

Draft. Please inform the author when citing parts of the paper.

Managing the mountain and the monkeys: Philippine millenarian movement and the local dynamics of community-based wildlife management in Mt. Apo Natural Park (Mindanao, Philippines)^α

Myfel Joseph D. Paluga
Department of Social Sciences, CHSS
University of the Philippines in Mindanao
myfeljoseph@yahoo.com

Abstract

The paper presents a case study of the role of mountain-dwelling millenarian settlers (Moncadistas) of Mt. Apo Natural Park [MANP] (Mindanao, Philippines) in wildlife conservation—especially the Philippine macaques (*Macaca fascicularis philippinensis*)—and in the management of the area of the natural park in general.

The present village of New Israel (Makilala, North Cotabato: western region of the MANP) is a Moncadista community that has developed unique responses and adaptations to the socio-ecological context of Mt. Apo. As an iconic example, since the middle of the last century (1950s), the village has evolved a case of human-macaque co-dwelling where wild/tamed troops of monkeys are actively taken-cared of, provisioned and given a wider degree of tolerance in roaming the village spaces.

Internal and external challenges both constrain and sustain such practices and invite comparison and contrast with the practices of other mountain-dwelling groups and indigenous peoples vis-à-vis the wildlife of their area. Foremost of such challenge is the tension between maintaining their religious and culturally-based conservationist visions for the place (like provisioning the monkeys) and the possibility of breeding monkeys as agricultural pests for contiguous areas of the protected area.

The paper focuses on three important dimensions in the emergence and dynamics of their local resources management: the conservationist by-products of their millenarian religious visions, their inter-ethnic relations with the indigenous groups of the place (Tagabawa Bagobo), and the ecological context offered by the natural-cultural settings of Mt. Apo.

Working within the intersecting themes of human-animal relations, local eco-spiritual visions, and the socio-ecological dynamics of managing protected area/natural parks, the paper seeks to give an ethnographic peek at a different wildlife/park management style in Mt. Apo: the potentials and challenges that it faces and the insights that it offers for other comparable areas.

^α Paper presentation for the 2006 Biennial Global Conference, “Survival of the Commons: Mounting Challenges and New Realities,” International Association for the Study of Common Property (IASCP), June 19-23, 2006, Bali, Indonesia.

I. FRAME, THEMES, AND READINGS

Contrasting images in a natural-cultural setting

As a formal political unit and as a religious “Moncadista” community, *Barangay New Israel* (Makilala, North Cotabato: 125°11’-12’Long./6°55’-56’Lat., see *Maps 1 and 2*) presents incongruous pictures when seen through the lens of wildlife/park management, conservationist projects and inter-ethnic relations in Mt. Apo Natural Park (MANP).¹

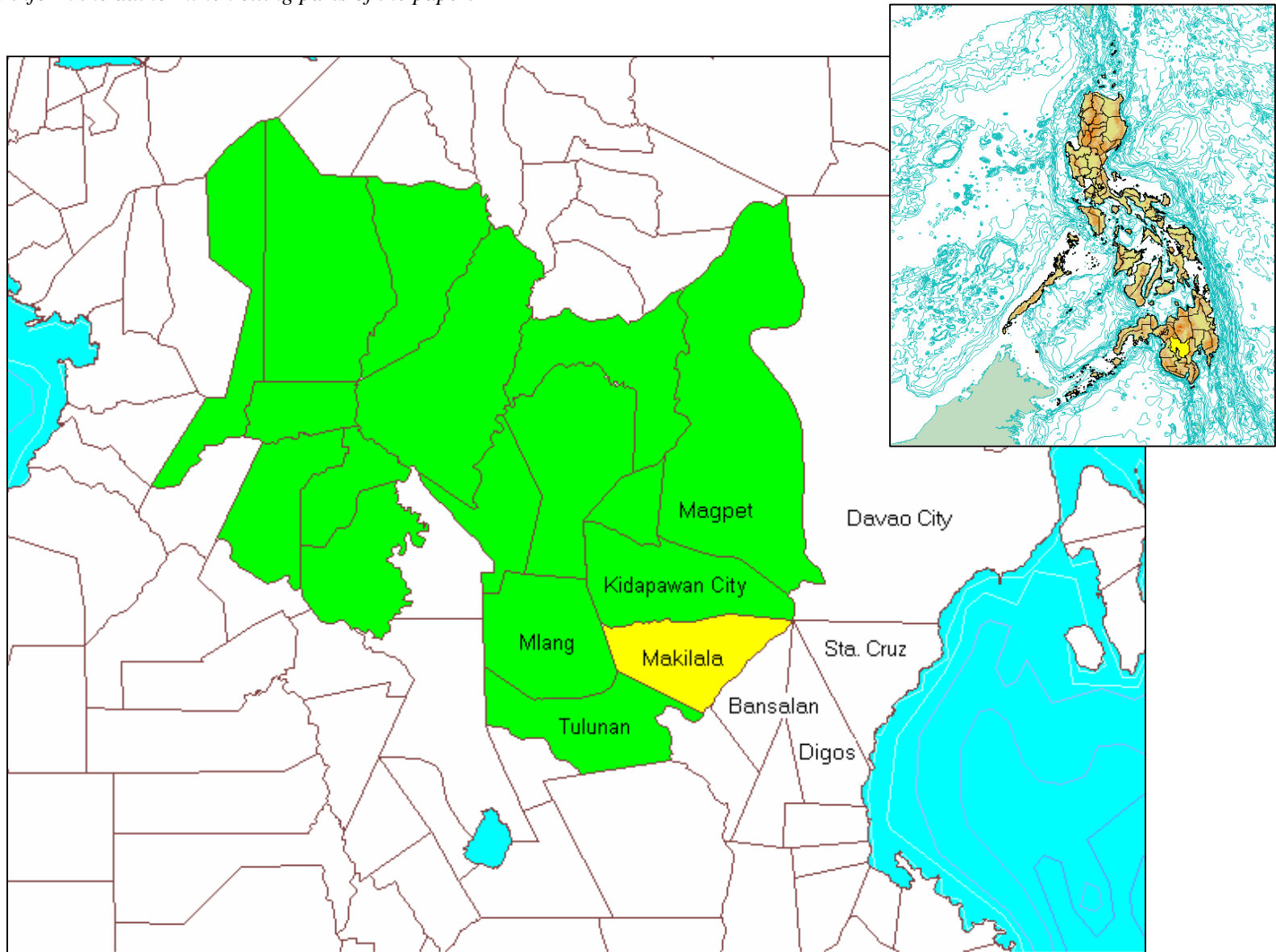
These are some of the contrasts: (1) While it is situated *within* the demarcated “natural park,” it is like any ordinary village with many parcels of land titled to individual owners—a case not uncommon to other areas of MANP and other state-designated “natural parks” (see, e.g., *Appendix A-4*; cf. also Tan, 2000). The family of the religious founder, in fact, owns much of the land of the settlement proper. (2) While it is a small village with only about 300 households—even if boosted on specific times by visits of believers from other places, with total hectare-areas slicing only around one percent (*Appendix A-3*) of the total size of Park, the religious community comprising the *barangay* extends their regular ritual spaces, and sometimes even their economic fields, up to the higher elevations of the mountain ranges (from 800 masl up to beyond 2000 masl; see, *Map 3*), and so more than doubles the area it is using and claiming. The believers’ cultural geography of “New Israel” is much wider and broader than the state’s demarcation.

