

THE NEGROS MILLENARIAN MOVEMENTS

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents the millenarian movements of Negros Island specifically in the southern part where topographic conditions significantly influenced the emergence and subsequent reappearance of what is sometimes labeled as "revitalization movements." Further this paper aims to present the various peasant movements with their religious undertones which appeared in Negros as influenced by babaylanism from nearby Panay Island. Negros Island saw the proliferation of religio-political protest movements that attracted many rural adherents. Classified as messianic, nativistic, or millenarian, these movements combine folk, Catholic, political, and nationalistic ingredients in their ritual beliefs and practices.

Using a New Historicist approach and ethnography, this paper tries argues that poverty, social inequities, social disorder, and anxieties have provided the backdrop for the emergence of these movements. Thus, such movements must be understood in the context of the social, economic, and political conditions that gave rise to them. Following this view, this paper attempts to elucidate the connection between the movement spearheaded by Dios Buhawi in 1888; Papa Isio in the 1890s; the Salvatori in the 1980s; and the contemporary Dios Amaban movements which has found fertile breeding ground in the same areas.

Introduction

Independent "religious" movements embodying elements derived from Catholicism and indigenous Pre-Hispanic culture have been part of the Philippine scene since at least the early 19th century. Springing from various provinces, these movements have been broadly classified as "Revitalization Movements".¹ Described by anthropologists as "deliberate, organized, conscious efforts by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture,"² these movements were of-

ten politico-religious in character and germinated from agrarian unrest. Depending on the motifs underlying their philosophy and practice, these movements were either nativistic or "prophet" centered, the latter making claims to private revelations from reincarnations of Filipino martyrs of the Revolution.

Since the 1960s, scholars have been challenged to reexamine their perception of these movements as mainly rooted in fanaticism, insanity, and folk culture. As a result, modest attempts to examine unpopular and marginal events or movements have been undertaken. To date this area continues to offer fresh avenue for the study of Philippine culture and historiography. The renewed enthusiasm of scholars for this subject is expected to add to a comprehensive and deeper understanding of current Philippine rural social issues and dynamics.

This paper attempts to do two things. First, it aims to provide a historical survey of the millenarian movements that developed in Negros Island especially in the southern part where topographic conditions provided fertile breeding ground for the germination of these movements. Second, this paper will investigate the influences of the early movements i.e. Dios Buhawi in 1888; Papa Isio in the 1890s; the Salvatori in the 1980s on the present movement (Dios Amahan) which continues to thrive in the traditional lair of the earlier movements (and which coincidentally is the current hotbed of insurgency in the island).

Economic Progress vs. Dislocation

The establishment and growth of the Iloilo port in 1850 hastened trade and commerce in the Visayas and led to the development of the Islands of Panay and neighboring Negros. However, the prosperity of Negros attracted the influx of thousands of workers to the island. Predictably, this phenomenon led to the adverse dislocation of small farmers who, having

no titles of ownership to their lands, were easily dispossessed by the expanding agricultural enterprise. Thus in the 1870s, the growing social unrest due to countless injustices eventually led to a number of clashes against the authority and the populace. Considered by authorities as lawless elements, these groups were variously known as *tulisanes*, *kawatan*, *bandido*, *monteses*, *ladrones*, *remontados*, *civil-civil*, and *babailanes*, among others. According to a primary Spanish text, these groups operated in the mountains. Their manner of staging uprisings was simple; they always pursued the same cause, and shared similar objectives.³ As a consequence of the growing social unrest and lawlessness, the Guardia Civil was established in Negros in 1879.⁴

The American anthropologist Donn Hart classified them into three groups. The first group was composed of the *tulisanes*, *cawatan*, *ladrones*, and *bandidos* and literally included plain thieves, bandits, and robbers. The second group included bandits posing as patriots and revolutionists who claimed that their unlawful activities were in line with the revolutionary struggle. Thus, collectively they were sometimes referred to as the *monteses* and *remontados*.⁵ In the last, largest, and most organized group were the *babaylanes* (*babailanes*) also known as *civil-civil*.⁶ This group was often likened to the Pulahanes of Samar, the Colorum of Batangas and Tayabas (Quezon) provinces, and the Guardia de Honor of Pangasinan and Ilokos provinces because of their shared similarities such as the observance of religious ritual revolving around crusading popes and self-appointed "Messiahs". The members wore distinctive costumes and carried with them bottles of holy oil, prayer books, and various amulets to protect them from harm.⁷ In Hart's study the Buhawi rebellion belonged to this category.⁸ To this day the *Babaylan* (the term also refers to the traditional shaman or religious functionary in the Visayas) tradition remains intact especially in the mountainous areas in the Visayas.

