

Hibla ng Lahing Filipino

The Artistry of Philippine Textiles



NATIONAL MUSEUM
PAMBANSANG MUSEO



OFFICE OF
SENATOR LOREN LEGARDA

Hibla ng Lahing Filipino

The Artistry of Philippine Textiles

Ana Maria Theresa P. Labrador, Ph.D.
Curator

Second Edition
National Museum
Manila 2016



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A Yakan woman, garbed in traditional Yakan clothes, weaves cotton using a backstrap loom. Photo by Robert Fox | National Museum. ca. 1970.

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Dedicated to

Toby Raphael (1951 - 2009)

Retired U.S. National Park Service Senior Conservator

who is the inspiration for keeping in mind
conservation in exhibiting Philippine textiles



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Foreword to this edition

Ana Maria Theresa P. Labrador, Ph.D.

Exhibition Curator

Assistant Director of the National Museum

From birth to death, handmade textiles figure prominently among many indigenous Filipinos. Being swaddled in cloth after birth, infants experience the comfort of warmth and safety in even the most ordinary material. My research experience, however, made me appreciate the central place of loom products during funerals. Dressed in special garments, shrouded in fine, trade textiles or dyed in highly prized blue-black indigo, it dawned on me that death was only a transition to another life or another world. This is the connection with our belief in ancestor-worship and textiles are the ties that bind us from one generation to the next, from this world and the next.

I have not set myself out to focus on Philippine handmade fabrics in my research. But for some reason it keeps calling my attention to regard it in the context of my study, such as when I examined funeral customs in the Cordilleras. For instance, most of the exceptional and precious woven materials I have observed—whether exchanged with neighboring villages or made locally—would be displayed during wakes among the Bontok of Mountain Province. As a rule, elders would begin collecting their funerary ensemble once their first grandchild is born, initiating them to becoming an ancestor and easing somewhat the bewilderment of death in this world.

My involvement in assembling exhibitions in the country's first gallery permanently devoted to our handloom textiles was fortuitous. I was asked to join the National Museum on contract to work on cataloguing the National Fine Arts Collection. But when a series of proposals were rejected by Senator Loren Legarda who wanted to fund not only a gallery but a whole museum for textiles, I was asked to develop a concept that did away with displaying cloth according to their geographical origins. The idea I presented was about telling the story of our similarities in expressing ourselves as social beings, as well as its connection to intangible heritage, our shared practices in producing and exchanging textiles. At that point, I felt that the National Museum must be at the forefront of raising questions on our modes of defining ourselves as belonging to a nation while promoting our representation as broadly as possible.

The second edition of this catalogue for Hibla ng Lahing Filipino is a testimony to our museum audiences' growing esteem for Philippine traditional textiles since we inaugurated the first of two exhibitions in 2012 at the National Museum of Fine Arts in the Old Legislative Building in Manila. When we moved it to the National Museum of Anthropology, we have included more objects and fabrics, attracted more loans and donations, as well as increase in audiences. It is wonderful to have a platform on which to make the National Ethnographic Collections more accessible to the public.

This has been made possible through the support of Senator Legarda, the encouragement of National Museum Director Jeremy Barns and the effort of our team from the NM Ethnology Division and the Exhibitions, Editorial and Media Production Services Division. Finally, we must thank the inspiration from indigenous communities for this project that need to be better represented in projects such as ours. We hope that in continuing to engage weavers and crafts persons in our exhibitions, we are not only promoting a more dynamic discussion with them and our audiences. Like the vitality of the bond that textiles have enabled between generations and between worlds, this project has run full circle for me and I am glad that our collective effort has contributed to our nation's legacy through traditional cloth.

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Message of Senator Loren Legarda

*Delivered on the Inauguration of the Permanent Textile Gallery of the National Museum
International Museum Day, 18 May 2012*

It has been my lifelong passion to explore the indigenous artistry of Filipinos told through traditional textiles.

I have visited numerous weaving communities all over the country. Beyond the intricate weaving technique and fine embellishments we find in these garments, we discover cultural expressions and visions of our history that have endured the test of time.

For our vibrant traditional textiles are revelations of Filipino's indigenous life, reflections of our cultural rootedness and symbols of our identity.

We are fortunate that at least over a hundred weaving centers and communities are still in existence, keeping weaving traditions alive. But against a backdrop of a fast-changing globalized world, how do we promote, preserve, and sustain the many weaving methods deeply rooted in the Filipino culture? How do we support talented weavers, our culture-bearers, encourage them to continue weaving and pass on their expertise to the next generation?

In 2004, Republic Act 9242, or the Philippine Tropical Fabrics Law, which I authored, mandated the use of indigenous fibers for the official uniforms of government officials and employees, with the end in view of strengthening the local fiber industry.

I am helping the National Museum organize the Lecture Series on Philippine Traditional Textiles and Indigenous Knowledge, which started last March 2012. It aims to enrich the citizens' knowledge on tropical fabrics and the culture of weaving, and explore the local technology, adaptation and innovations to perform and renew weaving customs. This will bring together indigenous peoples, professionals, educator, students and decision-makers who can contribute to the enrichment of the weaving tradition.

The Hibla ng Lahing Filipino is not only an effort to celebrate indigenous artistry through textiles and provide more Filipinos the opportunity to discover priceless information about our heritage, but an attempt to bring the challenge of nurturing our weaving traditions into the national stage, to a wider audience.

I wish to thank all of you for joining me and the National Museum as we unveil a significant stride in our shared desire of bringing our culture into full bloom again.

I invite you to take yourself in a journey, explore the similarity and diversity of our traditional textiles, and be fascinated with the traditional skills that gave fruit to such artistic creations.

The task before us is to help our people value and continue our heritage. We must open doors of opportunities for weaving communities. We must promote greater support for cultural enterprises and creative industries of our indigenous peoples.

Let us make our people's cultural identity a fundamental source of their socio-economic development. And let our common vision and values weave us together as we seek to empower those who have given meaning to our being Filipino.

Foreword to the first edition

JEREMY R. BARNS

Director of the National Museum

The initiative for establishing a permanent textile exhibition at the National Museum originated in 2010 through direct representations with Senator Loren Legarda, a very prominent advocate of indigenous arts and culture who was in the process of actually envisioning an entire museum devoted to Philippine ancestral and traditional fabrics. We managed to persuade Senator Legarda to commence a deep and meaningful collaborative journey with us and, at what was conceived as an initial and pioneering stage, help the National Museum to dedicate and curate a gallery for the purpose to which she was, and remains, so passionately devoted.

As the Chairperson of the Senate Committee on Cultural Communities, and author or sponsor of numerous legislative measures, such as Republic Act No. 9242 (the Philippine Tropical Fabrics Law), Senator Legarda worked hard to combine advocacies which have since been embedded in various collaborations with the National Museum representing, in this case, the common weaving practices, materials, processes and designs that bind together the communities that represent and embody the vestigial heritage of our shared patrimony as a nation.

The result is Hibla ng Lahing Filipino: The Artistry of Philippine Textiles, which has received a great measure of acclaim from dedicated, interested and concerned individuals and groups—including Philippine Business for Education, the Young Presidents Organization, the Intellectual Property Office-Philippines, Lady Lynn Forester de Rothschild, Paolo Zegna, and Her Majesty the Queen of Spain. We at the National Museum were urged to feature and remount the exhibition in a larger and improved space. After barely a year, and due to public demand and expectation, the exhibition was moved and remounted in the Museum of the Filipino People and was enlarged in scale, with upgraded and expanded displays, more comprehensive information, and a wider array of showcased features and highlights.

The highly positive reception which the National Museum has received from this exhibition has focused on some of recent principal elements, such as materials and technology (notably the piña foot loom and abaca backstrap loom), large-format historical images of Filipinos at the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair (courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History in New York City) and modern, also large-format, images of Filipinos in traditional clothing and accessories from our own collections and those of our local and international partners.

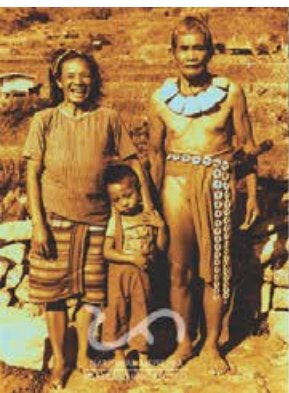
Principal supporters in this seminal and pioneering undertaking, which has finally brought to light the hitherto unknown or other otherwise obscure work and collections of the National Museum and other government institutions and agencies in this important field, include the Office of Senator Loren Legarda, the Fiber Industry Development Authority (FIDA) of the Department of Agriculture, the Philippine Textile Research Institute (PTRI) of the Department of Science and Technology, and the Asian Center of the University of the Philippines, with traditional looms obtained for preservation and posterity, through their donation to the Filipino people through incorporation within the national collections in the custody of the National Museum, by the Godofredo P. Ramos Foundation of Aklan, HIBLA of Davao del Norte, and the provincial governments and city or municipal authorities of Ilocos Sur and La Union.

We express our great appreciation to the patrons, partners and stakeholders of the National Museum and its exhibition Hibla ng Lahing Filipino: The Artistry of Philippine Textiles. The curator of the exhibition, our very own and eminent Assistant Director and museologist-anthropologist, Dr. Ana Maria Theresa P. Labrador, and her team of institutional and collaborating anthropologists, conservators, researchers, designers and fabricators, certainly deserve prominent acknowledgement and our deepest thanks.

The support of our benefactors for this exhibition, and particularly the patronage which Senator Loren Legarda has herself extended through the resources of her office and, far more significantly, through her very personal intervention, has enabled us to make our institutional textile collection far more widely accessible and, through public exhibition, available for the enjoyment, study and contemplation of the full range of our general audience as well as students, scholars and specialists.

On the part of the National Museum, it is our hope that this beautifully illustrated exhibition catalogue will extend even further our work in this direction of advocating awareness and appreciation of ancestral and traditional textiles, and all the cultural heritage that they embody and represent, and at the same time serve as a definitive reference for a public resource that we at the National Museum are privileged to maintain and preserve for present and future generations of Filipinos, as well as our friends from around the world.

Mabuhay ang ating ninunong hibla at ang pamana ng ating bansa!





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Panimula sa Eksibisyon

Introduction to the Exhibition



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Ito ang kuwento ng bigkis na nag-uugnay at nagbubuklod sa mga Filipino sa iba't ibang henerasyon na nagpapatibay sa pagkakakilanlan at sumasalamin sa iba't ibang anyo ng samahang panlipunan—isang kuwentong maihahayag sa pamamagitan ng habing tradisyunal ng Pilipinas.

Tampok ang koleksiyon mula sa Pambansang Museo at mga kaagapay, ang eksibisyon ay pinangungunahan ng mga materyales at teknolohiyang ginagamit sa paggawa ng kayo. Galing man sa balakbak o hibla, ang pangunahing bumubuo sa mga habi ay sinulid. Samantalang ang kadalubhasaan ng mga manghahabi ay hindi lamang tumutugon sa mga pangunahing pangangailangan kundi nagtatanghal din ng kahusayan sa sining.

Ang magkabahaging ekonomiya ng paggawa ng tela at damit ay naglalarawan sa produksyon, pamamahagi at pagkonsumo ng mga produktong habi sa buong bansa. Maaaring nagbunsod mula sa pagnanasang maging malikhain at ang naiaambag ng lipunan at kapaligiran ang mga bagong materyales, iba't ibang kulay, palamuti at pagkakayari. Ilan pang maaaring nagbubuklod sa iba't ibang habi ay ang pagiging malikhain, likas na pagnanais na maging makabago at hangaring makipag-ugnayan sa kapwa manghahabi gamit ang tela. Katunayan, ang natatanging pagkilala sa mga habi ay karangalan na ring maituturing sa mga manghahabi, namamahagi at pati na rin sa tumatangkilik ng mga ito.

Nakatutulong ang mga nabanggit na salik upang maunawaan ang pagkakatulad ng anyo at disenyo ng mga habi sa buong bansa. Kung ang mga naunang eksibisyon ay itinatampok lamang ang pagkakaiba-iba at iba't ibang habi at manghahabi batay sa kanilang pagkakakilanlang etniko o lokasyon, ninanais na maiambag ng eksibisyong ito ang paunang pagsisiyasat at pag-aaral sa kanilang pagkakatulad. Kung susuriing mabuti ang pinagmulan ng mga habi, totoong higit na may pagkakatulad ang mga ito at may nagaganap na pagpapalitan ng disenyo at anyo, taliwas sa karaniwang ibinabahagi ng mga iskolar at kolektor.

Ang mga tradisyunal na habi na karaniwang sinasapantahang nagkukubli sa pagkakaisa ng iba't ibang pangkat sa Pilipinas ang mismong magpapakita ng pambansang pagkakakilanlan sa pamamagitan ng mga sinulid na pinisi, binuhol at hinabi upang gawing tela. Sa mga ito mababasa ang mga kuwentong sing-hiwaga ng gasa at sing-pino ng sutla.

Previous page (top to bottom, left to right): **1**-Bagobo women. *Kasaysayan ng Lahi*, Manila. 1974. NM Collection. **2**-Yakan weaver. Basilan. ca. 1960. NM Collection. **3**-Bontok weaver. Bontoc, Mountain Province. 1997. Ana P. Labrador Collection. **4**-Manobo. Agusan del Sur. 2010. NM Collection. **5**-Tau't Batu child wearing bark-made clout. Palawan. ca. 1970. NM Collection. **6**-Mandaya weaver Benverita Banugan from Sitio Sangab, Barangay Pichon, Caraga, Davao Oriental during the weaving demonstration at the National Museum. November 14, 2014. NM Collection. **7**-Tausug textile. Sulu. ca. 1970. NM Collection.

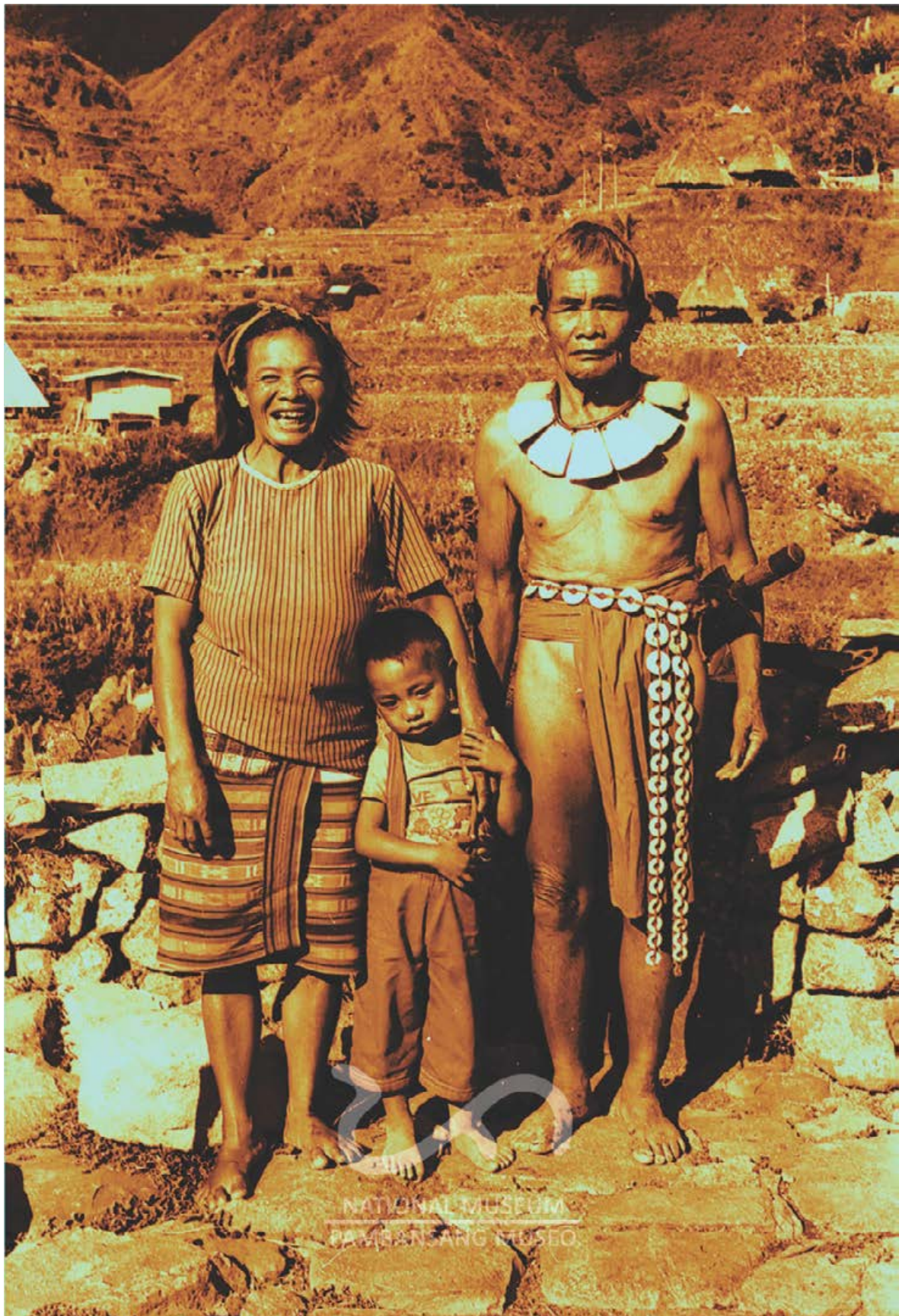
This is a story of the ties that connect and bind Filipinos and, across generations, reinforce common identities and reflect many forms of social relationships—a story told through Philippine traditional textiles.

Featuring the collections of the National Museum and its partners, the exhibition begins with the materials and technologies used to making cloth itself. Whether originating from bark or fiber, textiles comprise bound threads, and where expertise developed by weavers may at the outset have responded to functional requirements, aesthetic considerations eventually emerged as a hallmark of craftsmanship.

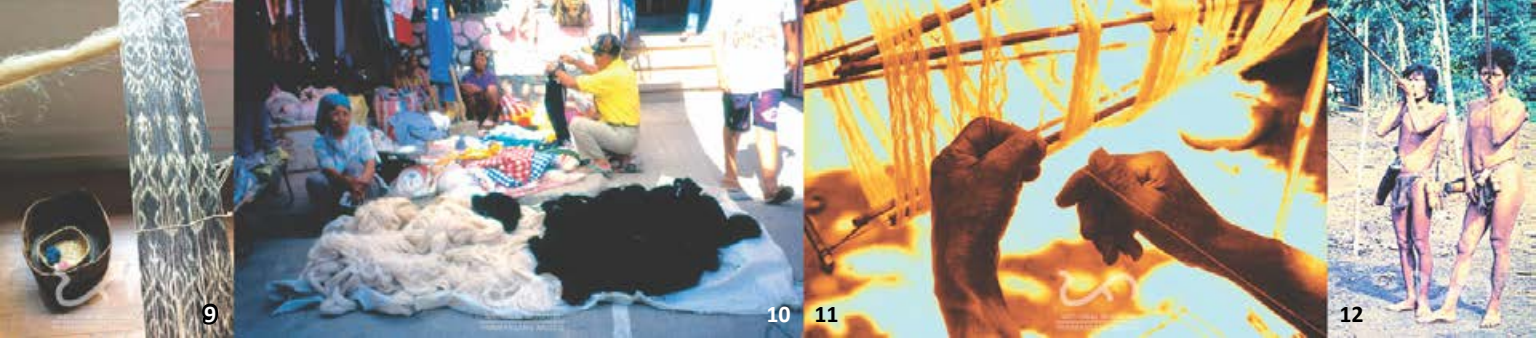
The shared economics of cloth and clothing illustrate the production, distribution and consumption of loom products throughout the country, and both creative aspirations as well as social and environmental spaces may have given rise to new materials, varied colors, decorations and textures. Some factors that link different textiles include weavers' creativity, innate desires to innovate and conscious expectations of connections to be made through the cloth itself. Indeed, prestige associated with textiles is traditionally conferred on makers and distributors as well as patrons.

Considering these factors help in understanding similarities in textile forms and designs throughout the country. If previous exhibitions and texts have focused on differences and distinctions of weaves and weavers based on their ethnic identities or geographic locations, this project provides a preliminary survey and study of the similarities of locally produced textiles. In truth, there are more likenesses, exchanges and borrowing of designs and forms in cloth than is generally acknowledged, and scholars and collectors of prized cloth may have emphasized differences to a greater degree than the source communities themselves.

Traditional textiles that are normally regarded as concealing the unity of different peoples of the Philippines may actually even reveal visions of a national identity through threads that—spun, twined and ultimately woven as cloth—piece together stories as subtle as gauze and as fine as silk.



8-Ifugao family, ca. 1980. NM Collection.



Hibla: Mga Sinulid na Nagbubuklod Ties that Bind



Sa bahaging ito, tampok ang konsepto ng paggawa ng hinabi mula sa hibla, partikular ang paggamit ng balakbak, *bast*, abaka at bulak. Batay sa koleksiyong habi ng Pambansang Museo, ito ang mga karaniwang materyal na pangkayo ng mga nananahang pangkat sa Pilipinas.

Ang pagkakawangis ay mula sa magkakatulad na katangian ng kapaligiran, kasanayan, pakikipagkalakal at pagtatangi, habang ang mga kapamaraan sa paghahabi ay ibinabahagi sa bawat salinlahi at bumabagtas ng mga pisikal na hangganan. Karagdagang naipapakita ang mga ito sa mga talinghagang kaugnay sa produksyon ng hibla, pagkukulay, pag-iikid at paghanda ng habihan.

In this section, concepts on making textiles from threads are featured, focusing on bark, bast, abaca and cotton. Based on the textile collections of the National Museum, these are the most common materials for cloth among groups inhabiting the Philippines.

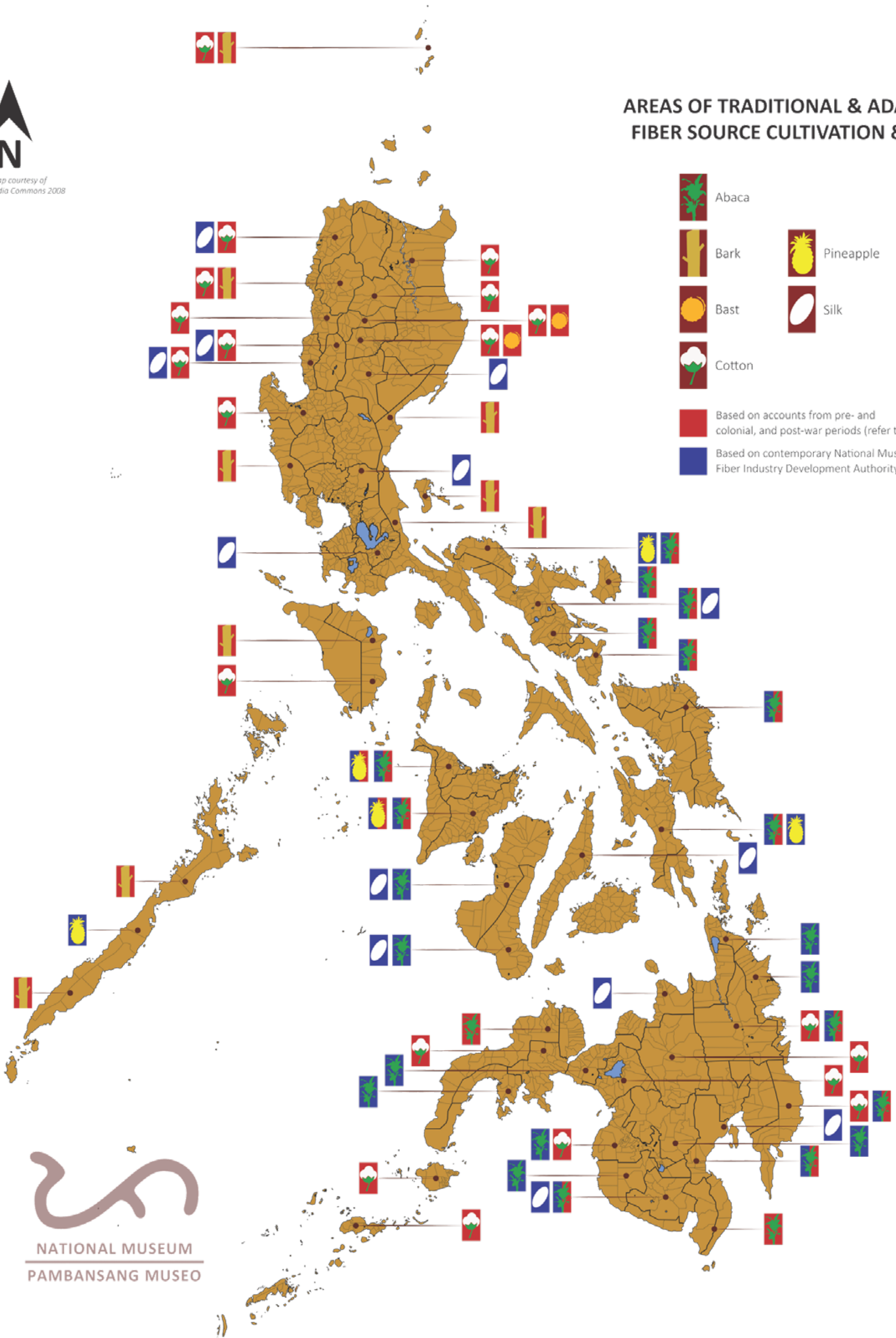
Parallel features of environments, practices, trade and preferences have brought about many similarities, as weaving techniques are shared from one generation to the next and across boundaries. Examples of similarities are further indicated through metaphors associated with the production of threads, dyeing, spinning, twining and preparation of the loom.

*Previous page (top to bottom, left to right): 9-Tie-dyed abaca fibers at the center of Mandaya *dagmay*, locally known as *bintok*. Mandaya weaving demonstration at the National Museum. November 15, 2014. NM Collection. 10-Cotton threads at the Baguio Market. 1997. Ana P. Labrador Collection. 11-Untangling spun cotton threads. La Union. ca. 1970. NM Collection. 12-Tau't Batu. Palawan. ca. 1970. NM Collection. 13-Weaver preparing the Bangar loom at the NM. 2011. NM Collection. 14-Spinning cotton for spools. La Union. 2011. Photo courtesy of JS Santiago. 15-Spinning cotton for spools. Ilocos Sur. 2010. NM Collection. 16-Backstrap weaving. Bontoc, Mountain Province. 1997. Ana P. Labrador Collection.*



Base map courtesy of
Aira/Wikimedia Commons 2008

AREAS OF TRADITIONAL & ADAPTED FIBER SOURCE CULTIVATION & USE



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Previous page (foldout):

17-Areas of traditional and adapted fiber source cultivation and use in the Philippines. See sources at the Bibliography section.



18-Yakan girl. Basilan | Yakan. ca. 1970. NM Collection.



19



20



21

19-Grade S2 fibers. Abaca. Fiber Industry Development Authority (FIDA). **20-Lanot.** Dyed abaca fibers. 22 cm. Capiz | Bisaya. NM Collection. **21-Tinagak.** Knotted abaca fibers. FIDA.

Abaca is indigenous to the Philippines. Initially used for clothes and cordage material by the pre-colonial groups in the islands of the country, abaca has since shifted to pulp for specialty papers and nonwoven degradable materials, as well as fibercrafts. Philippine abaca industry is currently one of the major earners in raw and manufactured fiber exports. Agencies such as the FIDA of the Department of Agriculture have established and enforced standard grades based on strength, cleaning resulting from the extraction process, texture, color and fiber length. For instance, Grade S2 is equivalent to excellent quality that is required for cordage, pulp and paper, fibercraft, handwoven and nonwoven craft production.

Abaka

Ang mga hibla ng abaka ay hango sa pinutol na katawan ng halamang ito, hinihiwalay ang pang-ibabaw na balumbon gamit ang matalim na bagay o kutsilyo, at binabatak mula sa katawan gamit naman ang kamay. Binubuhol ang mga hibla para makabuo ng tuloy-tuloy na sinulid na naaangkop sa paghabi. *Lanot* ang karaniwang tawag dito sa Kabisayaan, at sa mga pangkat sa Mindanao gaya ng mga Mandaya. Minsan, *yanot* ang tawag dito ng mga Manobo.

