-determination in their own life. In defense of which they were quite willing to offer their own lives.

Part 3 THE 1975 MATIGSALUG UPRISING May - June - July 1975

Datu Lorenzo Saligan Gawilan, The Leader

In an informal talk over coffee in the morning of May 9, 1994 at his residence in Sinuda, Kitaotao, Bukidnon, Datu Gawilan, revered leader of the 1975 Matigsalug uprising, revealed what it was that pushed him to make the call to arms.

From May 10 to mid-July 1975, the entire Matigsalug tribe was in armed uprising, protesting against their oppression in the hands of the rich ranchers, loggers and the government. President Marcos responded with a general and unconditional amnesty, and with the cancellation of pasture and Palayang Bayan leases and logging concessions within Matigsalug homeland. He also instructed Secretary Manda Elizalde of PANAMIN (Presidential Adviser on National Minorities) to attend to the needs of the tribe.

He had just completed his Cursillo when news of the massacre of a number of Matigsalugs reached him, shot in cold blood by cowboys for having allegedly stolen a cow from the Bueno ranch. There was a boy and a woman, too, among the victims. For the Matigsalugs, having been pushed around for years now in their own land, this was the last straw. For Datu Gawilan, it took some hard thinking and deep reflection to reach a decision, but when he did, it was decisive and correctly timed. He said to himself: If Christ offered his own life to redeem mankind, then he, whose Matigsalug name is Saligan or reliable, must be ready to shed his own blood to free his own people from oppression. His own leaders and people were waiting for him. This decision, too, was part of the fulfillment of a prophecy made by the tribe's baylan even before he was born.

The story goes, and his elder sister (eldest among 13 siblings), Kinantas Gawilan Lantung confirms this, that when he was still in his mother's womb, Apo Indah, the tribe's baylan, was quoted to have said:

"Agkavaras pad si Apo Addatan
Midkahi a si Apo Inda,
Amon ad lasot ika sa igkavaras so lokas sika
Ag ngaranan ko ki Saligan
So agkasalihan ta mauri na agkavoad"¹¹ 1

[When Apo Addatan was pregnant
(with Datu Gawilan), Apo Indah
said that when that child, a male,
is born, I shall name him
Saligan, for he shall be relied upon
by the next generation.]

He was indeed called Saligan, meaning "reliable" in Matigsalug. He went to school in Kitaotao and that was where he acquired the name Lorenzo; he got as far as grade two. Now, he was hardly the second grader that he was when he called his datos and their people to a big meeting to discuss very difficult options; they readily responded. The whole process was democratic and in accord with the proper tribal rituals. No one was coerced into joining the uprising. Those who refused to participate were not ostracized. It was a two and a half months rebellion, coordinated, simultaneous, in Matigsalug land in Bukidnon, in Cotabato and in Davao City. Since the government refused to listen to them, he said, when they transmitted their complaints through the living, this time they would, as they did, transmit their message through the dead.

He asked me to interview Datu Melecio Man-ukil and Datu Jose Dia-on for the details. Datu Man-ukil, now Assistant Supreme Tribal Chieftain, was second in command during the uprising. Datu Jose Dia-on, now Tribal Chieftain of Sinuda, was there, too.

The story we relate here was told by them and by three other written accounts. We also quote extensively from these latter documents because in themselves the writers have captured the drama and suspense of the events - the element I feared might be lost in the process of paraphrasing. February 1975. The first is the account of the priest who did the investigation immediately after the massacre of February 3, 1975 and found the bodies; the

second is the affidavit of a survivor of the massacre. Both narratives were published in *Various Reports*, 21 March 1975, pp. 22-25. Fr. Urrutia was a veteran parish priest from Olutanga Island, Zamboanga del Sur, and already working in Bukidnon. The third is an overview of the minority situation — the people were restive — in Bukidnon at that time, published in September of that year but is still very relevant to our story. This was written by Fr. Vincent Cullen, S.J., and was published in *Signs of the Times*, 12 September 1975, pp. 22-30.

Massacre in Bueno's Ranch; Unrest Among Bukidnon Minorities

Account No. 1: By Priest-Investigator¹²

At four in the afternoon the 3rd day of February, 1975, I was about to enter the ranch of Mr. Valeriano Bueno in Puntian, Quezon, Bukidnon. The radio operator of said ranch, Junior Polistico, asked me to desist from entering because the manager was not around having gone to [the town of] Don Carlos. The same Polistico told my companion, Roman Salana, Sr., of five people killed. I told them, being a priest, that I had to see the remains. Roman Salana informed me in a low voice that there were five people killed. I inquired from Polistico, Jr., for the second time and I was told: "Only baka lang ang gipatay." (Only a cow was slaughtered.) Roman Salana, Sr., and I went further on and while on our way to the entrance of the ranch we saw, about 500 meters ahead, a group of four or five people on horseback. I shouted at them: "Asa ang mga patay?" (Where are the dead?) They did not answer. A woman yelled: "Ambut!" (I don't know.) I shouted back: "Do not lie to a priest, kay kon kamo magtago sa mga patay hinumdumi ang ikatulong adlaw sa Febrero." (... if you are hiding the dead, remember the 3rd of February.)

Mr. Roman Salana and I went further on and met some laborers inside the ranch and a girl about 12 years old. I asked the girl: "Duna patay dinhi? — O asa ang mga patay?" (Do you have people dead here? — Or where are the dead?) The girl answered: "Ambut lang." (I don't know.)

It was already night, about 10:00 P.M., when we reached White Kulaman but I told Roman Salana that I would go on in search of the bodies. Roman Salana volunteered to go further on with me.

It was morning when we reached Batay Hill. We saw the PC with the cowboys heading in the opposite direction. I shouted an inquiry on the whereabouts of the dead but they did not bother answering nor did they wait for us. But we followed after their tracks for more or less two hours until we reached Kilomot at 11:00 A.M.

Upon reaching Kilomot, we found two PC men with three men of the ranch and the manager, Mr. Narciso Rausa, who was seated while taking information. There we saw a dead man with his abdomen busted and an ear missing.

I was about to take a picture of the dead man when one of the PC men named Eddie Cabillar brought a "bangkaw" (spear) near the body. I took the picture.¹³

After that, I inquired aloud from the crowd: "Pila ang patay?" (How many dead?) The

manager answered: "Usa ra." (Only one.) In response to the quick reply of the manager, I fired another question back to the crowd: "Nakadungog ako nga lima ang patay! Asa man sila?" (I heard there are five dead. Where are they?) The manager answered: "Wala kami mahibalo kay karon lang kami dinhi." (We don't know. We just got here.)

I told them "I hope today, the 4th of February, will be the last day of the fate of the Manobos. You killed this man and you put the "bangkaw" near his body. But this man is not a criminal. Perhaps this man was one of the 140 families expelled from Dalurong, according to reliable reports, ten years ago (1965), by the PC and security men of Mr. Valeriano Bueno."¹⁴

I further told them: "You do not know that eight Manobos were killed by the family of Fortich when the late Manolo Fortich was still alive. This fact though not known to all of you was taken from the Manobos' late grandfolks and are retold their grandchildren. This is not the only man you killed here. Here you are used to killing Manobos and do not even bother to bury them. Even Gov. Fortich found a "kalabera" (skull) while hunting on a Good Friday."

"You PC men, please do not take meat nor pesos for your work. The Manobos truly think you have been bought by Mr. Valeriano Bueno or by the Manager. The Manobos are afraid of coming here to testify because they will be killed. You do not understand. You will be the first victims as it is today happening in Cotabato, Lanao del Norte, Lanao del Sur and Zamboanga del Sur. The Manobos are thinking you do not dispense justice at all — "Ulipon kamo sa mga sapiang dautan." (You are slaves to rich evil-plotters.)

I pointed to the manager and asked: "Who are you?" and he answered, "I am the manager of the ranch." I asked: "Where's the judge? Is there no other better than you to take information on this case? I suppose if I were not here today, all of you will be Holy, Angeles kamo tanan (like Angels you would all be.) Valeriano Bueno would be holy and only this man killed would be the criminal."

"Do you not know that in White Kulaman, Manobos are starving because what they have planted are eaten by the herd of the Holy man Valeriano Bueno? This morning I found a couple, husband and wife, trembling in cold for they were the whole night upon the ground trying to protect ten square meters of corn they had planted with their hands from grazing cattle? They do not molest the cattle for they are afraid of the guns of Valeriano Bueno's cowboys. I will not leave this place until I find the other four bodies. Please look for the other four dead bodies."

Salana and a PC started to look around. After ten minutes, Roman Salana found the body of a boy about 12 years old, dead by a bullet through his back and whose body was hidden by cut branches. The body was about ten meters from the former dead body. Between the two bodies sat the manager, on a prominent rock. Previous to the finding of the boy's body, a PC man, Boy Gonzales, was sitting on a place less than a meter from where the boy's body was found. Opposite him was a cowboy standing with his bolo.

The PC man said: "We are already hungry, Father!" Then I answered, addressing the manager within hearing of the crowd: "Yes, you go because it has been your practice not to bury the dead."

The manager asked Roman Salana to help them bury the bodies and I reacted towards the manager: "You bury them yourselves for you were the ones who killed them."

Further, I went on: "You may go, but I will stay till you bring the cowboys for interro-

gation." One of the PC men replied: "Yes, Father, we will come back this afternoon." But they did not return.

It was almost night when we headed for Batay Hill. But the cogon grass was thick. We had to sleep in the forest, shivering in cold from the night fog.

The following morning, twenty four hours after, with nothing in our stomach, we proceeded to White Kulaman. Some Boholanos fed us. I took the chance to meet the people of Kulaman. I saw them thin, sick and desperate. According to them, even their camotes are daily fed on by the cattle of Mr. Valeriano Bueno. I took picture of a herd of sixty actually about the barrios at that time.

I talked with many Manobos while at White Kulaman. They complained of the robberies of Mr. Valeriano Bueno. I invited them to come with me and make statements of their complaints.

Account No. 2: By Survivor¹⁵

When we were living in Dalurong, Kitaotao, our house and all properties were burnt by the cowboys of Bueno. We fled to Kitubo, Kitaotao but there, since livelihood was hard, we transferred to Maro, White Kulaman.

Last January 31, 1975, Olipio Cabanto from Kitubo, Kitaotao, went to our house at Maro to ask for help for his kaingin in Kilumot Creek. He said that "two days from now, I would like you to help me in my kaingin at Kilumot. Tomorrow, I'll go to Kitubo first to get provisions. February 2nd, I'll be back. Proceed from Maro to Kilumot and I'll meet you there."

On the morning of February 2, 1975, my wife, Juliana Manlibangan, our only child and myself, together with Urbano Mansig-anan, his wife, Clarita Mansig-anan and their two children set for Kilumot.