(3) While the community has not formally entered, or is reluctant to enter, the Community-Based Forest Management (CBFM) program of the government, aspects of their visions and everyday practices obliquely reflect some of the objectives of wildlife conservation and “forest management” as its Biblical slant also yearns for the return of the Edenic garden/’paradise.’ As an iconic example, since the middle of the last century (1950s), the village has evolved a case of human-macaque co-dwelling where wild/tamed troops of monkeys (*Macaca fascicularis philippinensis*) are actively taken-cared of, provisioned, and given a wider degree of tolerance in roaming the village spaces—an area also marked by many *balete* (*Ficus* spp.) trees. (*Balete* trees both have great folkloric salience in Philippine settings and are ecologically important from the monkeys’ point of view.²) But then again, while the community has this Eden-cultivating yearnings and motives to protect *some* of the areas’ wildlife (whether labeled as threatened, near threatened, or not threatened)—aside from monkey, varieties of birds (esp. swiftlets [*Collocalia fuciphaga*]), wild pig (*Sus* spp.), and deer (*Cervus mariannus*)—basic survival needs plus ritual practices pushed many of them further inward into the protected area and thereby contributing to the slow clearing of forest spaces for human habitation and activities.

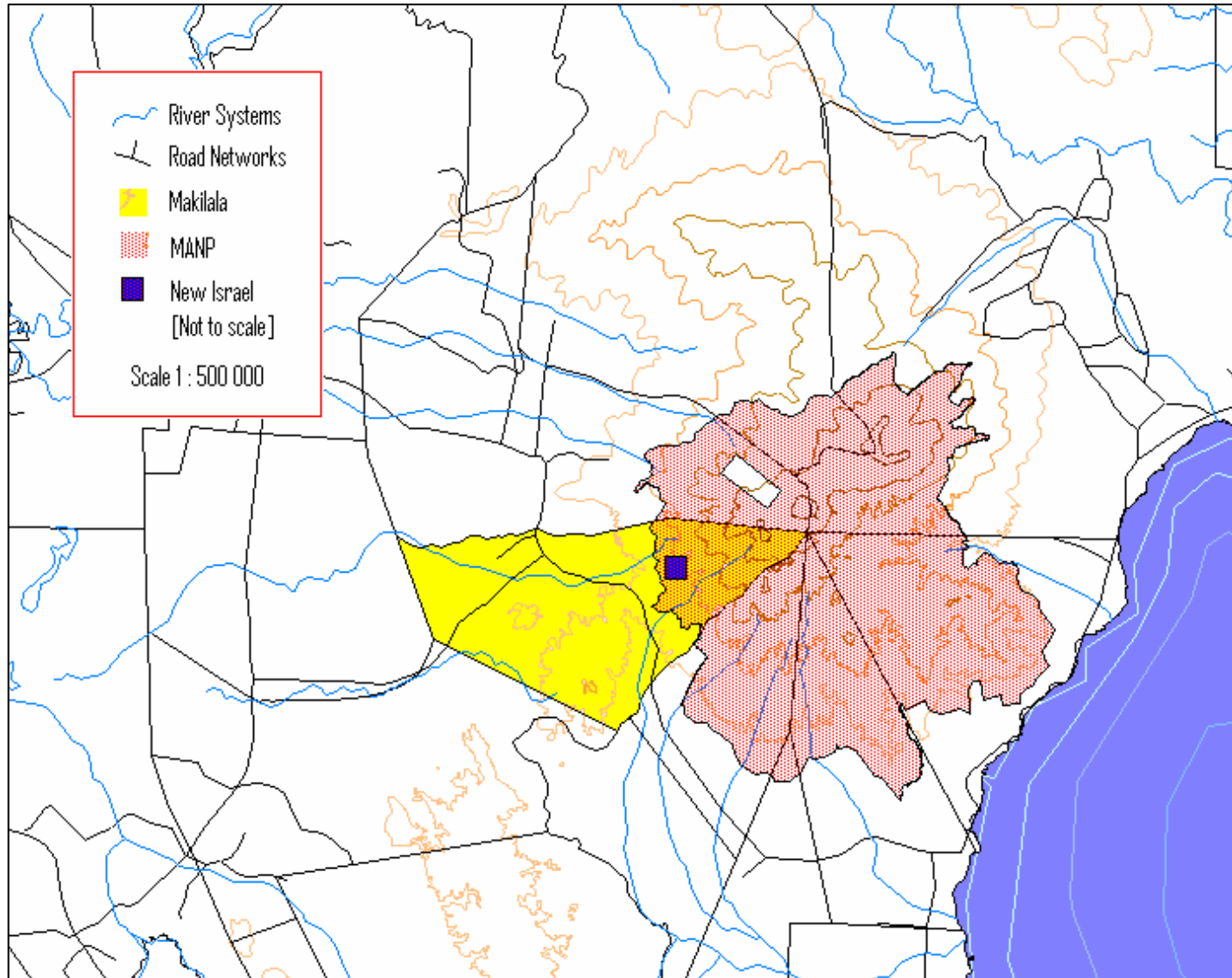
¹ My acquaintance with the village of New Israel started in 1996 when I first have my fieldwork in the area to study the religious symbolisms of the Moncadistas of the place (Paluga, 1999, 2000a). Fieldwork and short visits became more frequent since 2002 when I expanded my interests to include intersecting themes as healing practices (Paluga, 2000b), human-macaque relations and macaque behavior (Paluga, 2003), and various aspects of socio-ecological interactions, both at the macro and micro levels (Paluga, 2005; see also, Corpuz-Paluga, 2005).

² The *kapre* (a folkloric giant figure), for example, is always associated with the *balete* tree—this tree being almost generally linked to “underworld” entities (*mga dili ingon nato*: literally, “[beings] not like us”). Ecologically, the *Ficus* spp. are recognized as “keystone species,” playing important roles in tropical rain forest ecology as monkeys and large birds rely on them as food sources during times of forest famine (Whitmore, 1998: 72).

Draft. Please inform the author when citing parts of the paper.