Unang naitala noong 1573 ang paggamit ng abaka (*Musa textilis* Nee) sa Pilipinas ng Kastila na si Kapitan Diego de Artiega bilang *sinamay* at *tinampipi* (Sievert 2009), at ayon kay William Dampier (Blair at Robertson 1903-1909), hinahabi na ng nananahan sa Maguindanao ang abaka noon pang 1686. Ayon kay Legarda (1999), kalakal-panluwas na ito bago pa man dumating ang mga Kastila. Mula pa noon ay mahalaga nang hibla ang abaka sa kasaysayan at kalakalan ng Pilipinas.

Nabanggit ni Padre Juan Francisco de San Antonio noong 1738 ang pagbayad ng mga Tagabalooyes ng Agusan sa monarkiyang Katoliko kapalit ng pagtanggol ng mga ito sa kanila laban sa pananakop ng mga kalapit-pangkat (Sievert 2009) gamit ang *guinaras* at *medranique*—mga tela na gawa sa abaka. Ang *medranique*, tinatawag din na *sinamay*, ay malagasang tela na una pang gamit sa mas makumpol na mga kasuotang gawa rin sa abaka, at ito ang tumatayong kasangkapan sa palitan sa pagitan ng mga Kastila at Tagabalooyes.

Gamit din ng mga animistang pangkat sa Mindanao ang abaka. Sa unang bahagi ng ika-20 siglo, binanggit ni Cole (1913) na humalili sa paggawa ng pantaas na kasuotan ng mga Mandaya ang bulak dahil naging mas madali itong makuha sa mga libis kaysa abaka (Reyes 1992). Ginagamit din ang abaka sa isla ng Panay sa parehong kapanahunan. Gamit bilang pansapin, pambalot at pantali sa bulak noong 1800, bumubuo sa pangkalahatan ng telang pangkalakal ng Pilipinas ang abaka (Legarda 1999). Maliban sa gamit nito bilang kayo, tinatangkilik din itong materyal para sa mga pantali at pangmarinong lubid.

Abaca

Abaca fibers are traditionally extracted from a cut trunk by separating the surface leaf sheaths using a sharp object or knife and pulling them off the trunk by hand. The fibers are knotted to form a continuous thread that would be suitable for weaving. Lanot is the general term for abaca used by the Bisayan groups as well as Mindanao groups such as the Mandaya. The Manobo sometimes also use the term yanot.

*Abaca (*Musa textilis* Nee) in the Philippines was documented as early as 1573 by the Spanish Captain Diego de Artiega as sinamay and tinampipi (Sievert 2009), and according to William Dampier (Blair and Robertson 1903-1909), people living in the Maguindanao area were weaving abaca cloth as early as 1686. Legarda notes that abaca was already being exported around the region even before the arrival of the Spanish (1999). It has since been a historically important fiber and trade commodity of the Philippines.*

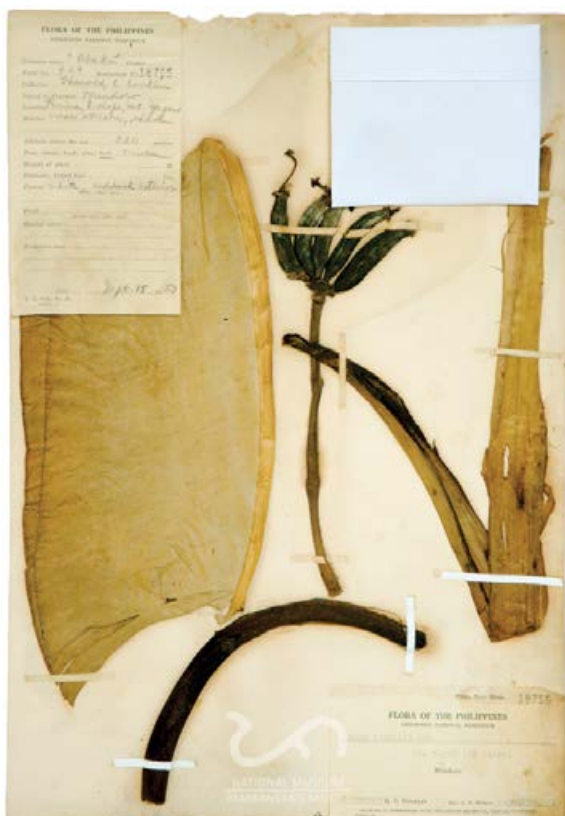
Fr. Juan Francisco de San Antonio in 1738 comments on the Tagabalooyes of Agusan who paid tribute to the Catholic monarch for defending them from invasion by their neighboring enemies (Sievert 2009), and which was given by means of guinaras and medranique—textiles made of abaca. Medranique, also called sinamay, a gauze-like cloth which antedated heavier hemp garments, became a medium of exchange between the Spaniards and Tagabalooyes.

Abaca was also found among the animists of Mindanao. In the early 20th century, Cole (1913) mentions that availability of cotton from the lowlands substituted for hemp in the making of Mandaya jackets (Reyes 1992). Abaca was also produced in Panay Island during the same period. Used as lining and baling material for cotton in the 1800s, abaca comprised the majority of the textiles exported from the Philippines (Legarda 1999). Besides its use as textile, abaca was also the preferred fiber material for cordage and marine rope.



22-Saging na ligaw/pagutay (Hanunóo).
Musa errans (Blanco) Teodoro. Mt. Yagaw,
Oriental Mindoro, 1953. NM Collection.

A *Musa* species collected by anthropologist Harold C. Conklin from the southeastern slopes of Mt. Yagaw for the Philippine National Herbarium.



23-Abaka. *Musa textilis* Nee. Mt. Yagaw,
Oriental Mindoro, 1953. NM Collection.

The *Musa* species for the *abaka* cloth, collected by anthropologist Harold C. Conklin from the eastern slopes of Mt. Yagaw for the Philippine National Herbarium.



24-Spinning cotton fiber. La Union Province. ca. 1970. NM Collection.

Bulak

Para sa kanilang paghahabi ng *hablon*, nagtatanim ang mga Hanunóo ng Timog Mindoro ng bulak (uri ng halamang *Gossypium*) na tinatawag naman nilang *burak*. Hinihiwalay ang mga hibla mula sa mga butong natuyo at ginagawang sinulid gamit ang manwal na suliran na tinatawag na *burungan*. Ang mga sinulid ay kinukulayan gamit ang halamang *tagum* (*Indigofera spp.*).

Binanggit ni Lane (1998) na kilalang nangangalap ng ligaw na bulak ang mga pangkat sa bulubundukin ng Hilagang Luzon at Mindoro, ginagawa itong sinulid gamit ang maliliit na suliran na pinaikot ng kamay habang nakaipit ang hibla sa pagitan ng mga daliri ng paa. Maraming dokumentong (Blair at Robertson 1903-1909) mula sa panahon ng Kastila na nagsasabing ang bulak (*kapas*) ay itinatanim para sa produksyon ng kayo. Mayroon ding pakikipagkalakalan ng mga sinulid na bulak at seda sa mga taga-Tsina at Borneo.

Umabot sa mala-industriyal na antas ang paghahabi ng bulak sa rehiyon ng Ilocos, kung saan ang mga proseso mula sa paggawa ng sinulid hanggang sa paghahabi ay natutulad sa natagpuan sa Borneo, Java, Peninsula ng Malay, Burma at malaking bahagi ng India (Foreman 1892, Bezemer 1906, Skeat 1901 at Raffles 1830). Parehong pamamaraan at kasangkapan ang gamit ng mga Itneg (Tinguian), ngunit mas payak at luma ang mga ito kaysa sa matatagpuan sa kalapit na mga bayan ng Ilocos.

Sa kasalukuyan, karamihan ng mga sinulid na bulak na pinanghahabi sa buong bansa ay inangkat, prinoseso sa mga pabrika sa Maynila. Isa ito sa naging sanhi ng suliraning pangkabuhayan ng mga manghahabi.

Cotton

For their weaving, called hablon, the Hanunóo of Southern Mindoro cultivated cotton (Gossypium spp.), which they call burak. Seeds of the dried cotton are separated from the fibers, which are spun into threads by means of a manual spindle called burungan. Spun threads are dyed using the tagum plant (Indigofera spp.).

Lane (1998) comments that Northern Luzon highland groups and those in Mindoro have been known to collect wild cotton and hand spin it into yarn on small spindles turned by hand when secured between the toes. Many early chronicles (Blair and Robertson 1903-1909) during the Spanish colonial period indicate that cotton (kapas) was also being cultivated for cloth. There was also a considerable trade with the Chinese and the Borneans in coned threads of cotton and silk.

Cotton weaving activities seemed to have reached a proto-industrial level in the Ilocos region, where the processes of ginning, carding, spinning and weaving were, for the most part, identical with those found in Borneo, Java, the Malay Peninsula, Burma, and a large part of India (Foreman 1892, Bezemer 1906, Skeat 1901 and Raffles 1830). The same methods and utensils are used among the Itneg (Tinguian), but these are simpler and older than those found in neighboring Ilokano areas.

Today, most cotton threads used by weavers throughout the country are imported, processed from Manila factories. This has posed economic difficulties among handwoven textile producers.



25-Burak. *Gossypium* cf. *obtusifolium* Roxb. var. *wightianum* (Teod.) Watt. Mt. Yagaw, Oriental Mindoro, 1953. NM Collection.

A cotton variety that may have been used by the Hanunóo, collected by anthropologist Harold C. Conklin for the Philippine National Herbarium.



26-Capat (Itawes). *Gossypium hirsutum* L. Tuao, Cagayan, 1980. NM Collection.

A cotton variety collected for the Philippine National Herbarium by Sister M. Rocero.



27-Abongot. Male headdress (folded). Cotton, synthetic dyes and plastic buttons. 81 cm x 224 cm. Apayao | Isneg. NM Collection. **28-How the *abongot* is worn.** Modified from Vanoverbergh (1929:227, Figure 42).

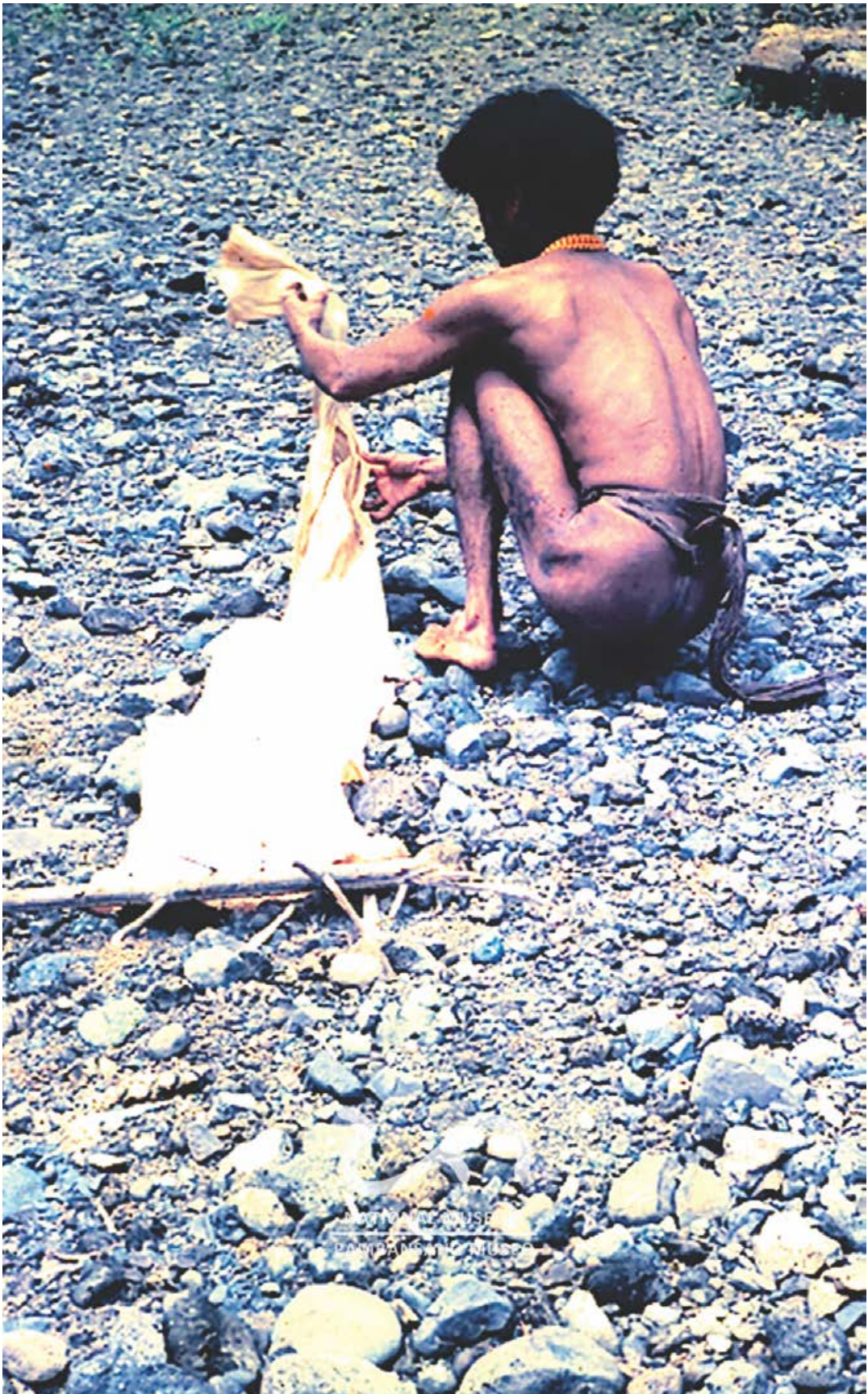
Without a weaving tradition, the Isneg purchase textiles produced commercially and embellish them with buttons, edging materials or torn pieces of cloth as appliqué. This particular piece of *abongot* is an example of this practice.



29-Tu-put. Bag/pouch. Cotton, natural dyes and button. 25 cm x 22 cm. Kapinatan, Apayao | Isneg.

30-Tu-put. Bag/pouch. Cotton and natural dyes. 23 cm x 15 cm. Bubulayan, Apayao | Isneg. NM Collection.

Such bags are used to contain the personal items of the Isneg. The cotton used to create the *tu-put* was purchased from Ilokano traders. Isneg males may use this as purse and container for lime and tobacco.



31-Preparation of bark cloth. Palawan | Tau't Batu. ca. 1970. NM Collection.

Balakbak

Ilang beses naitala ng mga Kastila ang pagkakaroon sa Pilipinas ng telang balakbak, tulad ng salaysay ni Prayle Luis de Jesus noong 1622. Naging puspusan ang pag-dokumento nito ng mga antropologo mula noong unang bahagi ng ika-20 siglo. Iminumungkahi na ang telang balakbak ay nauna pa sa teknolohiya ng paghabi sa Pilipinas, laganap sa mga Negrito at iba pang animistang pangkat sa Luzon at Mindanao. Karaniwang mula sa balete at iba pang puno mula sa uring *Ficus* at *Artocarpus*, pinipilas nang maninipis ang panloob na kangkang, binababad, at pinapalo. Batay sa obserbasyon ni Alfred Kroeber noong 1943, hindi nadudurog ang pinapalong balakbak bagkus ay nananatiling buo at nakabukod ang mga hibla, samakatuwid ang pagiging malambot nito ay isang katangiang likas na hindi makakamit dahil sa paghahanda lamang.

Binanggit ni Eric Casiño noong 1981 na ang katibayan ng katandaan ng produksyon at paggamit ng telang balakbak ay batay sa malawak na distribusyon sa kapuluan ng mga arkeolohikal na mga batong pampalo ng balakbak na may mga ukit ng iba't ibang padron. May ilan namang iniuugnay ang balakbak sa Neolitikong populasyon (Evangelista 2001 at Beyer 1948), ngunit si Fay-Cooper Cole (1922) ang nakapaglarawan nito nang detalyado sa ginawa niyang pag-aaral sa mga Itneg (Tinguian) ng Hilagang Luzon na gumagamit ng balakbak bilang liston at bahag. Ayon sa kanya, matapos makuha ang nais na kapal, pinupukpok ito gamit ang kahoy o buto ng hayop na karaniwang may mga pahalang na ukit. Malambot ang nagagawang tela, ngunit hindi nito nakukuha ang kapinuhan ng *tapa* at kadalasang makikipot ang bawat piraso. Ang *tapa* ay malalaking piraso ng telang balakbak na gawa ng ilang pangkat sa Polynesia, tulad ng mga nananahan sa Hawai'i.

Bark

The existence of bark cloth in the Philippines was intermittently recorded by Spanish chroniclers such as Fray Luis de Jesus in 1622, and noted more frequently by anthropologists from the early 20th century onwards. They suggest that bark cloth antedates weaving technology in the Philippines, and was widespread among the Negritos and other animist groups in Luzon and Mindanao. Made commonly from balete and other trees of the genera Ficus and Artocarpus, the inner bark is stripped off in layers, soaked and beaten. Alfred Kroeber (1943) observes that bark is rarely pounded into pulp, but retains distinct fibers, and whatever softness that material possesses is due to its natural qualities rather than to the preparation process.

Eric Casiño (1981) mentions that the 'evidence on the antiquity of bark cloth production is based on the distribution of widely-scattered archaeological sites throughout the islands of stone bark beaters with grooves arranged in various patterns.' Others attribute bark to Neolithic populations (Evangelista 2001 and Beyer 1948), but it was Fay-Cooper Cole (1922) who describes it in great detail, referring to the Itneg (Tinguian) of Northern Luzon who used bark cloth as men's headbands and clouts. He notes that after splitting the desired thickness, it is beaten with wood or bone mallets, which are generally grooved transversely. The cloth produced is soft and pliable but it is not of the fineness of tapa and it is always in narrow pieces. Tapa are large pieces of bark cloth produced among Polynesian groups such as those in Hawai'i.



32-Salugan. Bark. 18 cm x 27 cm. Mindoro | Hanunóo. **33-Bark beater.** Granite. Southern Cebu, ca. 1950. 27 cm x 7 cm x 3.5 cm (l x w x h). NM Collection.

The bark beater, a specialized tool for the preparation of bark cloth, was fashioned from cylindrical stone. Anthropologist H. Otley Beyer found this piece in Southern Cebu. More of these were found in Sa'gung Cave in Southern Palawan. The *salugan* is an example of beaten bark that has been used as mat sheet, and may have been possibly washed once due to its soft texture.



34-Kabadden/kaboddin. Bag/pouch. Bark, cotton, wood and horse hair. 60 cm x 17 cm. Baler, Aurora | Bugkalot/Ilongot. NM Collection.

This bag is used to contain personal items of the Ilongot. *Kabadden* is made of sewn beaten bark cloth and decorated with tassels.



35-Piece of beaten bark. Bark. 206 cm x 13 cm. Negrito. NM Collection.

Bark cloth is widespread among the Negrito groups in the Philippines. The National Museum specimens of Negrito textile range from skirts, loincloths, belts and waistbands, all made of bark. These were collected from the Negritos of Zambales (in Central Luzon), Cagayan (in Northern Luzon), and Camarines and Polilio Island, Quezon Province (in Southern Luzon). As shown in this exhibition and found in archival sources, other groups in the country also process bark as clothing.



36-Rag. Loincloth. Bark and cotton. 18 cm x 223 cm. Palawan | Batak. **37-Namwan.** Clout. Painted bark. 16 cm x 214 cm. Palawan | Batak. **38-Namwan.** Loincloth. Bark and cotton. 24 cm x 216 cm. Babuyan, Palawan | Batak. NM Collection.

All three pieces are examples of the lower garments of the Batak males. Made of beaten bark, the loincloths are trimmed with cotton balls and pieces of commercially-made textiles, while the clout has been painted with geometric designs. Clouts are specific types of loincloth that is held up in the wearer's front and back by a piece of string or belt.



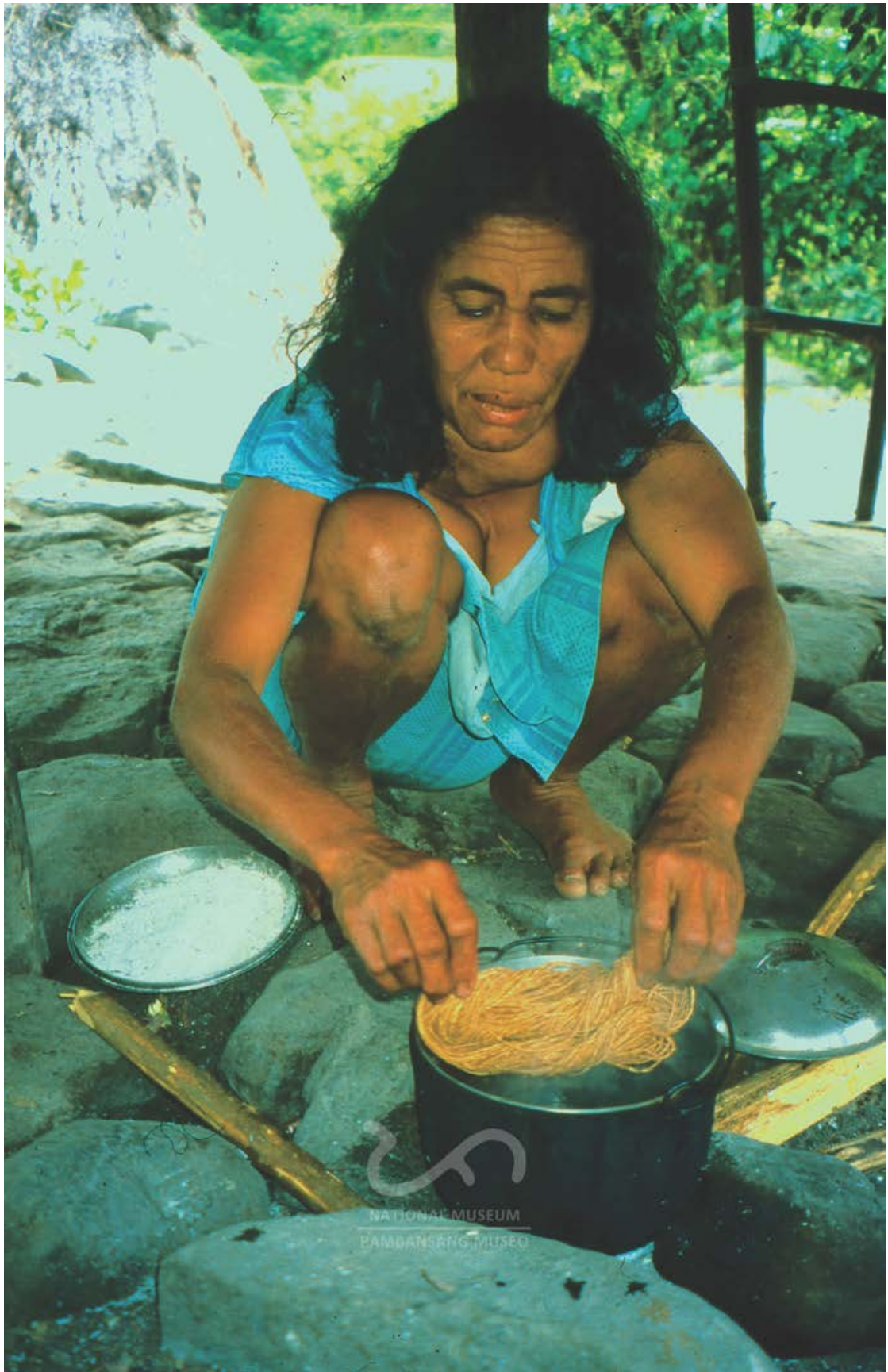
39-*Bado*. Upper garment. Bark and cotton thread. 63 cm x 43 cm. Abra | Itneg/Tinguian. NM Collection.

This piece serves as an upper garment to the Itneg. This *bado* is made of beaten bark and embellished with embroidery, paint and cotton threads.



40-La'mma. Upper garment. Bast. 51 cm x 40 cm. Batad, Banaue, Ifugao | Ifugao. NM Collection.

This piece serves as an upper garment to the Ifugao. The *la'mma*, worn by female Ifugao during weddings and rice harvest, is probably made from the fibers of a plant related to the *pol-o'g* (*Triumfetta suffruticosa* Bl. *tiliaceae*).



41-Preparation of bast fibers. Cambulo, Banaue, Ifugao Province, 2000.

Boiling the skeins of bast fibers in water to which wood ash has been added to further soften them (Hamilton and Milgram 2007:128). Photo courtesy of B. Lynne Milgram.

Bast

Ang mga Bontok at Ifugao ang tanging mga pangkat sa koleksiyon ng Pambansang Museo na may mga kayo na mula sa *bast*. Bago pa ang malawakang kalakalan ng bulak sa mga libis noong unang bahagi ng ika-20 na siglo, gamit na ng mga manghahabi ng mga kabundukan ng Hilagang Luzon ang hibla ng *bast* mula sa lokal na puno ng *mulberry* (uri ng halamang *Broussonetia*) na makikita sa mga lumang *wakis* ng Bontok na pambigkis at sinturon. Ayon naman kay Lambrecht (1958), gamit ng mga Ifugao ng Kiangang ang *pol-o'g* (*Triumfetta suffroticosa* Bl. *tiliaceae*) sa paghabi ng mga pantaas na damit ng kababaihan na tinatawag na *la'mma*.

Ang mga hibla ay mula sa tangkay at katawan ng murang puno. Tinatanggal at pinoproseso ang pang-ibabaw at panloob ng kangkang sa pamamagitan ng pagkudkod, pag-anlaw at pagsapi para maging hiblang panghabi. Pagkatapos nito, gamit ang *backstrap* na habihan, ang mga hibla ay ginagawang kumot, saya, bahag, tsaleko, at bigkis. Bago ang taong 1900, karaniwang gawa sa *bast* ang mga kasuotan, ngunit ngayon, ayon kay Milgram (2007), nakalaan ang mga ito para sa mahahalagang okasyon. Sa kasalukuyan, muling binubuhay ang produksyon ng *bast* para sa mga turista.

The Bontok and Ifugao are the only groups from the collection of the National Museum with textiles made of bast fibers. Before the widespread availability of lowland trade cotton in the early 20th century, weavers in the highland regions of Northern Luzon used bast fibers extracted from local mulberry trees (Broussonetia spp.), which can be seen in the old type of Bontok wakis that is both a girdle and belt. However, the Ifugao of Kiangang, as Lambrecht (1958) notes, used pol-o'g (Triumfetta suffroticosa Bl. tiliaceae) to weave the upper garments of women called the la'mma.

Fibers are obtained from the stems and trunks of young trees, where the outer and inner layers of bark from the trunk are removed and processed into fibers for weaving through scraping, washing and plying. These are then woven into blankets, skirts, loincloths, vests and belts on backstrap looms. Before the early 1900s, garments of bast fibers were commonly used, but today, according to Milgram (2007), they are reserved for festive events. Their production is also being revived for the tourist market.



42-Wakis/wakes. Girdle. Bast. 106 cm x 5 cm. Mountain Province | Bontok. NM Collection.

The *wakis* is a belt, girdle and accessory that secure the *lufid* (a rectangular wrap skirt) by winding it around the waist several times. This particular *wakis* is made from the bast fibers of the local mulberry tree (*Broussonetia* spp.). The fringes on both ends are also made from the same material.

Other fiber sources



43-Kapok. Silk cotton tree. *Ceiba pentandra* (L.) Gaertn. Dumainao, Zamboanga del Sur, 1985. NM Collection.

Kapok is also processed as fiber and textile by various groups in the country. This specimen was collected for the Philippine National Herbarium by Sister F. Aragon.



44-Ramie, locally called *dami* in Ifugao. *Boehmeria nivea* (L.) Gaudich. Banaue, Ifugao, 1963. NM Collection.

Ramie is also known as a source of cloth fiber in the country. This specimen was collected for the Philippine National Herbarium by anthropologist Harold C. Conklin and Ifugao local Buwaya.