At Kilumot we found Olipio Cabantao already there working and cooking cow's meat. We became fearful upon seeing the meat. Urbano Mansig-anan asked Olipio Cabantao: "Asa ka nakakuha ug karne? (Where did you get the meat?) Olipio Cabantao answered "that on our way to Kilumot early in the morning, we met a cowboy somewhere in Batay Hill. He was on horseback armed with a rifle."

Olipio Cabantao met the cowboy. The cowboy asked him: "Asa ka man gikan?" (Where do you come from?) Olipio answered: "Gikan ako sa Kitubo." Then the cowboy further asked Olipio: "Asa ka man paingon?" (Where are you heading?) Olipio answered: "Paingon ko sa Kilumot kay magpasakom ako ugmang adlaw (February 3, 1975), kay karon moabot and akong mga pag-umangkon nga motabang kanako pagsakom." (I am heading for Kilumot where I will work (farm) tomorrow. There my relatives are also heading to help.) Then the cowboy asked: "Asa ka man moagi?" (Where will you pass?) Olipio answered: "Dinhi ra bay sa Kilumot." (Here, on the way to Kilumot.)

The cowboy told Olipio that there was a dead cattle nearby and accompanied him to where the carcass was. The cowboy told Olipio to strip all the meat from it.

Olipio got the pairs of hind-legs and fore-legs plus the liver. It took him a few hours to transport the meat from Batay Hill to Kilumot.

After the story of Lipio Cabantao, we helped prepare the food believing that the meat

was given by the cowboy on horseback armed with a rifle. During the preparation, we started calling for the child, Baybayin Mansig-anan, who was yet swimming in the river. We finished lunch at around two o'clock in the afternoon.

At around 3:00 P.M., we were surprised to hear a gunshot and find Olipio Cabantao dead. Then rapid fires followed. We fled in terror. All our spears, baskets, mats, blankets, cooking utensils and clothes were left behind.

While running for life, I felt pain on my back. I felt it with my hand and found blood. I went on running towards Maro.

Arriving at my house in Maro, I saw Urbano and my wife who was also hit.

We stayed in the house for eight days without medicine till fetched by the Barrio Captain who was ordered by a Sgt. Oche to fetch us.¹⁶

Account No. 3: Unrest Among Bukidnon Minorities¹⁷

During the last year or so the peace and order situation among the cultural minorities of Bukidnon has deteriorated noticeably. While the latest statistics are not available to the writer, it should be noted that the cultural minorities, Bukidnon in the north and Manobo in the south, make up approximately one fifth of the 528,000 population of the Province with about 70,000 Bukidnon and about 30,000 Manobo as estimate. Hence a problem involving such a large number is not an insignificant problem.

The causes of this unrest, apart from certain cultural characteristics which have made it difficult for these people to adjust to lowland culture, are of long duration and are mainly associated with the loss of their land to the lowland population. In the past twenty years the population of the Province has more than doubled with the influx of lowland settlers thus causing crowding. However, pressures have constantly been building up from the following sources:

- A. Ranches: While the ranches caused little trouble at the turn of the century and up until the Second World War because of the small population, now the presence of ranches on land which formerly belonged to the cultural minorities plus the over-bearing and sometimes brutal behaviour of some ranchers has brought the situation to a boiling point in several areas.
 1. In the White Kulaman, Kitaotao area in February, the cold-blooded murder of three Manobo and wounding of two by the cowboys of Valeriano Bueno contributed to the violence that flared up in that area and in the Simod area in the months of May-June 1975.

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- B. Agricultural Corporation: A more recent source of pressure on the cultural minorities has come from the establishment and expansion of agricultural corporations in Bukidnon, in a manner which has not taken into consideration either the rights or living conditions of the cultural minorities in the area:

1. The first sensitive area here is Paitan, Quezon, where the Bukidnon Sugar Co. (BUSCO) has taken over several ranches and at the same time inherited the land conflicts between the old ranchers and the Manobo of the area. There are two mixed Manobo-lowland groups involved, and while the claims of some of the claimants may not be valid, it is certain that this was Manobo land and that some of the Manobo claimants have valid claims. They have been fighting this case for years, and have been subjected to different types of harassment, including several court cases, the destruction of their houses, as recently as 15 August 1975, when two houses were destroyed by security guards of BUSCO. The Manobo are willing to move to the periphery of the plantation, and there is ranch land available for them, but despite promises nothing seems to get done. This could lead to real trouble in the near future. It is interesting that while considerable money must have been spent on feasibility studies on this project, there is little evidence that any study was done concerning the local population, as was done in the Bicol River Basin Project.

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- C. Corn and Rice Production Project: The order requiring agricultural companies to plant corn and rice, especially the logging companies, is a major cause of unrest among the cultural minorities in the Province. While the cultural minorities put up with the logging companies working in the area they considered their land as long as they merely cut timber, it is quite clear that they will not tolerate them taking their land, especially if it is cultivated or even second growth forests, because they have put work in on the area. However, this is exactly what a number of logging companies have done in several areas.
 1. Simod, Kitaotao: Kalinan Timber Co. took over land cultivated by Manobo and settlers. This was one of the causes of trouble in the area, which seems to have been remedied by having Kalinan move their project elsewhere.
 2. Dumasilag, Gamut, San Fernando: Naradeco took over areas belonging to Manobo and settlers and set off a wave of burning and killing in the area during the months of May and June, 1975. While the Manobo have "surrendered," there are no clear indications that Naradeco has mended its ways. The company promised the Manobo a share of the harvest from the area they occupied, but according to reports has since reneged on its promise.
 3. Nam-nam, San Fernando: Valor Lumber Company tried in 1974 to take over cultivated land of settlers and Manobo and got ambushed for their pains. There has since, recently, been a mass "surrender" of Manobo in the area, and the company seems to be walking softly.
 4. Katablaran, San Fernando: In 1974 Valderrama Logging Company tried somewhat the same thing; a bulldozer driver was killed by a Manobo for bulldozing his

crops and a PC vehicle was ambushed. The company hastened to make peace, but the area is still sensitive. The company has bought up land, in some cases from land speculators in the Sila-i area and apparently plans to plant sugar. In view of the land shortage around sitio Dalacutan and fairly recent violence between a Rizalian group and the authorities because of a ranch acquired by Talakag Timber Co. in the area, trouble could break out there also. It is recommended that in view of growing land shortage in Bukidnon, that pasture leases especially on agricultural lands be not granted.

The Matigsalug Uprising

[As told by Datu Melecio Man-ukil and Datu Jose Dia-on]

About Their Land¹⁸

Datu Jose Dia-on: In the old days, our ancestors did not speak in terms of 'my land' but rather of 'my kaingin' or 'my clearing'. They cleared lands in groups. Before clearing, the datos were called together to do the *magsunggod sa kamanga*: to decide where to do the clearing and to conduct the necessary rituals for the success of the undertaking. There were no boundaries in those days.

People from Panganan would do their clearing in Sinuda; those from Arakan would clear lands in Sinuda. There were no restrictions. Land was held as common for the use of all.

We did not own lands then; it was believed that it was land that owned the people. God created land for the people. The truth is, if we die we are buried in the land. This was why our ancestors believed that land owned the people. The boundaries came later.

Because one group would trespass the occupied territories and violate the interests of other groups, groups became enemies. This was when boundaries became necessary.

It was in order to protect our ancestral domain that we united to oppose the ranch of Bueno in Dalurong, in Kibalang, in Patag, in Cotabato, in Bukidnon and in Davao. We fought for two months, two weeks and two days, until President Marcos returned our ancestral homes to us and granted us full and unconditional amnesty in July 1975.

Datu Melecio Man-ukil: I shall add to the story of Datu Jose Dia-on. This land where we live, I do not remember having received this from any man. It was God who gave this to us. There is no story from our ancestors that we came from the sea, or from Cebu, or from Manila, or from America.

The stories of our ancestors are that we came from here. From Sita, from Panganan, from Kiulum, from White Kulaman, from Dalurong. And we have been moving about here. We have lived here and opened our kaingins here. After one kaingin, we move to another place.

The Bisayans remain sedentary in one place. With us, we change residence; we also change our kaingin. Which is why we do not have permanent plants like coconuts, durian and so on. We move from place to place, from Salalayan, to Sanggiapo, to Kahusayan, to Tawas.

This is our culture. My family has lived in Misagoksok, in Kalam-Kalam, in Dalurong where I served as barrio captain, in Sita where I came from.

It is a good thing that Datu Gawilan thought of unifying us here in Sinuda.

Rodil: What is the extent of this moving about? How far?

Man-ukil: As far as Kalagangan, Panganan, Digongan, Kiulum, Patag, Marahan, Dalurong, Kitubo, White Kulaman, Sagundanon, Cabalantian and Campo Uno on the Davao side. That is how far we go.

Rodil: Only within a given territory?

Man-ukil: Yes, only within.

Rodil: But why only within. Why not outside?

Dia-on: Because outside does not belong to us...

Rodil: What do you mean by "ours" and "theirs"?

Dia-on: There are other natives there, Manobo communities. We stay within our group, within our territory...

When we move about, transfer from one clearing to another, we are actually preserving our lands, we prevent landslides, and we also do not touch certain forest areas, like Malambo, Lantawan, Kibondo, because they are sacred to us.

But when logging companies came, they destroyed even our sacred places. Our moving about was also our way of keeping outsiders from intruding. So that we protect our place, our forests for our children and our children's children. So that our medicinal plants would be preserved. It is from the forests that we draw our livelihood.

We do not go to other places because there are Mansakas there, Tagabawa, Talaandig, and so on. We have been moving about since the time of our ancestors.

Rodil: You said that it is God who owns this place, not you. What do you say about that?

Dia-on: We say that because from the time of our birth, we already have this belief. We also know when to make our clearings, we know the right time to go on journeys, we have our guide in the alimokon. If the alimokon makes a sound before we reach the landing at the foot of the stairs, we do not proceed.

At the time of the clearing, we are guided by stars which serve as our calendar. No government has taught us these; neither have the Bisayans. This is why we believe that it was God who gave us this place.

The Rebellion¹⁹

Man-ukil: My name is Datu Melecio Man-ukil, Assistant Supreme Tribal Chieftain of Sinuda. I shall tell you about Barangay Dalurong. It was 1954 when I was chosen to be the *teniente del barrio* of Dalurong. In 1955, someone from the Forestry came bringing some papers. It was a petition and the Forestry fellow asked me if I wanted the release of my barrio. I said yes, sir. And he said, if you wish this barrio released, sign this. We prepared this petition without prior notice so that it will easily be approved. I said, sir, we did not file any petition. The forestry man said I prepared the petition precisely to help you.

And so, although I did not fully comprehend the matter, I signed. Indeed the petition said that we, the residents of Dalurong, were petitioning the release of our lands, including the barangay site so that proper documents may be issued for our lands and our residential lots. Little did I realize that underneath the several sheets of paper, it also said that I consented that Dalurong be made part of a ranch.