“Dios Buhawi” and Haring Kanoy

As mentioned earlier, dislocation and injustices brought about by economic prosperity ushered in the proliferation of lawless elements in the island of Negros. In 1887, the southern tip or toe⁹ of Negros Island was rocked by an uprising headed by Buhawi (Buhawi)¹⁰, also known as Haring (King) Kanoy. According to an ethnohistorical study conducted by Donn Hart from 1951 to 1965, Buhawi was born Ponciano Elope in 1850 in Sitio Kaladias, Barangay Nahandig of the town of Zamboanguita. He was married to Flaviana Tubigan but they were childless. He seemed to have been a person of some means and importance because he became the cabeza of the said barangay. Owing to the distance of his place from the poblacion, Buhawi initiated the holding of religious ceremonies in his own barangay which later attracted people from nearby villages. As these ceremonies grew into more elaborate assemblies, dancing, cockfighting, and even trading became a regular feature of the Saturday gathering. Meanwhile, Buhawi established himself not only as a politico-religious leader in his village, but also as a religious healer or *mananambal*, a reputation that attracted more and more people into his neighborhood and earned him the nickname “Buhawi”.¹¹ Thereafter, people visited Nahandig in increasing number as news about Buhawi’s exploits, as well as his teachings and prophecies spread to other towns. Now called the “*manluluwas*”¹², he thereafter claimed himself to be ‘Living God’. That he also issued a warning to punish those who would not give tribute¹³ to him seems to suggest a darker side to his religious enterprise.

During that troubled period, the growing popularity of Buhawi’s movement expectedly alarmed the authorities who considered it a threat to the established order. According to oral accounts from informants, Buhawi questioned the corrupt practices of the Spanish tax collector, Manuel Bugarin¹⁴ and urged his followers not to pay their taxes.

Employing pseudo-religious doctrines and prophecies, he successfully won people over to his side to join his crusade against forced payment of taxes.¹⁵ The towns that refused to submit to his movement were raided either by himself or his trusted deputy Camartin (Kamalting).¹⁶ Consequently, alarmed by his growing influence over the masses, both Spanish authorities and the local Zamboanguita officials outlawed Buhawi's religious movement.

As his movement developed into a rebellion, Buhawi's hatred against the authorities became even more intense when they subjected his friends and relatives to brutalities.¹⁷ After frequent patrols were sent to arrest him, Buhawi and his brother-in-law Valentin Tubigan, together with their loyal followers, were forced to move their headquarters to the remote mountains in the neighboring town of Siaton. His ability to elude arrest added to his mystic aura and won him a number of followers who strongly believed that it was his supernatural powers that prevented him from being captured. Predictably, his successful exploits against the establishment effectively undermined the authority of Spain. Among the masses, these created a feeling that he was indeed their liberator from Spanish oppression. Various sources corroborate the claim that his movement attracted a great multitude from all the coastal towns from Tanjay to Tolong.¹⁸

Buhawi's end finally came when he raided the town of Siaton in 1888.¹⁹ While the authorities believed that the movement would die with him, most of his followers, on the other hand, refused to accept his death. Convinced of Buhawi's supernatural powers, they stubbornly clung to the belief that he was alive. According to accounts, his loyal followers believed that the body that was brought to Zamboanguita was just a banana stalk but they dared not tell the officials for fear that the Spaniards would continue to hound them.²⁰

Buhawi's Legacy

After his death, the Spaniards forbade the repetition of any stories about this 'living god.' But what Buhawi started did not end with his death. His wife Flaviana Tubigan and brothers-in-law Valentin and Higinio continued the movement. Flaviana became the "Reyna" (queen), Valentin became the successor of Buhawi, and Higinio became known as "Dios Talisic".²¹ However, Valentin and Higinio were killed in ambush. Meanwhile, a certain Juana Gaitera also claimed to be another successor to the movement but she was later captured and exiled to Jolo. Likewise, a certain Francisco Malga of Bonawon, in the town of Siaton also claimed that he was Buhawi.²²