45



46



47

45-Bastos. Coarse *piña* fibers. **46-Liniwan.** Fine *piña* fibers. **47-Decorticated *piña* fibers.** FIDA.

The *piña* fiber is extracted from the leaves of the pineapple plant (*Ananas comosus* (L.) Merr.). Fibers from the variety Red Spanish is preferred and deemed 'excellent' for hand-weaving. Hand-scraping and decortication are the methods of extracting the fibers; coarse and fine fibers are separated when hand-scraping is used, while these are mixed when the decortivating machine is used. Hand-scraping is done in Palawan and Aklan, which is the center of the Philippine *piña* fiber industry.



48 and 49-Sinamay. Wraps/shawls. *Piña* and silk. Arevalo, Iloilo. NM Collection.



50



51



52



53

50-Cocoons. 51-Spun silk. 52 and 53-Silk yarn. FIDA.

Silk is considered as the strongest and the lightest fiber. It is produced from reeling or unwinding the cocoons spun by the domesticated silkworm (*Bombyx mori*) that feeds solely on mulberry leaves (*Morus* spp.). This involves drying the cocoons, cooking selected dry cocoons, and reeling and re-reeling of the raw silk fibers. In the Philippines, cocoons are produced in the Cordillera Administrative Region (CAR), Ilocos Region and Western Visayas.



54



55

54-Piña cloth. La Herminia House of *Piña*, Kalibo, Aklan. Gift presented to the NM by the Godofredo P. Ramos Foundation, Inc. **55-Silk cocoon fabrics for male upper garment (*barong*).** La Union. Gifts presented to the NM by former San Fernando, La Union Mayor Mary Jane C. Ortega.

These samples of silk cloth were woven using fibers from the Sericulture Research and Development Institute of the Don Mariano Marcos Memorial State University in La Union. The *piña* cloth is woven from pineapple leaves processed into fibers and woven on an upright loom especially developed for those thin, fine strands.



56



57



58

56-Embroiderer from the M.R. Rivera Embroidery in Lumban, Laguna. 2011. Ana P. Labrador Collection. **57-Closeup of the work of hand embroiderer Marilyn Tobias.** Barangay Primera, Lumban, Laguna. **58-Machine embroiderer Luisa Fuentes.** Lumban, Laguna. 2016. NM Collection.

Embroiderers of Lumban in Laguna are sub-contracted based on orders for the more popular designs that are kept in stock. They work on pure *piña*, *piña-jusi* and *piña-cocoon* cloth that mostly come from Aklan. While the value of hand embroidered cloth is higher compared to machine embroidered ones, machine embroiderers earn more, an issue which is common among different textile-related crafts in many parts of the country.



59-Bontok weaver. Samoki, Bontoc, Mountain Province, 1997.

Carolina Chopen Yawan (b. 1922 - d.2014), better known in Bontoc Ili as Khayapan, is one of the first weavers in the village, learning to use cotton threads and binding them into cloth. Traditionally the Bontok or Ifontok would make traditional bark and bast fibers as clothing material. Khayapan said that the tattoos on her arms served as reminders of the patterns she would weave, serving as 'mnemonic devices', according to social anthropologist Ana Labrador who interviewed the weaver in 1996 and when this photo was taken. Khayapan also taught young women to weave in her village as well as her daughters. One of them, Julia Yawan Bete, went to live with her aunt and uncle in the mining town of Mankayan, Benguet where she was taught new designs for the market by Lepanto Crafts manager Mrs. Lucy Foster, wife of Mr. Charles Foster, general superintendent of the Lepanto Consolidated Mining Company (Dickey 1996). Khayapan and Julia have retired from weaving as a result of failing eyesight that is the blight of many weavers. Ana P. Labrador Collection.



60-Lubud. Dyed abaca fiber. Abaca and natural red dye. 64 cm. Talomo River, Davao | Bagobo. NM Collection.

This is an example of a naturally dyed abaca fiber. According to Quizon (1998), color is an important aspect in textile creation, especially for groups in Mindanao, and red is a traditionally principal color. For the Bagobo, the color's main source is the *Morinda citrifolia* plant; its hues vary from claret to maroon to chocolate brown. This involves a complex process of extracting the inner layer of the roots of the plant, preparing the dye-bath, boiling the fiber that may take from days to weeks, augmenting lime or commercial dye to achieve the desired color depth, and air drying the fibers. Red is a color of power, a well-established symbol of warriors and village heads, as well as of women healers. Among the latter, a red cloth is a required part of their payment, serving to protect them from the illness that they have removed. This is part of the reason why many indigenous peoples have a bias for red as they do for another difficult dye to handle—indigo.

Mga natural na pangkulay

Ang mga natural na pangkulay ay karaniwang tumutukoy sa mga sinipi mula sa kalikasan, gaya ng mga halaman, hayop, mineral, *fungi* at *bacteria*. Iba't ibang bahagi ng halaman, kabilang ang ugat, dahon, sanga, balakbak, kinatam na kahoy, bulaklak, bunga, balat nito, talupak at iba pa, ang ginagamit sa pagsipi ng karamihan sa mga ito. Karaniwang pula ang nakukuha mula sa mga insekto na pangunahing pinanggagalingan ng pangkulay sa mga hayop; sa dumi naman ng *Murex*, isang uri ng molusko sa dagat, ang kulay na lilang *Tyrian*. Marami sa mga pangkulay mula sa mineral, maliban sa pulang uri ng *ochre*, ang gamit sa mga kuwadro at *mural*. May ilang mga *bacteria*, amag, *lichen* at kabute ang napagkukunan din ng pangkulay.

Kinakailangang gamitan ng *mordant* ang halos karamihan ng mga natural na pangkulay upang mapag-anib ang hibla at pangkulay. Ang *mordant* ay karaniwang metal na sangkap gaya ng *copper sulfate*, *ferrous sulfate* at *alum* na tumutulong upang itatag ang sidhi at pamamalagi ng pangkulay sa hibla o kayo, at may malaking impluwensiya sa ibubunga o huling kulay. Maaaring isagawa ang paglagay ng *mordant* bago (*pre-mordanting*), habang (*simultaneous mordanting*) o pagkatapos magkulay (*post-mordanting*). Gayunman, pinagbabatayan din dito ang uri ng hibla o kayo, ang mismong pangkulay, at uri ng gagamiting *mordant*.

Hindi nagkakatulad ang uri ng mga bungang kulay sa paggamit ng natural na pangkulay dahil iba't ibang salik ang naka-aapekto rito, gaya ng dami ng ani ng pinagkukunan nito sa isang tukoy na panahon, kondisyon ng kanilang paglaki sa kapaligiran ng lokalidad, uri ng pangkulay, tagal ng paggulang nito, bahagi sa halaman kung saan magmumula ang pangkulay, at iba pa. Mahirap ding magtatag ng pamantayang *recipe* dahil kabilang sa mga isinasaalang-alang dito ay ang pangkulay mismo. Dulot nito, kabilang ng kontekstong kultural, ang mga *recipe* ng pangkulay at pamamaraan ng paggamit nito ay pinagkakaingatan at ipinapasa sa pagitan ng mga salinlahi.

Ang mga tradisyunal na pangkulay sa Pilipinas, maging sa mga katabi nating komunidad na napapaloob sa rehiyon ng Timog-Silangang Asya, ay karaniwang nagmumula sa mga halaman. Kabilang dito ang dilaw, pula at kayumanggi, lila, at asul at itim, bawat isa ay may mahalagang pagpapakahulugan na nagsisilbing impluwensiya sa pagtingin sa mundo. Halimbawa, sa mga Maranao, ang dilaw ay simbolismo ng pagiging maharlika at naiuugnay sa mataas na estadong panlipunan; katiwasayan at katatagan ng panlipunang estado ang hatid ng kulay berde; lakas at katapangan ang sinasagisag ng pula; at ang itim, ang tinatanging kulay ng kababaihang Maranao mula sa angkan maharlika, ay naghahatid ng tahimik na karangalan at kadalisayan. Hindi kaakit-akit para sa mga Hanunóo ang *latuy* o berde bilang palamuti, ngunit pinahahalagahan nila ito sa aspeto ng pagkain, *paglatyun* ang tawag nila sa pagkonsumo ng sariwang pagkain; ang *rara* o pula ay iniuugnay nila sa hindi nakakain o tuyot na halaman. Mataas ang halagang estetiko ng mga kulay na masidhi, malalim at hindi kumukupas. Sa gayon, mahalagang maunawaan na ang kaalaman natin sa kulay ay hindi konseptong pandaigdig, sa halip ang pagkilala at pag-uuri ng bawat isang 'kulay' ay itinakda ng kultura (Conklin 1955:340).

Natural dyes

Natural dyes or colorants generally refer to all dyes derived from natural sources such as plants, animals, minerals, fungi and bacteria. Various parts of plants, including roots, leaves, twigs, stems, bark, woodshavings, flowers, fruits, rinds, husks and the like, have been used for the extraction of the majority of natural dyes. Insects, the main dye source of animal origin, mostly provide red colors; excretion of the sea mollusk Murex provide the color Tyrian purple. Most mineral pigments, except red ochre, have been used in paintings and murals. Some bacteria, molds, lichens and mushrooms have also been used as sources of colorants.

Nearly all natural dyes require the use of mordants to create an affinity between the fiber and the dye or pigment. Mordants are usually metallic substances such as copper sulfate, ferrous sulfate and alum that help establish the intensity and fastness of the pigment to the fiber or cloth, greatly influencing the resulting final color. Mordanting can be accomplished either before dyeing (pre-mordanting), during dyeing (simultaneous mordanting) or after dyeing (post-mordanting). However, this depends on the type of fiber or cloth, the dyestuff, and the mordant to be used.

It is difficult to reproduce shades of natural dyes since their variation range from the seasonal yield, growing conditions in the environment of the locality, species of the dye source, its period of maturity, the part of the plants for instance where the dye is obtained, among other factors. Standardizing the recipe is also difficult because this also depends on the dye materials, among other components. Due to these, as well as their cultural contexts, dye recipes and dyeing techniques using natural colorants are carefully guarded and have been handed down from one generation to the next.

Traditional dye colors in the Philippines, as well as in our neighboring countries in the Southeast Asian region are derived from natural colorants mostly from plants. These include the colors yellow to red to brown, purple, and blue to black, each signifying specific meanings that serve to influence their perception of the world. For instance, among the Maranao, yellow symbolizes royalty and is associated to high social status; green depicts tranquility, stability and secure social status; red embodies strength and bravery; and black, the favored color of Maranao women of royal descent, conveys quiet dignity and purity. The Hanunóo consider latuy or green to be unattractive in decorative terms, but they appreciate it in terms of food, referring to consuming of fresh food as paglatyun; rara or red is associated with inedible or dessicated plant materials. High aesthetic value is given to intense, deep and non-fading colors. Hence, it is important to note that color as we know it, is not a universal concept, rather, the way each 'color' is identified and classified is culturally defined (Conklin 1955:340).



61-Luyang dilaw. *Curcuma longa* L. Balingaga, Samar, 1971. NM Collection.

Another ginger species locally available in the country, collected by a team headed by Dr. Domingo A. Madulid, former NM Botany Division Chief.



62-Tamaylan. *Curcuma zedoaria* (Christm.) Roscoe. Camarines Sur, 1947. NM Collection.

A species of ginger used as yellow dye by different groups in the Philippines, collected by P. Conocar for the Philippine National Herbarium.



63-Morinda/apatot. *Morinda citrifolia* L.
citrifolia. Mercedes, Eastern Samar, 2016.
NM Collection.

Collected for the Philippine National
Herbarium by John Rey C. Callado and Kim E.
Camposano of the NM Botany Division.



64-Niño. *Morinda bracteata* Roxb. Guinobatan,
Albay, 1953. NM Collection.

A plant used as red dye in the Bicol Region,
collected for the Philippine National Herbarium
by D.R. Mendoza.

Tradisyunal na mga pangkulay sa Pilipinas

Mayroong tatlong tradisyunal na pinagkukunan ng pangkulay na karaniwan sa maraming pangkat etnolinggwistiko sa Pilipinas—dilaw na luya (*Curcuma longa* L.) o *turmeric* (*Curcuma spp.*) para sa dilaw, *morinda* (*Morinda spp.*) para sa pula, at *indigo* (*Indigofera spp.*) para sa asul hanggang itim na mga pangkulay. Kilala ng mga Itneg/Tinguian ang dilaw na luya bilang *kunig*, habang *kuning/kuliyaw* naman ito sa mga Ilokano. Ang *morinda* ay *apator* sa Ilokano, *sikarig* sa mga Bagobo at *sakalig* sa mga Mandaya. Sa mga B'laan, *kunarum* ang *indigo* habang tinatawag itong *tayum* ng mga Itneg/Tinguian, *tayom/tayon* ng mga Ilokano, at *tayung-tayungan/tugun* sa mga populasyong Bikolano.

Tumutubong ligaw sa karamihan ng mga bansang tropikal ang *turmeric*, isang karaniwang pinanggagalingan ng iba't ibang uri ng kulay dilaw. Ang mga Gaddang, Ifugao, Kankanaey, Bontok at Tagbanwa ay kabilang sa mga pangkat sa Pilipinas na gumagamit nito bilang pangkulay sa kayo, gayundin bilang pagkain at gamot. Malawakan din itong ginagamit sa rehiyong *Austronesian*, batay sa pagsusuring linggwistika ng salitang *turmeric* nina Kikusawa at Reid (2007). Sa mga Maranao, kinikilala rin nila itong kulay pangmaharlika. Ang dilaw na *malong*, ang *landap a binaning*, ay gamit ng mga nakatataas na uri ng Maranao (Godinez-Ortega 1996). Hinahalo ang *kalawag*, ang tawag nila sa *turmeric*, sa apog upang makagawa ng masidhing pagkadilaw (Saber at Orellana 1963).

Ang naitalang pagsipi at paggamit ng kulay ng pula mula sa uri ng *morinda* na *M. citrifolia* sa mga Bagobo (Quizon 1998), maging sa naunang mga tala sa Mindanao (hal., Benedict 1916, Cole 1911, Garvan 1931), ay pinatotohanan ang matagal na nitong kasaysayan at kahalagahan sa maraming pangkat. Halimbawa, ang kasidhian ng pula sa *tangkulo* at kasuotan ng mga datu at *bagani* (mga mandirigma) ng maraming pangkat Lumad ay nagsasaad ng bilang ng mga kinitil nilang buhay para kay Talabusao, ang diyos ng digmaan (Garvan 1931). Ang pula ay mahalaga ring simbolismo sa marami pang katutubong komunidad sa Pilipinas. Sa mga Bugkalot (Ilongot), ito ay iniuugnay sa konsepto ng *liget* na maisasalin bilang enerhiya, pagkakatutok, layon, kaayusan, at iba pang katangiang nagpapakita ng masimbuyong damdamin, at kung gamit panlarawan sa tao, ito ay katangiang hinahangaan at hinahangad, kahit sa galit pa naihayag (M. Rosaldo 1980, R. Rosaldo 1986). Itinuturing nilang maganda ang mga kasuotang pantaas na kulay pula dahil itinututok nito ang *liget* sa mukha ng may suot (M. Rosaldo 1980:49). Nakukuha rin ang kulay pula mula sa iba't ibang halaman, gaya ng *achuete* (*Bixa orellana* L.), nara (*Pterocarpus indicus* Willd.), *sibukaw* (*Caesalpinia sappan* L.), at iba pa.

Traditional dyes in the Philippines

*There are three traditional dyestuffs common to many ethnolinguistic groups in the Philippines—yellow ginger (*Curcuma longa* L.) or turmeric (*Curcuma* spp.) for yellow dyes, morinda (*Morinda* spp.) for red dyes, and indigo (*Indigofera* spp.) for blue-black dyes. The Itneg/Tinguian refer to yellow ginger as kunig, while it is known as kuning/kuliyaw among the Ilokano. Morinda is apator in Ilokano, sikarig among the Bagobo and sakalig among the Mandaya. The B'laan refer to indigo as kunarum, while it is called tayum among the Itneg/Tinguian, tayom/tayon by the Ilokano, and tayung-tayungan/tugun among Bikolano populations.*

Turmeric, which grows wildly in most tropical countries, is a common source of the color yellow and its various shades and hues. The Gaddang, Ifugao, Kankana-ey, Bontok, and Tagbanwa are among the Philippine groups who use turmeric as textile colorant, as well as food and medicine. It is also widely used across the Austronesian region, as shown by the linguistic reconstruction of the term turmeric done by Kikusawa and Reid (2007). Among the Maranao, yellow is considered a royal color. The yellow malong, landap a binaning, is used by the Maranao upper class (Godinez-Ortega 1996). Kalawag, the local term for turmeric, is mixed with lime to produce the deep yellow (Saber and Orellana 1963).

*The extraction and application of the color red from the morinda species *M. citrifolia* has been documented among the Bagobo (Quizon 1998), and earlier accounts particularly in Mindanao (e.g., Benedict 1916, Cole 1911, Garvan 1931) corroborate its long history and significance among these groups. For instance, its range of intensity in the tangkulo (headcloth) and clothing of datu and bagani (warriors) of many Lumad groups indicate the number of lives they have taken for Talabusao, the war deity (Garvan 1931). Red is also an important symbolic color among many other Philippine indigenous communities. Among the Bugkalot (Ilongot), red is associated with the concept of liget which translates to energy, concentration, focus, purpose, order, among other characteristics that exhibit passion, and, when used to refer to persons, it is a very much admired and desired quality, even if manifested as anger (M. Rosaldo 1980, R. Rosaldo 1986). Red upper garments are considered beautiful as these are believed to concentrate liget in the user's face (M. Rosaldo 1980:49). The color red can also be derived from a number of plant sources, such as achuete (*Bixa orellana* L.), narra (*Pterocarpus indicus* Willd.), sibukaw (*Caesalpinia sappan* L.), among others.*



65-Achuete. *Bixa orellana* L. Tacloban, Leyte, 1980. NM Collection.

One of the plants used to dye cloth and food red, collected for the Philippine National Herbarium by Gertrude Frohne.



66-Sapang/sibukaw. *Caesalpinia sappan* L. Forestry Plantation, Los Baños, Laguna, 1943. NM Collection.

Another type of plant used as red dye, collected for the Philippine National Herbarium by a team led by M.D. Sulit.



67-Asano/narra. *Pterocarpus indicus* Willd.
Abuyog, Leyte, 1961. NM Collection.

A type of plant used as red dye in the Visayas region, collected for the Philippine National Herbarium by Herman G. Gutierrez.



68-Gaway-gaway. *Sesbania grandiflora* (L.)
Pers. Mt. Yagaw, Oriental Mindoro, 1953. NM Collection.

A type of plant used as red dye in Mindoro, collected for the Philippine National Herbarium by M.D. Sulit with anthropologist Harold C. Conklin.

Ang iba't ibang uri ng halamang *indigo* ang pangunahing pinagmumulan ng mga kulay mula asul hanggang maitim na asul. Gaya ng pula, ang asul at maitim na asul ay makahulugang kulay sa maraming mga katutubong pangkat ng Pilipinas. Partikular na mahalaga ito sa iba't ibang etnolinggwistikong komunidad sa *Cordillera Administrative Region*. Mga nakatataas sa lipunan, o *kachangyan* sa mga Bontok at *babaknang* sa mga Ilokano sa Ilocos Sur at Ilocos Norte lamang ang gumagamit ng mga kayong may malalim hanggang maitim na kulay asul. Matatalunton ang kulay na ito sa mga pangyumaong kumot ng mga labing *mummified* ng nakatataas na uri o *baknang* ng mga Ibaloi (Vanoverbergh 1929). Ang pangyumaong kumot na kulay *indigo* at may padrong puti na sumasagisag sa kamag-anakan at buong buhay na paglalakbay ng yumaon ay ginagamit ng mga Isinai (Balfour-Paul 1999). Mataas ang pagpapahalaga ng mga Hanunóo sa pananamit na kinulayan gamit ang *indigo*, partikular ang ilang ulit na kinukulayan at nagtatanghal ng malalim na kulay asul (Conklin 1955).

Anil, añil, tayom, tayung at *dagum* ang ilan sa mga lokal na tawag sa *indigo* sa Pilipinas (Doryland 1917). Nabanggit ni Crawford (1869) na *añil* ang tawag ng mga Kastila sa *indigo* na pinapalagay niyang salitang-hiram mula sa Pilipinas; natalunton naman ni Balfour-Paul (1999) ang ugat ng salitang ito sa India. Sa pamilya ng mga wikang *Austronesian*, ang tawag sa halaman at pangkulay na *indigo* sa wikang *Proto-Malayo Polynesian*, supling ng wikang *Proto-Austronesian*, ay *taRum. Ang *tarum, tom, tahum, tahung* at *tagum* ang ilang pangalang gamit sa *indigo* sa rehiyong *Austronesian*. Bagaman ang salitang *anil/añil* at ang uring Indian ng halamang *indigo* ay natuntong lumaganap sa rehiyong Timog-Silangang Asya bago dumating ang Islam, ang malawakang paggamit ng *taRum ay maaaring indikasyon na mayroong mga lokal itong uri na gamit nang pangkulay sa rehiyong *Austronesian* (Balfour-Paul 1999).

Manapa huli, isang pangunahing industriya ang *indigo* sa rehiyon ng Ilocos noong ika-19 na siglo (Mateo 2004). Ang pinakasaganang mga taon nito ay kalagitnaan ng siglong iyon, kung saan ang taunang luwas nito bilang kalakal ay mula 98 hanggang 158 tonelada (Doryland 1917). Kalakhan ng kalakal na iniluluwas sa Europa at Amerika sa Kalakalang Galyon ay binubuo ng kayong bulak at abaka, at pangkulay na *indigo*. Nabanggit din ni Doryland na humigit kumulang 60 bahagdan ng mga kabahayan sa Narvacan at Santa Catalina sa Ilocos Sur ay nagkukulay sa kanilang tahanan, at pinapalagay niyang *indigo* ang gamit nila (1917). Sa huling bahagi ng ika-18 siglo, ang mga sedang hibla na produkto ng Batac, Ilocos Norte ay kinukulayan ng *indigo* at hinahabi bilang pang-ibabaw na saya gamit ng kababaihan tuwing may espesyal na okasyon. Ang pagdalisdís ng malakihang paggawa ng pangkulay na *indigo* sa hilagang Luzon para sa komersyal na gamit sa labas ng bansa ay dala ng pagdami ng mga plantasyong Europeo sa kontinenteng Amerika at sa Kanlurang Indies, at kinalaunan, sa pagsulong ng sintetikong pangkulay na *aniline*, sipi mula sa natural na *indigo* (Balfour-Paul 1999).

Bagaman malaki ang epekto ng pagdalisdís ng komersyal na paggawa ng *indigo* sa mga ekonomiyang lokal, hindi lamang sa Pilipinas kundi maging sa India at Indonesia, kung saan malawakan ang mga itinatag na tanimang *indigo*, nagpatuloy ang produksyon at paggamit ng pangkulay na ito para sa mas maliitang lokal na kalakalan (Balfour-Paul 1999, Hoskins 1998).

The various species of indigo is the main source of the colors ranging from blue to blue-black. Similar to red, blue to blue-black are also important symbolic colors among many Philippine indigenous groups. Its significance is particularly noted among the different ethnolinguistic communities in the Cordillera Administrative Region. Textiles dyed dark blue to blue-black are only used by the upper ranks, or kachangyan among the Bontok and babaknang among the Ilokano in Ilocos Sur and Ilocos Norte. Traces of death blankets with this color have been seen among the mummified remains of the Ibaloi upper rank, or baknang (Vanoverbergh 1929). An indigo death blanket with white patterns symbolizing a man's genealogy and journey through life is used by the Isinai to wrap a corpse (Balfour-Paul 1999). Indigo-dyed clothing, among the Hanunóo, are highly valued, particularly those which have been dyed repeatedly, exhibiting a deep blue color (Conklin 1955).

*Anil, añil, tayom, tayung and dagum are among the local Philippine names of indigo (Doryland 1917). Crawford (1869) noted the Spanish term for indigo is añil, which he supposes was probably borrowed from the Philippines; Balfour-Paul (1999) however traces the etymological roots of this term to India. Among the Austronesian language family, the word for indigo plant and dye in the Proto-Malayo Polynesian language, a daughter of the Proto-Austronesian language, is *taRum. The terms tarum, tom, tahum, tahung and tagum are used for indigo within the Austronesian region. While the term anil/añil and the native Indian variety of indigo were traced to have spread to the Southeast Asian region before the arrival of Islam, the widespread use of *taRum may be an indication that local varieties of the indigo plant were already used as colorants in the Austronesian region (Balfour-Paul 1999).*

Indigo became a major industry in the Ilocos region, rather belatedly in the 19th century (Mateo 2004). Its peak years were around the middle of that century, with annual exports ranging from 98 to 158 tons (Doryland 1917). The bulk of goods exported to Europe and the Americas through the Galleon Trade was composed of cotton and abaca textiles, and dyestuffs, specifically indigo. Doryland also noted that around 60 percent of the households in Narvacan and Santa Catalina in Ilocos Sur were involved in home dyeing, most probably utilizing indigo in their work (1917). Silk yarns produced in Batac, Ilocos Norte in the latter part of the 18th century were dyed in indigo and woven into wrap-around overskirts worn by the women during special occasions. The decline of this rather large scale indigo manufacture for commercial purposes overseas in northern Luzon was precipitated by the increase of European plantations in the Americas and the West Indies, and later on, by the development of the synthetic dye aniline, which was derived from natural indigo (Balfour-Paul 1999).

While the decline of the commercial indigo manufacture had obviously a major impact on the local economies, not only in northern Philippines, but also in India and Indonesia where extensive indigo plantations were once established, small-scale production and dyeing continued for local trade (Balfour-Paul 1999, Hoskins 1998).



69-*Indigofera hirsuta* L. Bago Oshiro, Davao City, 1955. NM Collection.

A species of the indigo plant locally available in the country, used as blue or blue-black dye by different groups in the Philippines. This was collected for the Philippine National Herbarium by a team led by F. S. Gachalian.



70-*Indigofera suffruticosa* Mill. Novaliches, 1956. NM Collection.

Another species of the indigo plant, also locally available in the country, collected for the Philippine National Herbarium by a team led by Mona Lisa Steiner.



71 and 72-Unused indigo extraction vats in San Narciso, Zambales. 2015. NM Collection.

Huge cylindrical vats in San Narciso, Zambales that were used to extract indigo were reported to the National Museum in 2015 for preservation recommendations. San Narciso locals are primarily descendants of Ilokanos who migrated in the 19th century, eventually becoming the dominant ethnolinguistic group by the 20th century, in the area (Wernstedt and Spencer 1967). Along with them were the Ilokano traditions of *abel* weaving, and indigo processing and dyeing. While commercial production of indigo may have significantly dwindled around the time San Narciso was settled with Ilokanos, steady local demands may have encouraged smaller means of indigo dye production through these *balde*, as the vats are locally called.



73-Some features of a San Narciso indigo vat uncovered after an archaeological excavation. August 18 to 22, 2016. NM Collection.

The *balde* approximately measures about 1.5 meters from base to rim, is about 3 meters in diameter, and has 40 centimeter-thick walls. The base of this particular *balde* composed of adobe blocks (a), while the walls are made of mostly volcanic rocks in rip-rap construction reinforced with lime mortar, the exterior of which was refinished with concrete in the early 20th century. Inscriptions indicating the town and year of concrete refinishing is found on the eastern exterior wall (b and c). A drainage system (d) is found at one part of its base. Dike construction at an adjacent creek has caused erosion of the surrounding top soil of the vat, exposing its foundation and base constructions.



74-Siyag/patadyung. Tubular lower garment. Cotton, natural dye (blue base color) and commercial dyes. Bongao, Tawi-tawi | Sama. NM Collection.



75-Blanket. Cotton and natural dyes. Bontoc, Mountain Province | Bontok. NM Collection.