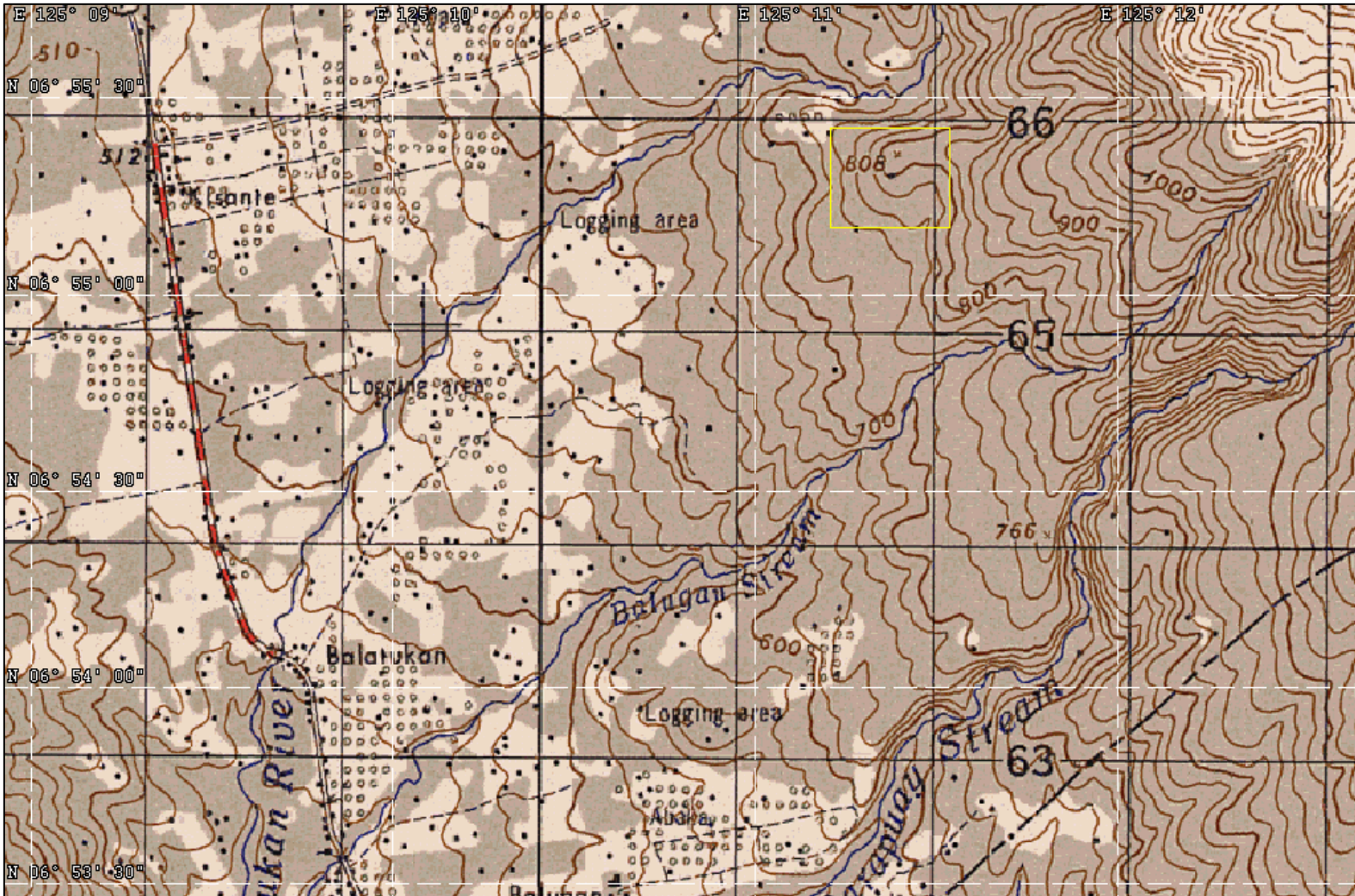


Map 1. Map of the province of North Cotabato, showing the municipality of Makilala
[Inset: Philippines, with North Cotabato (in yellow), Mindanao]



Map 2. Mt. Apo Natural Park (MANP) and the municipality of Makilala, North Cotabato [Scale 1:500,000]

Draft. Please inform the author when citing parts of the paper.



Map 3. Topographic map showing (in yellow square) the central settlement area of New Israel and its elevation.
[Source: NAMRIA, showing land-use data circa 1940s-1950s]

The religious view of “paradise on earth” and the mythic image of the “holy mountain” urge the believers to be more receptive to wildlife protection and conservation; in everyday practice, at least to *some* of them. Answered by the equal eagerness of macaques to inch closer to human-cultivated spaces, these visions resulted to the present human-macaque co-dwelling of the area. (4) But again, to return to the theme of incongruity, this kind of “management” by monkey-provisioning in the place not only gives one the obverse view of monkey-induced disturbances in the daily lives of the folks of the village but also poses the possibility of actively breeding monkeys as agricultural pests for its fields and contiguous areas.

(5) In a more recent development on the social dynamics of MANP, while the village is mainly composed of migrant settlers from the Visayas (*Appendix A-1*), the community is in the process of “re-inventing”/constructing their diverse ethnic identities to be construed as part of a virtually unified “Higaonon tribe” (a recognized indigenous group of Mindanao) and establishing “tribal council/hall” in their “migrant” setting.³ This move mimics—for survival and opportunistic reasons—the politico-cultural revitalization of “indigenous cultural communities” (*‘lumad,’* ‘IPs’ [indigenous peoples]) especially in the context of the IPRA law (Indigenous Peoples Rights Act; RA 8371 [1997]).⁴ Because the present religious/political leader of the place (the *Suprema* is also the *barangay* captain) interprets such “Higaonon” construal as a ticket for a kind of “ancestral domain rights” to their community and ritual areas, the move is an ethnopolitical irritant in their relations with the contiguous Tagabawa Bagobo *lumad*, whose ancestors were the ones who accommodated the pioneer Moncadistas who entered their ancestral domain (Tagabawa Bagobo: *banua*, ‘world’). In the context of MANP, the Moncadista vision of Edenic Garden/Paradise—‘managing’ the park as *taming* wildlife and *cultivating* a garden-like environment—poses challenge to the present views of the Tagabawas on how to protect/manage the *banua* of Mt. Apo.

Themes and readings

It is through my years of acquaintance of this small village, and the larger Makilala side of MANP, that I was able to reflect on the intricacies, contrasts and intersecting lines of *religious millenarianism*, *‘wildlife management’ and protection*, *inter-ethnic/village relations*, and *animal-human relations* in MANP.

Within these themes, I am re-underlining the following as key points/lessons: (1) that *religious millenarianism* can have a conservationist by-product through its mountain-seeking visions of a ‘paradise’/Edenic ‘garden’ on earth; (2) that, ecologically, *animal-human relations* could be initiated by the adaptive responses of the animal themselves in response to changing environmental settings; and, given inventive responses by communities, can lead to the construction of experimental ways of co-dwelling with the nonhuman animals; (3) that folks’ attitudes to the call for *wildlife management and protection* can be highly selective; like giving preferential treatment to lifeforms—like monkeys—with dense semiotic meanings; and corollary

³ The “logic” of making this claim, and the social networks and narratives that make their transmutation—from *Bisaya* migrant to “Higaonon tribe”—quite plausible for many folks, merits a different paper.

⁴ See Gatmaytan (2004) for a highly nuanced description of the dynamics and tensions brought by the IPRA law among indigenous communities, contextualized on the themes of ancestral domain, tenure, and resource management.

to this, if not guided by careful planning, the practice might lead to pest problems; and, going into the socio-political, (4) that the *inter-ethnic and inter-village dynamics* of indigenous groups and settlers near or within protected areas can pose challenging competition-cooperation tensions in MANP management. I hope that these accented points will further emerge with some fleshing in the succeeding sections of this paper.