Buhawi's wife Flaviana joined forces with Camartin de la Cruz (Kamalting) and while waging a reign of terror in the area, they continued to preach Buhawi's doctrines. As Camartin continued to raid the southern towns, other reports of disturbances were common.²³ The American anthropologist, Dean C. Worcester, who was visiting Dumaguete and the neighboring towns in 1888 wrote:²⁴

We found that the guardia civil had been having a hard time trying to run down a famous tulisan leader, one Ca Martin... The officer who was after him in Negros had a hard problem to solve. The bandit was believed to have anting-anting, having earned the reputation by escaping the fire of six native soldiers, at a range of a dozen yards. They reported that their bullets had only grazed his body, and their tale was believed. The story lost nothing in the telling, and at the time I mention the hero of it was believed to have a new charm by virtue of which he could step from one mountain peak to another, or precipitate a rushing stream of ice-cold water on any one hardy enough to pursue him. These child's tales were implicitly believed, not only by the natives but even by intel-

*ligent mestizos. I heard them from the gobernadorcillo of Bais, who vouched for their truth.*²⁵ ...It is to be hoped that he has long since been captured, and that the officer who took him had executive ability; but when we left Negros Camartin was still at large and his name was one to conjure by. (Emphasis mine)

Camartin was himself killed in a trap laid by his mistress, Alfonsa Alaidan, on September 11, 1893.²⁶ Similarly, his death failed to put an end to the Buhawi movement. Although by now the movement's followers were outlawed as bandits, they continued preaching Buhawi's teachings and announcing his imminent return. Various sources consulted by Angel Cuesta regarding the reports in the southern towns during this period were unanimous in stating that the "remnants continued to sow terror." In almost all areas, various personalities such as Lorenzo and his lieutenants, Pastor and Manuel, all of them Buhawi's followers, continued their activities and told the people to leave the town.²⁷ One account said that, "things became so serious that the townspeople did not dare to go three hundred meters beyond the border of the town (sic)".²⁸

Such was the situation in the southern towns of Negros when the Philippine Revolution broke out in 1896.

Papa Isio and Babaylanism

The climate of anarchy and uncertainty ushered in by the outbreak of the Philippine Revolution in 1896 provided the backdrop for the emergence of another cultic movement this time in the southern tip of Negros Island.²⁹ A religious leader by the name of Papa Isio emerged in the Occidental side of Negros Island. According to accounts, Papa Isio was among those who took refuge in one of Buhawi's camps in the mountains when the authorities waged war against the

movement. By the time he surfaced on the Occidental side of the Negros, he already had a following who accompanied him in his forays of the southern towns. It is said that their raids were particularly dreaded by the haciendas and the Chinese stores in the southern towns.³⁰

According to Evelyn Cullamar's exhaustive study³¹, Papa Isio's origin is so sketchy that even his exact name remains the subject of many speculations. These obscure origins notwithstanding, Papa Isio soon endeared himself to the masses who, in awe of his exploits, proclaimed him as the new *maayong laki*³², the new "pope" who will liberate his people from the invaders and restore their former way of life. That Papa Isio's movement bore a number of resemblance to Buhawi's own movement only bolsters the speculation of his close link with the Dios Buhawi movement in whose mountain camp he was believed to have taken refuge after it was outlawed. Judging by the characteristics of this movement and the nature of its activities, it is clear that Papa Isio's movement, like the Dios Buhawi movement, also belonged to the Babaylan tradition. Among others, both Buhawi and Papa Isio posed as religious heads of their respective movement and claimed to possess supernatural powers. Both seemed to have been charismatic leaders who attracted a large number of loyal following. As religious heads, they recruited proselytes, wore uniforms, observed similar rites, recited similar incantations and oraciones, and taught about the coming of an ominous transformation engineered by the supernatural—all of these being features of millenarian movements.³³

Because his leadership coincided with the period of the Philippine Revolution, Papa Isio convinced all his remaining loyal followers to join him in his fight this time against the Americans. Eventually, Papa Isio's raids made Negros a sore spot to the Americans. As a result, they waged incessant campaigns against him. For a while he succeeded in eluding arrest and continued to roam the mountains. Subsequently,

when his trusted generals surrendered in 1907, Papa Isio allowed himself to be persuaded by his friends and by the false promises of Capt. George Bowers to turn himself in as well. Contrary to his expectations, the famous outlaw found himself being tried and sentenced to death although this sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment. In 1911, Papa Isio died in the Bilibid prison virtually an unknown man.³⁴