76-Lumboy/duhat. *Syzygium cumini* (L.) Skeels. Rizal, Cagayan 1980. NM Collection.

A variety of *duhat* used as purple dye by different groups in the country, collected by Sister M. Rocero for the Philippine National Herbarium.

Mga tradisyunal na pamamaraan ng pagkulay sa Pilipinas

Tinagurian ang mga kayong *ikat* mula sa mga komunidad sa Mindanao at ilang bahagi ng silangang Indonesia ni Alfred Bühler (1942:1604) bilang pinakamatandang anyo ng habing *ikat* sa buong mundo. Ang telang Banton, nakuha mula sa isang kabaong sa pulo ng Banton sa Romblon, ang itinuturing na pinakamatandang halimbawa ng telang *ikat* sa Timog-Silangang Asya. Dahil walang matagpuang ebidensya ng *ikat* sa ibang bahagi ng Banton at nalalapit na mga pulo ng Romblon, naudyukang pangkalakal ang telang Banton at tataluntunin pa ang pinagmulan.

Kasalukuyang ginagamit pa rin ang pamamaraang *ikat* ng iba't ibang pangkat sa Mindanao, karaniwang sa kayong abaka, gamit ang paraang *warp-ikat* sa paghabi ng disenyong hugis-hayop, antropomorpiko at heometriko. Ang mga T'boli ng Timog Kotabato ay tinatawag itong *t'nalak*; *dagmay* sa mga Mandaya ng Davao Oriental; *inabal* sa mga Bagobo; *inabu* sa mga Manobo; *mabuel* ng mga B'laan; *habulan* ng mga Higaonon ng gitna at silangang Mindanao; at *pulaw* ng mga Subanen ng Peninsula ng Zamboanga.

Ang mga Maranao ng Lawa ng Lanao ay naghahabi ng *balod*, tawag sa kinulayang hiblang seda at bulak gamit ang paraang *ikat* na ginagawa nilang *malong andon*. Ito ang pinakamahalagang uri ng *malong* na gawa sa sedang kulay *magenta*, pinalamutian sa paraang *weft-ikat*, at gamit lamang ng kababaihan. Sinasabing ang padron nito ay mula sa mga ikinalakal na kayong Indian na tulad ng *patola*.

Ginagamit din ang paraang *warp-*, minsan ay *weft-ikat* sa telang *rinimasan* ng Rehiyong Ilocos, nagbubunga ng padrong pino at maiikling guhit. Ang pangyumaong kumot na *kinuttiyan* ng mga Isinai ng Nueva Vizcaya ay isa pang halimbawa ng telang bulak sa paraang *ikat* ng hilagang Luzon na sa ngayon ay muling ginagawa sa Ifugao.

Sa unang bahagi ng ika-20 siglo, ginamit ng mga Manobo-Kulaman ang *tritik*, isang disenyong itinahi matapos ang paghabi gamit ang mga hiblang binalot ng pagkit, sa kanilang kasuotang pambaba na habi mula sa abaka. Isa pang anyo ng *tritik* ang *pelangi/plangi* ng mga Bagobo. Kinapapalooban ito ng pagtali ng maliliit na bilog sa isang komersyal na telang bulak bago kulayan gamit ang *morinda*. Ang *tabi nihok* ng mga B'laan ay isa pang halimbawa ng prosesong pagkukulay matapos ang paghabi, o *dyed-in-the-cloth*, sa halip na pagkulay bago ang paghabi, o *dyed-in-the-yarn*.

Ang pagkulay ng mga hibla gamit ang natural na pangkulay ay naglaho sa pagdaan ng panahon sa hilagang Luzon at sa *Cordillera Administrative Region* gawa ng pagkakaroon ng mas makukulay ngunit mumurahing komersyal na hiblang bulak. Kamakailan, ilang nag-aalalang pribado at pampamahalaang ahensya ang nagsisikap na buhayin muli ang paggamit ng mga pangkulay mula sa halaman. Halimbawa, sa Kalibo, ang paggamit ng mga natural na pangkulay sa hiblang *piña* ay ipinakilala ng *Philippine Textile Research Institute* (PTRI) ng Kagawaran ng Agham at Teknolohiya (DOST). Ang mga pangkulay ay hango mula sa balakbak ng *mahogany* (*Swietenia macrohylla*), sapal ng kape, dahon ng talisay (*Terminalia catappa* L.) para sa kulay dilaw; *annato* o *achuete* para sa malalim na kulay *orange*; talupak ng buko (*Cocos nucifera*) para sa pula hanggang *maroon* para sa seda, *piña-seda* at *piña*, at *old rose* sa telang bulak; at puso ng *sibukao/sappang* (*Caesalpinia sappan*) para sa kulay pula.

Traditional dyeing techniques in the Philippines

The ikat, or tie-dyed, cloth of the peoples of Mindanao and in some parts of eastern Indonesia was referred by Alfred Bühler (1942:1604) as the “most archaic” form of ikat weaving in the world. The Banton cloth, retrieved from a wooden coffin in Banton Island, Romblon, is considered the oldest example of ikat cloth in Southeast Asia. Yet no evidence of ikat can be found around Banton and other islands of Romblon, prompting the conclusion that the Banton cloth is a trade textile, its origins yet to be traced.

At present, this technique is still employed by different groups in Mindanao, mainly on abaca cloth, using warp-ikat decorations of zoomorphic, anthropomorphic and geometric designs. The T’boli of South Cotabato call this t’nalak; dagmay among the Mandaya of Davao Oriental; inabal among the Bagobo; inabu among the Manobo; mabuel by the B’laan; habulan by the Higaonon of central and eastern Mindanao; and pulaw by the Subanen of Zamboanga Peninsula.

The Maranao of Lake Lanao weave ikat-dyed silk and cotton threads called balod which they make into malong andon, the most valued type of malong made of magenta silk, decorated with weft-ikat, and worn only by women. It is said that the patterns of this type of malong have been derived from Indian trade textiles such as the patola.

Warp, and sometimes weft, tie-dye has also been employed in the rinimasan cotton cloth of the Ilocos Region, producing fine, short-streaked patterns. The kinuttiyan funerary blanket of the Isinai of Nueva Vizcaya is also an example of tie-dyed cotton cloth in northern Luzon, and is now being revived in Ifugao.

In the early part of the 20th century, the Manobo-Kulaman employed tritik, an after-weave stitched design through wax covered threads, in their abaca-woven skirts and trousers. Another form of tritik is the pelangi/plangi practiced by the Bagobo. This involves tying minute circles on a commercial cotton cloth before dyeing it with morinda. The tabi nihok of the B’laan is also an example of a process of dyeing after weaving, or dyed-in-the-cloth, rather than typically dyeing before weaving, or dyed-in-the-yarn.

*The practice of dyeing threads using natural dyes has dwindled over the years in northern Luzon and the Cordillera Administrative Region due to the availability of the brightly colored but much cheaper commercial cotton threads. Recently, concerned private and government agencies have been making efforts to revive the use of plant dyes. For instance, in Kalibo, using natural dyes in piña fibers has been introduced by the Philippine Textile Research Institute (PTRI) of the Department of Science and Technology (DOST). The dyes have been derived from mahogany (*Swietenia macrohylla*) bark, coffee pulp, talisay (*Terminalia catappa* L.) leaves for yellow; annato or achuete for deep orange; buko or young coconut (*Cocos nucifera*) husk extracts for red to maroon on silk, piña-seda and piña, and old rose on cotton; and sibukao/sappang (*Caesalpinia sappan*) heartwood for red dyes.*



77 a-Bintok. b-Detail of tied and bound fibers. Abaca fibers tied at intervals, ready for dyeing using the resist method of tie-dyeing. Abaca hemp and fibers. Caraga, Davao | Mandaya. NM Collection.



a



b

78 a-Lanot. b-Details of both tied and unbound fibers. Abaca fibers, naturally dyed using the resist method of tie-dyeing. Abaca hemp and fibers, and natural dyes. Caraga, Davao | Mandaya. NM Collection.



79-T'boli weaver Hilda Ugay, untangling the arranged tie-dyed warp of the *t'nalak* during the weaving demonstration at the National Museum. November 2014. NM Collection.



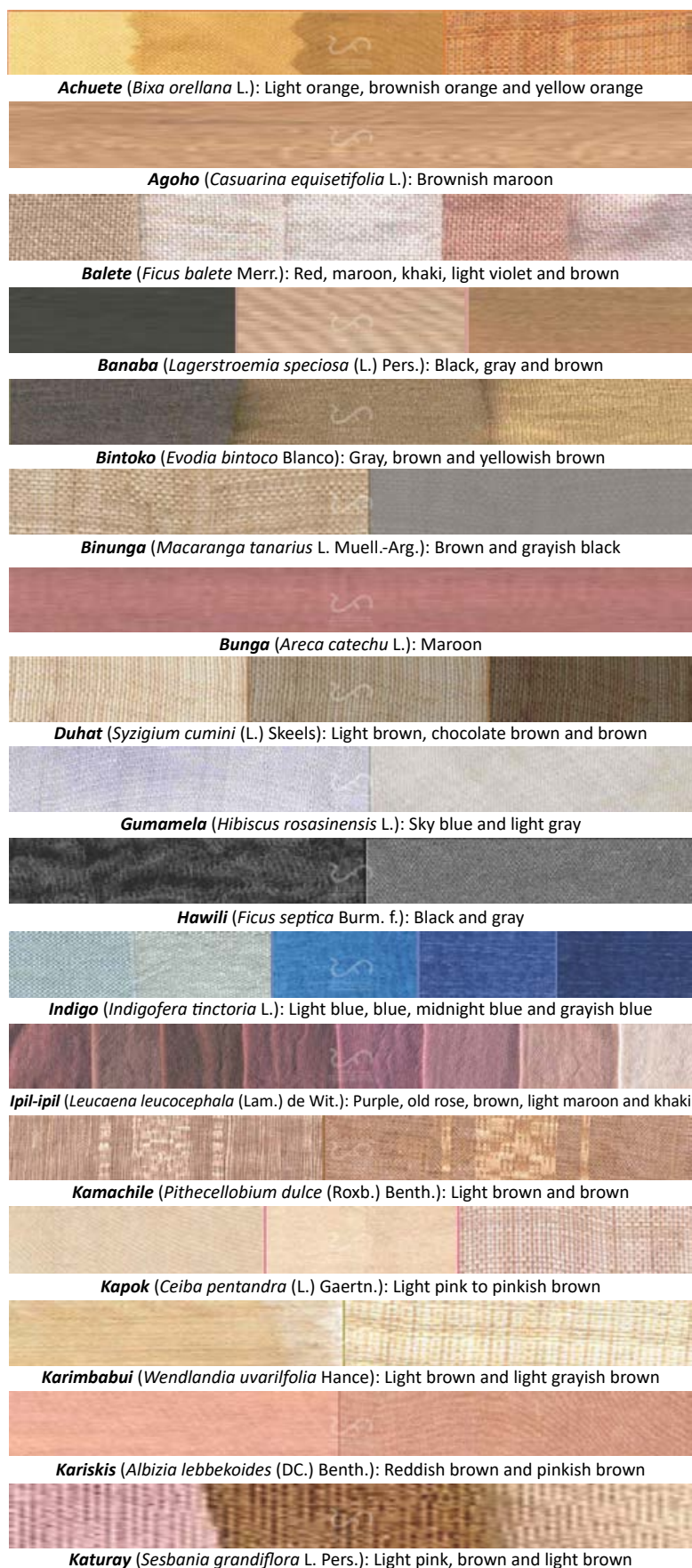
80 and 81-Preparing abaca fibers dyed with synthetic colorants for the loom. Tudaya, Tagabawa Village, Sta. Cruz, Davao del Sur, 2004. Photos courtesy of Sonja Garcia.

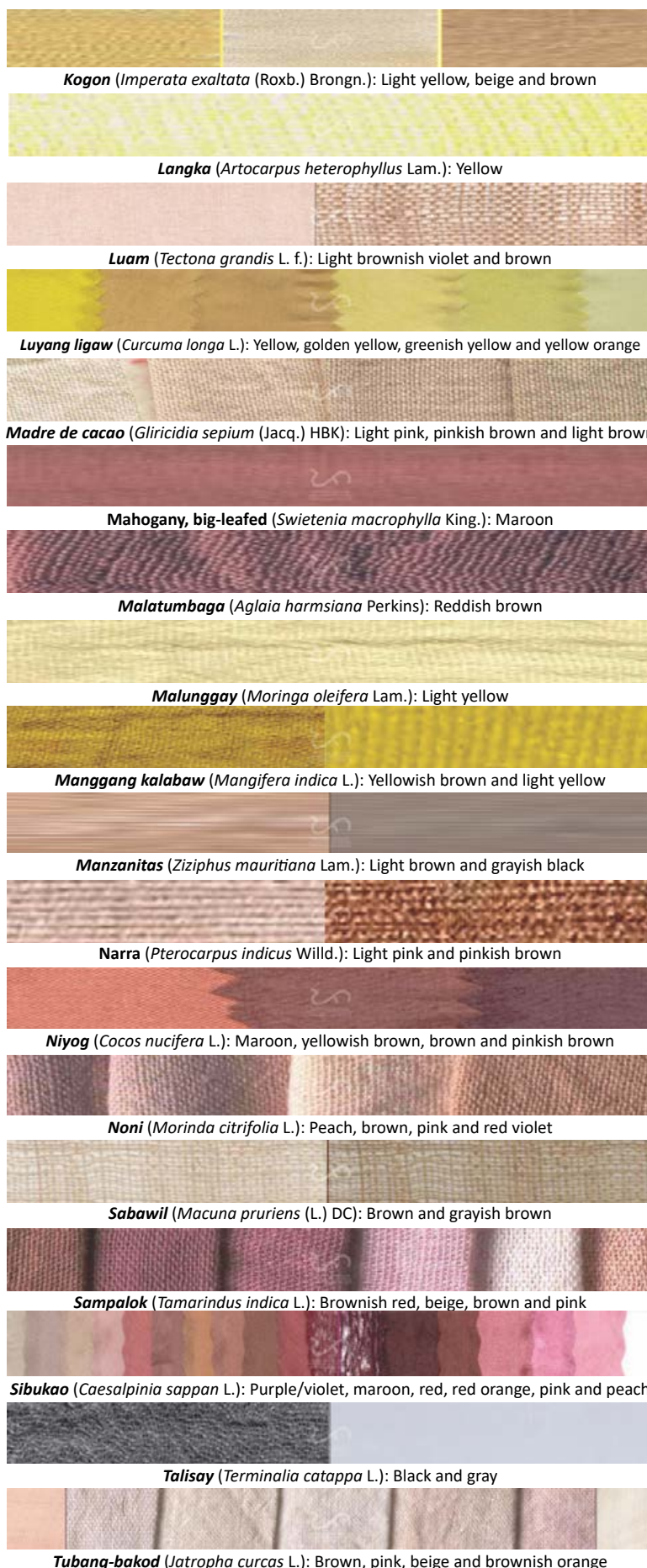


82 and 83-Abaca fibers, natural colored and dyed using the tie-dyed resist method, being prepared for the loom. Tudaya, Tagabawa Village, Sta. Cruz, Davao del Sur, 2004. Photos courtesy of Sonja Garcia.

84 Color Spectrum: Natural Dyes in the Philippines

From J. L. Leaño and J. P. Malabanan (2009). *Bahaghari: Colors of the Philippines*.
Philippine Textile Research Institute, Department of Science and Technology. Reprinted with permission.







85-Miag-ao weaver. Miag-ao, Iloilo, 2008. Ana P. Labrador Collection.

A weaver from the Indag-an Primary Multipurpose Co-op, Miag-ao, Iloilo. Miag-ao used to be one of the biggest weaving centers in Iloilo, especially of *patadyong* (the plaid type of tubular lower garment similar to the *malong*). Traditional patterns are now being revived in this multi-purpose cooperative.



Ang Bigkis na Nagbubuklod: Magkakatulad na Proseso at Padron

Ties that Bind: Similar Processes and Patterns



Sa mga tradisyunal na habi, tulad ng ibang sining etnograpiya, mabilis na nagbabago ang pamamaraan ng produksyon at interpretasyon. Ang disenyo ng karamihan sa mga tela ngayon ay hindi maituturing na tagapagpakilala ng iba't ibang pangkat ng mga manghahabi. Mas madalas silang gumagaya ngayon sa paraan o teknolohiya ng mga kalapit na teritoryo o pangkat bunga ng pagnanais na makabuo ng bagong disenyo, o marahil din sa kahilingan ng mga kumukunsumo—higit sa kaso ng pagpapasadya ng mga partikular na disenyo o kulay.

Sa ilang pagkakataon, karaniwang mula sa patuloy na pagtangkilik ng parehong manghahabi at manunuot, ang ilang disenyo ay naisasama na rin sa kung ano ang itinuturing na “tradisyunal.” Halimbawa, ang bulaklaking disenyo na *sabsafong*, bahagi ng pormal na puting sashe (*wakis ay palasan*) na gamit ng kababaihang Bontok, ay mula sa kinagisnan nang katunggaling mga pangkat Ifugao at kamakailan lamang ay itinuturing itong bago. Sa kasalukuyan, kinikilala na itong disenyo ng mga Bontok na sa pagkawala nito sa pangkabuuang disenyo, mawawalan ng saysay ang *wakis ay palasan*.

Traditional textiles, like most ethnographic art, are dynamic in their production and reinterpretation. The designs of many cloths being woven today are increasingly unreliable markers for differentiating one group from another. Weavers are borrowing more freely from neighboring groups than they did in the past as a result of creative innovation or as a response to consumer demand—especially when commissioned for special patterns or colors.

In some cases, as certain designs draw increasing favor from both weavers and wearers, these become integrated into the repertoire of what is considered “traditional” design. For example, the floral design called sabsafong that adorns the formal, white sashes (wakis ay palasan) worn by Bontok women was actually taken from traditional rival groups in Ifugao and was until recently deemed as new. Yet this is now known as a Bontok design, without which the wakis ay palasan would be incomplete and insignificant.

Previous page (top to bottom, left to right): 86-Bontok weaver Baket Fantek Padsing. Bontoc, Mountain Province. 1996. Ana P. Labrador Collection. 87-Yakan weaver. Weaving demonstrations at the Hibla ng Lahing Filipino Gallery. November 2014. NM Collection. 88-Ilokana weaver. Ilocos Sur. ca. 1980. NM Collection. 89-Yakan weaver. Zamboanga City. 2014. NM Collection. 90-Double-weaving in Bangar, La Union. 2011. Ana P. Labrador Collection. 91-Ilokana weaver. Vigan, Ilocos Sur. 2010. NM Collection. 92-T'boli weaver. Lake Sebu, South Cotabato. ca. 1980. NM Collection. 93-Patadyong weaver. Miag-ao, Iloilo. 2008. Ana P. Labrador Collection.



94 and 95-Burungan. Spinning set. Cotton, wood, stone and palm bark. Approximate average length: 31 cm. Southern Mindoro | Hanunóo. NM Collection.



96-Titibyan. Spindle. Wood, stone and lead. 27.52 cm. Manabo, Abra | Itneg/Tinguian.

97, 98 and 99-Tobayan. Spindles. Wood, cotton and bast fibers. 37 cm; 28 cm; and 36 cm. Ifugao | Ifugao. NM Collection.

Spindles are used to make, or spin, threads from cotton, or in the case of Ifugao and Bontoc, including bast fibers.



100-Bumbaran. Spindle. Wood. 72 cm x 51 cm. Lanao del Sur | Maranao. NM Collection.

Weavers transfer new spun thread from a spinning wheel to this spindle. *Armalis* and *tiali-tiali* motifs akin to the *torogan* (the Maranao royal house) are found on its base and upper portion. Besides being functional, this may have been commissioned by the original owners to be displayed and collected.



101-Gilingan. Spinning wheel. Wood and metal. 82 cm x 63 cm. Lanao del Sur | Maranao. NM Collection.

This is another device for spinning fibers into thread. Although faster than the hand-held spindle, the thread produced using this method is less uniform. Perhaps this particular *gilingan* may be reserved for ceremonial occasions or Maranao royalty from its elaborate design compared to other spinning wheels observed in the area.



102 a to c-Tabyan. Spool and spindle. Wood, lead and cotton thread. 40 cm, 30 cm, and 35 cm. San Fernando, La Union | Ilokano. NM Collection. **103-Pakan.** Shuttles and bobbins. Wood and cotton threads. 30 cm and 15 cm. San Fernando, La Union | Ilokano. Gifts presented to the NM by former San Fernando, La Union Mayor Mary Jane C. Ortega (November 2011).

The shuttles feed the weft threads that go across the warp. It seals the design of the textiles, binding the weave loosely or tightly depending on the quality selected by the weaver. The shape of the shuttles makes it possible to insert the weft threads quickly, allowing the weaver to glide the apparatus across the warp. Bobbins are attached to the shuttle cavity, serving to hold the weft threads.



104-Karilyas/barkilya. Shuttle. Wood and lead. 32 cm. Ilocos Region | Ilokano. NM Collection.
105 and 106-Pakan. Shuttles and bobbins. Wood and cotton threads. Approximate length, 30 cm.
Vigan, Ilocos Sur | Ilokano. Gifts presented to the NM by Ilocos Sur Vice Governor Deogracias Victor Savellano (November 2011).



107 a to f-Assimunan. Weaving set. Cotton, bamboo, wood and coconut husk. *Left to right, top to bottom:* 16 cm x 8.5 cm; 18 cm x 12 cm; 15 cm x 8 cm; 12.5 cm x 11 cm; 13 cm x 10 cm; and 16 cm x 8.5 cm . **g-Assimunan (a) when unrolled.** Ngileb, Potia, Ifugao | Gaddang. NM Collection.

After spinning the thread for weaving, it is placed in the bamboo frame of the loom. The warp threads, spooled on cut pieces of bamboo, are combed using the coconut husk that has been dipped in rice water. They refer to this as “cleaning” the cotton of stray strands.



108-Klabig/kala'big/balabig. Backstrap for loom. Wood, rattan and beeswax. 9 cm x 71 cm. Banaue, Ifugao | Ifugao. NM Collection.

The *kala'big* is the belt that secures the backstrap loom to the weaver to keep it in place. This is normally made from a piece of hide (see Bontok backstrap loom), or other locally available materials such as this particular *kala'big*. Recently however, contemporary materials such as plastic sacks (see B'laan and T'boli backstrap looms) are now used in their place.



109-Back support. Wood. 23 cm x 47 cm. Jolo, Sulu | Tausug. NM Collection.

This wooden back support with *okir* carvings and traces of red paint is unusual since backstrap looms have flexible back supports. Perhaps used for ceremonial purposes, this was meant to display the weaver while performing for an audience such as a royal court. It could also have been made for a collection.

Habihan

Dalawang uri ng habihan na karaniwan sa Pilipinas, Timog-Silangang Asya at sa maraming bahagi ng mundo ang nakatanghal sa bahaging ito. Ang habihan ay isang aparato na ginagamit sa pagbigkis ng mga sinulid upang makagawa ng tela. Minsan ang padron ay inaayos bago ang paghabi, o nalilikha gamit ang partikular na kapamaraan ng paghabi.

Ang *foot loom* ay matatagpuan sa mga libis tulad ng Kanlurang Visayas at Hilagang Luzon. Kilala rin bilang habihang *upright, vertical* o *pedal*, nangangahulugan ang bigat at balangkas nitong kahoy ng pagkapalagian dahil nangangailangan ng ibayong lakas upang magalaw ito. Binubuo at pinapagana ito ng sistema ng mga kalo at pabigat na isinasaayos ayon sa laki ng katawan ng manghahabi at maging sa uri ng telang gagawin. Ang tibay nito ay sadyang nakadiseno upang masiguro ang akmang tibay ng pagkakahabi, maging sa lakas ng manghahabi.

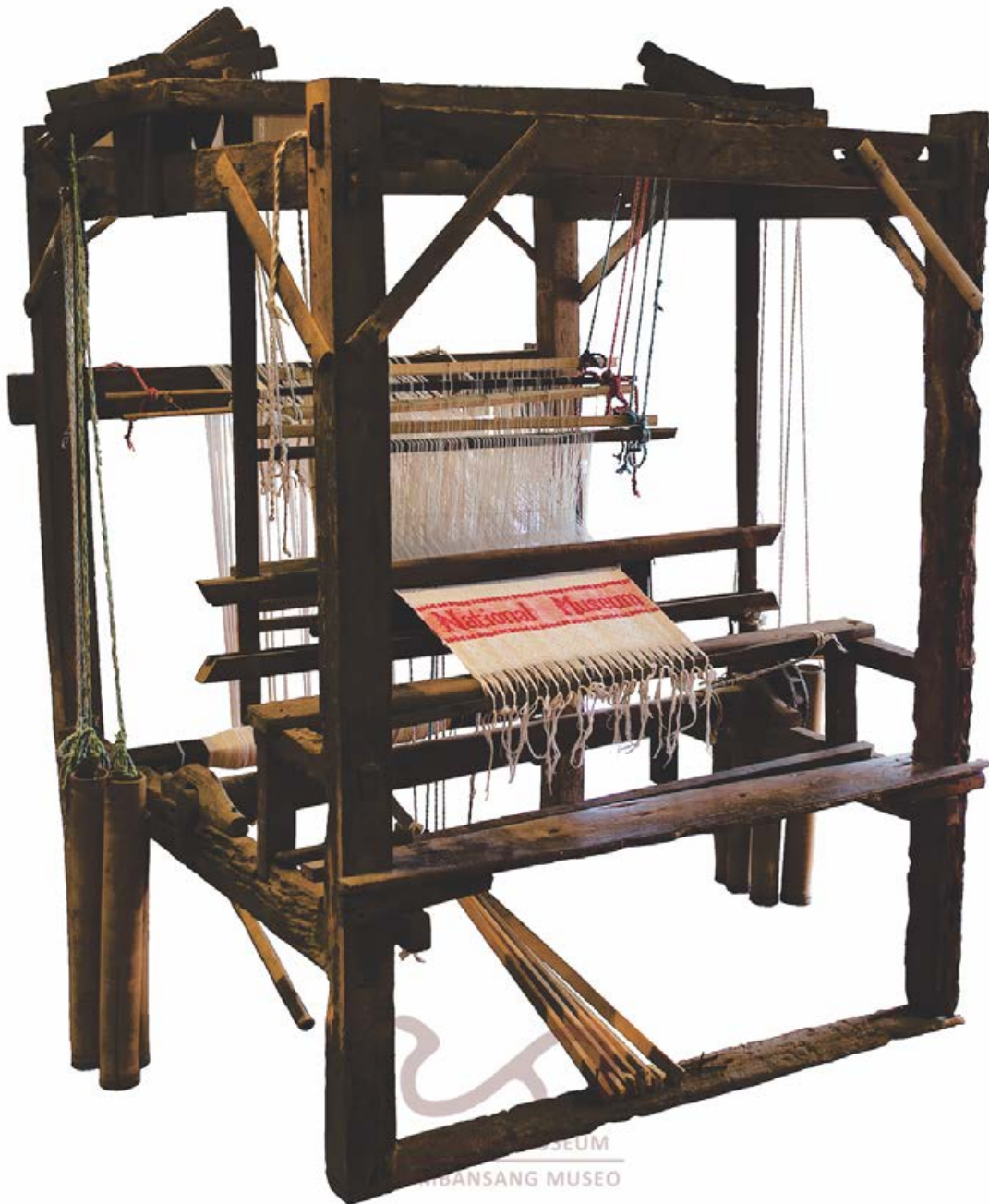
Ang isa pang uri ng habihan ay ang *backstrap loom* na matatagpuan sa mga bulubunduking lugar tulad ng Kordilyera at sa Mindanao. Kilala rin bilang habihang *body tension* o *horizontal*, madali itong dalhin kahit saan sapagkat nababalumbon at natutungkos ang mga ito. Binabanat sa pagitan ng dalawang kabilyang yari sa kahoy ang mga pahabang sinulid na tinatawag na *warp*. Ang isang kabilya ay naisasabit sa isang matibay at nakapirring pagkakapitan tulad ng dingding ng bahay, ang isa naman ay nakakawing sa likod ng manghahabi.