So, one day two months after, there was a commotion in the barrio—cowboys were driving their cattle into our barrio, more specifically into the school zone. I protested but then the cowboys said that I signed and consented to the ranch. And when I said that I did not sign such a document, I was shown the paper that I signed. And there it was. I really gave my consent. The cattle destroyed our crops, our plants. We sent petitions to the Mayor, to the Governor, to President Macapagal. Nothing happened.

Not long after, cattle called Santa Trudes were brought in. These were huge animals. They destroyed our fences, the fences of our rice and corn fields, our camote. So, in the next four years, we could do nothing. They could not drive us away because there was no agreement that we should leave.

Then cowboys killed Manobos who supposedly steal and butchered their cows. Indeed a cow was butchered. But a cowboy told the Manobos that the cow got stuck in the mud and died and they were told to butcher the animal. So, a group of Manobos, including their women and children, helped themselves. And they were massacred by the cowboys, allegedly for stealing the cow. That was when we started to think of fighting back, or of revenge.

Datu Gawilan called the datos together and told them they would have to violate the laws to find freedom. And the datos agreed and we called our group "Pundok sa Kasilag ug Panimalos Laban sa Yutang Natawhan," meaning roughly, Association for the Defense of Our Ancestral Land. That was how we started.

Datu Gawilan got a piece of rattan and tied seven knots. Each day, a knot was cut away and at the removal of the last knot, all natives in Davao, Bukidnon, Butuan, Paquibato, Kibawe would make their moves, simultaneously. So, on the seventh day, Datu Gawilan took a red chicken and splattered all weapons with its blood, no guns, only bows and arrows, bolos and spears as a sign that it was us who were fighting for our ancestral land.

And so, in the end 880 people were killed, and 680 were wounded, in Butuan, in Paquibato District, in Bukidnon, in Kibawe, in Davao, in Cotabato. No one was here in Sinuda. We all went to the forests. Those working in the logging companies left, too.

Our demands were carried by letters placed on the body of the dead. The soldiers picked these up. We said there was no need to look for us in the forests because we were to be found near the roads. But if they came after us, we were ready.

The letters reached General Olano, General Ahorro, then Secretary Juan Ponce Enrile and eventually President Marcos. The President sent Manda Elizalde to find us. We instructed one datu to show himself to Elizalde in White Kulaman. And that was how Datu Gawilan met with Elizalde in Sinuda.

So, everybody congregated in Sinuda, from Panganan, from Digongan, from Kiulum, from White Kulaman, from East Dalurong, from West Dalurong, from Sagundanon, from Cabalantian, from Marahan, from Patag and from Kibalang, and from Malabog or Allon in Davao, from Cotabato, and from Magpet.

And so we were brought to Malacañang, to President Marcos. We swore to stop the rebellion; President Marcos signed an amnesty for all of us, and he ordered Datu Gawilan to go back to our ancestral land, teach our people to do what is good, tell them to plant permanent crops, plant rice, send our children to school. He also cancelled all pasture and logging leases in West Dalurong, East Dalurong, White Kulaman, Cabalantian, Gotalid, Patag, Kibalang and the Palayang Bayan in Sinuda.

Rodil: Who owned the ranch?

Man-ukil: Safariano [Valeriano] Bueno. The pasture leases were cancelled. Villa in Kibalang, Sison in Patag, Fuentes in Cabalantian, Kulaman Valley and Gotalid. Bueno's ranch was something like 2,000 hectares, so the cowboys told us, extending as far as East Dalurong, West Dalurong, Gumada, Sianib, White Kulaman, Gotalid, and Pinanubuan. Also in barrio Kitobo, Sinaysayan and Kipolot.

That is what happened in 1975. That is why we commemorate July 14-15-16 when we attained our freedom. That is my story about Dalurong. It was painful, the cowboys burned our houses, destroyed our fences protecting our crops. Don't you find it painful? We generally ask guests to take off their shoes when they come into our homes, and when they don't and bring the mud in, we feel bad...

Rodil: What about the story about the pregnant woman...?

Man-ukil: It is true, she was killed, too... The cowboys, they accused her, too, of stealing the cow... But think, sir, a pregnant woman stealing a cow? No, there was a plan. A child was able to escape. We asked him why his parents were killed. He told us that a cowboy went to their place and told them to butcher the dead cow that got stuck in the mud... and so they went...

Rodil: Before the time of the ranch and the fence, where did the people live?

Man-ukil: Inside. I was the barrio captain...

Rodil: You said *teniente del barrio*...

- Dia-on: It was *teniente del barrio* before, then it became chairman, then captain.
- Man-ukil: I served there for a long time, from 1954 to 1968...
- Rodil: When did the signing happen?
- Man-ukil: The signing happened in 1955.
- Rodil: When did the ranch and the cows come in?
- Man-ukil: I signed before the end of 1954. The cows were brought in in mid-1955. The cowboys would burn our houses within the ranch in their attempt to drive us away and they would accuse us of doing the burning.
- Rodil: What is the connection between these and the reported arrests of Datu Gawilan?
- Man-ukil: Datu Gawilan is regarded as the father of all the natives. In order to take him away from us, they accused him of anything, bad deeds, just to eliminate the source of strength of the tribe.
- Rodil: Do we have details of these arrests?
- Man-ukil: We will ask Datu Jose Dia-on to continue the story.
- Dia-on: This is the connection between the incidents at the ranch and the arrests here in Sinuda. The first *barangay* captain in Sinuda was Paquito Uban. Then in the election of 1972, Aki Cabugsa ran. He was the godson of Datu Gawilan in marriage and that was how he won. Cabugsa was an Ilonggo. Now that he was in power, he drove away the Matigsalug from Sinuda.
- Rodil: When was this?
- Dia-on: 1972. He would keep away the Matigsalug from Sinuda and allowed only the Ilonggos and Bisayans to settle here. Then, one day he burned a house, then reported Datu Gawilan of perpetrating it and charged him with arson.

When martial law came, he accused Datu Gawilan of keeping a gun in a cave. Because he was Datu Gawilan's godson, the law believed him. But Datu Gawilan did not have a gun; he has never been interested in guns. But he was put in jail for the second time, at the Malaybalay Provincial Jail. The first was for arson, then for the keeping a gun....

Redil: There was no rebellion yet?

Dia-on: Not yet. But that was how the case at the ranch and the arrests and jailing of Datu Gawilan got connected. Already appeals were sent to the government in Manila, to President Macapagal, in connection with the ranch and Sinuda... He was due for arrest for the third time... for anything just to get rid of him....

What Datu Gawilan did was to go to the forests and from there sent messages to the datos to come for a meeting there; it was no longer safe in Sinuda....

In addition, there was also the Kalinan Timber Corporation or KTC owned by Consunji. Many Matigsalugs were mauled by the security men of KTC because the former did not want the trees in Lantawan to be cut down. Lantawan is sacred to us and we commemorate this with rituals every year, just like Sumalili mountain, and Kibando, too, and Kiunlod. Matigsalugs were also maltreated at Buda. KTC, too, was burned. And Datu Gawilan and his men were accused of doing it. Datu Gawilan was in Sitio Sanggiapo then, his wife was in Santa Cruz and traveled to Salalay. They met four days later at Sanggiapo.

At the meeting, Datu Gawilan clarified why we must leave our homes. We reflected on what was happening to us. We felt that we were being accused of killing people. Datu Gawilan stressed that he was not coercing anyone. He who did not want to join him could always go home. And he would give certification for those who did not want to join. They of course would have to stay in jail because they would surely be jailed. But he would fetch them the moment the objective has been attained.

And that is what happened. Those who did not join us were put to jail. When we decided to stop the rebellion, on July 16, we fetched all those incarcerated. And those were the reasons why we rebelled. We were in search of justice; we wanted to recover our ancestral domain.

Back to KTC. Datu Gawilan brought 20 datos with him to Manila at the time of surrender to President Marcos. The President asked Manda Elizalde where he landed his helicopter and Baron plane. At the highway, Elizalde replied. Right there the President ordered that that part of the highway should be preserved as a crash landing site, and the highway itself be diverted.

The lease of Palayang Bayan was cancelled. But KTC, we opposed its cancellation because we believed that it was beneficial to us. We could always take a ride in trucks bearing logs to Davao City. Later we saw that

it was this KTC that denuded the forests, the forests where we draw our livelihood.

Rodil: Who owned the Palayang Bayan?

Dia-on: Consunji.

Rodil: How many hectares?

Man-ukil: One thousand hectares. All the lowlands here.

Dia-on: The lease was cancelled and the land was returned to us. President Marcos allegedly signed the Matigsalug Municipality, so we believed then, but then we found out that this was not so.

Also, the truth is there is a 75-horse power dynamo given to us, it is there in the house of Datu Gawilan in Davao City, we cannot use it because there is no machine to run it. But the report in Manila is that Sinuda is now lighted. That is what happened.

Now, this last thing that we are asking, the restoration of our ancestral domain, we are thankful for your arrival here to do a survey on the ancestral domain. We hope that the "pagpangurakot" by those who helped us in the past would not be repeated. The case of the dynamo without the machine is proof of that.

Dia-on: We have this aspiration because when Datu Gawilan surrendered, he told President Marcos, the bravery of the Matigsalug is now yours to command. The order of the president for us to return is well taken. But we will be disappointed if our ancestral domain is not given due recognition.

Man-ukil: Allow me to add something to what Datu Dia-on has said. I was in the same group that surrendered in Manila, and I saw and heard the words of President Marcos when he ordered the transfer of the highway to the other side of Simod River. This here (referring to that part of the highway where Elizalde landed his helicopter and Baron) was made a crash landing area for any emergency.

Also, President Marcos gave an elementary school. And another one to Tawas. Manda Elizalde asked Datu Gawilan whether to remove the Bisaya and Datu Gawilan replied that they be resettled in Tawas. The 28 heads of families in Tawas constitute the majority there. It was these Bisayans who sold their lands to other Bisayans. It was not the Matigsalug who sold the lands.

Elizalde asked, too, about the Bisayans in Kahusayan? Datu Gawilan said not to remove them. That is why there were 15 heads of Bisayan families in Kahusayan. I was the barangay captain there in 1970-75. Now, how come there are more Bisayans in Kahusayan? Because the Bisayans there sold their lands. No, it was not the natives who did the selling. There are those who say that it was the natives who did the selling. We have not signed any deed of sale. Neither has Datu Gawilan.

But that is one of the things we hear around here. In any case we are thankful that you came here. Hopefully, through you, President Fidel Ramos would be informed about our aspirations, that we need help so that our ancestral domain shall be duly recognized.

No, we are no longer inclined to go back to armed conflict. What we want is peace, order and happiness, unity among the tribes. It is not only the Matigsalugs we love, also the all the other tribes. In fact there are American missionaries here. They came from afar but we also love them; they are helping us...

Rodil: What happened to the people you killed. Were you not punished by the government?

Man-ukil & Lambayon: [This portion is paraphrased and unified responses from two people] No, we were not punished. We were granted full and unconditional amnesty. This was part of the Memorandum Order of the President canceling pasture and logging leases.