Buhawi to Kilat

When the revolution broke out in Luzon in 1896, Buhawi's followers in Negros continued to spread his teachings and political beliefs. Following in Buhawi's footsteps, Papa Isio and his band raided the towns in southern Negros Occidental. About this time, a native of Bacong—one of the towns of southern Negros Oriental—emerged as one of the prominent leaders of the K.K.K. in the island of Cebu. He was Pantaleon Villegas more popularly known as Leon Kilat (lightning).

According to records of his early years in Negros Oriental, his family went to Tolong where Buhawi and Camartin operated.³⁵ His biography, however, does not contain accounts of his life when he reached his teens.³⁶ This missing episode of his life raises speculation that he might have spent this period as a member of the Buhawi movement.³⁷ This speculation appears logical since Leon Kilat was living in the area where the Buhawi movement was popular. Furthermore, stories about his supernatural powers, chiefly his possession of an amulet (*anting-anting*) and a magic handkerchief which transported him from island to island, were rife in Cebu.³⁸ Later, he went to Manila and then to Cebu where he established the KKK³⁹ and spearheaded the revolution there on April 3, 1898. Unfortunately, Pantaleon Villegas's life ended tragically when his fellow revolutionists murdered him on April 8, 1898.⁴⁰

A close examination of Leon Kilat's exploits will

reveal that the Cebuanos really saw him as a *maayong laki*. The legend surrounding his alleged ability to travel from one island to the other with lightning speed fascinated the imagination of many Cebuanos. Thus they turned to him as the new liberator and leader who would establish a new order and a better life, which is what millenarianism, is all about. Why he did not lead the revolution in Negros he was a Negrense might have been due to the fact that Buhawi's movement had by then already so many leaders. Similarly, he must have known that Papa Isio's *babaylanes* was also very strong in other areas. This raises speculation that he might have considered it strategically appropriate to expand the movement in the nearby island of Cebu where there was an absence of a messianic leader. It is also possible to speculate that Leon Kilat maintained contacts with Papa Isio and other leaders just as he established links with the KKK revolutionaries in Luzon. In the final analysis, although Kilat's exploits were in Cebu, there is enough evidence to claim that the 'millenarian aspects' of his movement had their roots in Negros, specifically in the traditional lair of the earlier movements where his family had taken up residence.

The Salvatori Movement⁴¹

For many years, the *babaylan* tradition remained forgotten although remnants of the practices were always part of the indigenous religious movements that sprung up in the hinterlands. Sometime in 1979, a group known as the Salvatori emerged in the traditional headquarters of the earlier movements in the mountains of Jimalalud, Tayasan, Ayungon, Bayawan, Sta. Catalina and Siaton, all in Negros Oriental. The group, which is also known in the vernacular as *pakubol* share similarities with the Ilaga Gang movement in Northern and Central Mindanao. Up to the present, the origins of the Salvatori movement remain

shrouded in mystery and little is known about them. However, according to reports, the group dwelt in caves scattered in the hinterlands of Negros. The members of this group were known to go out of their cave dwelling during the night to conduct a house to house recruitment campaign. Allegedly, one of the rituals of its members observed was the *pakubol*, (lit. to stiffen), a practice involving ceremonies believed to strengthen and harden their bodies in order to protect themselves from their adversaries. This ritual was supposed to have been performed every six o'clock in the evening. Another ritual practice reportedly followed by members was the oiling of their bodies when they were about to face their enemies in an encounter. Accounts have it that 'Salvatori' members lubricated their bodies with oil in which human ears had been soaked, allegedly to make them invincible to bullets and bladed objects.