Looms

Two types of looms that are common throughout the Philippines, Southeast Asia and most parts of the world are displayed in this section. Looms are devices that bind threads through weaving to make cloth. Sometimes patterns are set before being woven, or are created through specific weaving techniques.

The foot loom is found in lowland areas such as Western Visayas and Northern Luzon. Sometimes referred to as the upright, vertical or pedal loom, its heavy wooden frame connotes permanence, as moving it is a challenge. This typically wooden device is marked by a system of pulleys and weights, adjusted according to the requirements and the body of the weaver as well as the textile being produced. This durability is purposely designed to carry the force with which threads are bound to make textiles, as well as the weight of the weaver.

The other type of loom is the backstrap loom, found mostly in mountainous regions such as the Philippine Cordilleras and in Mindanao. Also referred to as the body tension or horizontal loom, it is a portable device that can be rolled and bundled. It consists of two wooden bars between which the longitudinal threads, known as warp, are stretched. While one of the wooden bars is attached to a fixed place such as a wall of the house, the other is held in place by a strap around the weaver's back.

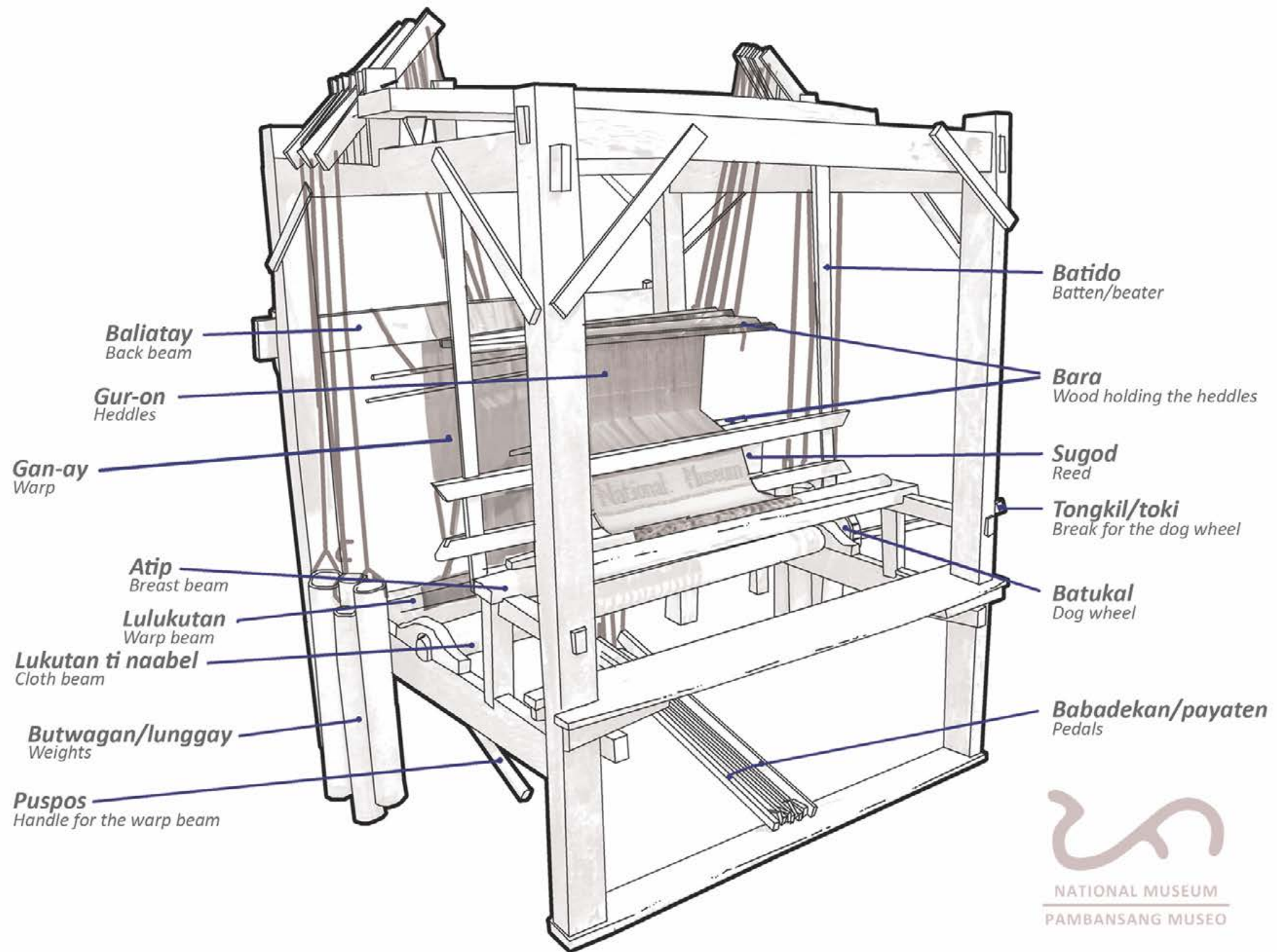


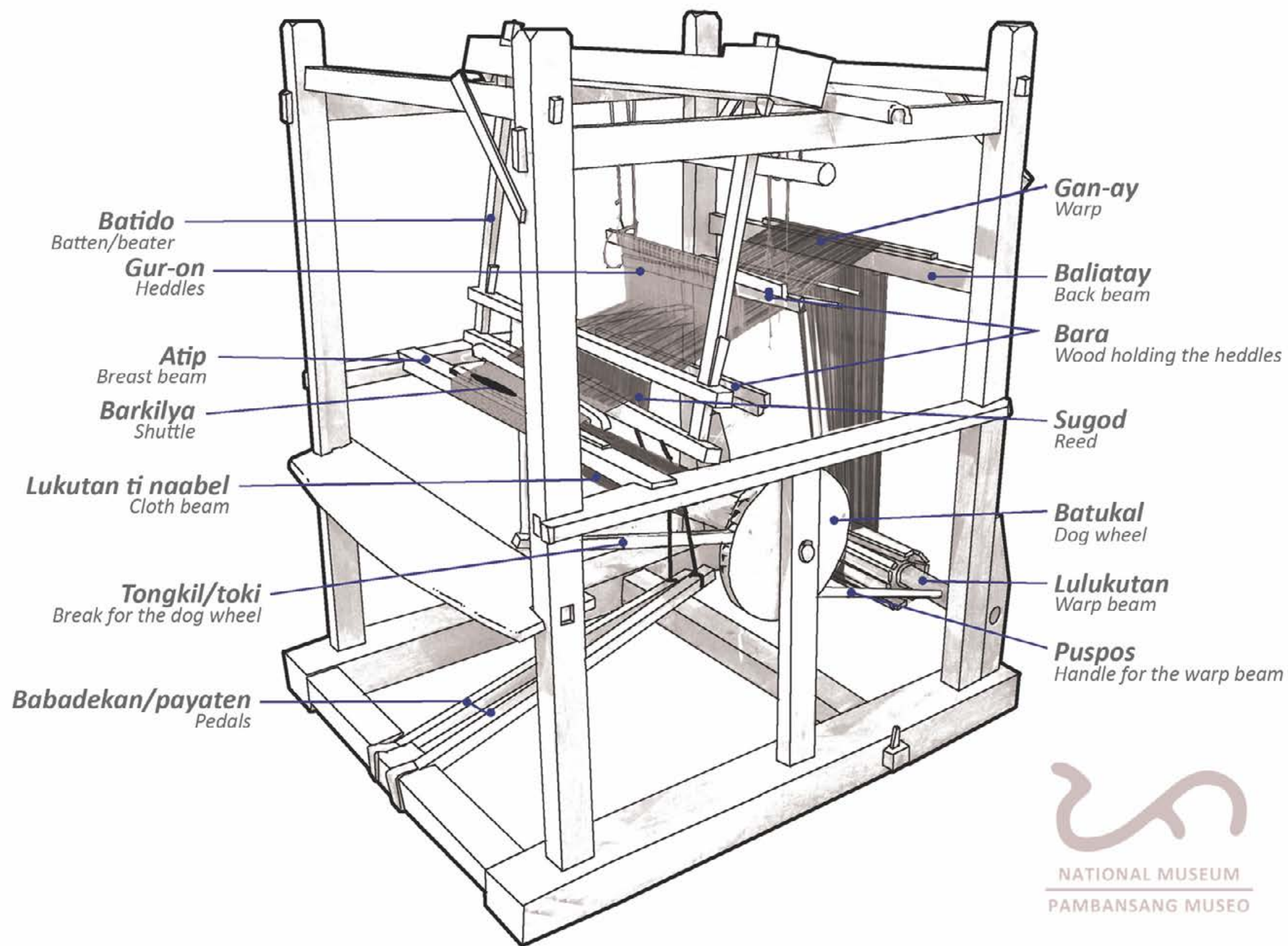
110-Bangar foot loom, locally known as *tilar*, *pang-abelan* or *pang-ablan*. Bangar, La Union. Gift presented to the NM by the La Union First District Representative Victor Ortega and Bangar Councilor Edmund H. Gavina (2011).



111-Bangar foot loom used by weaver Mr. Romar Guieb. San Fernando, La Union, 2012. Photo courtesy of San Fernando, La Union former Mayor Mary Jane C. Ortega.

Succeeding page (foldout):
112-Parts of the Bangar foot loom.







Previous page (foldout):
113-Parts of the Vigan foot loom.

114-Vigan foot loom used by weaver Ms. Catalina Ablog. Mindoro, Vigan, Ilocos Sur, 2011.
 Ana P. Labrador Collection.



115-Vigan foot loom, also locally known as *tilar*, *pang-abelan* or *pang-ablan*. Mindoro, Vigan, Ilocos Sur. Gift presented to the NM by the Ilocos Sur Vice Governor Deogracias Victor Savellano (November 2011).



116-Abel Iloko. Blanket. Cotton. 241 cm x 145.3 cm. Vigan, Ilocos Sur | Ilokano. A gift presented to the NM by Ilocos Sur Vice Governor Deogracias Victor Savellano (November 2011).

Contemporary innovation on the *inabel*, traditional Ilokano weaving, this three-panel white blanket represents the trademark brocade style. Raised patterns are created from supplementary weft weaving, and so with the National Museum of the Philippines motifs in blue. The latter is a technique used to personalize blankets that are usually given as gifts for weddings.



117 and 118-Abel Iloko. Textile material. Imported cotton and synthetic dyes. Vigan, Ilocos Sur | Ilokano. NM Collection.

These two narrow panels about 3 meters long were bought as textile material that could be made into different fabric products, such as blankets. As examples of products that could be purchased from the Vigan marketplace, these two represent the more contemporary forms of *abel*, particularly in terms of color. Weavers and collectors consider loose weaving in this style as modern and commercial, as well as the stylized and enlarged *sinankusikos* (whirlwind) pattern on the green *abel*.



119-Abel Iloko. Textile material. Imported cotton and synthetic dyes. Vigan, Ilocos Sur | Ilokano. NM Collection.

Woven with the *sinankusikos* (whirlwind) pattern in its traditional size, this textile is an example of a commercialized product that is available in the Vigan marketplace and sold in bundles such as the image above.



120-Wanes. Loincloth. Cotton and synthetic dyes. 386 cm x 33 cm. Bontoc, Mountain Province | Bontok. NM Collection.

The *wanes* is a loincloth worn by men on special occasions, such as this type that is made colorful with supplementary weft decorations. Its construction is closely associated with the central panel or *pa-khawa* of the three-panel *lufid* (skirt) or *uwes* (blanket). Bontok men now wear this with pride during provincial parades and events as the revival of local textile weaving has gained impetus with celebrating ethnic identity.



121-Uwes/Owes. Blanket. Cotton and synthetic dyes. 214 cm x 135 cm. Bontoc, Mountain Province | Bontok. NM Collection.

Blankets in the Cordilleras are used as covering during the cold months by both males and females. Jenks (1905) noted that in Bontoc, these were never used by the younger men, saying that these were for the women. When days are warm, the *uwes* were almost not used except when they are performing rituals. *Uwes* are woven similarly to the three-panel skirt or *lufid*.



122-Tabih (Gnandong). Tubular cloth. Abaca and natural dyes. 101 cm x 87 cm. Polomolok, South Cotabato | B'laan. Gift to the NM by Silvana Diaz (2009).

This *tabih* was hand-woven by Yabing Dulo, a B'laan of Amgulo, Landaw, Polomolok, South Cotabato, who was recognized as one of the country's Manlilikha ng Bayan (National Living Treasure) in 2016. She worked on this piece when she was 12 years old, while just an apprentice weaver. The crocodile pattern is the dominant design at the center of this two-panel *ikat* tube skirt. Women wear the *tabih* during special occasions, secured around their waist by a brass belt.

Succeeding page (foldout):

123-Parts of the backstrap loom, with selected local terminology.

Abla'n (Ifugao)

Sitsad (Ilanon)

Ablon (Mandaya)

Hablon / habion (Manobo)

Legogong (T'boli)

Reed

Sulod (Ilanon)

Sood (Mandaya & Manobo)

Susod (Mansaka)

Sëel nabang (T'boli)

Suod (Yakan)

Shed rod

Tubongan (Ifugao)

Bibungan (Ilanon)

Bubulos (Itneg)

Bungbungan (Mansaka)

Bobongan / bobongen (Maranao)

Gungen (Yakan)

Heddle rod & heddle stick

Gulon / pagpiliyan (Ifugao)

Lupit / bibitan (Ilanon)

Gur-on (Itneg)

Bibitan (Mansaka)

Lirri / tabid (Yakan)

Batten

Bariga / baliga (Ifugao)

Barira (Ilanon)

Baliga (Itneg)

Balila (Mandaya & Manobo)

B'lelu (T'boli)

Beyde (Yakan)

Front loom bar

Ipitan (Ifugao)

Taruan (Ilanon)

Atip (Itneg)

Pangawa (Mandaya)

Orosan (Manobo)

Ususan (Mansaka)

Esusen (Yakan)

Shuttle

Hikitan (Ifugao)

Tulak (Ilanon & Yakan)

Bibitan (Mandaya)

Pugawa (Mansaka)

Tolak (Maranao)

Lungon (T'boli)

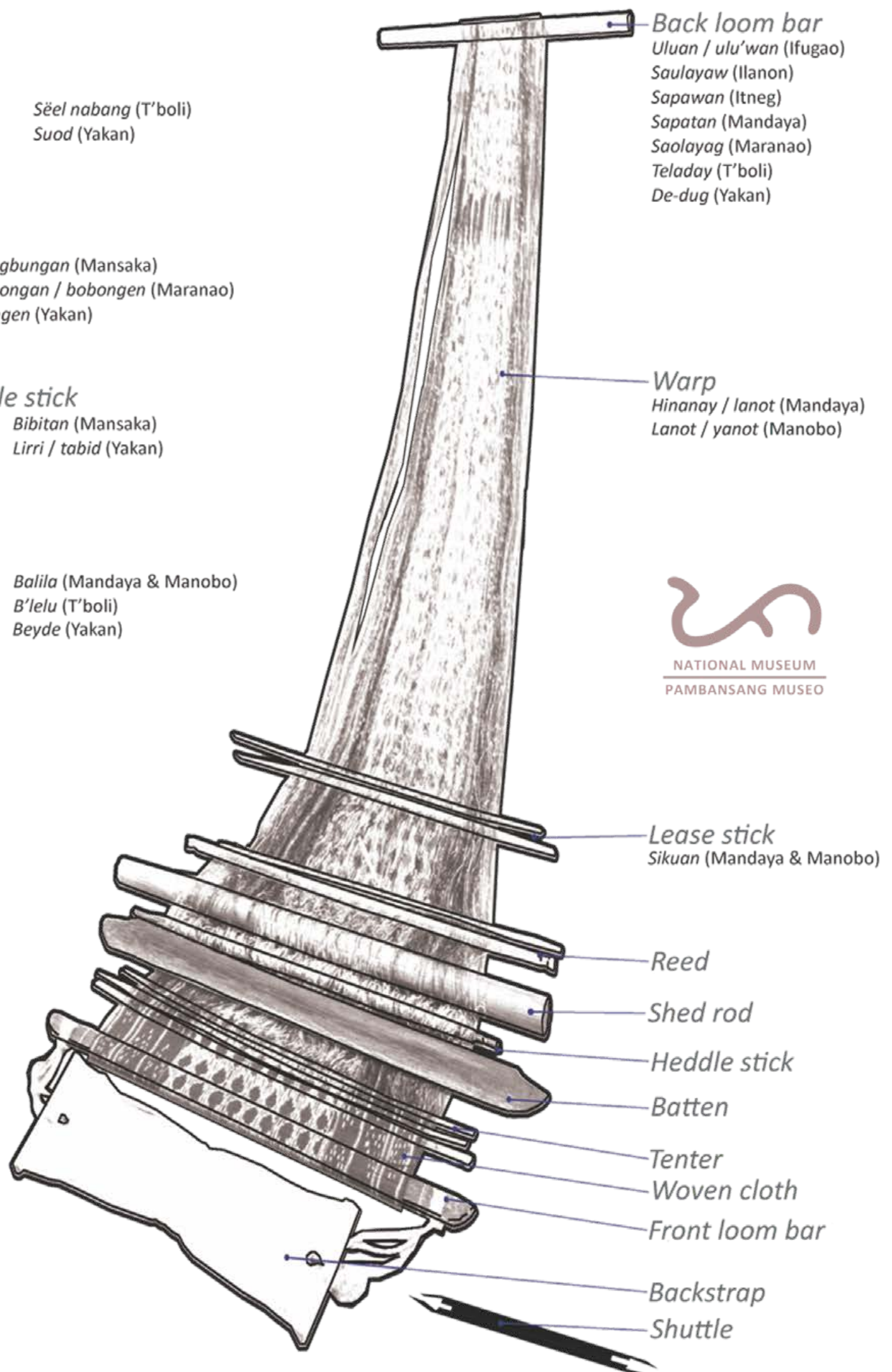
Backstrap

Alabig / kalabig (Ifugao)

Awit / d'kütan (Ilanon)

Impaod / insiket (Itneg)

Awit (Mansaka & Yakan)





124-Itneg/Tinguian weaver. From Cole (1922:Plate LXVI).

125-Legogong. Backstrap loom. Naturally dyed abaca fibers, bamboo, wood, plastic twine and sack. South Cotabato | T'boli. Senator Loren Legarda Collection.

T'boli weaver Uyel Menson Anggol (2004) tells of weaving among the T'boli, "Since the T'boli group do not have a tradition of writing, we can only trace traditional wisdom through sounds of birds and through dreams. Our Princess Ancestor, whose name is Boi Hensu, fell in love with the man from the sky and had to go to the sky to live with him. While she was on her way up, she suddenly thought of how her people could remember her and her weaving. She decided to leave behind the stick that she used to pound a piece of cloth to iron and flatten it. By throwing the stick out of her window as she ascended in her house with all her animals, the stick turned into a bird whose name is Fu. The word Fu means connection as well as ancestor. This story illustrates how our people trace weaving through this bird that sings at night most of the time."

According to Hibla Cooperation Director, Sonja Garcia, not all weavers are dreamers. Forty year-old weaver Uyel Menson Anggol is not a dreamer but her late mother Ida Menson was regarded by her community as a great designer and weaver. This talent has since been passed to Uyel. Among the designs she has continued to create from her mother are:

1. *Betek Kefung* - a design which literally means "the weave of dust," since this T'boli group inspiration from the soil or the earth. It also connotes how elders mark the ground when counting the bride price that is due to her parents during marriage.
2. *Betek Kumu* - a design dreamt by the weaver and believed to have been worn by the legendary princess K'naban who is the sister of the T'boli hero, Tudbulul.
3. *Seng Betek* - a design of La Fun's scarf who is the T'boli woman healer spirit. They also refer to this as "*Dudum La Fun*," or La Fun's head cover.





126-Backstrap loom.
Naturally dyed abaca fibers,
bamboo, wood, plastic twine
and sack. South Cotabato
| B'laan. Senator Loren
Legarda Collection.



127-Tennun bunga sama. Backstrap loom. Bamboo, wood, cotton thread and cloth. 77 cm x 88 cm. Lamitan, Basilan Island | Yakan. NM Collection.

Until the mid-20th century, the Yakan used abaca as their fiber for weaving. Cotton and pineapple have since also been used. The partially woven cloth in the loom incorporates one of their traditional motifs, the *bunga sama* or python pattern.



128-Yakan backstrap loom used during the November 2014 weaving demonstrations at the National Museum. Commercial cotton threads, plastic straw and wood. Zamboanga City | Yakan. Private Collection.



129-Backstrap loom for weaving Tausug tapestries. Used during the November 2014 weaving demonstrations at the National Museum. Commercial cotton threads and wood. Jolo, Sulu | Tausug. Senator Loren Legarda Collection.



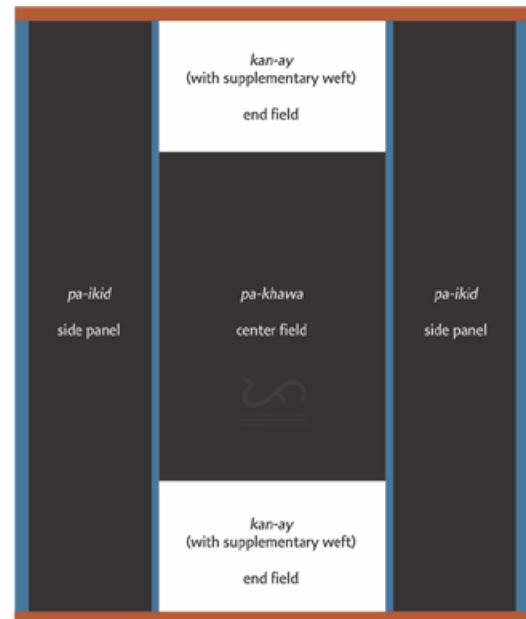
130-Kalinga backstrap loom used during the September 2014 weaving demonstrations at the National Museum, and donated by its weaver, Ms. Josephine Fejer. Commercial cotton threads, bamboo and wood. Tabuk, Kalinga | Kalinga. NM Collection.



131-Pang-afiran. Backstrap loom. Commercially dyed cotton, bamboo and carabao hide. Samoki, Bontoc, Mountain Province | Bontok. NM Collection.



132



133

132-Lufid. Wrap-around skirt. Cotton and synthetic dyes. Samoki, Bontoc, Mountain Province | Bontok. Private Collection. **133-The principle of tripartitioning.** After Niessen (2009:35).

Paghabi sa *lufid* ng Bontoc: **Ang kalagitnaan sa sansinukob ng karunungan**

Sa maraming pagkakataon, ang mga tradisyunal na habi ay nabubuo sa pagkakabit-kabit ng mga entrepang, tulad sa tatluhanang istruktura kung saan pinakadetalyado at mabusising gawin ang gitnang bahagi. Karaniwang itinatagda ng gamit na habihan at teknikal ding kakayahan ng manghahabi ang pagbuo ng ganitong mga tela. Maaari rin namang ang paraan ng pagsuot ang siyang nagdidikta kung saan ilalapat ang detalyadong mga disenyo. Gayunpaman, ang gilid ang pangunahing batayan kung gaano kapulido ang pagkakabuo ng mga habi, at ito rin ang panimulang pinapagawa sa mga baguhan at nag-aaral pa lamang sa paghabi.

May ilang uri ng tradisyunal na habi ang mga Bontok sa nayon ng Bontoc Ili at Samoki. Ito ang mga kumot (*ewes*), sayang de balabal ng mga kababaihan (*lufid*), bahag ng mga kalalakihan (*wanes*), bigkis (*wakis*), at ang dalawang uri ng saputan para sa pumanaw (*fiyaong* at *fanchala*). Sa mga ito, ang saya ng kababaihan ang orihinal at huwaran sa pagbuo ng tela ng mga Bontok, binubuo ng tatlong entrepang na may labi sa magkabilang maikling gilid. Sampung uri ng *lufid* ang naitatala: *kwafaw*, *sinangad-om*, *inorma*, *kinayan*, *sinangbitwin*, *kinulibangbang*, *finanawe*, *kinarchaw*, *kinain* at *binerdehan*.

Ang paggawa ng telang Bontok mula sa iba't ibang bahagi ay naaayon sa kakayahan ng manghahabi. Ang mga gilid (*langkit*), ang pinakasimpleng bahagi, ang unang natututuhang gawin ng mga batang babae na nagsisimula pa lamang maghabi sa gulang na labindalawang taon. Sunod dito ay ang mga tagilirang entrepang (*pa-ikid*), kung saan din nila natututuhang gawin ang mga disenyong tulad ng *warp-bands* (*fatawil*) na nakalapat sa kahabaan ng tela, at palaso (*shukyong*). Iyong magiging bihasa sa paggawa ng *pa-ikid* ay natututo naman maghabi ng disenyong *sinangad-om* na ayon sa mas matatandang manghahabi ay sumisimbolo sa habing Sinamoki (o “gawa sa Samoki”). Ito ang bahaging pinakamahirap gawin dahil may kalakip na mga simbolikong disenyo tulad ng hugis-tao (*tinagtakho*), diyamante (*minatmata*) at sagisag (*tiniktiko*). Ang gitnang entrepang (*pa-khawa*) ay binubuo ng liston sa gitna at karagdang habin (*kan-ay*) sa magkabilang dulo. Ang masalimuot na proseso ng paglalagay ng *kan-ay* ay nangangailangan na ang gitnang entrepang ang ihuli sa paghahabi, pagkatapos ay ikakabit dito ang iba't ibang bahagi ng kabuuan ng tela. Unang pinagkakabit ang mga huling natapos sa paghahabi at magtatapos sa pagkabit ng *langkit*.

Mahalaga na ang manghahabi ay mahusay na makalikha ng kakatawan sa tatawaging telang Bontok mula sa gilid patungong gitna, pagpapahayag ng pagpapahalaga ng mga Bontok sa konsepto ng pagkagitna. Ang kalagitnaan ay binibigyang-halaga sa araw-araw na pamumuhay at mga ritwal, nagsisilbi bilang tagapagtaguyod ng kawalang-hanggan, kaayusan at katibangan na mahalaga sa buhay ng Bontok. Ang mga konseptong ito ay mababanaag sa simetriya sa paggawa ng mga habi at sa pag-ulit ng disenyong *warp-stripes*.

Weaving the *Bontoc lufid*: The center in the universe of learning

In many instances, traditional textiles are constructed by stitching together panels, such as in a three-part structure in which the middle part is the most elaborate. Putting together this type of cloth has as much to do with the constraints of the loom itself as with technical ability. The manner in which textiles are worn may also direct weavers as to where intricate designs should be placed. However, the edging on textiles is a key element for assessing the finish and polish of the work, and it is also where apprentice weavers begin their training.

There are several traditional types of cloth that are woven by Bontok of the villages of Bontoc Ili and Samoki. These are the blanket (ewes), women's wrap skirt (lufid), men's loincloth (wanes), belt (wakis) and the two types of death shroud (fiyaong and fanchala). Among these, the women's skirt is the archetype of Bontok cloth construction, with a rectangular piece comprising three panels with edging at the short ends. There are ten lufid types that have been documented: kwafaw, sinangad-om, inorma, kinayan, sinangbitwin, kinulibangbang, finanawe, kinarchaw, kinain and binerdehan.

The construction of the Bontok cloth from constituent parts corresponds to the weavers' level of skill. Bontok girls who begin learning to weave at the age of twelve start with the simplest part of the cloth, which is the edging (langkit). They then move on to do the side panels (pa-ikid), copying simple designs such as warp-bands (fatawil) that run the length of the cloth, as well as arrows (shukyong). Those who attain a level of proficiency in making the pa-ikid, learn to weave the sinangad-om design which old weavers claim represents Sinamoki (or "made in Samoki") weaving. These are the hardest parts to weave because the bands incorporate symbolic designs, such as the human figure (tinagtakho), diamond (minatmata) and zigzag (tiniktiko). The center panel (pa-khawa) features a band in the middle and supplementary weft (kan-ay) at its end. The complex process of adding the kan-ay requires that the center panel be woven last, after which the other pieces of cloth are attached to it. They are sewn together in the reverse order of their creation, culminating with the attachment of the langkit.