II. MT. APO, MACAQUES, AND NEW ISRAEL

MANP and biodiversity conservation

The Philippine colonial and neo/post-colonial state, through government proclamations (Proc. 59 [May 9, 1936], Proc. 35 [May 8, 1966], Proc. 882 [September 24, 1996]), demarcated Mt. Apo as a “national park,” a “natural park,” and a “protected area” under the National Integrated Protected Areas System [NIPAS] (see, *Map 2* and *Appendix A-3*). Its special features include the following: volcanic mountain, rock formations, water falls, mountain lakes, medicinal hot springs, dipterocarp forest, home of the Philippine eagle, plus being the highest peak in the Philippines. An assessment of its overall biodiversity situation includes the following: 629 species under 48 families of vascular and non-vascular plants, with six species endemic and found only in the area; 118 recorded species of butterflies belonging to 69 families. Among vertebrates, 227 species are recorded, belonging to 69 families of amphibians, reptiles, birds, and mammals. Some species of birds (Apo myna and lorikeet, cinnamon bird, bagobo babbler, black-and-cinnamon fantail) are believed to have evolved here before spreading to other peaks as Kitanglad, Malindang, and Matutum. Among the birds, the Philippine eagle (*Pithecopaga jefferyi*) is considered as “the most important bird species in Mt. Apo,” and has become the symbol of wildlife conservation (DENR, 1997).

Like other declared natural parks, where human communities are dwelling (or “encroaching,” depending on whose point of view), the state follows a tier-system in partitioning space for management purposes: the outer-circle “buffer zone,” the middle space “multiple-use zone,” and the innermost “strict-protected zone.”⁵ Conservation biology and politics prompted the state to encourage communities within the park to integrate into their development plans various degrees of CBFM programs and wildlife conservation projects. The space of New Israel straddles along those three zones, with its settlement areas located in the buffer and multiple-use zones, and the fields cultivated by the folks reaching inward into the strict-protected zones.

Philippine long-tailed macaques and its conservation status

The Philippine long-tailed macaque is the only species of monkey in the Philippines. The “Red List” of endangered plants and animals by the World Conservation Union (IUCN) places the long-tailed macaques of in the “Lower Risk/near threatened (2000)”⁶ category (Eudey and Members of the Primate Specialist Group, 2000). Still, there is a need for further systematic

⁵ Fine-grained categories are further mentioned in the DAO (Department [DENR] Administrative Order) 25 [1992], which contains the implementing rules for NIPAS: [Section 10 (a) to (j)] “sustainable use zone,” “restoration zone,” “habitat management zone,” “cultural zone,” “recreational zone,” etc.

⁶ The range of categories (IUCN, 2004), outside Data Deficient (DD) and Not Evaluated (NE), are: Lower Risk (LR) [LR/lc (least concern); LR/nt (near threatened); LR/cd (conservation dependent)], Vulnerable (VU), Endangered (EN), Critically Endangered (CR), Extinct in the Wild (EW), Extinct (EX).

demographic assessment of the situation, especially on those in Mt. Apo and the wider Pantadon Range biogeographic sub-subregion. There is this complacent attitude, among some officials, experts and ordinary folks, on the issue of protecting Philippine macaques, based simply on the idea that ‘they are so many in the mountains.’ But the propensity of macaques to engage in crop-raiding activities on the folks’ fields and farms, the aggressive responses, and the traditional hunting practices by humans cannot be underplayed as to their culling effect.

Ecological role and uses of Philippine macaques

That macaques are not mere entertaining decorations for the forest might go without saying. They play a very important role in seed dispersal in the forest ecosystem, aiding the dispersal of seeds by virtue of their hair coat and by feeding on wild fruits. By feeding on insects, they also help in the control of pests and diseases. Outside the forest setting, they are generally used in various behavioral and biomedical researches, safety testing, and in the production of vaccines; they have also played key roles on the research of AIDS, cancer, atherosclerosis, diabetes, and birth defects (Technical Committee on Sustainable Use of Monkeys, 1995: 4). Conservationists might also be interested in the explorations done by Emmons (1999) on the use of primates as index for assessing the probable richness of non-primate mammals of an area. From a more dramatic view, Fooden (1991: 28) hypothesized the evolutionary and ecological links between the proliferation of Philippine macaques and the evolution of Philippine eagles:

In the absence of other species of macaques, Philippine *M. fascicularis* [at the time of its entry into the Philippine islands] apparently has successfully expanded its ecological range to include primary evergreen rain forest (“ecological release”). Proliferation of *M. fascicularis* in the Philippines may have been a factor in the origin and evolution of the endemic Philippine eagle *Pithechophaga jefferyi*, a known predator on these monkeys.

Primate conservation and scientific opportunities opened by New Israel

Students of primate conservation have increasingly recognized the important role of field ethological studies in serving conservationist efforts (Ciochon and Nisbett, 1998). The unique role of New Israel in providing Philippine primatology one of the best places, if not the sole one, where one can conduct ethological observations on almost all facets of macaque behavior and activities should be counted as one unintended consequence of the unique human-macaque relations that emerged in the area. The continuing “experimentations” by the folks, as they try to find ways to live human lives and at the same time accommodate the presence of monkeys in their area offer potential insights for anthropological and biological fields. The leaders and some folks I talked to in the village, in fact, are open to the idea of establishing a Primate Research Center to gather further ethnographic data on folks’ monkey-relating practices/experiences,⁷ to conduct long-term data-basing work on primate behavior and activities, and to train interested village folks on systematic macaque observation. If materialized, this center will, of course, take its own reflexive praxis in the social processes of New Israel and its role in MANP.

⁷ A really “thick description” of the folk experiences, documenting, through recollection by the old-timers, such “experiment” in living with the macaques and the mountain, is worth making. Being rarely done by human communities, valuable ecological, ethological, and conservationist insights are surely gained by the New Israel community after years of long-suffering, tolerance, and improvisations in a situation they themselves have partly constructed.