It remains unclear whether the Salvatori was a group of religious fanatics, a politically motivated movement seeking political reforms, or just plain bandits who chose to be a secret movement up to this time.⁴² Nevertheless, at the height of its activities, the group also sought political reforms. Disgruntled with the way the government was being run, the movement called for their members to fight to put an end to injustice and the violation of their basic human rights. Their aim, according to the Salvatori members, was to protect themselves from the arbitrariness of an abusive government. To further this goal, the movement began waging armed conflicts in remote barangay, sowing terror in the outlying mountain communities, and forcing the suspension of classes in many of these places especially in Jimalalud. The Salvatori's war of terror reached its height in 1979 with the infamous murder by hacking of the Jimalalud town mayor, Ben Dionaldo, and two police officers in Barangay Aglahug, Jimalalud. This tragic event led to a massive military operations by the then Philippine Constabulary (PC) in which a number of Salvatori members lost their lives.⁴³ Subsequently,

the movement slowly phased out. In its place, the New People's Army (NPA) surfaced into predominance in the same area where they are believed to have established camps in the hinterlands.

The "Dios Amahan" Movement.

From a cursory glance, the Dios Amahan movement appears to be a purely religious movement related to the mainstream Roman Catholic Church. However, fieldwork notes and interviews in the hinterlands of southern Negros⁴⁴ revealed the extensive following of the movement, especially in the traditional lairs of previous millenarian movements. What is interesting is the fact that although all of the respondents claimed that they were Dios Amahan members, yet their knowledge of their movement as well as their respective practices and beliefs differed from one area to the other.⁴⁵

Originally, the Dios Amahan was classified under "Miscellaneous Indigenous Organization" in a phenomenological research conducted by Dr. Douglas J. Elwood from 1964 to 1966. It is listed in the directory as *Pagtulun-an sa Diyos nga Amahan* (Iglesia ni Tinago), (Teachings of God the Father) with its main Office in San Carlos, Negros Occidental along with its founding date indicated as 1953. Interestingly, the same directory also listed another entry called *Pagtulun-an sa Dios nga Amahan nga Guidala Og Guipatun-an ni Senor Jesucristo sa mga Katawhan* (The Teaching of God the Father which was brought and taught by His Son Jesus Christ to the People). However, although its founding year is also 1953, the address of this new entry was indicated as Barrio Bagumbayan, Cebu City. In the study the estimated number of followers was 10,000.⁴⁶

The interviews revealed that most of the respondents did not know their founder although the name of Zacarias

Zalazar had been mentioned. Most of them claimed that their sect was founded in the 1950s. Information gathered also indicated that each area appeared to be autonomous. According to information, the sect allows visit from outsiders only once a year; sometimes, not at all. This seemingly self-imposed isolation might explain why elements of folk practices and traditions have become incorporated in their beliefs and remain dominant in their rituals.⁴⁷

Central to the sect's creed and shared by the various groups is the belief that the national hero Dr. Jose Rizal is their Lord, that he is alive and will soon set them free from bondage. Because Rizal was a physician, healing is at the core of the sect's beliefs and practices. Consequently, most of the leaders in the Dios Amahan congregation are *mananambal* (traditional healers) who claim that they were given the gift of healing (*tuga*) by God the Father through the intercession of Rizal. In some areas, they practice meditation and say oraciones believed to make them invincible. Most of the members believe in the power of dreams. Moreover, when they go to their place of worship which they call *tribo*, members observe a certain dress code which consists of a white robe that resembles the vestments of Catholic priests. In addition, women wear white socks and gloves while the men wear capes.⁴⁸

During worship, members place their left hand on their breast, their right hand making the victory sign, while the right leg is in kneeling position. After the meditation, they make the sign of the cross across the whole body, and the sign of the heart. When asked, the respondents could not explain the meaning of these symbols and gestures. According to them, they performed these actions because they were told to do so.⁴⁹ Interestingly, the *pakubol* practice associated with the Salvatori is also observed in some Dios Amahan groups with members using *sagradong tubig* or holy water.

As yet, not even a rough estimate of their numbers is available although the movement is found all over the

hinterlands of Southern Negros. According to an interview with the Parish Priest of Siaton, members of this movement are numerous in the mountains. The former moderator of the Negros District Conference of the United Church of Christ in the Philippines also reported that he used to encounter members of the movement during his rural visitations.⁵⁰ Their places of worship can be found in the remote sitios where other religious sects have not established their own places of worship or chapels.