It is significant that these weavers skillfully create representative Bontok cloth from the edges to the middle, which reveals the emphasis given by the Bontok to concepts of centeredness. The center is almost always given attention in everyday and ritual contexts, serving to reinforce permanence, order and balance that are key elements of Bontok life. These concepts are further emphasized by the symmetry of cloth construction and the repeated warp-striped design.



134-Weaver Ms. Helda G. Quimpo weaving on the *tanhaga*, the *piña* loom. NM, Manila. September 2013. NM Collection.



135-Tanhaga. Foot loom for *piña* fibers, made by La Herminia House of *Piña*. Kalibo, Aklan. Gift to the NM by the Godofredo P. Ramos Foundation, Inc. (September 2013). **136 and 137-Weaving with the *tanhaga*.** *Piña* weaving demonstration at the NM, August 2016.



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137

Succeeding page (foldout):

138-Ablon. Composite backstrap loom for the *dagmay* cloth. Naturally dyed abaca fibers, bamboo, wood, plastic twine and sack. Davao | Mandaya. Senator Loren Legarda Collection.





139-Dagom. Upper garment. 142 cm x 54 cm. Cotton and synthetic dyes. Davao. **140-Sawa.** Trousers. 92 cm x 39 cm. Cotton and synthetic dyes. Davao Oriental | Mandaya. NM Collection.

Among the Mandaya only the *magani* (headman) and the *mabalian* (priestess) are able to wear red garments. Up to the early part of the 20th century, upper garments were made from abaca. Intricate embroidery was particularly made on the shoulder area. Men's trousers were generally made of cotton, and were also embroidered around their lower fringes. Weavers offer tobacco and *buyo* (betel nut) on their warp to the guardian spirit Tagalimang before they begin to weave a new cloth. According to Reyes (1992), the Mandaya consider weaving and embroidery sanctified.



141-Weaving *kobay* from *guwang* (*buri*, Tagalog; *Corypha* sp.) fiber in Banton Island. Banton Island, Romblon. 2010. NM Collection.



Base map courtesy of
Aira/Wikimedia Commons 2008

WEAVING CENTERS & LOOM TYPES USED IN THE PHILIPPINES



Backstrap loom



Footloom



Based on accounts from pre- and
colonial, and post-war periods
(refer to Bibliography)

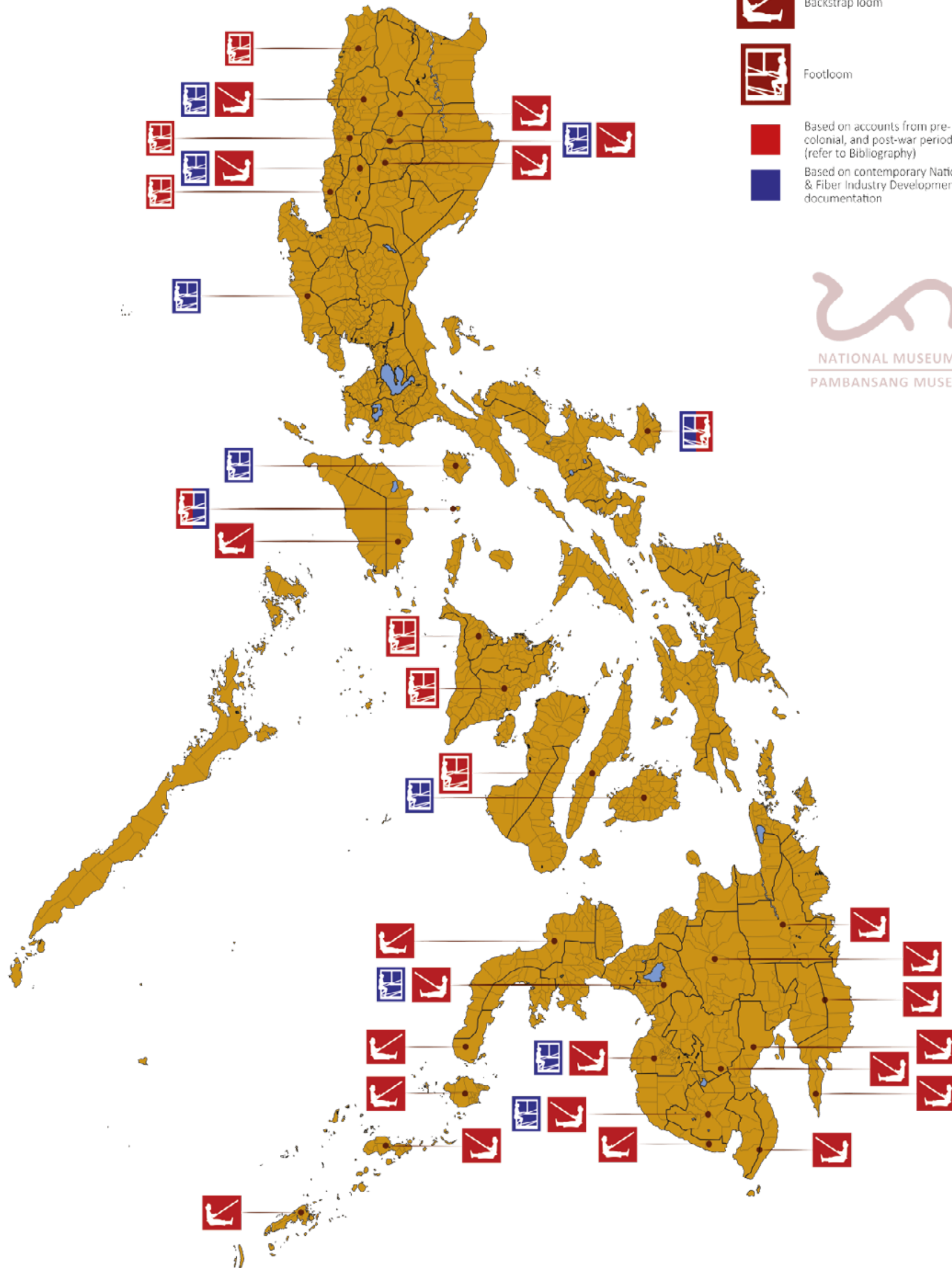


Based on contemporary National Museum (NM)
& Fiber Industry Development Authority (FIDA)
documentation



NATIONAL MUSEUM

PAMBANSANG MUSEO





Previous page (foldout):

142-Weaving centers and loom types used in the Philippines

143-Maranao men. Lanao del Sur, 1976. University of the Philippines Asian Center Collection. Photo courtesy of F. Landa Jocano, Joseph Fortin and the University of the Philippines (UP) Asian Center.



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145

Habing Salinlahi at Saling-kamay: Mga Nakapaloob na Salaysay sa Pagmamay-ari, Dibuho at Anyo

Biographical Textiles: Embedded Stories through Ownership, Design and Forms



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151

Ang mga mana, pakikipagpalitan, ritwal at merkado ay ilan sa mga pangyayari at lugar kung saan ang mga kayo ay naililipat mula sa isang may-ari tungo sa susunod. Kaakibat nito ang mga salaysay na kung minsan ay naibabahagi sa proseso ng paggawa o sa pamamagitan ng mga pagtatanghal. Ang mga pag-aaral sa mga kultural na materyal ay nagbigay daan sa ideya na ang tela, tulad ng iba pang bagay, ay may buhay panlipunan (Appadurai 1986) o isang talambuhay (Hoskins 1998). Batay sa timbang ng pinapalagay na katangian ng mga ito, ang kapamaraanang binuo upang pangalagaan at panatilihin ang tela ay iba-iba—kabilang ang mga napapaloob sa konteksto ng koleksyon ng museo—at mismong kuwento ng mga ito.

Ang tela ay isa sa mga pinaka-karaniwang bagay na kinukolekta ng mga indibidwal at museo. Gumagawa ng kayo ang mga kontemporaryong manghahabi mula sa mas matitibay na hibla upang maaari itong gamitin nang mas mahabang panahon ng nagmamay-ari. Maaari itong linisin at itago hanggang sa muli itong gamitin. Maaaring iwaksi sa paglilibing at pakikipagpalitan. Dahil matibay ang tela o kaya naman ang mga materyal nito ay madaling makuha ng manghahabi, madali rin itong nadadala at nakakalakal. Sa gayon ay mainam ang mga bagay ito para sa pakikipagpalitan.

Sa Kordilyera, nagsusuot at nangungolekta ang mga tao ng kayong bulak na habing-kamay para sa mga pangkaraniwan at natatanging dahilan. Tulad ng iminumungkahi ni Ellis, ang mga kayo ay tumatagos sa lahat ng yugto ng pag-ikot ng buhay (sa rehiyon ng Kordilyera), mula sa paglilihi hanggang kamatayan (1981). Isa ang paglilibing sa mga okasyon kung saan ang produksyon ng tela, pakikipagpalitan at paggamit ay magkakarugtong.

Ang tela ay naging palatandaan ng pagkakakilanlan ng lahi, sa parehong mga taong lokal at kolektor nito. Gayunman, ang nagsusuot ay may iba-ibang layunin at pamamaraan ng paggamit bilang palatandaan ng kanilang pagkakakilanlan. Mayroon itong kinalaman sa pagpipilian ng pagkakakilanlang binabatay nila sa balangkas ng lahi at nasyunalismo. Sa kabuuan, nakapukaw sa isip ang pagkakakilanlang binuo sa konteksto ng museo at iba pang institusyon ng pambansang estado, maging kung papaano itinatakda ang mga ito.

Maliwanag na sagisag ng pagkakakilanlan ang tela para sa maraming katutubong Filipino, di lamang dahil sa interes dito ng kolonyal na pamahalaan. Ang mga gumagamit ang nagtatakda rito bilang makabuluhang pagpapahayag ng pagkakakilanlang panlipunan at pulitikal. Isa sa mga kakayanan ng kayo ang maging makapangyarihang sagisag sa pagbabagong-anyo nito bilang kasuotan. Ang pagiging malapit nito sa katawan ay simula ng sariling paglalarawan na sa huli ay nag-aambag sa pagkakakilanlan bilang pangkat.

Ang mga tela at kasuotan na naitatanghal sa bahaging ito ay nagpapamalas ng mga kuwentong buhat sa paghahabi, sa pamamagitan ng mga padron, kasangkapang nimonik at paglalahad, dahil sa pakikipagpalitan at pakikipagbahagi, at dahil din sa pagpapamana at hindi pagkakait ng mga ito.

Previous page (top to bottom, left to right): 144-Isneg woman. Apayao. From Maramba 1998 (Field Museum A30673). **145**-Bontok women. Omfeg, Bontoc Ili, Bontoc, Mountain Province. 1996. Ana P. Labrador Collection. **146**-Village people. Jolo, Sulu. 1976. Photo courtesy of F. Landa Jocano, Joseph Fortin and the UP Asian Center. **147**-Bontok women with ceremonial rice. Bontoc, Mountain Province. 1996. Ana P. Labrador Collection. **148**-Bagobo woman. *Kasaysayan ng Lahi*, Manila. 1974. NM Collection. **149**-Bontok elder. Samoki, Mountain Province. 1996. Ana P. Labrador Collection. **150**-Ilocos Sur weaver. Vigan, Ilocos Sur. 2010. NM Collection. **151**-Maranao women. Lanao del Sur. 1976. Photo courtesy of F. Landa Jocano, Joseph Fortin and the UP Asian Center.

Inheritances, exchanges, rituals and marketplaces are some of the events and spaces in which textiles are passed from one owner to another. These carry with them narratives that are sometimes told in the process or through performances. Material culture studies have given rise to ideas that cloth, like other objects, has a social life (Appadurai 1986) or a biography (Hoskins 1998). Dependent on the weight of attributions they hold, the systems developed to preserve cloth vary—including those in the context of museum collections—and are stories in themselves.

Cloth is one of the most commonly collected objects both by individuals and by museums. Contemporary weavers now typically construct cloth out of durable fiber that allows their owners to use them repeatedly. Owners may clean and store them until they use them again. They may also dispose cloth in burial or exchange. Since cloth is durable or its raw materials more accessible to weavers, it is also easier to transport and trade. This makes them ideal objects of exchange.

In the Cordilleras, people wear and collect hand-woven cotton textiles for mundane and special reasons. As Ellis suggests, 'textiles permeate all stages of life cycle (in the Cordillera region), from conception to death' (1981: 226). Funerals are among the occasions to which cloth production, exchange and consumption are linked.

Cloth has become one of the markers of ethnic identity, both for the local people and the collectors of textiles. However, the wearers have different intentions for and methods of using cloth as a sign of their identity. This has to do with the choices of identity that they make within the frameworks of ethnicity and nationalism. On the whole, it is interesting to note the identity categories created in museum settings and other institutions of the nation state, as well as the way in which these are staged.

Cloth signifies identity for many indigenous Filipinos not just because of the colonial governments' initial interest in it. Rather it is they themselves who came to see it as a significant expression of social and political identity. It is the potential of cloth to be transformed, among other things, into clothing that makes it a powerful emblem. As an article of clothing, its nearness to the body initiates the self-representation that ultimately contributes to group identification.

Cloth and clothing represented in this section reveal stories engendered through weaving, through patterns, mnemonic devices and display, through exchange and sharing, and through inheritance and inalienability of heritage textiles.



152-Kinuttiyan/kinuttian. Death blanket. Cotton and natural dyes. 262 cm x 192 cm. Amganad, Banaue, Ifugao | Ifugao. NM Collection.

This is an example of a ritual death blanket for the *kadangyan*, the traditionally highest ranking members of the Ifugao community, used to wrap individual corpses and bones during the *bogwa* or secondary burial. Dyed using the *binudbudan*, or tie-dyed resist method, the designs of this specific *kinuttian* depict ritual implements. Observing social status even in death, the Ifugao traditional middle class use the *inladdang* as their ritual blanket.



153-Banton cloth. Death shroud. Abaca and natural dyes. 74.5 cm x 75 cm. Banton Island, Romblon. NM Collection.

The Banton cloth is the oldest existing textile in the Philippines, and the earliest existing specimen of warp tie-dyed textile in the Southeast Asian region (Paterno 1995). This was found in one of the wooden coffins inside a disturbed cave in the island of Banton. The site, a cave complex, was already known as early as 1937. A local from Romblon, Zoilo Festin reported the site to the NM, and a team led by Alfredo E. Evangelista and Avelino Legaspi traveled to Banton on 22 April 1966. Among their finds, in addition to wooden coffins, were Chinese stoneware jars, Chinese and Siamese plates, bowls and ornaments, Carnelian and blue glass beads, turtle shell combs and bracelets, modified coconut shell and bamboo that may as well be a flute. The estimated date of the assemblage was from 13th to early 14th century.



154-Malong a patola. Tubular garment. Silk and synthetic dyes. 157 cm x 94 cm. Lanao del Sur | Maranao. NM Collection.

The most valued type of *malong* is the *malong a patola*. *Ikat* patterns decorate both warp and weft, derived from traded Indian textile threads. This particular type of *malong* is worn only by women.



155-Malong a landap binaning. Tubular garment. Cotton and synthetic dyes. 183 cm x 93 cm. Lanao del Sur | Maranao. NM Collection.

Malongs are of several types. One type, *landap* (means 'pure') as displayed here, consists of three panels of plain, solid colored cloth. Yellow panels are called *binaning*, while the other colors for *landap* may be green (*gadong*) and black (*pangelemen*). With the color yellow reserved for royalty, this particular *malong* is exclusively for the members of the Maranao royal family. Tapestry panels, called *langkit*, woven using a specialized tapestry loom, join the solid colored panels. The *langkit* is what makes the *landap* type of *malong* unique among the tubular garments in the Philippines.

Bilang *bride wealth*

Hinabi ni Yoy Tinggal, ang malaking *ikat* na tinatawag na *kumu* ay binubuo ng tatlong entrepanyo ng purong abaka na habi sa pamamaraang *warp ikat* at kinulayan gamit ang natural na pangkulay. Itinuturing na pambihira ito dahil tanging ang mga pinakamagagaling lamang na manghahabi ang nakagagawa ng *kumu*.

Noong unang panahon, ang isang babaeng T'boli na hindi marunong maghabi ay itinuturing na nasa mababang antas ng lipunan at hindi makakapag-atas ng mataas na *bride wealth* (ang kabuuang halaga ng mga ari-arian o sagisag ng yaman na ibinibigay ng pamilya ng lalaking ikakasal sa pamilya ng babaeng pakakasalan niya). Ang *kumu* ay may mahalagang papel sa kasalang T'boli na tinatawag na *Mo'Nimun*. Ito ay tumatagal ng ilang araw kung saan ang buong komunidad at ang mga kalapit na pamayanan ay kasama sa pagdiriwang.

Hanggang noong Ikalawang Digmaang Pandaigdig, ang *t'nalak* ay ginagamit lamang tuwing mahahalagang okasyon at bahagi ng *bride wealth* sa mga ilustreng kasalan ng mga anak ng mga *datu* at *boi'*. Ginagamit din ito bilang natatanging handog sa mga espiritung nananahan sa lupa upang humiling ng pag-ulan para sa pananim, magpagaling sa maysakit, pagbasbas sa pagdiriwang tuwing anihan, at iba pang mahahalagang okasyon. Ayon kay Erin Canoy (2011), pinaniniwalaan ng mga babaeng T'boli na ang mga padron ay ipinagkakaloob sa kanila sa pamamagitan ng panaginip, mula sa kanilang mga ninuno, o kaya naman ay mula mismo kay Fu Dalu, ang espiritu ng abaka.

Ang *tabih* ng mga B'laan ay pang-ibabang kasuotan na may dalawang entrepanyo, tulad ng nasa eksibisyong ito, ginagamit bilang palda na may sinturong gawa sa tanso. Isinusuot ito tuwing mahahalagang okasyon, tulad ng mga kasalan at kasayahan. Kasama sa proseso ng paggawa nito ang pag-ani ng abaka, paghihiwalay ng mga hibla, pagkukulay, at paghahabi na maaaring umabot nang isa o dalawang buwan bago matapos. Gawa ni Yabing Dulo ng Amgulo, Landaw, Polomolok, Timog Cotabato, tinanghal na Manlilikha ng Bayan noong 2016, nang siya ay labindalawang taong gulang, baguhan at nag-aaral pa lamang maghabi. Itong kasuotang pinangingibabawan ng padrong buwaya ay napabilang sa koleksyon ng Pambansang Museo noong siyamnapung taong gulang na siya.

As bride wealth

Woven by Yoy Tinggal, this large ikat cloth called kumu is made of three separate panels of 100% abaca and natural dyes in warp ikat technique. It is now considered rare for only the best weavers may weave the kumu.

In the past, a T'boli woman who does not know how to weave was considered low in social status and cannot command a high bride wealth (the amount the family of the groom pays in property or symbols of wealth to the bride's family) and the kumu played a pivotal role in the great T'boli wedding ceremony called Mo'Nimun that stretches for days with the entire community and their neighbors taking part in the event.

Until the Second World War, t'nalak was mainly for special clothing and bride wealth during high profile weddings of children of datu and boi's. It is also used as a special offering to what they consider as earth spirits to ask for rain for their crops, to heal the sick, to bless harvest festivals and other special ceremonies. According to Erin Canoy (2011), T'boli women believe that the patterns are bestowed on them through their dreams, through their ancestors or one granted specially through Fu Dalu, the spirit of the abaca.

The B'laan tabih is a two-panel lower garment such as the one included in this exhibition fashioned as a tube skirt and secured with a brass belt. It is worn during special occasions, including weddings and festivals. Its weaving process involves harvesting abaca, stripping into fibers, dyeing, and weaving which may take a month or two to complete. Woven by Yabing Dulo of Amgulo, Landaw, Polomolok, South Cotabato, recognized as among our National Living Treasures in 2016, when she was twelve years old and an apprentice weaver, the National Museum acquired this abaca garment with dominant crocodile patterns when she was already ninety years old.



156-Kumu. Woven by Yoy Tinggal. Abaca and natural dyes. 309 cm x 177 cm. T'boli.
NM Collection.



157-Inabal. Woven cloth (folded). Abaca and natural dyes. 400 cm x 210 cm. Davao | Bagobo. NM Collection.

Traditional textiles are highly valued in the Bagobo society, particularly those that are finely woven and decorated. These serve not only as one of the symbols of wealth, but also as offerings to gods and deities and gifts to those who officiate rituals. Inherited fabrics are also protective charms, as well as guarantee the completion of houses. These materials are regarded by the Bagobos as *ikut*, or objects sacred because of their age. From Reyes 1992.

Bilang bagay na gamit sa pakikipagpalitan

Nakikipagkalakalan ang mga Bagobo sa mga pamayanan ng mga B'laan, Tagakaolo at Ata. Kabilang sa pinakikipagpalitan nila ang mga kayo na hinabing abaka, at kasuotang binurdahan at ginayakan ng tanso, bronse at bakal.

Ang kayamanan para sa mga Bagobo ay sinusukat batay sa pagmamay-ari ng mga sumusunod: palay o bigas, pananim na tubo, inuming alkohol, tapayan, sibat at espada, pinong habi at ginayakang mga tela, mga gong at palamuti.

Pinapahalagahan nila ang mga kayo na may marangyang pagkagayak dahil sa pananaw na ikinagagalak ng mga diyos ang ganitong katangian. Sa gayon, iniaaalay ang mga ito tuwing mahahalagang seremonya. Ang mga bagong habi at ginayakang kayo ay kinakailangang manatili sa may-ari matapos maialay sa mga diyos.

Sa ritwal na *ginum*, ang yaman ng tagapagtaguyod ay naipapamalas sa dami ng kayong iniaalay sa mga diyos. Sa taunang pagdiriwang na ito, ipinapakita ng kababaihan ang mataas na antas ng kasiningan ng kanilang gawain. Nakasabit ang mga ito sa kuwadrong gawa sa kawayan bilang paghahandog.

Upang hindi lumapit ang masasamang espiritu na kilala sa tawag na *buso*, ang telang gawa sa abaka na may disenyong buwaya ay inilalatag sa ibabaw ng yumao.

Ang mga tela ay itinuturing na *ikut* o lumang bagay na pinaniniwalaang sagrado dahil sa gulang at isinasantabi para sa mga diyos. Maliban sa pag-aalay nito sa mga diyos, ang mga tradisyunal na kayo ay ipinagkakaloob din sa matatandang nagsasagawa ng ritwal, pinakikipagpalitan sa kasalan at iniaalay sa pagpapatayo ng bahay.

As medium of exchange

The Bagobo traded with the neighboring B'laan, Tagakaolo and Ata, exchanging woven abaca cloth, clothing decorated with embroidery as well as fine pieces of brass, bronze and iron.

Wealth for the Bagobo was calculated in terms of their possession of the following goods: rice, sugarcane, liquor, jars, spears and swords, finely woven and decorated textiles, gongs and ornaments.

Richly decorated textiles were highly valued because they were thought to have the qualities that pleased the deities. Hence, these are offered during major ceremonies. Newly woven and decorated textiles must remain in the possession of the owners after they had been offered to their gods.

In the ginum ritual, the wealth of the sponsor was reflected by the quantity of textiles offered to the deities. During this annual occasion, women display their highly artistic work. Textiles are hung on bamboo frames as these are proffered to their deities.

To ward off the evil spirits, buso, hemp cloth with crocodile design is spread over the corpse.

Textiles are considered ikut or old objects believed to be sacred because of age and reserved for their gods. Besides offering these to their deities, traditional cloth are also given as gifts to ritual elders, exchanged during weddings and tendered when building their houses.

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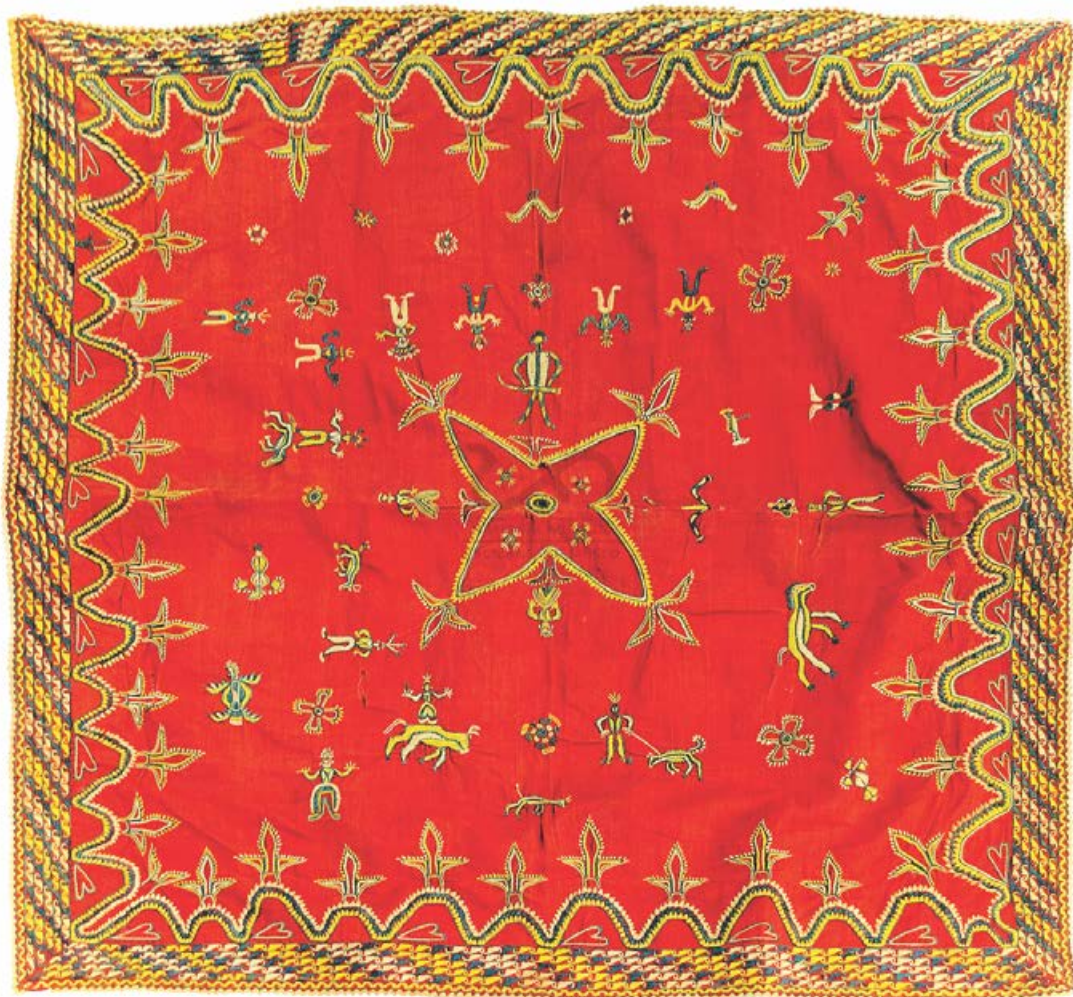
158-Pamokan (inset: back). Women's blouse. Abaca, cotton threads, natural and synthetic dyes. 41.5 cm x 126 cm. Tagakaolo. NM Collection.

This particular blouse, heavily embroidered on both sides of the bodice up to the sleeves, is worn only during special occasions. Upper garments of males usually have only one color.



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159-Headcloth. Commercial cotton and synthetic dyes. 72 cm x 71 cm. Sulu | Sama. NM Collection.

This piece of headcloth is unique from the Sama society, even with its use of synthetic dyed commercial cotton. The embroidery, showing anthropomorphic and zoomorphic designs, indicate that this may have been acquired through trade from one of the other inland groups of Mindanao.

Bilang tanda ng katayuan sa lipunan

Ang pinakamahirap na uri ng paghahabi sa Pilipinas ay ginagawa sa Timog, pangunahin sa mga Maranao, Yakan at Tausug. Ang paghabi ng tapiserya ay limitado sa saklaw dahil sa hirap at kasalimuutan ng pamamaraang ito.