Biogeographic conditions for human-monkey interactions⁸

Before going into the ethnographic level, it is also salient to point at the broad biogeographic conditions that facilitated and sustained the Moncadistas' macaque-provisioning practices in MANP. The forest pattern that evolved in archipelagic south-east Asian rainforest, and in the MANP, is characterized by the predominance of the family *Dipterocarpaceae* (Whitmore, 1998; DENR, 1997). From the perspectives of Asian cercopithecids, the high tree density in this context does not automatically result to high primate density. In fact, it is suggested that *low* primate biomass for southeast Asia is due to the tree type dominating our forests. Gupta and Chivers (1999: 49-51) differentiate the "forage quality" of forests from the perspective of primate needs: because dipterocarps "invest much in the chemical defenses of their leaves and other plant parts," they contain large concentrations of toxic compounds that deter monkeys from appropriating them for food even if they might be present in high densities. From this condition, the forest clearings done by humans since the dawn of shifting agricultural in southern Philippines—first the cyclic and later the invasory kinds (Whitmore, 1998: 159)—and which resulted in the cultivation of plant-foods and fruit trees that also prove attractive to monkeys, provide the wider basis for the long-enduring attraction of monkey troops to stay near or in the peripheries of human habitations. When coupled with the generalist strategies of macaques (Fleagle, 1999) which make them highly adaptable to changed conditions, a broad basis for human-macaque interactions is ecologically and evolutionarily prepared. Whitmore (1998: 206-207) cites a recent study wherein long-tailed macaques of Malaysia non-intuitively *increased* in number after the logging activities and then *decreased* when the forests again recovered. Even if humans do not intentionally replace the felled dipterocarps with primate-favored fruit trees, the clearing of primary forests' towering trees due to human disturbances provides the ground for "the creation of secondary forests with light-demanding tree species, mainly from *Leguminosae*, *Moraceae*, and *Myrtaceae*" (Gupta and Chivers, 1999: 51). Various sites, from China to insular south-east Asia, provide empirical data wherein the patterns of logging, the establishment of human villages and the cultivation of food-plants, and the practice of monkey-provisioning by humans, result in increasing populations of generalist macaques—of course, at the cost of many other species (*ibid.*). Macaques have developed such ability of coexisting with humans, even if only at the peripheries of human fields, that they "seem to reach their highest densities in places where they overlap with humans" (Fleagle, 1999: 188). The case of New Israel, which is without doubt unique if seen in the micro-scale of MANP, translates to non-uniqueness from the perspective of this broad-scaled pattern. What is unique in the case of New Israel is that, figuratively speaking, the macaques of Mt. Apo—who, if the above argument is correct, have always been knocking at the doors of human habitations—are now openly welcomed and made to come in. And it is because a broad evolutionary pattern intersects with the historical dynamics of Philippine "millenarian" migration and expansion on the side of Mt. Apo.

III. NEW ISRAEL AND THE MONCADISTAS

Eco-tourism spot and trekking point to Apo

New Israel, Makilala, North Cotabato is best known to mountaineers as an entry point for the claimed shortest trekking point (KM 88, Bulatukan Crossing) to Mt. Apo. The barangay is also an entry point to two peaks in the Apo trail, Moncadista-christened "Makalangit" (roughly,

⁸ A longer presentation on the view given here is in Paluga (2003 and 2004).

‘heaven-ward’) and ‘Mt. Zion’, part of the Park but are developed as pilgrimage sites by the community. Accessible by a *habal-habal* (a motorcycle with back-seat extensions and made to carry four to five passengers), it is about five kilometers from New Bulatukan, its nearest barangay along the national highway connecting Digos City (Davao del Sur) to Kidapawan City (North Cotabato). In the pre-World War II survey, the place was classified as a forest reservation area by the government, even as big logging activities were already entering the area. During and after the war years, some Visayan/Cebuano migrant families led by “Papa Guibernas” (Rev. Maximino S. Guibernas [1910-1993]) took advantage of the ensuing turmoil at that time to bypass state restrictions. Entry into the area was also facilitated by the friendship forged by the Cebuano Papa Guibernas with the indigenous Tagabawa Bagobos of the place, especially with Datu Cayawon (Barro, 2005). The migrant community eventually grew, and, by 1975, was made into a formal barangay with seven *puroks* and three *sitios* dominated by Cebuanos and some Ilonggos, Boholanos, and a few Ilocanos. Now with a population of about 300 households of small-farmers, rubber-tappers, farmhands, or flower-cultivators,⁹ New Israel is being marketed by the municipality as an eco-tourism area due to its unique mountain-forest views, the monkeys, and for the uniqueness of this Moncadista village as reflected in the religious structures of the place and the practices of the believers.

Moncado, ‘Papa Guibernas,’ and the Yutang Gisaad

The village is a community of *Alpha and Omega* members. The full name of the group is *Iglesia ni Jehova Moncado Alpha and Omega World Peace Crusader’s Mission, Incorporated*. They call themselves Moncadistas or “Moncado Alpha and Omega” to distinguish them from the “mainstream” Moncadistas (Flores-Tolentino, 1982) of which their group emerged as an offshot. Like the Rizalista sects, Moncadista groups are sometimes labeled as “religious sects” or “cults,” as they identify themselves with personalities considered divine and have, from mainstream eyes, “strange” practices, or as “millenarians,” for their expectation of the imminent end of the present world order. Hilario C. Moncado (1895-1956; see Cullinane [2000], for a full biographical treatment) a Filipino migrant worker in a sugar plantation in Hawaii, initiated this ‘Moncadista’ movement, after organizing his fellow workers into an initially semi-religious labor/mutual support group in the 1920s and 1930s. He became a colorful figure in the political arena as he joined in several national elections in the pre- and post-war periods. Many of the ordinary folks and workers recruited into the Filipino Federation of America, which became the Filipino Crusaders World Army (1940s), and still later, Equifrilibricum World Religion, Inc. (1950s), look to him as a kind of Christ-like “Messiah” or a divine person. In a narrative related to me by “Tatay” (affectionate call for an elder or ‘father’) Pedro Tacder in a visit I made nine years ago, Moncado is depicted as a “reincarnation” of God’s spirit, who, after Moncado’s death, entered the body of “Papa Guibernas” who then became the final “temple” of Jehovah (the Old Testament name of God, which is the one used in their Visayan Bible). The late Tatay Pedro always repeats to me the idea that the God that we should believe in must appear to us “in the

⁹ Majority of the households earns their living by flower and vegetable gardening, which products they sell at the Kidapawan, Bansalan, Digos, or even Davao markets. Many sidelined as farmhands (*mang-hornal*) in surrounding bigger farmlands, as tappers in rubber plantations within (although owned by non-residents of the place) or outside the *barangay* area, and as part-time laborers, tricycle drivers, and other odd-jobs even as far as General Santos City. Few relatively well-off residents of the place (concrete, bungalow-type house with three to four rooms; appliances; and children enrolled in tertiary education at Davao or Kidapawan) are successful businesspersons, with OFW children, or owning larger farmlands.

body” (*kanang makita gyud sa lawas*, ‘that which must be present/seen in the body’). “He is the Jehovah of the earth,” he said. When I first visited the place, “Papa Guibernas” was already three years dead but many of the residents consider him as still spiritually present and would soon return ‘in the end of time’ for the final redemption of the faithful members. Many of the members I talked to consider the place, Brgy. New Israel, as the “promised land” (*yutang gisaad*) and all textual reference to the “promised land,” to Israel, or to the future ‘paradise’ in the Bible are read as pointing to the present place. Although they have congregations in other areas of Mindanao, they look up to this place as their spiritual center. It is also noticeable that some relatively wealthy members who own houses in the area have these only as refuge houses “when the end comes:” they have houses outside the barangay (in Davao, Kidapawan, or Gen. Santos) and only come to Israel during special occasions. The members look at the place as an area of refuge when cataclysmic events of the Apocalypse would finally arrive.