Rodil: When did KTC leave?

Man-ukil: 1988.

Dia-on: There were no more trees to cut. It left us nothing but tree stumps. That is why as soon as our ancestral domain is recognized, we shall plant more trees and restore our forests.

Man-ukil: May 10 was the day Datu Gawilan gave away the knotted rattan.

Rodil: That was when it started?

Man-ukil: Yes... then after seven days came the simultaneous operations.

Song Memorializing the Rebellion

The singers-composers are the husband and wife team of Launa Tandingan, 29 who plays the *saluray* and Antonio Tandingan, 32, who plays the *kuglung*. Both are resi-

dents of Sinuda, Kitaotao, Bukidnon.²⁹

Roughly translated, the song capsulizes the rebellion and reflects its meaning to the Matigsalug people. They recovered their ancestral homeland through their own effort, the entire Matigsalug rose in rebellion and Datu Gawilan is their leader, a bagani par excellence. Datu Gawilan is referred to as *Tighusay*, a Matigsalug word that broadly reflects his role in his community, that of leader, arbiter, mediator, settler of conflicts, and so on. He is revered and his people express it by making *mano* to him, even the eldest among them, reaching for his right hand and taking it to touch their forehead, whenever and wherever they meet. Asked about this, one datu said this show of respect is indigenous, not one derived from Christianity.

[Matigsalug original]

Kalilimo't Sinuda
Nabanguna't Kulaman
Sik'kan ta Sumalili
Intalauwan ta palambod
Intahuanta palaming

Inligkatan ni Gawilan
Insawsaw ta dalipaho
Inpasiyo ta Manila
Insuroy ta Malacanang
Kumusta tad ki Marcos

Palad ta talausay
Idhawi at Matigsalug
Kandin na naatawan
Koyoy, Bangon ta ingod
Intero na nabangon
Interong Matigsalug

[Free English translation]

Kulaman is supported by it
So is Sumalili
Sinuda showed its power
The enemy was immobilized

Home of Gawilan
For which he has shed his blood
He (Gawilan) journeyed to Manila
Shook hands with Marcos
The hands of Tighusay

The Matigsalug recovered
the land of their birth
The whole community rose
The entire Matigsalug.

Part 4 Matigsalug View of Their History and Genealogy²¹

Origin of the Matigsalug Tribe

In the tradition of the Manobo-Matigsalug, the origin of their tribe was Apo Tahoranon. Upon the blessing of the Almighty God, he and his wife Simbal and their twelve children were saved in their locality during the long drought that dried up creeks and big rivers.

The Matigsalug Tribe originally lived in and occupied the Central part of Mindanao, the Pantaron mountain wherein which are found the headwaters of Salug River (Davao River), Pulangi River, Tigwa River, Talomo River, Libahanon River, Tahalawan River, Langilan River, Simong River, and others. The original couple who have lived in the vicinity of Pantaron Mountain were Apo Tahoranon and his wife Apo Simbal and their twelve children.

The eldest son of Tahoranon named Apo Magdayao and his families decided to live at the junction of Salug River and Mibolo River. He identified himself as Matigsalug, but originally they were Manobo. The rest of his brothers and sisters were scattered and settled in the places. Later, their succeeding generations branched out and became known as Matig-Pulangi or Pulanguihon, Tigwahanon, Matig-Talomo, Tinananon, Kulamanon, Matig-Langilan, Matig-Libahanon, Matig-Tahalawan and Matig-Simong. Matig means *tago*, indicating where a person lives. There are also those who classify themselves as the Tala-ingod tribe which means the "real owner of that territory". This is the legend of Tala-ingod municipality of the province of Davao del Norte and many others.

The rivers, creeks, trees and mountains were named by Apo Tahoranon through the guidance of the holy spirit. Most of the names of the barangays or places are derived from the name of rivers, creeks, trees, stones and mountains and the names of prominent tribal leaders, except a few such as Sinuda, Tawas, Buda, Lorega, Salumay, Gambodis, Baganitan and Mantanqkil.

Long Time Ago

In the old days, no one lived in Simod Valley (*Dalag ta Simod* in our language) because this was solely the hunting ground of our ancestors. During the time of Apo Mankahumban who first lived in the junctions of Tulos River and Simod River now called Barangay Buda, there was his sister named Apo Nuda a pretty, brave and wise woman. She was a Bac, the female equivalent of a datu. She was sought after not only for her skills in settling disputes. She was especially famous because no bagani was brave enough to fight her. When she died, she was buried in Simod Valley. In the year 1975 the PANAMIN came under the supervision of Secretary Manda Elizalde Jr. He named Simod into SINUDA in honor of Apo Nuda. Officially this is now called Barangay Sinuda, Kitaotao, Bukidnon.

Barangay Tawas, formerly known as barangay Gunipong derived from the name of the creek, was renamed in honor of Apo Tawas, the grandfather of Datu Madot Tawas, one of the respected tribal leaders. When he died he was buried at the junction of Simod River and

Gunipong creek.

During the early 60s, Kalinan Timber Corporation (KTC) had a logging operation here in Simod and established a logging camp at the junction of Tulos River and Simod River, the border area of the three provinces of Bukidnon-Davao and Cotabato, so the loggers called it BUDACO because their camp was established at that spot. Later, this was known as BUDA short for Budaco.

In the year 1975 during PANAMIN time, the recognized Supreme Tribal Chieftain of the Matigsalug Tribe, Datu Lorenzo B. Gawilan was authorized by the late President Ferdinand E. Marcos to negotiate with rebels to return to the fold of the law. In compliance with the order Datu Lorenzo Gawilan persuaded a rebel known as Alias Commander Neno Sulilawan and his people of Claveria, Misamis Oriental to lay down their arms. They agreed and were resettled at what is now called Barangay Lorega, Kitaotao, Bukidnon. The name is derived from Lorenzo Gawilan.

Another discontented group was Commander Kekit (his real name: Kekit Magaling) Commander Bentoy (real name: Anloan Bentoy) and Commander Disalan (real name: Antonio Disalan), all residents of Kalangagan, San Fernando, Bukidnon. Datu Gawilan talked them successfully into surrendering. He invited Rev. Arnold Buenafe to assist them in their settlement area. This is now called barangay Gambodis, Arakan, Cotabato, derived from Gawilan, Magaling, Buenafe and Disalan. Commander Bentoy resettled at Epol a name of the mountain which is now a sitio of barangay Baganihan, Marilog District, Davao City.

Barangay Datu Salumay, Marilog District, Davao City was named Salumay, the recognized Tribal leader, who was tasked by the other tribal leaders, to safeguard Mount Malambo from any forest destruction considering that Mount Malambo is one of our sacred places. Also, barangay Baganihan, under Marilog District, Davao City. Its name is derived from the name of a "single big stone" which our great ancestors used in their rituals, especially when we needed blessings from the goddess of war to overthrow our opponents. Bagani means warrior, and Baganihan means a place of warrior.

Matigsalug Genealogy

Starting from Apo Tahuranon, the genealogy of the tribal chieftain of the Manobo Matigsalug is traceable back to 51 generations. Based on the universally accepted standard of 30 years per generation, this easily stretches to 1,580 years of continuous or uninterrupted occupation of their ancestral territory.

The Manobo Matigsalug also believe that in the beginning God created heaven and earth, and the first human beings, Adam and Eva, were the ancestors of all human beings living on earth.

Apo Adam and Eva begot sons and daughters, their youngest son being named Damlasanon, who got married to Apo Day-asonon, the daughter of his elder brothers. Apo Damlasanon begot sons and daughters who multiplied into generations as time passed by until it reached Apo Nowaan whom God ordered to build a ship wherein only he and his families were saved in the time of the great flood.

After the flood, Nowaan begot three sons named Apo Sanginiyan, Apo Dam-isanon and Apo Maalom. His wife was Apo Lingunayan. Apo Maalom begot Apo Daliknaan; Apo Daliknaan begot Apo Mandangyaan; Apo Mandangyaan begot Apo Makinay; Apo Makinay

begot Apo Olaypay; Apo Olaypay begot Sahandina; Apo Sahandina begot Apo Kapambong; Apo Kapambong begot Apo Dahinay; Apo Dahinay begot Apo Mansayatao; Apo Mansayatao begot Apo Gawatanon; Apo Gawatanon begot Apo Libuan; Apo Libuan begot Apo Diyanatan; Apo Diyanatan begot Apo Ungkuban; Apo Ungkuban begot Apo Mahunlayon; Apo Mahunlayon begot Apo Lambasanon; Apo Lambasanon begot Apo Tinuay.

There was also the time of a great famine. Apo Tinuay begot Apo Mandagyuan; Apo Mandagyuan begot Apo Dikunlay; Apo Dikunlay begot Apo Tukilan; Apo Tukilan begot Apo Tiklayan Apo; Tiklayan begot Apo Lamintao; Apo Lamintao begot Apo Sangkuan; Apo Sangkuan begot Apo Sandipal; Apo Sandipal begot Apo Liruan; Apo Liruan begot Apo Takisan; Apo Takisan begot Apo Inangkob; Apo Inangkob begot Apo Manbatalan; Apo Manbatalan begot Apo Diyampian; Apo Diyampian begot Apo Man-ongon; Apo Man-ongon begot Apo Mandumpiyas; Apo Mandumpiyas begot Apo Mansilagan; Apo Mansilagan begot Apo Tahuranon.

At the time of the famine there was a long drought that dried up all springs and rivers. Apo Tahuranon got married to Apo Simbal and begot Apo Magdayao; Apo Gapao, Apo Baybayan, Apo Maivulan, Apo Agui, Apo Banlak, Apo Mungan, Apo Puhak, Apo Panabol, Apo Lisaran, Apo Batooy, and Apo Abawe. Apo Tahuranon died and was buried at the upstream of Salug river which is now within the municipality of Kitaotao, Bukidnon.

The eldest son of Apo Tahuranon named Magdayao married Apo Lukiyapan and begot Apo Salangayan, Apo Salunay, Apo Tulalang, Apo Manligtuan, Apo Kalinupan, Apo Paniod, Apo Huyana. Apo Magdayao died and was buried at the upstream of Mibolo River now under the municipality of San Fernando, Bukidnon.

The eldest son of Apo Magdayao named Apo Salangayan married to Apo Salinta at Katindo which is now within the municipality of Arakan, North Cotabato, and begot Apo Mansirib, Apo Galisan, Apo Lumahong, Apo Lawlaw, and Apo Tam-ukanon. Apo Salangayan died and was buried at Katindo, Arakan, Cotabato.

The eldest son of Apo Salangayan named Apo Mansirib got married to Apo Maybanon of Sita, now sitio of Sinuda, Kitaotao, Bukidnon, and begot Apo Mangkahumban, Apo Nuda, Apo Kainlayan, Apo Manlabaw, and Apo Mansaanay. Apo Mansirib died and was buried at the junction of Sita River and Salug River or Davao River.