Ang Tausug *pis* o *pis siyabit* ay isang halimbawa ng mga kumplikadong habing ito. Hindi tuloy-tuloy na hiblang pahalang sa kuwadrang piraso ng tela, may tanda itong simetriko at heometrikong hugis na nagmumula sa panggitnang parisukat. Bagaman lubha ang pagka-anggulo at walang kinakatawan, ang manghahabi ay kumikilala ng ilang tiyak na elemento ng disenyo na naiuugnay sa natural na mundo tulad ng mga bundok, prutas (gaya ng langka), paniki, isda, paruparo at bituin. Ang mga padron na *pis* ay iniuugnay din sa Mandala ng India kung kaya may ispirital itong dimensyon. Ang salitang *siyabit*, nangangahulugang ikawit, ay naglalarawan ng pamamaraang nagsisimula sa paggamit ng sinulid na pahalang upang makabuo ng masalimuot na padron sa mga hiblang patayo.

Ang mga parisukat na tela na nakatanghal sa bahaging ito ay ginagamit bilang bupanda sa balikat o palamuti sa ulo ng mga kalalakihan. Ang disenyo ay pinaghalong padron ng mga heometrikong anyo ng parisukat, dyamante, krus, heksagono at poligon, na nakapaloob sa isang masinsing pagkakaayos ng parilya. Ang kainaman ng disenyo sa ganitong uri ng kasuotan ay tanda ng panlipunang katayuan ng gumagamit.

As emblem of social rank

The most demanding kind of weaving in the Philippines is done in the South, principally among the Maranao, Yakan and Tausug. Tapestry weaving is limited in its spread due to the difficulty and intricacy of the techniques involved.

The Tausug pis or pis siyabit is an example of this complex weave. It is a discontinuous supplementary weft tapestry in a square piece of cloth, marked with symmetrical geometrical forms radiating from a central square. Although highly angular and non-representational, the weavers identify certain design elements that relate to the natural world such as mountains, fruits (like the jackfruit), bats, fish, butterflies and stars. Pis patterns are also attributed to the Indian Mandala giving pis a spiritual dimension. The term siyabit, means “to hook,” describing the technique in introducing the weft threads to produce intricate patterns into the warp threads.

The square pieces of cloths displayed in this section function as a male shoulder scarf or headdress. The design is a composite pattern of geometric forms of squares, diamonds, crosses, hexagons and polygons, all locked within a tightly organized grid. The sophisticated design on this type of clothing accessory mark the social rank of the bearer.



160-Pis siyabit. Headcloth, sometimes used as sash for males. Cotton, silk and synthetic dyes. 91 cm x 80 cm. Jolo, Sulu | Tausug. NM Collection.

Pis siyabit are used either as head cover or draped over the shoulder. This particular piece is woven using discontinuous supplementary weft in tapestry weave. Its *pis* pattern, derived from Indian Mandala, illustrates a spiritual dimension; geometrical forms radiate symmetrically from a central square.



161-Seputangan. Headcloth/sash. Cotton, silk and synthetic dyes. 82 cm x 72 cm. Basilan Island | Yakan. NM Collection.

Seputangan are head covers the Yakan wear, but more recently these are just draped over the shoulders. This piece was done through discontinuous supplementary weft in tapestry weave, revealing the brocaded design with diamond forms.



162-Tangkulu/tungkulo/tunkulu. Headcloth. Commercial cotton, *morinda* (natural red dye) and beads. 36 cm x 36 cm. Davao | Ata Manobo. NM Collection.

Tungkulo is exclusively used by the *magani* or warriors, serving as their ritual badge for having provided the deity (Mandarangan) protecting them with human blood to drink. The colors range from brown to deep red, the intensity of which is indicative of the number of the *magani*'s ritual killing. The design in white always radiate from the center to the corners of the square headcloth. This particular piece of *tungkulo* is an example of the use of the resist-dye methods using dots called *plangi* or *pelangi*, to represent the crocodile design. The *mabalian* or priestess is the only one allowed to do *plangi* work, since they have to be protected by the deity Bait Pandi. After the cloth has been dyed using *sakilig* or *karig* (*Morinda critifolia*) and dried, the edges are embellished with beads and cotton tassels or pompoms.



163-Salual/saloo (inset: back). Trousers for males. Abaca and natural dyes. 50 cm x 95 cm. Davao | Bagobo. NM Collection.

This pair of male lower garment serves as an example of *tritik*, and is exclusively for the *magani*, or members of the warrior class of the Bagobo society. In *tritik*, the design is sewn on the woven natural colored-abaca cloth folded several times, using waxed thread, after which it is placed in dye (Cole 1913). Pulling the embroidered threads out, multiple copies of the design are shown around the dyed cloth.

Bilang simbolo ng ritwal

Ang *tangkulu* (minsang binabaybay bilang *tungkulo* o *tunkulu*) ay ang *headcloth* ng *magani* na bukod-tanging kinulayan at pinalamutian ng *mabalian*, ang babaeng pari na mayroon ding karapatang magsuot ng *tangkulu*. Ang mga *magani* ay ang pangunahing mandirigma sa lipunang Bagobo na maaaring mula sa antas ng namumuno o pangkaraniwang miyembro. Sila lamang ang pinahihintulutang gumamit ng uri ng mga tela na nagpapakita ng disenyong *plangi* o *pelangi* na binubuo ng padron ng mga puting bilog sa pulang saligan, gawa sa pamamaraang pagkukulay na *resist dye*. Ang kulay ng saligang tela ay maaaring matingkad na kayumanggi hanggang pulang parang dugo, batay sa dami ng buhay na kinitil ng *magani*.

Tulad ng iba pang *headcloth* mula sa lugar na ito, palaging may punto sa gitnang bahagi kung saan nagmumula ang mga linya tungo sa apat na sulok ng parisukat na tela. Ang mga gilid ay may hangganang puting mga manik habang ang mga kanto naman ay may palawit ng manik at maliliit na *pompom*. Nagsisilbi ito bilang sagisag ng seremonya na nagsasabing ang may suot ay nakapag-alay kay Mandarangan, ang diyos na kumakanlong sa mga *magani*, ng dugo ng tao. Ang *headcloth* na ito ay tanda ng kanyang pagiging natatangi at makapangyarihang tao sa kanyang pamayanan.

As ritual symbol

The tangkulu (sometimes spelled as tungkulo or tunkulu) is the magani headcloth specially dyed and decorated by a mabalian, a priestess who also has the right to wear the tangkulu. The magani comprise of foremost warriors in the Bagobo hierarchy who may have come from the top chieftain position or the commoner segment. Only they are allowed to wear the cloth type that features the plangi or pelangi design, consisting of resist dye circles of white pattern on red ground. The ground could range from chocolate brown to blood red, depending on the number of lives taken by the magani.

Like other headcloths from this area, there is always a point at its center from which the lines radiate to the four corners of the square fabric. Edges are bordered with white beads while at the corners are tassels of beads and small pompoms. This serve as a ceremonial badge indicating that the wearer has offered Mandarangan, the deity who protects the magani, human blood. This particular headcloth marks him as a person of distinction and power in his village.

Succeeding pages (including foldout):

164-Sa-ul/saol (inset: back). Upper garment. Abaca, cotton threads, shell discs, beads and natural dyes. 50 cm x 95 cm. Sta. Cruz, Davao | B'laan. **165-Trousers** (inset: back). Lower garment. Abaca, cotton threads, and natural dyes. 56 cm x 47 cm. NM Collection.

Beyer (1943) stated that B'laan 'make excellent hemp cloth, beautifully embroidered with intricate designs excelling all other found in the Philippines.' Such also is the case with their embroidery, disclosing a high degree of technical skill. Designs were embroidered through a series of finely done cross-stitches. Embroidery on the trouser legs is called *bantati*. According to Steinmann (1942), the elongated triangles are reminiscent of the oldest geometrical motifs called *tumpal*, also found in Borneo, Celebes, Rote and Bali. He states that it was 'to be regarded as an *ikat* imitation of the original serrated edge of the ancient Indonesian bark cloths, just as the natural fringe of the fabrics served as a border pattern for *ikats*.' This ensemble is worn during special occasions. From Reyes 1992.



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Bilang tagapagpaalala ng kapangyarihan ng hangin

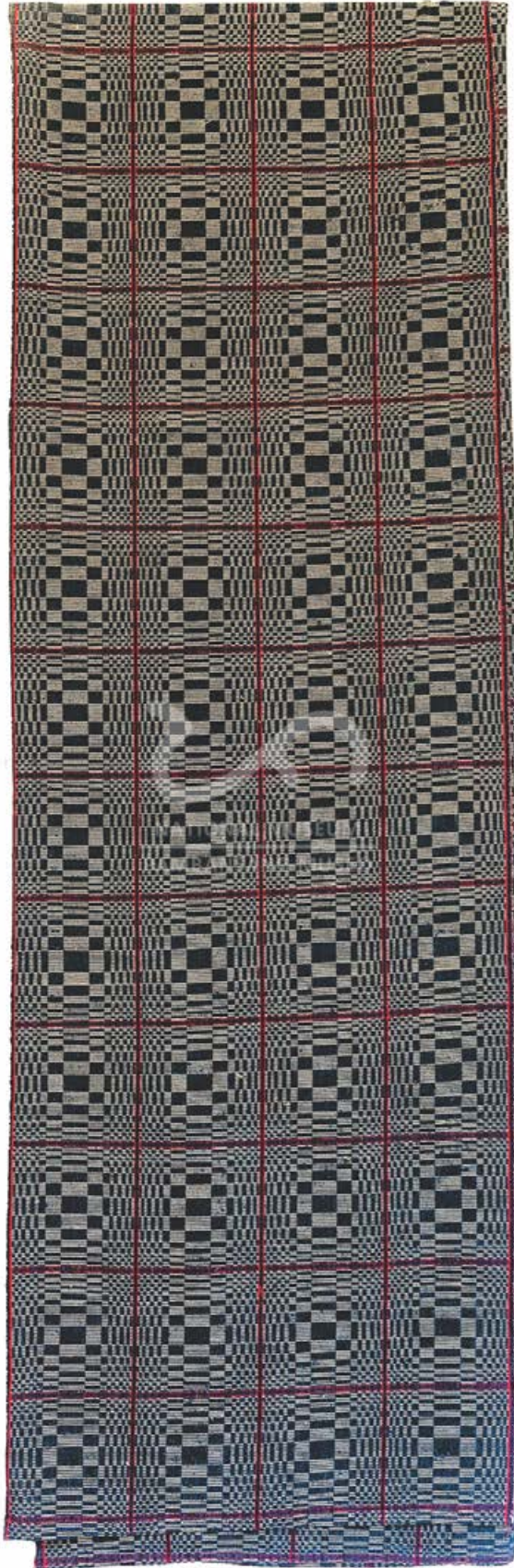
Ang *owes* o kumot ay isa sa ilang mga anyo ng kayo na matatagpuan sa Hilagang-kanlurang Luzon na kinikilala bilang isang uri ng *abel Iloko* o habing Ilokano. Tinatawag itong *binakul*, naglalaman ng sistematikong pagkakaayos ng parisukat at parihabang puti at iba pang kulay. Sa iba't ibang uri ng *binakul*, ang *kusikos* o disenyong alimpuyo o uliuli ay ang pinakamabisa. Ipinapakita nito ang diyos ng hangin sa heometrikong anyo na natutulad sa *Op Art* o estilong *optical art* kung saan ipinapalagay ang paggalaw mula sa interaksyon sa pagitan ng malikmata at larawang patag. Sa pagkakataong ito, ang puti at makulay na parisukat na may sistematikong pagkakasukat ang nagbibigay ng pakiramdam ng paggalaw ng mga padron.

Noong panahon ng mga Kastila, ayon kay Respicio (2003), ang mga kayo na may disenyong *kusikos* ay tanyag na palo ng mga bangkang pangkalakal dahil sa paniniwalang mabisang pananggalang ang mga ito sa bangis ng diyos ng hangin. Pinaniniwalaang ang mga disenyong alimpuyo at uliuli sa mga kayo ay nakapagpapalubag sa diyos ng hangin at nawawalan ng bisa ang kanyang kapangyarihan.

As reminders of the powerful effect of the wind

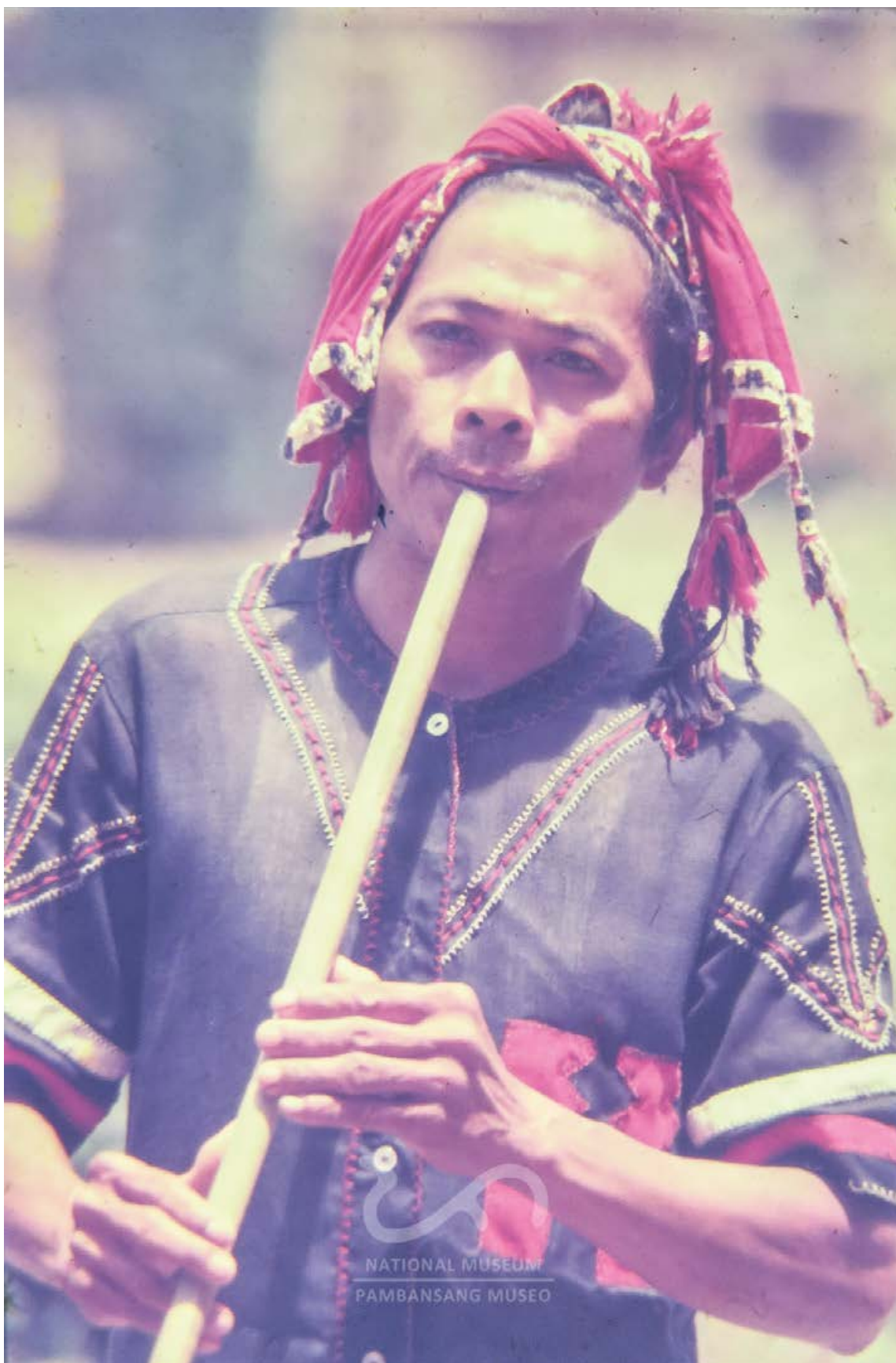
The owes or blanket is one of the several forms of textiles found in Northwestern Luzon that is usually referred to as a type of abel lloko or Ilokano weave. This is called the binakul that contain graduated squares and rectangles of white and color hues. Among the kinds of binakul, the kusikos or whirlwind or whirlpool design is the most potent. It depicts the wind god in geometric form akin to Op Art or optical art in which an impression of movement is created from an interaction between illusion and picture plane. In this case, it is the white and colored squares of graduated sizes that give a sensation of vibrating patterns.

During the Spanish colonial period, according to Respicio (2003), textiles with kusikos designs were popular masts for trading ships as these are believed to be potent shields from the fury of the wind god. It is thought that with the depiction of the whirlwind or whirlpool in textiles, the wind god is appeased and its powers neutralized.



166-Owes (*sinankuskos*). Blanket.
Commercial cotton and synthetic dyes.
206 cm x 164 cm. Abra | Tinguian. NM
Collection.

This design, known as *kusikos*, represents the constant movement of whirlpools and whirlwinds where, it is believed by Ilokano communities, the wind god dwells. Comprising of negative and positive squares and rectangles of systematically different sizes, *kusikos* designs are believed to help soothe and defuse the powers of the wind god. These were then common as mast designs for boats during the colonial period, apart from being used as blankets.



167-Bagobo man. *Kasaysayan ng Lahi, Manila.* 1974. NM Collection.



168-Manobo couple. Agusan del Norte, 2010. NM Collection.



169 170



29/12/2011



171

Pagkonsumo ng Tela: Pagsasaalang-alang sa Kapakinabangan at Sining tungo sa Pag-aari ng mga Kayo

Consuming Cloth: Functional and Aesthetic Considerations in Acquiring Textiles



172 173



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175

Sa bahaging ito ng eksibisyon, sinusuri ang tela mula sa pananaw ng mga gumagamit sa lokal at pambansang konteksto. Binigyan ng partikular na pansin ang kanilang papel bilang sagisag ng pagkakakilanlan. Sa pagpili ng mga gamit na itinanghal, binigyang-pansin ang pagkakaiba ng mga kayo na ginawa para sa mga kasapi ng komunidad at sa mga taga-labas o sa merkado. Sinuri ang tradisyunal na tela sa perspektibong paano ito ginawang bago o ibinabagay sa kasalukuyang panahon tuwing isinusuot o itinatanghal. Ang karangyaan at pagkaantala dulot ng mga pagbabago at mapanlikhang-isip ng mga pinamamanang tela ay siyang humubog sa bahaging ito ng eksibisyon.

Isinaalang-alang ni Emma Tarlo (1996) sa kanyang maimpluhong pag-aaral ang suliranin ng pang-araw-araw na kasuotan. Isa ito sa gumagambala sa ating isipan tuwing tayo ay lalabas sa mga pampublikong lugar. Dahil dito, manaka-naka nating napagtanto na mahalaga ang pang-araw-araw na kasuotan, at kadalasang mas mahirap magdesisyon para sa mahahalagang okasyon, tulad ng mga pagdiriwang, taimtim na ritwal at pagtatanghal, mga kaganapang mas makapagpapamalay sa atin na magdamit ng naaayon. Ang mga kasuotan, kasama ng mga panggayak, ay mas mahalaga sa mga okasyong kinakailangan ng pagpapahayag ng panlipunang katayuan. Sa mga pagkakataong ito, itinatanghal ang katanyagan ng ilang disenyo, padron at kulay mula sa mga tela at kasuotan.

Kaakibat ang tela sa mga ritwal ng pag-ikot ng buhay. Mula pagsilang, ang tao ay balot tulad sa pahahan ng mga bagong-silang paglabas sa kanilang bagong kapaligiran. Itinatakda rin ng mga kasuotan ang pagkakaiba ng mga salinlahi, at nananamit ayon sa atas na maisalamin ang napagdaang progreso sa *rites of passage*, itinatag na panlipunang katayuan at iba't ibang bahagi ng buhay. Ang pag-aasawa, para sa maraming kultura, ang nagpapahiwatig ng pagdating sa sapat na gulang, at ayon sa mga panlipunang pamantayan, pinahintulutan nang maisuot ang ilang tiyak na uri ng kasuotan. Sa kawalan ng tela, ayon kay Ruth Barnes (1991), ang ilang pangkat ay hindi maaaring mag-asawa.

Previous page (top to bottom, left to right): **169**-Yakan women and man. ca. 1970. NM Collection. **170**-Male sewer. San Fernando, La Union 2010. Photo courtesy of JS Santiago. **171**-Bagobo men. *Kasaysayan ng Lahi*, Manila. 1974. NM Collection. **172**-Ibaloi elders during a ritual for their mummified ancestors. Kabayan, Benguet. 1998. NM Collection. **173**-*Kasaysayan ng Lahi*. 1974. NM Collection. **174**-Different Filipino indigenous groups in their respective traditional attires during the *Kasaysayan ng Lahi* festivities in Manila. 1974. NM Collection. **175**-Government employees from Sadanga, Mountain Province, garbed in traditional skirts and loincloths during the 1997 Mountain Province Day parade. Bontoc, Mountain Province. 1997. Ana P. Labrador Collection.

In this section of the exhibition, textiles are being examined from the view of those who consume them in local and national settings. Particular attention has been given to their role as emblems of identities. In selecting the materials on display, contrast is made between cloth made for members of the community and those for outsiders or the market. Traditional cloth is examined from the perspective of how it is made new or contemporized when worn and displayed. Both raptures and ruptures of change and innovation of heritage fabrics have also shaped this section.

Emma Tarlo (1996) considers in her seminal study the problem of what to wear in an everyday setting. This issue sometimes besets us when we are about to leave our domestic spaces for public places. Since we encounter this dilemma on a daily basis we come to realize only sporadically that clothing matters for everyday wear, and are more usually challenged when having to deal with special sartorial occasions, such as festivals, solemn rituals and pageants which are events that make us specially self-conscious of having to dress appropriately. Clothing, together with the personal adornments selected to go with them, matters more when occasions call for declaring social status. This is where the prestige of certain designs, patterns and colors are invoked in displaying cloth and clothing.

Fabrics are adjuncts to life cycle rituals. From birth, human beings are mantled with a form of covering as newborns are swaddled in their new environment. Clothes may also define generational differences, and dress accordingly prescribed to reflect progression through rites of passage, established statuses and the various phases of life. Marriage, in many cultures, completes the stage of adulthood and permits certain types of clothing to be worn as prescribed by social norms. Without cloth, according to Ruth Barnes (1991), some groups cannot even marry.

Maaaring ito rin ang kaso sa paglilibing at pagtawid sa kabilang buhay. Sa mga seremonya ng paglilibing sa mga Filipino at sa maraming komunidad sa Timog-Silangang Asya, may mahalagang papel ang mga kayo, mula sa paggayak ng namatay habang nakahiga—o nakaupo, tulad sa ilang grupo—sa burol, ang mga tela ay tinatanghal bilang simbolo ng katayuan at sa kalaunan ipinambabalot sa yumao. Mula sa pagsilang hanggang kamatayan, ang mga nabanggit na materyal ay tunay na hibla ng buhay at maging ng kamatayan, tulad ng retaso ng telang Banton.

Ang mga kontemporaryong kumukunsumo ng tela ay karaniwang may kaugnayan sa merkado, sapagkat itinataguyod ng turismo ang pangungulekta. Ang daloy ng produksyon ay maaaring naiiba sa walang maliw na konteksto at paniniwala ng paggawa ng sapat na bilang para matustusan ang lokal ng konsumo. Ang kolonyalismo, pananalaping ekonomiya, paglalakbay, at pagkakaroon ng pagkakataong makisalamuha sa dati rating mga liblib na komunidad ay nag-ambag sa paniniwalang ang tela ay konsumong pangkalakal.

Malambot, maaaring itupi, madaling dalhin, ang mga kayo ay maaaring isa sa mga madali at mainam na alaala sa mga taong madalas maglakbay. Maaaring ito ang nagbigay-daan sa pagkakaiba sa kalidad ng produksyon ng tela. Sa maraming pagkakataon, ang mga habi na gagamitin ng mga *culture bearers* o *locals* ay mas maganda kumpara sa ginawa para sa mga dayo o turista tulad ng *lufid ay sinangbitwin* ng mga Bontok. Ang uri ng telang ito ay halos imposibleng matatagpuan sa merkado o maging sa mga mamahaling pamilihan sa Maynila. Mas karaniwang matatagpuan sa merkado ang mga kumot mula sa rehiyon ng Ilocos na hindi masinsin ang pagkakahabi at mas mabilis na ginawa.

This may also be the case for burials and the transition to the afterlife. During funeral ceremonies among many Filipino and Southeast Asian communities, textiles play a significant role, from dressing the corpses while lying—or sitting, as with some groups—in state to displaying shrouds as status symbols that are eventually used to wrap the dead. From birth to death, materials are indeed fabrics of life and as the fragments thereafter of Banton cloth.

Contemporary consumers of cloth are usually associated with the market, as tourism has promoted the activity of collecting. The flow of production may have been unprecedented in the longstanding context and ethos of making exactly enough to supply domestic consumption. Colonialism, the money economy, travel and access to formerly remote communities have contributed to the notion of cloth as a consumer good.

Flexible, easy to carry and transport, textiles may be one of the most convenient souvenirs for transients to take with them. This may have created the dichotomy for the quality of cloth production. In most cases, those woven for domestic use are better than those for outsiders as the Bontok lufid ay sinangbitwin attests. This type of cloth is almost impossible to buy in the local market or even the most expensive shops in Manila. The more commonly available fabrics are blankets from the Ilocos region, that are loosely woven and more quickly made.

Succeeding pages (foldouts):

176-*Albon* (inset: back). Female upper garment. Cotton, shell discs, beads and synthetic dyes. 120 cm x 33 cm. Davao | B’laan. NM Collection.

This type of garment is used to be made purely of abaca. Worn by B’laan women during special occasions, *albon* were traditionally of two colors, red and black or blue, using natural dyes that were locally available. As shown in this particular piece, B’laan women are skillful in embroidering figurative designs, as well as stylized motifs.

177-Female upper garment/blouse (inset: back). Commercial cotton and threads. 29 cm x 42 cm. Central Panay | Sulod Bisaya/Panay Bukidnon. NM Collection.

This embroidered cotton blouse with floral, butterfly and geometric designs comes from the Sulod group inhabiting the mountains along the banks of Panay River between Mt. Saya and Mt. Baloy. Anthropologist F. Landa Jocano studied with them and recorded his work (1968). During his research, he also photographed and collected material culture, including this blouse.

178-*Umpak* (inset: back). Jacket. Abaca, cotton threads, natural and synthetic dyes. 47 cm x 35 cm. Davao | Manobo. NM Collection.

Made of gauze-like abaca fabric and embroidered at the shoulders, this jacket is similar to the Mandaya *bado*. According to Worcester (1913), the Manobo may have learned how to weave from the Mandaya during their captivity as slaves.

179-*Barong*. Formal male upper garment. Hand embroidered *piña* cloth. Aklan. Albert Antonino Collection.

The *piña* fabric for this *Barong* Tagalog is made in Kalibo, Aklan then embroidered in Luzon, either in Taal, Batangas or Lumban, Laguna. Hence, the term ‘*Barong* Tagalog’ to refer to the type of embellishment that completes the fabric for wear (traditionally for men) (FIDA).

180-*Baro at pañuelo*. Shawl and blouse. Machine embroidered *jusi* and cotton cloth. Commercially bought. Private collection.

181-*Baro*. Formal female blouse. Hand embroidered *piña* cloth. Senator Loren Legarda Collection.



176







178





179



180



181



Succeeding page:

182-Female Bontok formal wear. a-‘Missionary’s blouse.’ Plain white cotton shirt. **b-*Wakis ay kinulibangbang*.** Belt/girdle. Cotton and synthetic dyes. **c-*Lufid ay sinangadom*.** Wrap skirt. Cotton and synthetic dyes. Samoki, Bontoc, Mountain Province | Bontok. Private Collection.