IV. ETHNOGRAPHIC BITS AND NARRATIVES¹⁰

A mystical village

At the center (*sentro*) of the village of New Israel is the *Dakung Balay* (Big House). This is the “mission center” and house of their late religious founder, “Papa Guibernas.” Entrenched on the side of Mt. Apo, the barrio is located in a rugged and rolling terrain. On such setting, the village houses, distributed into seven *pureks*, distancing from about a hundred to a thousand meters from the *Dakung Balay*, seem to spread root-like towards the northeast and southwest directions. In the eastern portion, there is an elevated mound where the tombs of “Papa Guibernas” and his wife, “Mama Paulina,” are enshrined. Assigned devotional groups would regularly sing and pray, very early in the morning, during the day, and late in the night: in the mausoleum where “Papa Guibernas” and “Mama Paulina” were laid; in the basement of the *Dakong Balay*; and in their church building. At night, one is wakened by hourly bell-rings (with numerological counts) done to mark the time. Every morning (except on Sundays), a flag ceremony is held to serve as an arena for reports relevant to the community, admonitions to remain steadfast, airing of complaints to some individuals/groups remiss in their duties, and many other things important to community life. The women, some in white uniforms, display in their hoods the stitched-letters E. F. B.¹¹ Many villagers are also wearing in their bodies various “amulets” (*anting-anting*, for many outsiders), which are called *kargada* (“load”) or *gahum*¹² (power). In the *sentro* space from the church, the *Dakung Balay*, the flag ceremony area, up to the mound where the mausoleum is located are scattered the concrete, triangular structures with crucifixes at their apexes. It could give a newly-arriving visitor a cemetery-like phenomenology

¹⁰ Parts of this section, with revisions, were taken from a previously presented paper (Paluga, 2005).

¹¹ Flores-Tolentino (1982: 1, fn.) mentions that this initials, standing for *Equifrilibricum*, means Equality (*Equi*), Fraternity (*Fri*), and Liberty (*libricum*), which, for original *Moncadistas*, is also believed to be the new name of *Moncado*; for New Israel residents, it is the new/secret name of God.

¹² *Gahum* is an ordinary Cebuano term corresponding to the English “power.” It is usually found in the phrase used of God and his attribute, *Labaw nga Makagagahum* (God Almighty, but literally, “[the one with] greater power”). Also, in Cebuano, the term for government is *kagamhanan* (literally roughly corresponding to the English “the powers-that-be”; *gamhanan*, “with power”). *Gamhanan nga tawo* (“a powerful person) is, I think, a phrase used much before but rarely now; *may awtoridad* (a transliteration of “[a person with] authority”) seems to have replaced it in usual usage.

Draft. Please inform the author when citing parts of the paper.

of the place, but quite strange because of the counter-balancing taste of being in a ‘forest setting’ due to the surrounding *balete* trees, the elevation of the place, and the view of higher mountains semi-circling the whole village. It is on this kind of seemingly unlikely setting that a visitor to the place finds the monkeys, gnome-like roaming the *sentro* or grooming on top of the *Dakung Balay* and houses near it.

‘Managing’ as provisioning and taming

These monkeys (*unggu*) dwelling in New Israel have learned to cohabit with humans for about five decades now. These New Israel macaques range relatively freely almost any part of the barrio—the center, the peripheries, the cultivated gardens and fields—if their geographic ranges since the late 1950's are summed up. At the time when I was getting measured samples of their activities (2003, *Appendix B*), their core areas are in the *sentro* and the eastern portions of the place. The religious volunteers of the *Dakung Balay* regularly provision them with food; a practice done since the time of Papa Guibernas. That this provisioning practice is so established in their daily living, especially among the older generations, was driven home to me just recently after talking to the head Tagabawa Bagobo chieftain of their neighboring village. Datu Awad Tampulong told me that when he was still young, he was surprised to see monkeys drawing near the Moncadista hamlets in *Makalangit*, an area approximately midway between New Israel and the peak of Mt. Apo. Even up to these heights the pious folks are feeding them. Although sometimes irritated by the ways of these monkeys roaming loosely the village, the inhabitants learned to tolerate these primates and have regarded them as equally rightful cohabitants of the place; to some, with the hopeful proviso that their roaming, and the space they claim as also their own, be regulated a bit.

The early pioneer settlers of the area even named their community park "Mike" in honor of the troop's first alpha male, as named by Papa Guibernas. Only very few remaining old-timers recall this historical point now as majority of the villagers simply call it "*Parke*," without the honorary designation "Mike." Still, if the troop is not at *sentro* and one inquires from the folks about them, the folks would always point you to the *Parke* because the monkeys have always been associated with that area. Since the time of Papa Guibernas, they also made it a practice to train the first troop to make the *Parke* the feeding area. In the 60's, there were pools intentionally made for the monkeys to swim, complete with diving boards and mirrors for curious gazing by the amazed and distracted macaques—to the amusement of many visitors and folks. There was even a hut and a long feeding table purposely constructed for the troop! The "monkey house" had divisions and layers for sleeping (*naa puy mga kwarto-kwarto ug higdaanan*; there are also small rooms and beds). In a way, this long practice of provisioning the monkeys in a specific area, at regular times, is a technique to protect their cultivated fields from their foraging activities. I was able to collect some old photographs: one has Papa Guibernas, posing for the camera, feeding them in the long feeding table at the *Parke*; another shows Papa extending a bottle of soft drink (*kabalo na sila muinom ug Koks*) for an alpha-looking male to drink. Mike was the name of the first macaque tamed by Papa Guibernas, and by extension, of the whole village. Eventually, all the succeeding *lider* or *daku-daku* (leader) among the troop was called "Mike." In a kind of Adam-and-Eve-like narrative, some of the old folks mention Mike and Maring as the first couple that begot the individuals in the growing troop. Or one also hears a schematic story about Papa Guibernas, one day, talking to Mike and telling him to go to the upper ranges of Apo: *pagbalik nimo, kinahanglan daghan na mo* ('when you return, you must bring along many companions').

Ug nahitabo gyud, the story ends ('and that is what really happened'). It appears that those monkeys earlier tamed and provisioned by Papa Guibernas, when they became many, soon attracted monkey troops in the wild, and contributed further to their growth in number.

In the cultural geography of the present folks, they *expect* the troops to stay in the *Parke* and think it the proper domain for them—in addition to the *Dakung Balay* area where they mostly do their grooming sessions, rests and nightly roosts. I observed several times some villagers shooing the roaming monkeys—even those of the second troop which have already separated from the first—and telling them "*hala, panguli namo didto sa Parke...*" ('go back to the Park now'). This kind of cultural mapping, of course, opens the possibility of conflict as it could add as justification, especially by the more recent settlers of the place and their children, for sometimes severely harassing them when they roam—perhaps taken as a sign of waywardness—far from the *Parke* and the *Dakung Balay* areas and into their cultivated plots and domestic abodes.

Macaque adjustments

The macaques on their part seem to have adjusted themselves to the ways of humans and the surroundings. They appear to have mapped well the areas of the village, have learned cues from humans suggestive of food, and will readily approach any new visitor to the village that visits the park. Their "almost human" antics still draw laughter even among the villagers who are used to seeing their diverse behaviors. They do their resting and grooming sessions at the top of the houses in the center of the barrio and, at night, appropriate these as their sleeping sites. (See *Appendix B* for sub-area distributions and variations of the macaques' activities.)