That the Dios Amahan may have been an outgrowth of the Dios Buhawi and Papa Isio's movements is suggested by some of the vestiges of the earlier movements such as the oraciones now being recited by some members of the present movement, the most noteworthy being the following:

Animatiste sintepicano Corpus Cristi salva mi
 Entre tua Santos Dios Santos Dios
 Eche laurente eche colas eche colorum amen.⁵¹

These oraciones are reportedly the same ones used by the earlier movements and must have been passed on from one member to the next over the generations. Similarly, the mystic cult of Rizal central to the Dios Amahan faith is also believed to have been part of the tenets of the preceding movements. That the present-day Dios Amahan movement seems to flourish may be attributed to the same factors that have given rise to other movements in the country.⁵²

Concluding Notes

The foregoing discussion presents the development of the revitalization movements and their part in the ongoing historical development of the island. As in other areas, Negros Island saw the proliferation of religio-political protest movements

that attracted many rural adherents. Classified as messianic, nativistic, or millenarian, these movements combine folk, Catholic, political, and nationalistic ingredients in their ritual beliefs and practices. It is evident that poverty, social inequities, social disorder, and anxieties have provided the backdrop for the emergence of these movements. Thus, such movements must be understood in the context of the social, economic, and political conditions that gave rise to them. That most of these movements promise otherworldly escape or psychological relief to the ignorant, the poor, and the hopeless may explain their strong appeal among the masses.⁵³

As the extensive following of these movements suggests, the peculiar geographic conditions of the southern part of Negros have played a role in their proliferation. From the slopes of Mt. Canlaon down to the Cuernos de Negros in the southeast, a chain of highlands serves as the backbone of the province. Owing to the ruggedness of the terrain and the absence of roads, these areas have remained in relative isolation, providing fertile ground for the rise of these religious movements and the evolvement of their distinctive practices and beliefs. Since the beginning of these so-called millenarian movements in the 1880s, the same areas continue to offer safe haven for all subsequent movements, including rebel groups. Presently, outlying communities belonging to different municipalities and cities straddling the slopes of these mountains have to contend with insurgency problems waged by anti-government groups who have encamped in these areas.

Notes

- ¹ Anthony F. C. Wallace, "Revitalization Movements," *American anthropologist* (Apr., 1956), p. 267.
- ² Douglas J. Elwood. *Churches and Sects in the Philippines*. Dumaguete City: Silliman University, 1968, p. 59.
- ³ Robustiano Echauz. *Apuntes de la Isla de Negros*. Manila: Tipo - Litografía de Chofre' y Comp. Escolta num.33, 1894, p. 137. Trans.

- ⁴ Jose Y Marco. Reseña Historica de la Isla de Negros. Manila: La Vanguardia, 1912.
- ⁵ This term is derived from the word 'remount' or to take to the hills. See James L. Leroy. Philippine Life in the Town and Country. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1905, p. 29 - 30. This is especially the term used to refer to the bandits in the American occupation.
- ⁶ Because they wore uniforms similar to that of the Guardia Civil.
- ⁷ See Vic Hurley. Jungle Patrol: The Story of the Philippine Constabulary. New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., 1938, p. 130 - 132 and Donn V. Hart. "Buhawi of the Visayas: The Revitalization Process and Legend Making in the Philippines" in Studies in Philippine Anthropology. Mario Zamora ed. Quezon City: Alemar Phoenix, 1967, p. 370.
- ⁸ However, Angel Cuesta O.A.R. argues that Hart's classification is overly subtle and that all these groups actually often co-existed. See Angel Martinez Cuesta. History of Negros. trans by. Alfonso Felix Jr. and Sor Caritas Sevilla. Manila: C.P. Garcia Publishing Co., 1980, p. 430 - 431.
- ⁹ Negros Island appears like a sock (foot), hence the southeastern tip looks like a toe. See Map of Negros.
- ¹⁰ Donn Hart translates the word Buhawi as "waterspout" because of Elope's alleged ability to make rain at will. In Hart., 371 - 378. Modesto Sa-onoy translates Buhawi as "whirlwind" and hence the God of the Four Winds in Modesto Sa-onoy. A History of Negros Occidental. Bacolod: Today Printers and Publishers, 1992, p. 111. The above translations are correct but I would rather translate the term in context as "tornado or twister" which is actually a combination of the above translations.
- ¹¹ Hart, 374.
- ¹² Cebuano word for Redeemer (Liberator?)
- ¹³ They were told to bring a candle, 5 cents, a chicken, and anegg. See Licinio Ruiz. Sinopsis Historica de la Provincia de San Nicolas de Tolentino de las Islas Filipinas de la Orden de Agustinos Des Calzos. Manila: Tip. Pont. De la Univ. de Sto. Tomas, 1925, p. 148 - 152. Trans by Juan Mesquida (unauthorized).
- ¹⁴ Juan Gadiane. Halandumong Kaagi sa Lungsod sa Siaton. (Unpublished manuscript in Cebuano, 1951), p. 25.
- ¹⁵ Sa-onoy, 109.