The eldest son of Apo Mansirib named Apo Mangkahumban, married Apo Maitunay of San Lab, now a sitio of barangay Napaliko, Arakan, Cotabato, and begot Apo Palaguyan, Apo Bit-uranon, Apo Mampagatao, and their brothers and sisters. Apo Mangkahumban died and was buried at the upper part of Tulos river, now called barangay Buda, of Maribel District, Davao City. Apo Nuda, a pretty, brave and wise woman, a sister of Apo Mangkahumban, died and was buried at Simod valley, now called barangay Sinuda, Kitaotao, Bukidnon.

The second son of Apo Mansirib named Apo Bit-uranon, got married to Apo Lianan of Kulaman, now called barangay White Kulaman, Kitaotao, Bukidnon, begot Apo Biguas, Apo Kasaanlaan, and their brothers and sisters. Apo Bit-uranon died and was buried at the barangay Sagundanon, Kitaotao, Bukidnon.

The eldest son of Apo Bit-uranon named Apo Biguas got married to Apo Lianayan of Kilahod, now called barangay Mantangkil of Arakan, Cotabato, and begot Apo Salikuyan, Apo Mankaintal, and Apo Lagyanan. Apo Biguas died and was buried at the cave of Kipangli in the vicinity of barangay of Anopolon, Arakan, Cotabato.

The eldest son of Apo Biguas named Apo Salikuyan got married to Apo Laling of Cabalantian now called Barangay Cabalantian, Arakan, Cotabato, begot Apo Gawilan, Apo Suhat and brothers and sisters. Then Apo Gawilan got married to Apo Sinaray, begot Apo Susuran, Apo Adatan and their brothers and sisters. Apo Adatan (f) got married to Apo Bankag, and begot Bolano, Apo Kinantas, Ihonay, Manayok, Nanawan, Lusaran, Maulanya, Tunongan and Datu Lorenzo Gawilan (Saligan was his Matigsalug name; Lorenzo was his school name), Likdawan and Anlahan.

Then Apo Kinantas got married to Apo Bartolome Lantong, and begot Victorico, Leon, Kuwenta, Pedro, Casiano, Osintel, Jacinto and Rita. Then Kuwenta got married to Ingaod Tumindog, and begot Moreno, Elpidio, Basilio and Esterlita. Then Moreno Tumindog, the present tribal secretary, got married to Norma Bolotaolo (Cebuana), begot Gretchen May, Jessie Roy and Jossel Ann, all living in Simuda, Kitaotao, Bukidnon.

Ihonay and Man-uyao Dumacon begot Casmo, Leonie and Pinalayan. Lusaran and Ilunay begot Oliva who married Teofilo Mampantao; Mariana who married Otig Camad; Cayan who married Dominador Andip; Linda who married Lito, and Pandinay who married Ledona Man-uyao. Tunungan married Laymay Dayaras and begot Vicente who married Evangeline Ikok; Felicimo who married Victor Bagas; Leticia who married Julieta Baguio; Bebing who married Culvat; Quirino who married Aye, and Onit who married Nonay Makapano; Nasaro who married Asluyan Oribon and begot Victa Oribawon who married Darmiling Bahanao and in turn begot Florentino, Nene and Lisa.

Then Lorenzo B. Gawilan got married to Feliciano Ayobat, begot Carmelita, Monte, Anita, Lorenzo Jr, Aurelia, Roelito, Rosalinda, Erlinda, Vilma and Julieta, all in Simuda, Kitaotao, Bukidnon.

Apo Gawilan died and was buried at barangay Sagundanon, Kitaotao, Bukidnon. Just for emphasis, let it be pointed out that he was the grandfather of Datu Lorenzo "Saligan" B. Gawilan, the present Supreme tribal Chieftain of the Matigsalug Manobo tribe. Apo Suhat died and was buried at barangay Malibatouan, Arakan, Cotabato.

Apo Susuran, the first son of Apo Gawilan got married to Apo Lawayan, begot Apo Tauna (f), Apo Kahumban, and Apo Udtag. Then Apo Tauna got married to Apo Adan Camad of Kamotan, Magpet, Cotabato, and begot their only child, Ruben Camad, presently a barangay kagawad of Sagundanon, Kitaotao, Bukidnon. Then Apo Kahumban Gawilan got married to the sister of Apo Adan Camad named Sidingan, begot Punggok, Marintina, Victor, Jocelyn, Evelyn, Rudy, Allan and Geoffrey all living in Sagundanon, Kitaotao, Bukidnon. Then Udtag Gawilan got married to Tulucan Ombon, begot George, Emilia and Renato who are all in Simuda, Kitaotao, Bukidnon.

Apo Gapao, the second son of Apo Tahuranon begot Apo Batawan, Apo Man-amban, Apo Miaray, and their brothers and sisters. Apo Gapao died and was buried at Cabuling, San Fernando, Bukidnon and his wife named Kainlayan died after him and was buried at Digongan, Kitaotao, Bukidnon.

The son of Apo Gapao named Apo Man-amban got married to Apo Mainobay of Dumasilag, now a sitio of Simuda, Kitaotao, Bukidnon, and begot Apo Sumandang; Apo Sumandang begot Apo Bayo, Apo Bayo begot Apo Mainalay, Apo Mainalay begot Apo Mansunong, Apo Mansunong begot Apo Man-aloan; Apo Man-aloan begot Apo Emolong, Apo Emolong begot Apo Man-ukil, Apo Man-ukil begot Apo Banan, who was the father of Datu Melecio Man-ukil, the Assistant Supreme Tribal Chieftain of Datu Lorenzo B. Gawilan.

Datu Melecio Man-ukil has three wives. His children with the first wife, Marilita, are Morenda married to Sulutan Mandanuway; Edayan married to Sario Kadilan; Purita married to Mailan Panganon, Dante married to Urita Balatok; Eliseo; Camara, and Joseca married to Roy Salindong. He also has a son Ado with his second wife, Carolina Abat. He has no offspring with his third wife.

Part 5 Stories Behind Names of Places

As earlier pointed out, the Manobo-Matigsalug tribe originally occupied and inhabited that part of Central Mindanao located at the Pantaron mountain where the headwaters of Salug River (or Davao River), Pulangi River, Tigwa River, Talomo River, Libabanon River, Tahalawan River, Langilan River, Simong River, and others. Apo Tahoranon and his wife Apo Simbal and their twelve children lived in the vicinity of Pantaron Mountain. Apo Magdayao, the eldest son of Tahoranon, and his families decided to live in the junction of Salug River and Mibolo River. They called themselves Matigsalug, although originally they were Manobo. [Source: Libayao Salibay, 60]

The rest of his brothers and sisters were scattered and settled in the places they wanted. Later generations, though acknowledged Manobo by themselves and by all concerned, became known as Matig-Pulangi or Pulanguihon, Tigwahanon, Matig-Talomo, Tinananon, Kulamanon, Matig-Langilan, Matig-Libabanon, Matig-Tahalawan and Matig-Simong. Matig means taga. The last four now refer to themselves as the Tala-ingod tribe under Jose Libayao and now belong to the municipality of Talaingod in Davao del Norte which was created in the time of President Corazon C. Aquino. Talaingod means the "real owner of that territory". [Source: Libayao Salibay, 60]

Rivers, creeks, trees and mountains were named by Apo Tahuranon through the guidance of the Holy Spirit. The people lived therein the different had its own distinction through their dialect, dictions and pronunciations, but they could understand each other; they had the same culture and tradition, beliefs and practices. Most of the names of the Barangays or places derived from the name of rivers, creeks, trees, stones and mountains and the names of prominent tribal leaders, except a few such as Sinuda, Tawas, Buda, Lorega, Salumay, Gambodis, Baganihan and Mantangkil. [Source: Libayao Salibay, 60]

1. Sinuda. Long time ago, Simod Valley (Dalag ta Simod in the Matigsalug language) there was no people who lived here because this was only the hunting ground of our ancestors. During the time of Apo Mankahumban who first lived in the junctions of Tulos River and Simod River now called Barangay Buda, there was his sister named Apo Nuda, a brave, pretty and wise woman. She died and was buried in Simod Valley.

She was a Bae, the female equivalent of a datu. She was sought after not only for her skills in settling disputes. She was especially famous because no bagani was brave enough to fight her. Sinuda used to be a hunting ground and Bae Nuda maintained a

very small clearing. She warned people to find her near Sumalili mountain. This is why Simod had very few clearings in those days. Kaingins were to be found in Sita, Kahusayan, in Dalurong. It was the Kalinan Timber Corporation which really denuded the area of its trees. We called Simod Sinuda after we received our amnesty in 1975, in honor of Apo Nuda. In that same year 1975, the PANAMIN came under the supervision of Secretary Manda Elizalde Jr. He named Simod into Sinuda in honor of Apo Nuda. This is now Barangay Sinuda. [Sources: Libayao Salibay, 60 & Datu Jose Diaon, 59 Sinuda]

2. Tawas. Barangay Tawas was named in honor of Apo Tawas the grandfather of Datu Madot Tawas, one of the respected tribal leader during that time who died and was buried at the junction of Simod River and Gunipong creek. But previously this was called barangay Gunipong, derived from the named of the creek. [Sources: Madot Tawas, 90 & Datu Melecio Man-ukil, 57, Sinuda]
3. BUDA. During the early sixty's, Kalinan Timber Corporation (KTC) had a logging operation here in Simod and established a logging camp at the junction of Tulos River and Simod River wherein it was boundariess of the three provinces of Bukidnon-Davao and Cotabato, so the loggers called BUDACO because of their camp was established in the area believed to be boundaries of the three provinces and which included barangay Tawas. This was known as BUDA for short. At the time of the revolutionary government, Davao City took it upon itself to create the regular barangay of Buda under Davao City; this is part of the border dispute among the three areas of Bukidnon, Cotabato and Davao City. [Source: Datu Lorenzo Gawilan, 74]
4. Lorega. In the year 1975 during PANAMIN time the recognized Supreme Tribal Chieftain of the Matigsalug Tribe, Datu Lorenzo B. Gawilan was authorized by the late President Ferdinand E. Marcos to negotiate with indigenous rebels to return to the fold of the law. In compliance with the order Datu Lorenzo Gawilan persuaded Alyas Commander Neno Sulilawan and his people of Claveria, Misamis Oriental to surrender and resettled them at what is now Barangay Lorega, Kitaotao, Bukidnon which is derived from his name Lorenzo Gawilan. [Source: Datu Lorenzo Gawilan, 74]
5. Gambodis. Another discontented group was Commander Kekit (real name: Kekit Magaling), Commander Bentoy (real name: Anloan Bentoy), and Commander Disalan (real name: Antonio Disalan), residing at Kalangagan, San Fernando, Bukidnon. Datu Gawilan successfully negotiated their surrender. He invited Rev. Arnold Buenafe to assist the surrenderees in their settlement area which was provided by Datu Gawilan. This is now called barangay Gambodis, Arakan, Cotabato, a name derived from Gawilan, Magaling, Buenafe and Disalan. Commander Bentoy resettled at Epol a name of the mountain which is now a sitio of barangay Salumay, Marilog District, Davao City. [Source: Datu Lorenzo Gawilan, 74]
6. Salumay. Barangay Datu Salumay, Marilog District, Davao City was named Salumay, the recognized Tribal leader who was tasked by the other tribal leaders, long time ago