Presently, there are three troops of macaques cohabiting the area. My periodic counting of the individuals of the *sentro* troop ranges from around 40-50 individuals (March-May, 2003: 42-47); with the variation mostly accounted for either by periodic inter-troop transfer of males and by casualties due to human aggression (see *Appendix C* [C-4]). The two other troops are staying in the field areas, at the peripheries of the village and each numbers around 20-30 individuals. These troops have different home ranges, have developed different territorial attachments, and have differing impacts on the village. Their numbers may have declined if compared to that of the time of Papa Guibernas. The observably diminishing religiosity of the *barrio* after the passing away of Papa Guibernas has affected the degree of care given to these monkeys. In the course of my field-stay in the area, I met a son¹³ of the deceased Maranao chieftain, "the lost sultan of Uyanan, Sultan Omar Kiram," whose old mansion in Kidapawan is one of the city's landmarks. He and his son regularly come to New Israel as his father and Papa Guibernas were "best friends" and have also climbed Mt. Apo together. During those years, the monkeys were so numerous that he can vividly recall how the *barrio* erupts with chitters and grunts as monkeys rained down from the surrounding trees with one call of Papa Guibernas,

¹³ The narrated life-story of this "lost sultan" might be of interest as it features inter-ethnic dimensions and the drama of historical contingencies, as underlined in this paper: due to civil disturbances, the young sultan was sold as slave to a military scout, an Ilocano, surnamed Austria; he was brought to Luzon, was sent to school, and eventually became an aid to Ramon Magsaysay, who was then heading the Department of National Defense; after an almost labyrinthine fate, he found out "his real identity"—that he was the "lost sultan of Uyanan"—due to the matching of his life-account with the jigsaw of information from the olds of his hometown, and the tell-tale body-mark (*ila*), thru the traditional practice of making artificial marks on the body of the nobility by oil burning.

“Mike!” In the narration of the sultan’s son, “they were so many that time, *pag tinawag na, akala mo inaatake na ang baryo*” (‘it’s as if the village is being attacked’). Some folks also mention that some of these New Israel monkeys have transferred to the fields of another village due to some military-rebel encounters in the place during the 80s.

Tirador

Although, in general, they just bear with religious patience the unavoidable havocs sometimes done by these monkeys, the villagers have also devised ways to protect their fields and domestic spaces from these simian rovers. Houses in the most affected areas are most of the time close—windows and doors—and any possible entrance, like openings near the roofs, are covered. First-time visitors may think they have no occupants inside.

The simplest way to threaten them, if shoing fails, is to use *tirador* (slingshot). Sometimes, even without a stone in it, monkeys immediately scamper upon seeing it stretched! Most, therefore, have ready *tiradors* in their houses: to use them handy when the monkeys overextend their tolerated spaces. It is also an advantage to track the patterns of their day ranges and its periodic changes so as to send watchers to their fields if a troop is already advancing. In the long period of adjusting with these cohabiting macaques, many farmers have also learned some of their food-related behaviors, food preferences and the fruiting stage most attractive to them. The roamed fields are not usually planted with crops the monkeys prefer; and they take extra vigilance when their corns are already in the milking and dough stages—starchy already but not yet hard for the macaques' dental range—for these are the vulnerable phases of the corns. These improvisations, of course, do not always work. The monkeys, folks would say, 'also are quite wise'—and so one also sees, from time to time, a farmer shouting, perhaps cursing fate, shoing angrily and chasing them away.

Lutuson to teach monkeys lesson

Some *sentro* folks are also maximizing the use of dogs to deter the monkeys from their domestic/cultivated areas. I have observed, for example, several instances wherein dogs are mobilized by both kids and adults to “attack” the monkeys who are staying in the mango trees that are already developing their fruits. *Hoo-hoo-hooo...* are the usual prodding voices humans utter to nudge their loyal *Canis familiaris* to run after the roving long-tailed simians. Perhaps these scenarios of dogs-humans versus monkeys in village contexts are patterns that are already hundreds of years old to have developed in monkeys a long-term adaptational response almost similar to their response to snakes. The monkeys, even from a distance, seem to recognize the barks of dogs that are mobilized by humans against them. Like the snake and eagle responses of some cercopithecids (*cf.* the case of vervets, Seyfarth, Cheney and Marler, 1980), they immediately scamper up the trees uttering what to me is a unique shriek when some weird barks from the village dogs are heard.¹⁴

¹⁴ I wonder if, given the almost total absence of their traditional predators—eagle and snakes—these monkeys might now have “exapted” (Gould and Vrba, 1998) the semantics of their “alarm call” by appropriating it for the present context and thus creating new meaning out of old vocalizations. The same context-specific shriek that traditionally signals—“snakes!” or “raptors!” (*cf.* Seyfarth, Cheney, and Marler, 1980)—might still be continually emitted but with a new content, “dogs and their masters!” If correct, this would be a case of “exaptation” (Gould and Vrba, 1998) in the context of human-macaque interactions.

One troop has branched further out of the *sentro* and has “maintained distance from humans” (*murag na-ila na*, ‘has possibly become wild again’). This troop has instead dwelt and foraged in the distant fields. Even then, these monkeys do not appear to shy away from humans in general. The monkeys’ growingly elusive behavior might depend on the experience they had with particular humans. Migueling, one of the farmers I interviewed, thinks that the monkeys can recognize him even from a distance: and because he always drives them away, the troop scampers upon seeing him approach the field. In order to protect the cornfield he is working, he usually chase them even beyond his worked area—in his term, *lutuson*, “to ran after;” which also means, in my familiar *Bisaya* language, “to persecute;” *lutuson aron motagam*: roughly, “to tire them with chasing so that they’ll get the worst of it and not return.” He says, however, that he never attempts to hit them with stones out of respect for these *buhi ni Papa* (pet/domesticates of Papa Guibernas).

Human solitude and companion species

But in all these everyday frictions, the New Israel folks never thought of driving them *en masse* away from their village. ‘*Mingaw man pud siguro ang baryo kung wala na sila,*’ one of the resident commented. (‘The barrio might be lonely without them.’) *Mingaw* is certainly a lonely-sounding *Bisaya* term for solitude: the clownish monkeys as antidote to the solitariness of a small barrio of humans is worth reflecting. In the course of my fieldwork in the area, I learned various other notions that further checked the possibility of folks driving them away from the village. Religious commitment and respect to Papa Guibernas are additional components as the monkeys are usually referred to as “Papa’s pet or domesticate” (*buhi ni Papa*). Monkeys scattering in the *sentro* would always be reminding them of their late founder’s strong affection for these tricky creatures. “Papa Guibernas” is known both for his caring concern for the roaming macaques of the area and for giving extra attention and interest to persons who have “deficient capacities”—adults who are stammering, who are “like children” (*murag bata, kulang sa pangisip*, “like a child, deficient in thinking”), mutes, or who have bodily “deformities.” When one privileges too much the bio-cultural status of language, it is possible to think of non-talking organisms as “dumb,” in all the word’s thickness. It is from this perspective that the acts of “Papa Guibernas” become theoretically interesting. I think the patterns of his attitudes are convergent and stem from a way of relating and valuing the “person”—whether of a much-laughed-at monkey, a deformed human, or a stammerer—beyond the requisites of talking and beyond the criteria that respectable embodiment should always be of the *typical* human. But, of course, the force of habit is not also to be discounted. Just being used to living with them, even perhaps in a love-hate manner, may help continue the bond as habitual interaction creates elements that may also serve as forces for recursion: in the course of living together, these macaques have become “companion species” (*cf.* Haraway, 2005) for this Moncadista village.