- ¹⁶ However, all sources do not mention in detail how these raids were done. See Cuesta, s endnotes 30 - 38. Cuesta got all the information from these raids from the *Libro Cosas Notables* of Siaton, Tolong, and Pamplona.
- ¹⁷ Like Jose and his wife Braulia, who had just then delivered a baby, and Belto were imprisoned. Also his brother Sebastian was arrested and later disappeared mysteriously.
- ¹⁸ Cuesta, 433, as cited from *Libro Cosas Notables Siaton*. The priest of Tolong puts it at 2,000 and Juan Gadiane (primary source in Cebuano) said that his followers at around 15,000. As he puts it: "the poblaciones of Negros Oriental were almost deserted since young and old, father and son were joining him." See Gadiane, 27.
- ¹⁹ Various dates are given. Gadiane and Hart pegged it on 1889; Licinio Ruiz puts it in 1887, same with Lorenzo Cordon. But Sa-onoy and Cuesta agree on 1888. This seems to be logically correct since Buhawi only started to be an outlaw in the Holy Week of 1887.
- ²⁰ Hart, 388...Obviously the Spaniards had difficulty in identifying him because they displayed the body in the tribunal for the people of Siaton to confirm that the cadaver was indeed Buhawi's. Moreover, rumors ran wild that the body did not decompose and he would soon return.
- ²¹ There is no known 'talistic'in the Cebuano dialect in this part of the province. Hart even invents "God Talistic." Apparently, the most appropriate word is "Taligsik" which connotes drizzle.
- ²² Gadiane, 21.
- ²³ A report of March 15, 1889 stated that seven patrols were sent from Tolong to pursue him. See Guardia Civil Reports 1880 - 1897. Expediente 60 ff. 391 - 392 N.A. as cited in Evelyn Cullamar, *Babaylanism in Negros, 1896-1907*. Manila: New Day Publishers, 1986, p.30.
- ²⁴ Dean C. Worcester. *The Philippine Islands and Their People*. New York: The MacMillan Co., 1899, pp. 269 - 273.
- ²⁵ Emphasis mine. The photograph in his book identified as the gobernadorcillo of Bais was Serio Guzman Singco who eventually became a member of Diego de la Viña's party when they liberated Negros Oriental and one of those who initially resisted the American occupation of Bais.
- ²⁶ Gadiane has a vivid account of the incident in page 21 - 23.

²⁷ Cuesta, 435.

²⁸ Perhaps poblacion. See Libro Cosas Notables de Tanjay as cited in Cuesta, 466.

²⁹ Negros Oriental was proclaimed a separate province on January 1, 1890.

³⁰ Modesto Sa-onoy in his paper entitled "The Re-examination of the Negros Revolution" during the 12th Regional Seminar Workshop on Oral and Local History held at Buenos Aires Resort in Bago City last August 20-21, 1993, stressed that Papa Isio or Dionisio Seguela became involved with Buhawi and his followers notably Camartin when he hid in the mountains prior to his leading this babaylan movement. In fact communications that were recovered showed that Papa Isio recruited the remnants of Buhawi's following. See Sa-onoy, 112 and Cullamar, 30 -37. For brevity's sake, Papa Isio's exploit will not be thoroughly discussed in this paper.

³¹ Evelyn T. Cullamar. "The Movement During the Last years of Spanish Rule". A typewritten manuscript that is undated. Eventually, this manuscript was incorporated in her book Babaylanism in Negros: 1896-1907. Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1986. For another thorough discussion on Papa Isio's exploits, See Romero's Negros Between Two Foreign Powers. pp. 168 - 187.

³² In both the Cebuano and Ilonggo context, this means a person endowed with extraordinary skills and abilities.

³³ Cullamar, p. 1.