- to safeguard Mount Malambo from any forest distinction considering that Mount Malambo is one among of our sacred places. [Source: Datu Lorenzo Gawilan, 74]
7. Baganihan. Barangay Baganihan of the Marilog District, Davao City is derived from the name of a "Single big stone" on which our great ancestors used to have their rituals especially when we need blessing from the goddess of war to overthrow our opponents. Bagani means warrior, and Baganihan means a place of warrior. [Source: Datu Lorenzo Gawilan, 74]
 8. Mantangkil. Mantangkil used to be Kilahod, part of Anopolan. When Arakan became a Municipality Kilahod became a separate barangay. It was Mayor Ebon who decided that Tinanan become Greenfield and Kilahod be named Mantangkil to memorialize the Mantangkil family. (Source: Datu Ambis Mantangkil, 65, Barangay Mantangkil)
 9. Kilahod. There was a man named Sadang. He had an elder brother who went on a long journey. He left behind a pregnant wife who soon gave birth. Since the husband had not returned, she tried to persuade Sadang into taking his brother's place but the latter refused. The wife took the dried navel of her baby, pulverized it and mixed it with Sadang's nilugaw. Sadang ate this and went insane. He ran about and soon also grew feathers and flew about, "naglahod-lahod" in Matigsalug language. Eventually the name Kilahod describes the place where Sadang "naglahod-lahod. (Source: Datu Ambis Mantangkil, 65, Barangay Mantangkil)
 10. Bahuwon, Nakapkapan and Ugkahong. Part of Sadang's hang-outs was resting at Bahuwon, "bahu-bahu nakapkap," or clinging to a cliff, and muttering to himself, "Ugkahong," his manner of articulation when he was already out of his mind. (Source: Datu Ambis Mantangkil, 65, Barangay Mantangkil)
 11. Arakan. Doroluman is an old name. Arakan is new. When Mayor Ebon arrived in Sarayan, Datu Kaid Lansawan, tribal leader, gave him the name Arakan, or A'akan as it was known then, referring to the river of the same name. (Source: Datu Ambis Mantangkil, 65, Barangay Mantangkil)
 12. Lantawan Mountain. According to may great ancestor, Man-ukil, when the waters of the seas rose to great heights and the whole world was covered with water, the mountain of Lantawan was reduced to the size of a small table. And that was all that they saw, a little spot from which to view around. Thus, they gave it the name Lantawan. And even when the tide had subsided, the name stuck. [Source: Datu Melecio Man-ukil, 57, Sinuda]
 13. Gusasa Lake. Gusasa used to be a barrio. There was a datu named Gusasa who had a large following. Part of one's livelihood in those days was owning plenty of hunting dogs. They hunted wild boar and deer in Tuluron. They maintained a hut there and spent their time there when hunting. Whenever they went home from hunting, all the ears of their wild boar they would string up and hang over the necks of their dogs.

Young women and men left behind in the barrio of Gusasa pounded rice since it was time to get the first taste of their rice (*naglagti*). Apo Gusasa had a Muslim wife named Simulugan. The young women inquired about their catch from a dog which naturally did not reply. The dog wanted to proceed home but the young ladies held it and insisted on getting an answer. Finally, the dog said "hurry up the rice pounding so that we can have our supper, as you can see strung up around my neck are several ears of wild boar, part of my master's catch." So when the hunters came there were indeed plenty of wild boar. They proceeded with their ritual meal (*pagsawit*). At noon the following day, the rain fell until the village of Datu Gusasa turned into a lake. A Muslim ran and left his hat behind, now a grown *anahaw* tree. Datu Pinamaloy, a famous datu, wanted to marry the daughter of Gusasa and said he did not expect *nga "baloyon"* there in Gusasa because he intended to bring his wife to *Kitaotao* in Pinamaloy — which he promptly did. They went home to Pinamaloy but "*gibaloy ang Pinamaloy*". Gusasa after "*gibaloy* was now here. After Pinamaloy went to Don Carlos, "*gibaloy na usab ang balay sa usa ka hari nga si Pinamaloy*". Apyaw who was in Quezon said "*dili ako baloya, kun dili buhata ako nga kahoy*". In those days we could see the tree which we called *Dangolog* and *Lawaan*. When the tree is ill, it bleeds, a sign that it is a lady. When the *Lawaan* tree bears fruit, it means the blood of the honey bees would not come. This *lawaan* tree was felled when the barrio of *Merangiran* was put up. The two trees were cut up into timber and used for the school but as soon as it was finished it was hit by a whirlwind killing many students, including the teacher who had sex with the dog and could not be detached. Gusasa was called Apo because the lakes that dot the landscape from Pinamaloy. This is the story of Gusasa lake. [Source: Datu Jose Dia-on, 59, *Sinuda*]

14. *Sumalili Mountain*. During the days of the great deluge, said my ancestor *Man-ukil*, the floodwaters "*nakasalili lamang sa tumoy sa bukid*." A second story was that in the days of Apo Tulalang when he was in the habit of killing people, he alone had the courage to go up to *Sumalili* mountain and live there. God decided to make him his brother-in-law if only to stop him from killing people in the *White Kulaman* area, in the *Pulangi* territories and among the Muslims. This is why in those days, when we were angry, we would call on Tulalang to help us out. But in the days in 1975 when we were in search of liberation, we especially did not seek his support in our rituals because we did not want criminal cases filed against us. The important thing is that we got back our ancestral home, and we have discovered better ways of achieving our goals. [Source: Datu Melecio Man-ukil, 57, *Sinuda*]
15. *Maabang-abang and Kimanug-al*. In the words of Apo Gawilan, when Apo Tulalang ascended into the heavens, *Maabang-abang* was called *abang*, a boat, which with the extraordinary powers enjoyed by our ancestors could easily take them to *Cotabato* and *Cagayan*. And when Tulalang ascended into the heavens, *abang* became a rock formation. *Maabang-abang* was also known as an uncle of Tulalang. He turned into a stone because he violated the instructions of Datu Tulalang.

Kimanug-al was also a datu in the *Kulaman* area. He, too, turned into a rock when Tulalang went to the heavens. This is where *Kulaman River* begins. The rock is there to

- serve as a weight that would moderate the flow of water from under the mountain. [Sources: Datu Manuel Lacaran, Sinuda, Anastacio Gumanon, 36 & Fermin Kaguniban, 60]
16. Digongan. There is a river called Kabigaokan owing to the presence of Datu Digongan. After Datu Digongan died we saw a huge burial ground, about five meters long and two meters wide. When people were persuaded by Datu Gawilan in 1950 to settle there so that the burial grounds of ancestors would be inhabited by descendants. [Source: Datu Melecio Man-ukil, 57, Sinuda]
 17. Salug River. Salug is where all Matigsalugs live. Apo Gapao, our ancestor, is buried at Salug. At Salug, too, there is a Linao, a lake, called Kabuling. Kabuling is where the stone of Malarahao is found, the sign that the Maranaos surrendered to Apo Gapao when they last fought. It is also called Davao River. Salug is the center and the whole of Matigsalug life. Which is why when we secured our ancestral domain in 1975, we called our people Matigsalug, from the land handed down to us by Apo Gapao, our ancestor. [Source: Datu Jose Dia-on, 59, Sinuda & Datu Vicente Mansabanlay, 60]
 18. Kahusayan. Lawari is the name of the river that is found in Sitio Lawari. Apo Manhusayan is *talaghukum* or settler of big cases. When the Lumads fought each other, it was he who was called upon to settle their disputes. When he died, he was buried beside the river Lawari. And when the place was made a barrio and I was elected as the chairman, I renamed the place Kahusayan. [Source: Datu Melecio Man-ukil, 57, Sinuda]
 19. Misagoksok Mountain. At the time of the great deluge, Misagoksok mountain was so called because of the sound it made, "sagoksok." [Source: Datu Melecio Man-ukil, 57, Sinuda]
 20. Kibando Mountain. Hunting ground of Datu Kibando and sources of other needs like herbal medicine, food, fish and other forest products. At the time of a great rain, there was a landslide and Datu Kibando was trapped underneath. [Source: Datu Melecio Man-ukil, 57, Sinuda]
 21. Sangiapo, Salalayan, Salimbangon. The original name of Sangiapo was "pamalawan". When it became known that it has gold, it is now called Sangiapo because it is a good place because it has gold. The same goes with "Salalayan" and "Salimbangon". [Source: Datu Jose Dia-on, 57, Sinuda]
 22. Kalam-kalam. From what Apo Mandia-on has told me, Kalam-Kalam was a huge fellow. There is in Kalam-Kalam a long slope where Kalam-Kalam would play and roll stones. When Mungan was raptured, the slope became a huge stone called Kalam-Kalam. [Source: Datu Jose Dia-on, 59, Sinuda]
 23. Dalurong. Dalurong was a river known for its abundant supply of fish. At the time of Bueno's ranch, we really sought to take back Dalurong precisely because it was to us a

- rich source of fish. [Source: Datu Jose Dia-on, 59, Sinuda]
24. **Miariri.** Ariri was a human being. At around the time of Apo Mungan's rapture, Ariri violated the law of Apo Mungan. Apo Mungan warned that spirits have sent the message that on that day they would be brought to heaven. Ariri and Miariri did not believe. And so when Apo Mungan went into rapture, Ariri and Miariri became a huge white stone which now can be seen at Miariri. [Source: Datu Melecio Man-ukil, 57, Sinuda]
 25. **Panganan.** Datu Panganan was a human being. The river named Panganan is also called Migolokao. Datu Panganan died there. The place is now named Panganan in memory of a famous datu and bagani. [Source: Datu Melecio Man-ukil, 57, Sinuda]
 26. **Malambo.** Among the datos, Malambo is regarded as communal hunting ground. All games caught in the place are usually fat and healthy, hence the reference to "malambo". [Source: Datu Melecio Man-ukil, 57, Sinuda]
 27. **Kipilas.** It is told that in barangay Kipilas there were people who were cursed by the monkeys. The newly born monkeys are known in the native language as "pilas", or more literally, small monkeys. Said people used to play with the monkeys and in the course of time some became hunchbacked, others died. And this is how the place came to be known as Kipilas. [Source: Datu Payan Mandanaway, Sinuda. Translated from Matigsalug to Cebuano by Datu Cosme Lambayon.]
 28. **Kianlod.** This is a tall mountain, visible from Sinuda, from Dalurong, or from Maramag. At the time of the great deluge, it was like a floating piece of wood, ready to be swept away anytime. [Source: Datu Melecio Man-ukil, 57, Sinuda]
 29. **Dumasilag.** Dumasilag was a woman named Unsilag, anak ni Apo Gapao. She was buried at Dumasilag. [Source: Datu Melecio Man-ukil, 57, Sinuda]
 30. **Midsiloan.** This was the Ilian ni Apo Galisan at the time of the first encounter with Muslims. Apo Gapao had a daughter named Bae Alamoy who took the fancy of Apo Galisan but she said she would not marry until she received from him a bandoleer of Muslim ears. So went Apo Gapao, Apo Galisan and his younger brother Lumahong in a "pangayaw" expedition in Lanao. They killed many Muslims. Accidentally, Apo Galisan hit Lumahong with his sword. He took his palambod, threw this seven times into Lanao lake but kept coming back. On the eighth time, his panipas shouted, "Do not regret this"; why are you leaving me behind?". Apo Galisan died in Lanao. Which is why the Muslims were invulnerable, from the amulet-shield (kubol) of Apo Galisan. [Source: Datu Jose Dia-on, 59, Sinuda]
 31. **Tulalang.** Regarded as the first man when the world was created. First ancestor of the Matigsalug. Also, acknowledged as such by other indigenous tribes. He was widely known to other tribes also because he had plenty of wives from all over. He was known

to have killed a lot of people precisely because of his many wives. He had no time for them and there were inevitable male intruders. Each violator was immediately killed.