The *lufid ay sinangadom* is one of the ten types of rectangular wrap skirts made by Bontok weavers worn during official events or religious rituals. It is held tightly by a *wakis* or belt that also doubles as a girdle. As a type of formal wear, the *kinulibangbang* (flower design) type is worn with the skirt, its white ground connoting the church connection, as with the blouse when the missionaries in the early 20th century imposed the upper garment. For everyday wear, the Bontok use the *wakis ay inawing*.

Senator Loren Legarda Collection



183-Contemporary Kalinga female upper and lower garments.
Commercial cotton and dyes, beads and mother-of-pearl. Senator Loren Legarda Collection.



a



b

184 a-*Baro at pañuelo*. b-Detail of back.

Female upper garment with shawl. *Raffia* with embroidery and beads. **c-Skirt.** *Sinamay*. Designed by Patis Tesoro. Negros Oriental. Senator Loren Legarda Collection.

Senator Loren Legarda wears this ensemble on formal occasions, exhibiting the triumph of contemporary abaca fibers woven into cloth. Its heavy beads demonstrate the durability of the *sinamay* as it keeps shape despite the weight of the embellishments. The natural fiber color complements the neutral tone of prescribed ceremonial dress in lowland cultures such as those in towns and urban areas. Abaca cultivation and processing are as widespread in the island of Negros as in the Bicol region and Agusan. In recent times, it has seen the promotion and transformation into fashionable textile.



185-Blouse, shawl and skirt. *Piña*, silk and commercial dyes. Senator Loren Legarda Collection.





187a



187b



188b



188a

186 (previous page), **187** and **188 a-Baro at pañuelo. b-Detail.** Female upper garment with shawl. *Cañamaso* (stiffened cotton) with embroidery and beads. Senator Loren Legarda Collection.

These ensemble belongs to Senator Loren Legarda's mother, Bessie B. Legarda, whose mother wore it. The upper garment and shawl was made to match along with the patterns of the skirt material. A formal wear, this has probably been only worn a few times and is well-preserved. The material *cañamaso* has gone through the stiffening process to enable designs to be embroidered on them. This also refers to the type of cotton produced locally. Loosely woven to produce a gauze effect, the upper garment and shawl were starched to keep their form.



189-Blouse. 190-Skirt. Commercial cotton, abaca, synthetic dyes, beads and coins. Senator Loren Legarda Collection.

A Mandaya ensemble worn by Senator Loren Legarda during important sessions at the Senate.



191b



191a

192

193

191 a-Albong. b-Back of albong. Female upper garment. Appliqué, sequins and beaded cotton. South Mindanao | B'laan. **192-Sabetan.** Belt. Plastic beads with a brass clasp and brass bells. South Mindanao | B'laan. **193-Malong.** Lower garment. Cotton with metallic threads. Maguindanao. Senator Loren Legarda Collection.

A B'laan ensemble worn on special occasions, Senator Loren Legarda wears this during important sessions at the Senate. This is an unusually decorated traditional upper garment with appliques, buttons, beads and embroidery, fully covering the basic black long-sleeved top. It has been rendered stiff as a result, especially along the shoulders. The tubular skirt (*malong*) commonly partnered with it comes from those woven by Muslim communities, such as the Maguindanao.



194a



194b

194 a-Kegal kenibang. b-Back of kegal kenibang. Female upper garment. Appliqué and cotton. T'boli. Senator Loren Legarda Collection. **195-Malong.** Lower garment. Cotton with metallic threads. Maguindanao. Private Collection.

This is a T'boli upper garment usually worn by Senator Loren Legarda with black trousers. The blue cotton, long-sleeved, is decorated with strips of red to emphasize the rickrack white appliqué. This design is traditional although contemporarily rendered. The lower garment is a popular form of *malong* from the Maguindanao group to complete the ensemble.

195





196 a and b-Female ensemble. Upper garment and skirt. **c-Back of upper garment.** Cotton with embroideries on top edge of upper garment and bottom edge of the skirt. Aurora | Dumagat. Senator Loren Legarda Collection.

This ensemble belongs to Senator Loren Legarda that has been specially commissioned and given by the Dumagat leaders. It has the distinctive red that the Dumagat of Aurora are fond of. Without a weaving tradition, the Dumagat of Aurora would barter goods with their neighbors for ready-made textiles. They would then personalize these by embellishing distinctive embroideries that have affinities with their myths and environment.



197-Mangyan women. Oriental Mindoro. ca. 1970.
Photo courtesy of the Society of the Divine Word (SVD).

Fashion and indigenous Filipinos

Ang mga larawang ito ay kuha ni Wig Tysmans para sa proyektong Sinaunang Habi / *Philippine Ancestral Weaves* (1991), aklat na inilathala ni Senador Nikki Coseteng at isinulat ni Marian Pastor Roces. Kabilang sa proyektong ito ang pagtungo nila sa mga pangunahing lugar kung saan maaari silang maglagay ng pansamantalang estudyo, kabilang ang neutral na likuran, at makipagkasundo sa mga taong nag-boluntaryong magpakuha ng larawan.

Karamihan sa mga larawan ay hindi pa nailathala at binubuo nito ang mga pinili mismo ng litratista mula sa proyekto, naaayon sa paksa, komposisyon at kuwadro. Ipinagkaloob ito ni Tysmans sa Pambansang Museo para sa eksibisyong ito nang maipagbigay-alam sa kanya ang ayos ng pagtatanghal nito. Tig-apat ang mga ito na sadyang nakahusto sa isa't isa, maging sa mga bagay na nakatanghal sa palibot nito. Nilalayon nitong anyayahan ang mga bisita ng eksibisyon na hangaan sa taglay na sining ni Wig Tysmans sa pagsasalarawan ng kayumian ng moda ng katutubong Filipino at pagtatanghal sa dangal ng mga nasusuot.

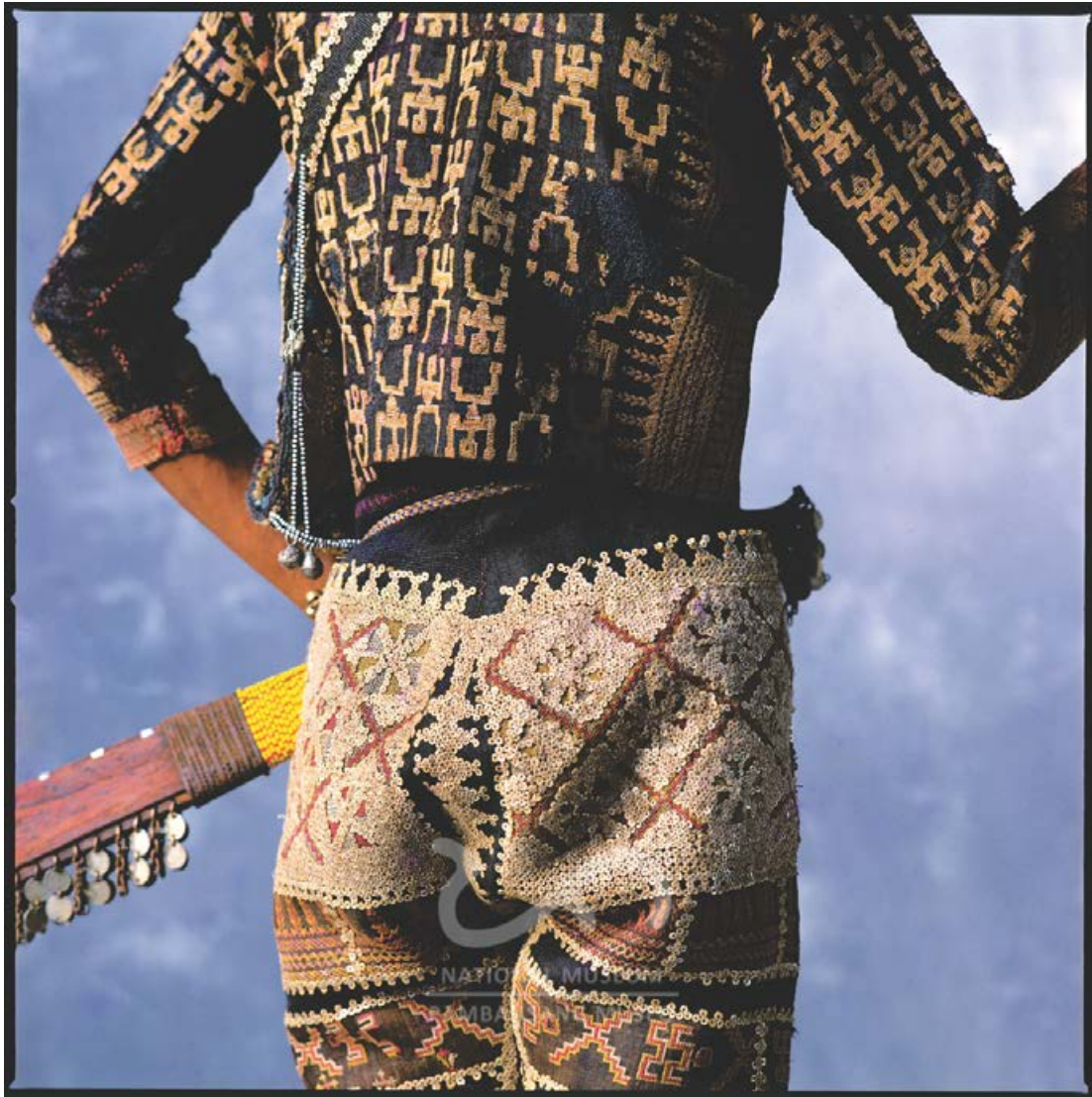
These photographs were taken by Wig Tysmans during a project for the Sinaunang Habi / Philippine Ancestral Weaves book (1991) that was published by Senator Nikki Coseteng and written by Marian Pastor Roces. Their project involved going to the key sites in which the team could set up a temporary studio, including a neutral background, and negotiate with the people who volunteered to be photographed.

Most of these images are unpublished and constitute the photographer's own choices from the project in terms of subject matter, composition and frame. Tysmans gave these to the National Museum for this exhibition after being informed of the format in which these will be displayed. There are four of these, meant to correspond directly to each other, as well as to complement the objects around them. It is meant for viewers of the exhibition to appreciate the artistry of Wig Tysmans that depict the sophistication of Filipino indigenous fashion and invoke the dignity of their wearers.



198-B'laan Datu Moises Moca Fernandez was 57 years old when this photograph was taken in Dungan Pekong, Matanao, Davao del Sur.

This is the front view of the ensemble in which Datu Moises posed for Wig Tysmans. At that time, his weaver wife had introduced a personal innovation by using the woven abaca material into an open shirt *saol*. This contrasts with the traditional B'laan *saol* (see 167, p. 128) that is densely embroidered in the front in a large T-shaped field and embellishments were symbols of their warrior status known as *lebe*. He is also carrying a highly decorated purse and sheath for his scabbard (Roces 1991:196).



199-B'laan Datu Moises Moca Fernandez was 57 years old when this photograph was taken in Dungan Pekong, Matanao, Davao del Sur.

This is the back view of the ensemble in which Datu Moises posed for Wig Tysmans. His trousers is borrowed as well as the *tikos* vine leglets (not shown in this photograph) to complete the accessories for the ensemble of one who is a *lebe* or possesses warrior status. He also carries a highly decorated purse and a sheath for his scabbard (Roces 1991:196).



200-Memay Masumpad of Mandaya highlands, Davao Oriental was 40 years old at the time this photo was taken.

This unpublished photograph represents the special cotton blouse, called *dagum*, that Mandaya women wear. These are usually red, blue, black and yellow, embroidered with animal or geometric designs at the back, front and sleeves. A weaver and a dyer, Memay makes her own *dagmay*. When this photograph was taken, she, along with another weaver Mapunsay 'both rued the lack of the distinctive Mandaya circular silver breastpiece called *patena*, which at the time of the pictorial, was borrowed by a niece for a school cultural activity (Roces 1991:180).'



201-Mandaya weavers Memay Masumpad (right), 40, Mapunsay Selat (center, back to camera), 67, and granddaughter (left).

This portrait appeared on the cover of *Sinaunang Habi / Philippine Ancestral Weaves*, displaying both their *dagum* or the intricately embroidered top and the *dagmay*, the tubular skirt they have woven as a show of pride to the book team and the photographer.

Proudly aware that their ensemble almost perfectly match Mandaya costumes described in late 19th century texts and featured in early 20th century photographs, as described in *Sinaunang Habi*, these included 'the *suwat*, the comb poised on the hair knot *pinangko*; *payutgut*, a tight choker worn on the neck; *balyug*, a breastpiece made of woven beadwork, coins and crocodile teeth; the other necklace, *tungkaling*; *balikog* earrings of *balanitaw* wood; the set of *pamulang*, petrified shell bracelets with "spacers," *pamuwang*, of black *sagaysay* wood; *tungkaling*, a waist piece constructed from a collection of beads, coins and tassels; and some *singkil*, leg bracelets which are also bells (Roces 1991:180).



202-Datu Oscar Udang, a Bagobo from Catalunan Grande, Talomo District, Davao City, was 69 years old when the photograph was taken.

A portrait of doubt and regret, Datu Oscar was noted to be 'initially unwilling to wear the old *loko* and *saloa tangkulu*' (lower and upper garments) and even the *tangkulu pamudbud* (headcloth) 'that was part of the set. He refused to acknowledge these garment pieces as Bagobo.' It was initially explained that the type of clothing was rare and did not represent his Bagobo group (Roces 1991:200-201).



203-Datu Oscar Udang, a Bagobo from Catalunan Grande, Talomo District, Davao City, was 69 years old when the photograph was taken.

Back view of Datu Oscar's garment whose portrait expresses discomfort at having to wear this ensemble. Despite the exceptionally made abaca fabric with *pelangi* patterns using the resist-dyeing techniques, he eventually admitted distancing himself from the clothes due to its connection to *magani* activities, such as taking lives for human sacrifice. Moreover, 'documenting his reservations in [*Sinaunang Habi*]' is the author's way of recognizing the conjoint Christian-Bagobo ethic by which Datu Oscar has lived most of his life. The costume itself has not been worn by the Bagobo since the denouement of the way of the *magani*, prior to the Second World War. The use of *magani* garment was a matter decided by convocations of elders, all of whom were *magani*' (Roces 1991:200-201).



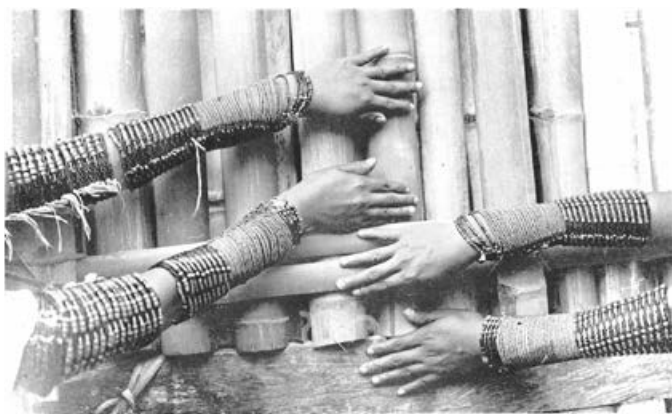
204-Norma Tluno (left), 25, **Virginia Paam** (right), 26, **Conia Kamansa** (center), 30, with **Tuadaoy Ungkal**, 9 months, when this photograph was taken in Lembaning, Lake Sebu, South Cotabato.

Norma Tluno wears a *këgal nisif* (embroidered blouse) that shows the central position of a row of longish diamonds collectively called *kamang*. They refer to the brilliant colors on a black background as *gondong*. Motifs are said to be vaguely reminiscent of the minutely-executed T'boli *hakang* or tattoos of the past. Virginia Paam and Conia Kamansa with baby Tuadaoy show the patterns on their *këgal*. Whether executed in appliqué (*këribang*), embroidery (*nisif*) or beadwork (*hëkëf*), the *këgal* exhibits a strictly geometric formulation as could be noted in majority of the Philippine weaving design systems. A *lëwek* (tubular garment) when used as a baby sling is referred to as *s'libay* (Roces 1991:182).



205-Norma Tluno (front, right), 25, Virginia Paam (front, left), 26, Conia Kamansa (back, right), 30, Roselyn Manuel (front, center), 19, and Arthur Kamansa (back, left), 33, (ages indicated as of book publication in 1991) are all T'boli from Lembaning, Lake Sebu, South Cotabato.

This unpublished composite portrait of unsmiling individuals re-enacts the silence and defiant state of indigenous people featured in some 19th century photographs. It is what they are wearing that speaks of their trade history. The lone man during this photo session, Arthur Kamansa, wears the *t'nalak* upper garment and trousers and a *tubaw* (headcloth originating perhaps from the Maranao). 'The women,' as described in *Sinaunang Habi*, 'are all wearing either the *fandi stala* or *fandi nidol*, referring to types of *lëwek* (tubular garment) brought from Muslim sources. The beaded *këgal* or upper garment shows possible design borrowings from the neighboring Koronadal B'laan (Roces 1991:184).'



206 and 207-Batek. Armbands. Beads and strings on sheathed rice stalks. Itneg/Tinguian. Private Collection.
208-‘Women’s arm beads’. From Cole (1922:Plate LXXIX).

Bead strands covering the lower arm were typical ornamentation among Itneg females. Wealthier females have their upper arms covered as well. Cole (1922) notes that these were only taken off only once or twice in a year, when the strings holding the beads together were to be replaced, or when the wearer goes into mourning. Women’s arms were also tattooed with delicate designs tinted by ash from burned rice husks—hence the term *batek* to denote arm decoration among the Itneg either with armbands or tattoos. They used to see bare arms as unacceptable.

Succeeding pages:

209-Sinalasale. Necklace. 34 cm. **210-Binunaw.** Necklace. 46 cm. **211-Burayaw.** Earrings. 12 cm. **212-Tuffut.** Pouch. 20 cm x 8 cm. Beads, cowrie shells, mother of pearl, horn, turtle shell, brass, and strings. **213-Laggud/Lag-god.** Comb. 23 cm x 10 cm. **214-Karawewing.** Necklace. 55 cm. **215-Atiffulan/Tifulan.** Headdress. 32 cm. **216-Gungon/Gongon.** Necklace. 43 cm. Ngileb, Potia, Ifugao | Gaddang. NM Collection.

Beadwork mark Gaddang clothing as well as accessories to complete their ceremonial ensemble, making them one of the most embellished groups in Northern Philippines. Necklaces, earrings, hair ornaments, and chokers have always been part of the female Gaddang’s complete attire. It was noted that they rarely went without beads around their necks. Beads made of glass and semiprecious stones, specially heirlooms, are indicative of Gaddang social status. Due to pressures from collectors’ market and economic conditions, contemporary costumes have now been transformed with the use of plastic beads to keep themselves properly attired and attractively dressed.



209



210



211



212



213



214



215



216



a



b



c



217



Previous page:

217-Formal female Gaddang attire. a-Burawasi/burasi. Upper garment. 115 cm x 34 cm. **b-Bakwat.** Belt/girdle. 120 cm x 10 cm. **c-Akken.** Wrap skirt. 96 cm x 59 cm. Cotton, synthetic dyes and beads. Ngileb, Potia, Ifugao | Gaddang. NM Collection.

Succeeding page:

218-Itneg attire. Blouse and skirt. Commercial cotton, synthetic dyes and beads. Manabo, Abra | Itneg/Tinguian. NM Collection.

It was only recently that the female Itneg used color in their daily and formal wear. Early publications, such as Worcester (1906) and Cole (1922), note that their clothes were white. Frequent trade and communication with other groups, particularly the Ilokano, probably led to this.



219



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225

Previous page (foldout):

219-Tangkil/abkil. Armlet. Boar's tusk, rattan and wood. 15 cm x 20 cm. Sagada, Mountain Province | Bontok. **220-Fikum.** Girdle ornament. Mother-of-pearl and rattan. 20 cm x 23 cm. Bontoc, Mountain Province | Bontok. **221-Ginuttu.** Shell belt. Shells, coconut shell and cloth. 118 cm. Banaue, Ifugao | Ifugao. **222-Ingkit/tsuli.** Headdress. Snake bones and nylon string. 71 cm. Mainit, Bontoc, Mountain Province | Bontok. **223-Calipan.** Female earrings. Shell/mother-of-pearl and brass. 8 cm x 3 cm. Quezon Province | Bugkalot/Ilongot. **224-Sipattal.** Necklace accessory. Mother-of-pearl and beads. 56 cm. Isneg. **225-Batling.** Male earrings. Hornbill beak, nautilus shell/mother-of-pearl and brass. 17 cm. Kakidungan, Nueva Vizcaya | Bugkalot/Ilongot. NM Collection.

Jenks (1905) notes the elaborate way of use of accessories by the Bontok during head ceremonies. *Tangkil/abkil*, in which tufts of hair from the captured head are inserted, were more common than the *fuyay-ya* or the boar-tusk necklaces. The *fikum* were only owned and used by about 150 males in Bontoc and Samoki during his fieldwork in the areas. Purely ornamental, these discs of shells are highly valued and were commonly taken out only during ceremonial occasions, placed on the front of the loincloth, or on the sides. Owners and users of the *fikum* are considered privileged, as these were difficult to secure in the uplands.

The *ingit* are worn only by married women, and believed to be a powerful talisman against evil spirits. These may also be used as necklaces, and found among other groups in the Cordilleras, particularly the Kalinga who refer to it as *duli* (Maramba 1998).

This has also been the case with the *ginuttu* of the Ifugao. Worcester (1906) also remarked on the probable difficulty of acquiring shell-made ornaments of the groups in the Cordilleras. He notes that it was more of the local chiefs and well-to-do Ifugao males who owned and wore the *ginuttu*.

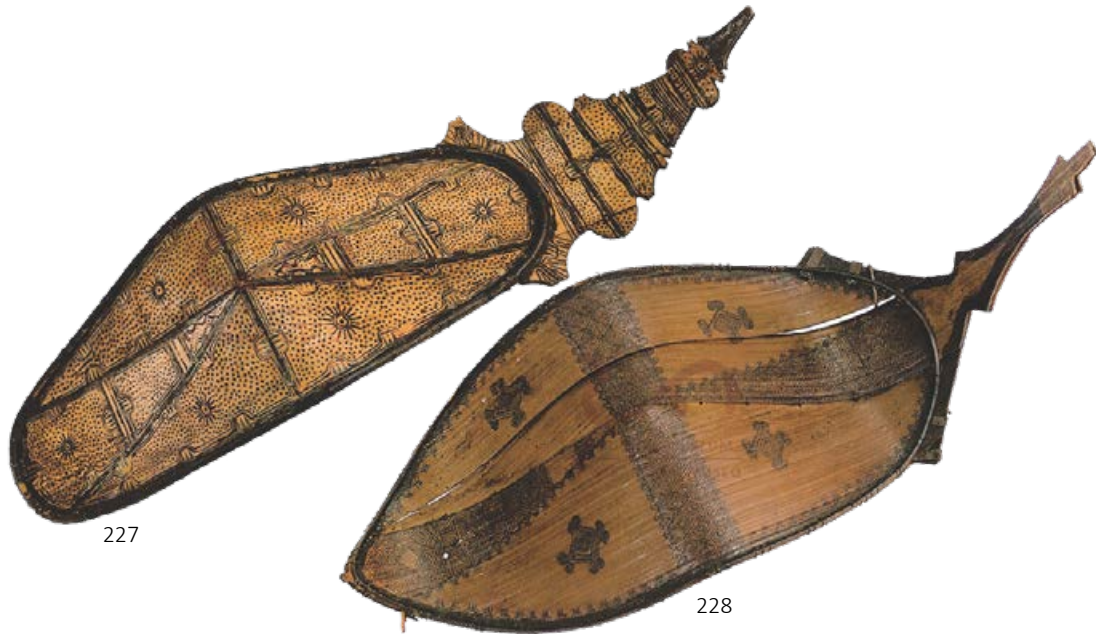
Both Isneg males and females use the *sipattal*, which dangle from either their chest or back. When mourning dead members of their family, this was removed and not worn for a certain period along with all their other adornments.

Wearing the *batling* was a privilege given to successful male Bugkalot headhunters, symbolizing their skills as well as their maturity as members of the community (R. Rosaldo 1980). The incised *calipan* may be part of the bride wealth payments, which signified the groom's competence in caring for the bride, as these were mainly luxury items that were quite difficult to acquire (Carlson 2013).



226-Kabi. Bag. Abaca, cotton and natural dyes. Cateel, Davao | Mandaya. NM Collection.

In lieu of pockets in their clothes, Mandaya used knapsacks called *kabi*, which are also intricately embroidered. Small personal items are stored in the *kabi*, specially when they travel.



227-Sadok. Hat. Palm, *nito* and rattan. 39.5 cm. Compostela Valley, Davao. **228-Sadok.** Hat. Abaca and palm. 48 cm x 7 cm. Caraga, Davao. Mandaya. NM Collection. **229-Image of how the *sadok* was worn** as photographed by Worcester (1913:1170; probably hand-tinted later).

In the past, Mandaya males wear *sadok* while travelling. Cole (1913) notes that these narrow samples of Mandaya hat were the norm; cone-shaped ones were sometimes used, but rarely. These were commonly painted in designs and chicken feathers, with the ends of the narrow piece placed at the back of the wearer's head.



230-Manyan man (Neg. 32845). St. Louis World's Fair. 1904.
Photo courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History Archives.



231-Tinguanie woman (Neg. 324137). St. Louis World's Fair. 1904.
Photo courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History Archives.

Succeeding pages (foldout):
232-Bagobo women doing bead work (Neg. 31402). St. Louis
World's Fair. 1904. Photo courtesy of the American Museum of
Natural History Archives.





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Previous page (foldout):

233-Suyoc weaving (Neg. 324379). St. Louis World's Fair. 1904.
Photo courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History Archives.

234-Visayans (Neg. 324162). St. Louis World's Fair. 1904.
Photo courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History Archives.



235-Bontoc wedding ceremony (Neg. 324389). St. Louis World's Fair. 1904.
Photo courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History Archives.



236-Funeral of a Bontok man. Samoki, Bontoc, Mountain Province. 1996. Ana P. Labrador Collection.

The Bontok of the Philippine Cordilleras believe that cloth, like the body of the deceased, is ephemeral. They bury mortuary garments with the corpse and do not redistribute them as heirlooms as in the Itneg/Tinguian costume (Ellis 1981). The substance of cloth and body join together as they both decompose while buried in the village grounds. The design on the gauze upper garment, referred to as *finungalawan* are symbolic of the wearer's social status and usually depict a row of human figures alternating with boat-like motifs. The Bontok do not have a tradition of dyeing or cotton fiber processing and rely on trade or exchange to obtain prestigious garments such as this. They would only regard a male *kachangyan* (upper rank) corpse as appropriately attired for the journey to the afterlife with the *finungalawan* and the *wanes ay inawing* (a wide, white loincloth with horizontal rows of supplementary warp weave on the front panel resembling a brocade). The latter is commissioned from local female weavers who are past childbearing age.

The lining on the coffin is a natural cotton fabric with indigo blue-black strips on its long ends. Called *fanchala*, the lining is included in the textiles of the Bontok that they start preparing, along with other garments and personal adornments, once their first grandchild is born. The shroud that will cover this corpse is called a *fiyaong* and is the reverse color of the *fanchala*—blue-black ground with white strips on its long ends.



237-Finangulawan (sometimes referred to as *abel pakdasan*). Male funerary upper garment. Cotton and natural dye. 50 cm x 95 cm. Bontoc, Mountain Province | Bontok. NM Collection.

As depicted in the photograph of a Bontok interment, the *finangulawan* is part of the funeral attire. This male, upper rank (*kachangyan*) garment is worn as a loose waistcoat made of fine cotton gauze of indigo blue-black background with white *ikat* designs. This is accompanied by a head cover of the same material while the corpse sits in state on a special chair, the *sanga-chil*. Referred to as *abel pakdasan* in the National Museum documentation, this material may have been acquired from Ilokano sources hence the difference in attribution.



238-'Funeral of Malakay' of Patok, Abra. From Cole (1922:Plate XVI).

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