³⁴ Cullamar, 65 and from the paper of Modesto Saonoy mentioned earlier.

³⁵ In 1884, the family decided to transfer to Tolong and Pantaleon was employed as a servant of Friar Angel Maestro. See Jose R. Quisumbing and Caridad Rodriguez. Leon Kilat (1878 - 1898) and the Cebu Revolution of 1898. Cebu City: S & G Printers, 1991, 1.

³⁶ When he was twelve years old he suddenly disappeared only to reappear briefly in Bacong in 1892 then to disappear again. He later resurfaced in 1895. See Mañuel Enriquez de la Calzada. Ang Kagubot sa Sugbo. Sugbo: Rotary Press, 1951, 52.

³⁷ Hart wrote that Buhawi gave his magical silk handkerchief to Leon Kilat. In Hart, 380. But Cuesta disagreed stating that the "Kilat" was Miguel Paero who was a good friend of Juana Gaitera.

³⁸ Quisumbing, 14 as cited in de la Calzada, 52.

³⁹ One reason why he didn't establish the KKK in his home province was the fact that there was no army there to speak of. See T. Valentin Sitor

"The Making of Negros: A Brief History," Kabilin: Legacies of a Hundred Years of Negros Oriental, p. 12.

- ⁴⁰ Dionisio Sy. A Short History of Cebu 1500 – 1890's and The Anti-Spanish Revolution in Cebu. Cebu City: Bathalad Inc., 1996, p.104-107.
- ⁴¹ The following information is a gist from Clementino Balasabas Jr. The Catholic Church in the History of Jimalalud, Negros Oriental 1946 – 1992. MA Thesis. Silliman University Graduate School, 1999 and from the interview of Vidalynn Fabillar.
- ⁴² Most of the remaining members eventually became members of the NPA so interviews with them are difficult to conduct. Moreover, rumor spread that those who ask about their movement are immediately considered as spies.
- ⁴³ Popular folk stories maintain that the reason why the Salvatori's supposedly invincible bodies were penetrated by bullets was because of the use of a "sumpa" or antidote. This sumpa or antidote is done by putting a piece of underwear or boiled corngrit in the barrel of their guns. The logic being that surely the Salvatoris were using these things Another popular account states that they used the wrong oracion which goes "ice kream po sale hire" which apparently reads as "ice cream for sale here".
- ⁴⁴ This was made possible through a research grant that enabled me to conduct a baseline survey for the International Labor Organization on Muroami and Paaling fishing which are recruiting children from the uplands from June to December 2000.
- ⁴⁵ Another reason why the Dios Amahan became the focus of attention was the rape case filed by a student accusing a leader of the movement for raping her. According to her claim, she was the 210th victim. This case is closely monitored by the Center for Women's Studies in Silliman University. See transcripts of Case no. 2000 – 374 and 2000 – 375 ...Names are withheld pending result of the case.
- ⁴⁶ Elwood, p. 108-109.
- ⁴⁷ Interview with Lauro Olpos and Nick Bellarta in Dawis, Bayawan, Neg. Or. Sept. 15, 2000.
- ⁴⁸ Interview with Teodocia Alampay and other members of Dios Amahan, Magay, Dauin, Negros Oriental, Sept. 2, 2000. This interview was made possible thru the efforts of Jan Credo and Nilo Montemayor who served as Graduate Teaching Fellow of the Department of History

and Political Science.

- ⁴⁹ Interview with Gemma Aguilar in Calikanan, Pamplona, Neg. Oriental, Aug. 30, 2000.
- ⁵⁰ Interview with Rev. Elicito Dumalagan, retired pastor UCCP, Talay, Dumaguete City, Sept. 25, 2000.
- ⁵¹ Cullamar took this from a member of Isio's group in 1975; my source was a sixteen year old girl who recited it to me in Pamplona, Negros Oriental on August 30, 2000.
- ⁵² See the Millennial Tradition and the concluding notes of David R. Sturtevant. Agrarian Unrest in the Philippines. Ohio University: Center for International Studies, 1969, pp. 23 - 30. And in Cullamar, 77.
- ⁵³ Elwood, p. 47 as quoted in Anton Boisen, "Religion and Hard Times: A Study of the Holy Rollers," Social Action. (Mar. 15, 1939) pp. 8 - 35.

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