Apo Tulalang was looked up to and respected as a bagani of the entire Manobo tribe. He did not kill anyone unless a person really deserved it, that is to say he had violated the social norms of the tribe. On one occasion he was rejected by a woman he wanted to marry because he was ugly and was covered with scabbies. Feeling dishonored he killed the woman and her family. Also, refusal of an accused to pay fines imposed for crime committed was deemed reason enough for killing him, and this happened on several occasions. He was also famous in the surrounding tribes for his rare power and fighting ability. Because of this, many women wanted to marry him.

He was also known for his excellent ability in handling people. He was a skilled fisherman, a productive farmer, and was specially endowed as a spiritual healer. He had other powers like being able to make his spear walk. And when he fought, the place of battle and the surrounding areas would tremble. [Sources: Datu Jose Dia-on, Datu Melecio Man-ukil, Datu Libayao Salibay, and Datu Lorenzo Gawilan.]

32. Batawan. A cousin of Apo Gapao, known for his extraordinary physical strength. He had no problem uprooting a pugahan tree, a hardwood. Or keeping from falling into a cliff a tree trunk the size of two arms length. He was a bagani and a datu. He would settle his own disputes with those with whom he had differences. Datu Claro Batawan of Sinuda is a direct descendant. [Source: Datu Melecio Man-ukil, 57, Sinuda]
33. Gapao. Apo Gapao was buried in Kalagangan. He would not eat for a month, was well respected by people; had a huge following. He was a known Muslim fighter. His son Unsilag was taken captive by Muslims. Which was why the Matigsalugs and the Muslims had a fight. The Muslims surrendered to him. This is the reason for the blood compact with the Muslims where they agreed never to fight between them. Whoever initiated a fight would be the loser. This was their oath. They allegedly cut a person in two, drank his blood. The Muslim could not consume the blood of the Matigsalug while the Matigsalug drained the Muslim of his blood. [Source: Datu Melecio Man-ukil, 57, Sinuda]

Note: Muslim group referred to here are the Maranaos. It was Babae sa Raya who settled the dispute with the Matigsalug in the mountain of Magkil-agkil (now the municipality of Kalilangan, Bukidnon). The blood compact in Matigsalug culture is "pakang" wherein both parties would sip each other's blood from a wound made on their own wrist.

34. Marahan. Marahan of old may be likened to a market place in the sense that people tended to converge there and draw their livelihood from there: forest products and game. And then they would be on their way, sometimes for two days, and then they would be overcome with hunger and thirst. At the water's edge at Marahan river, they would drink and felt relief and say "kono ad kamarahan" or "nawaro o ka gutas ko"

[Source: Datu Ramos Benito, 57, Marahan]

35. *Sinaka*. In the time of the great deluge, *Sinaka* mountain was where all the inhabitants of this place went for refuge, whether animals or human beings. This is located at the boundary of Cotabato and Davao. [Source: Datu Vicente Mansabanlay, 60]
36. *Namnam*. The place where all food, from games to forest products, were uniformly delicious, "malinamnam". No human being lived here before and wild game was tame and easy to catch. [Source: Datu Vicente Mansabanlay, 60]
37. *Pamuhatan*. This was cleared by Apo Buatan. He put up a little hut there and deposited his chewing kit and tobacco inside. It also served as his prayer house. He lived there to improve his life. His harvest was good. So was his menting. [Source: Datu Vicente Mansabanlay, 60]
38. *Gumitan*. It is a small plain clearing near the river where people find it most convenient to live. It is said that people here refuse to stay away from each other. They keep coming back to each other. The place is part of Marilog District in Davao City. [Source: Datu Vicente Mansabanlay, 60]
39. *Dalag-ayo*. Nowadays, this is known as *Dallag*. But in the old days, this was like a mossy place but plain, the only one of its kind found at the border between Cotabato and Davao. [Source: Datu Vicente Mansabanlay, 60]
40. *Kibalang*. A small creek whose serpentine curves seem like the entrails of a chicken, its beginning always in sight. Datu Lamnay and Apo Lumpipi were the ones who traced the name of our ancestor *Kibalang Dayuna*. [Source: Datu Vicente Mansabanlay, 60]
41. *Lamos*. Datu Paundag, father of *Betil Paundag*, used to live there. There was a cave there. When you went there it was as if someone would cup your ears and blindfold your eyes: "lamposan", as they say in our language. Someone not one of us lives there. It was the instruction of Datu Ladayon and Datu Humboon and Datu Mansabanlay, my father, not to allow anyone to go there. Because when you get there, you would forget to go home. This is found on the Davao side. [Source: Datu Vicente Mansabanlay, 60]
42. *Kiapas-san*. Part of Davao City. It was a path on the side of a hill. There was an old man who wanted to reach the top of the hill but when he reached mid-way, he lost his desire to proceed. Neither did he want to go back. This was the meaning of *kiapas-san*. [Source: Datu Vicente Mansabanlay, 60]
43. *Salakan*. There are waterfalls in *Salakan*, the scene of romantic escapades, where lovers have discovered ways of escaping the notice of their parents. The men would proceed to the falls ahead of the women, position themselves under cover of the mists rising out of the water, with their things sticking out and on the ready. The women would come, pretending to be unaware of the presence of their lovers and push each other

down the water. Salakan refers to the one chance of a sexual consummation in the process. [Source: Datu Vicente Mansabanlay, 60]

44. Mundo Hill. Mundo was the name of the person who was born at the bank of Upian river. He grew up minding his own business, helpful and respectful to others. But when his rights were violated he was brave and unstoppable. Later, a hill came to be known as unusual, fire would spew out of it, and Mundo would conduct his rituals there whenever he wanted to kill somebody who had violated him. He would seek the help of Mandarangan, the goddess of war for a successful undertaking. The name came down in native lore as "labuntod ni Mundo" or Mundo Hill. [Source: Datu Pananglay Mari-ay, 74]
45. Upian. Mundo had a sister named Piyan who was in the habit of fishing in the river and was quite successful at it. It came to be known through the "baylan or tumanuron" or a priestess that Piyan was married to "Alimogkat" or goddess of the rivers and the sea. Soon Piyan disappeared and it was believed that Alimogkat took her away. The river where she used to fish came to be known as Upian. [Source: Datu Pananglay Mari-ay, 74]
46. Ilian. Refers to a hill which had only one entrance to the top. Our ancestors lived there in times of pangayaw or war and felt very safe. Ilian means a place of safety. [Source: Datu Pananglay Mari-ay, 74]
47. Pinamantuan. In the old days there was a man named Ade who was known for his skills in using the bow and arrow. A wild bird known as simalon was also known to be able to dodge arrows. It would usually land at the peak of tall trees like Lawaan, Almaciga, and so on. But Ade proved equal to all of them. He practically wiped out the simalon population. Later it came to be known that Mahonay, the goddess of the forest herself, gave him this ability. [Source: Datu Pananglay Mari-ay, 74]
48. Sauvaan. Trees grew up in this place. Their fruits were the favorite of wild pigs which naturally tended to live there. What our ancestors would merely do was to surround the area and go after the pigs at will. In the native language this was "sauvaan". [Source: Datu Pananglay Mari-ay, 74]
49. Pinte and Midsundong. A man named Pinte was an excellent hunter and a man of unusual ability. He would merely send his dogs to after the wild boar or wild deer and with their barks drive the wild animals towards his house. It came to be known that Pinte had been befriended by "Timbalong" or the goddess of animals named Minsundong. Soon Pinte informed his family that he would be going away with his goddess friend to the latter's world. As soon as he finished talking, he disappeared. [Source: Datu Pananglay Mari-ay, 74]
50. Las-sang. In the old days, Apo Buanay was known to have only one method of hunting wild game, that of trapping. He trapped wild boar and wild deer, in places where there

was no other path for the animals to cross to the next hill. "Las-sang" means there was no other way. Apo Buanay did his trapping in what came to be known as "Las-sang ni Buanay" each day and was always successful. [Source: Datu Pananglay Mari-ay, 74]

51. Ban-ni. Ban-ni is a hill, on the Cotabato side, that is used for the storage of seeds. Signs of this are still visible in the present day, little stones, for instance, which are look-alike of corn grains and mongo peas. [Source: Datu Vicente Mansabanlay, 60]
52. Sinahawan. This is a big hill. There was a young man here whose lover lived in Mundo Hill. He was sent on an errand by his father, to gather some "mama" and some food. As soon as he stepped on Sinahawan, he looked back at Upian river, saw the house of his lover and started to sob from loneliness. "Sinahaw" means crying referring to the place where a lover cried for his love in Upian river. [Source: Datu Vicente Mansabanlay, 60]
53. Marilog. In the old days, at Mundo Hill and Upian, Datu Omboan, Lumpipe and Datu Mansabanlay. Naminyo si Tio Lumpipe didto sa Kibalang. Bayaw niya si Datu Nugan, nagpuyo sa Marilog. In those days, they lived alone, one in each place, "tagsa ka bilog". This is the meaning of Marilog. [Source: Datu Vicente Mansabanlay, 60]
54. Malikongkong. In the old days, it was common to await signs from the alimokon. A man went hunting and when he reached Malikongkong, in Upian, Davao, he put up a little hut. Hunting was good. All the alimokon signs were favorable. It was in fact said that the alimokon were "gaticongkong" neatly gathered there. [Source: Datu Vicente Mansabanlay, 60]
55. Matigol. Matigol is an eight-stage waterfalls, on the Cotabato side, regarded by the people as a strange phenomenon. Old people claim that when they watch the falls, it was as if something went wrong in their heads, or "matigol". [Source: Datu Vicente Mansabanlay, 60]
56. Kuapu (Kulapu). The headwaters of Kulapo river is Sinaka mountain. At the time of the great deluge, there was also the problem of great hunger. Bahi was also known to the Matigsalug as "pula", and kula pith was a great source of survival. [Source: Datu Vicente Mansabanlay, 60]
57. Kivakal. Mount Kivokal was so named after the tiny speck of it that was left in the time of the great deluge. It was said that when the water level rose, the only land that was left was the size of a deer's eyes. Hence, the description Kivokal. Sumudan was an ancestor from Tagum who went hunting there. He was the ancestor of a certain Dawaki. [Source: Datu Pananglay Mari-ay, 74]
58. Milais. It was so named after the bamboo grown by Apo Inang Mampao, the only elder in Lais. [Source: Datu Pananglay Mari-ay, 74]

59. Sumilop. This was part of the same story of pangayaw participated in by Apo Batawan, Apo Monakim and Apo Mari-ay. Their enemy only got as far as Sumilop, and fell back. [Source: Datu Pananglay Mari-ay, 74]
60. Ladijan - Sitio Ladian of Marilog District, Davao City, was drawn from the names of their elders: LA from Lambac; DI from Dionog, and AN from Ansudo. Who have lived there, along with their ancestors before them, since time immemorial. This was formalized as a sitio in 1981. [Source: Datu Luis Lambac, 39]
61. Sinakob. Sinakob creek in Sitio Ladian is named after the mama container called sinakob. [Source: Datu Luis Lambac, 39]
62. Kahabang. Also flowing from Mt. Sinaka, so named because it was the subject of frequent landslides. [Source: Datu Luis Lambac, 39]
63. Mig-ulang and Tigkil. Mig-ulang described the appearance of the mountain the tip of which was like the collar of a shirt. This was also the story of Apo Magkahumban. At the time of the great deluge, a young man named Gomotao had to tiptoe to stay afloat, which in Matigsalug is to "tigkil". This is now the name of the place adjacent to Mig-ulang. [Source: Fermin Kagumban, 60]
64. Kulaman. (Bangalong = valley) It was Tulalang who gave Kulaman its name. We have no idea why such was the name given. This was also called Kulaman because Tulalang used to pass here whenever he went to Lanao to fight the Maranaos and back. His brother lived in Maabang-abang. Eventually, we sustained serious wounds from his fights. This was when he leaned and rested on a balete tree called Ulambayan. The same balete is still there, stunted in its growth from the weight of Tulalang. [Sources: Anastacio Gumanon, 36 & Fermin Kagumban, 60]]
65. Hibaba. This was the story of a lake in Pasabit, part of Sinuda. A Maranao arrived to collect his debts. Servants of his debtors went out to hunt and caught a game. A lady asked a hunting dog if they caught anything. She lady ought to have known already because of pigs ears hung around the neck of the dog. The dog replied in the positive. Shortly after dinner, a heavy downpour followed. Two ladies fought over one saluray, a Matigsalug guitar. One young man said that it was he who put a stop to the rain. One lady also claimed that it was she who put a stop to the rain. Until the water in the Lanao rose. And the guest began to be fearful about the rising tide. They began to wonder why the mortar and pestle started to move. The Maranao went home in the direction of Maro, upward, downward and the place was called Kuluklukonan. Down he went and the place he found was called Natugsangan. And on he went to Kulaman, downward, then up again and reached a point which was called Kinahibaba. There is a place there now called Hibaba. Until he reached the Pulangi (river), then the sea. He became a huge eel in the sea. [Source: Anastacio Gumanon, 36]

¹ E. Arsenio Manuel, *Manuvu Social Organization* (Quezon City: Community Devel-

- opment Research Council, University of the Philippines, 1973), p. 7.
- 2 Francisco R. Demetrio, "An Overview of Philippine Epics," *Kinaadman*, Volume I, 1979, pp. 9-28. Reference to Ulod on pp. 25-26.
 - 3 Richard Elkins, "Root of a Language: How One Manobo Word Led to Another," in Alfredo R. Roces, Editor in Chief, *Filipino Heritage* (Metro Manila: Lahing Filipino Publishing, Inc., 1977) Volume 2, p. 253. Emphasis in bold supplied.
 - 4 Datu Lorenzo B. Gawilan, "The Matigsalug Manobo Tribe: Their Cultural Survival & Genealogy," *Sinuda, Kitaotao, Bukidnon*, 11 May 1994, p.4.
 - 5 *Ibid.*
 - 6 *Ibid.*
 - 7 Manuel, *ibid.*, see ethnographic map across p. 6.
 - 8 See Part 3, p. 39, this study.
 - 9 Datu Moreno Tumindog stressed this in a meeting in Manila, April 27, 1994. Datu Melecio Man-ukil affirmed this during the evening interview in *Sinuda*, 8 May 1994; the datu around the table nodded in agreement.
 - 10 Vellorino J. Suminguit, *The Subanu Culture in Mount Malindang: An Ethnography*. Master's Thesis, University of the Philippines, April 1989, pp. 80 & 81. No objective explanation is given for this belief.
 - 11 Interview with Apo Kinantas at her residence in *Sinuda*, 10 May 1994.
 - 12 Affidavit of Fr. Teodoro Urrutia, S.J., signed 7 February 1975, Malaybalay, Bukidnon, published in *Various Reports*, 21 March 1975, pp. 22-25.
 - 13 Another account, presumably by Fr. Vincent Cullen, S.J., said: A PC trooper photographed by Fr. Urrutia while he was photographing the body. Fr. Urrutia's film was stolen from his camera. From Anonymous, "The Price of Development in Bukidnon," *Various Reports*, 14 March 1975, pp. 18-28.
 - 14 The same account cited earlier added the following details, noting that forty houses were burned: "It should be noted that the Manobo moved to White Kulaman after their barrio Dalurong, comprising of some forty houses, was burned by Bueno's cowboys and guards in 1965. Nothing was done about the burning. Since then due to lack of adequate fencing, Bueno's cattle continue to roam around White Kulaman destroying the Manobos' crops. *Ibid.*
 - 15 Affidavit of Tomas Manlibangan, thumbmarked and signed by a witness, 7 February 1975, Malaybalay, Bukidnon, *Various Reports*, 21 March 1975, pp. 22-25.
 - 16 "The Bueno people are now claiming that the Manobos fired on them after having stolen the cattle and that they returned fire, but what does the evidence show? A group of men, women and children, eating out in the open, are not acting like cattle rustlers, and the women and children don't open fire on heavily armed cowboys. This to date is the sad tale of the White Kulaman murder." From Anonymous, "The Price of Development in Bukidnon," *Various Reports*, 14 March 1975, pp. 18-28.
 - 17 Excerpts from Fr. Vincent Cullen, S.J., "Report on the Situation of the Cultural Minorities in the Province of Bukidnon," *Signs of the Times*, 12 September 1975, pp. 22-30.
 - 18 Data in this entire subsection are direct quotes from the tape of the interview held in the evening of 8 May 1994 at the residence of Datu Gawilan. The respondents are as indi-

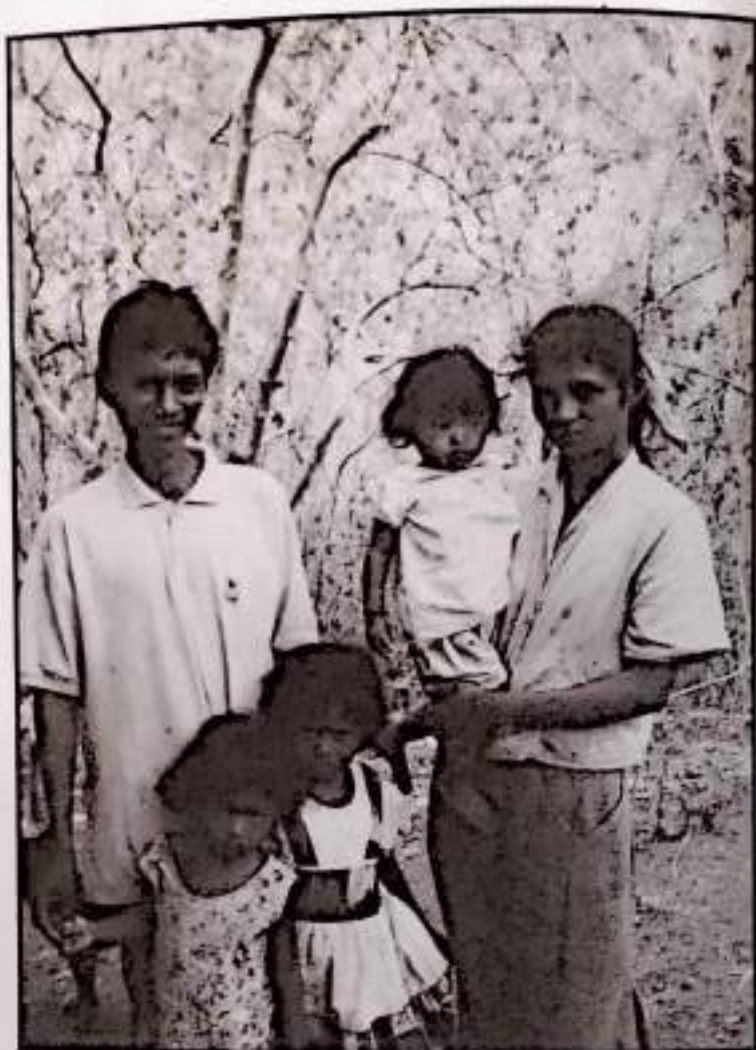
- cated.
- ¹⁹ Unless otherwise indicated the texts in this entire subsection are direct quotes from the tape of the interview done in the afternoon of 09 May 1994 in Simuda. Respondents are as indicated.
- ²⁰ During the evening interviews with the datos on 8 May at Datu Gawilan's residence, these two singers livened the atmosphere by singing softly in the background. We got them to sing two songs later, and dictate the lyrics slowly for the record. Datu Lambayon did the translation into Cebuano; I did the Cebuano to English. Only one song is included here.
- ²¹ Datu Lorenzo "Saligan" B. Gawilan, "A Historical Overview of The Matigsalug Manobo Tribe & Their Cultural Survival." May 11, 1994. 7p.



Datu Mantimongmong and two wives



Prof. Rodil with tribal leaders during interview break



(L-R) Hosts Freddie Lamumay, Wife Evelyn & Child, with two other children-relatives



(L-R) Odelio Sawanga, the interpreter, Ms. Cecile Tangian and Ms. Luchi Sevidal-Castro, research team members and Simplicio Manon-og, the driver. Higaunon ancestral domain at the background.



Less than knee deep! Prof. Rodil at the headwaters of the mighty Pulangi in Higaunon territory in Kalabugao, Bukidnon.