There was, in fact, a proposal, perhaps coming from the later settlers of the place, to cage these monkeys, as in zoos; but, aside from monetary costs to be considered, the old timers I have talked to always use the term *luoy* (feeling of pity and sympathy) for the animals who are “like humans” (*murag tawo*). ‘Even if they make constant disturbances, they are also of help,’ they would say. Some give anecdotes about communist rebels who tried to attack the place and were pushed back by the “patrolling” monkeys who assume giant and aggressive bodily forms in the eyes of these “enemies” of the place. *Makalingaw* and *makatabang*: entertainers and protectors—

Draft. Please inform the author when citing parts of the paper.

these are two ways of construing the cohabiting macaques. Like impish children, they are also depicted as *makapungot pero makalingaw pud*, ‘irritating, but also entertaining.’

Tolerance and suffering

But the best adaptative response by the folks to the tensions brought by the kind of human-monkey coexistence that they themselves are cultivating is the practice of deep tolerance.

One time, I shared to Tatay Roque, a mainstay of the *Dakung Balay*, the scene I witnessed while I was following the troop as they rove a portion of the *barrio*. As chance has it, Tatay Roque’s married daughter was “victimized” by these rovers. I narrated to Tatay how the monkeys threw into the ground the newly cooked rice they found at the *abuhan* (“dirty kitchen”). The mother seemed to have gone inside the house to pacify her crying children and so some individual monkeys took advantage to rummage for food in the *abuhan*. She only found out what happened through her husband who just came from the field and was surprised to see the upturned *kaldero* (pot) and the *kan-on* (rice) scattered on the ground. *Bwusit! demonyo!*, were the curses I heard from the house. It is one of the awkward situations when I was there measuring the monkeys’ time-budgets while the troop is causing disturbances on the villagers—and I feel alienated from the life-world of the folks with all my pencil, notes, stopwatch and binocular intent on pursuing my “focal individual” havoc or no havoc. These are the times when I, depending on situations, either have to forego my focal subject and shift to a more passive observation from a distance or decide to cancel the observation time as the folks are driving the troop anyway from the area.

What initially surprised me was the direct comment of Tatay Roque after narrating the incident. Without a bit of surprise for what appeared to be a non-news to him, he simply said: ‘Well, monkeys are monkeys and that’s their nature. They look for food when hungry. It’s the fault of humans if they don’t watch their things. It can always happen because the monkeys are roaming, so it is we who should be more watchful... You know already that monkeys are clever.’ (*Kinaiya man gyud na nila...Sala sa tawo kay wa magbantay... Kabalo nga brayt sad ni silang mga ungguya.*) The comment may appear to be a response of indifference but it certainly drives an important point. I recall a story relating Papa Guibernas’ satirical response to one folk who went to the *Dakung Balay* one day to complain that the monkeys have stolen food items from his house. Papa said, ‘*Tsk*, now what move can be done? You can make a formal complain to the Barangay council so that the errant monkey can be summoned, perhaps for the case of robbery!’ The moral of the story, as the narrator deduces, is that ‘because we choose to have the monkeys with us, it is we who must be watchful always.’ (*Magbantay gyud pirmi.*) New Israel village is telling us that humans and macaques can cohabit if humans are willing to make sacrifices and learn to be ever vigilant: *mag-antus* (‘to suffer’) and *magbantay pirmi*. One can even generalize and derive an ecological message from these terse lines and acts of the folks: to recognize the rightful place of nonhumans in our midst, humans must learn to make the necessary sacrifices and vigilance. It occurs to me now that, perhaps like the ringing of bells (*pabagting*) every hour in different sites of the *barrio*, the roving monkeys—with the corresponding counsel to be “always on the watch”—also fits and chimes well with the millenarian stance about “the impending times” and the admonition to be always on the alert and remain wakeful. Every hour

is an ‘impending hour’ for a true millenarian, shot through with apocalyptic anxiety and the promise¹⁵ of paradise.

Macaques in an eco-tourist Paraiso/Gingharian

The semi-vegetarian food preference (only chicken and fish for meat) of the Moncadista and their paradisaical vision of incarnating "the Kingdom" in the "highest mountain of the Philippines" also play a role in explaining their accommodating attitudes to these animals. In other areas, these monkey troops may simply be treated as pests (*cf.*, Knight, 1999)—for intruding and raiding the cultivated clearings of upland dwellers, like the prehistoric forebears of our modern-day *Canis familiaris* before humans decided to domesticate them (Wynne, 2001)¹⁶—or be pursued deep into the forests, hunted as food. But here in the Moncadista "kingdom" (*gingharian*), they find a degree of protection unavailable elsewhere other than the thinning forests. Many of the old timers of the *barrio* relate that Papa was so fond of these monkeys that one of the last things he said before he died—or "disappeared from view" (*nagpakawala*)—was to see to it that the troop is fed well (*ayaw gyud sila pagutmi*; do not let them suffer hunger).

There are local eco-tourists visiting the place. Some relatively wealthy families visit the rugged village purposely “to look at the monkeys”—prompting even Papa Guibernas to wittily remark a line well-remembered by the present folks: *ayaw ninyo kataw-i ang ungguy... maayo pa na sila, naa’y mobisita nga taga-gawas... kamo, wa gyud...* (‘don’t laugh at these monkeys... look at them, outsiders come to visit them, while you, for your part, nobody visits you...’). In a related pun about the case of these monkeys and the outside visitors, Papa gave an enigmatic remark recalled up to now by the olds: *Ang mga tawo mungari, motan-aw sa mga ungguy, apan wala gyud sila makaila sa amô* (“people will come, looking for these monkeys, but they don’t really know us/the monkeys/the master). The trick, highlighted by my informants, is on the last word: depending on the pattern of syllabic stressing, *amo* variably means “us” (*à-mô*), “monkeys” (*á-mô*), and “master” (*a-mô*).

Reincarnated as monkeys

I also learned a rare historical bit of information, while conversing with the sultan Omar’s son, on the shared religious views that could develop between a Maranao *sultan* and a *Bisaya* visionary. If correct, this may dramatize the diversity of capillaries of sources for what eventually congealed to form the present patterns of macaque-human cohabitation in New Israel. I learned that the sultan was so fond of reading books by the spiritualist Edgar Cayce, famous for his teachings on reincarnation (Licauco, 2003). ‘He (the Sultan) loved those Edgar Cayce books; in fact he has a complete set of Cayce books.’ What is striking with this small piece of information is that Papa Guibernas and Sultan Omar are well-known to the olds of the village to

¹⁵ Or, for the few who might have attained a kind of mystical peace, the “paradise” is not anymore a promise but a lived experience and they are just waiting, while also actively constructing, the *greater fullness* of what is already present. This is what comes to mind if one looks at the painted words, “Guibernas Paradise,” in the bamboo-arch when approaching the tomb-mound of Papa Guibernas and Mama Paulina (but now dismantled) and when one looks closely at the serene faces of the pioneer settlers of the area in old photographs given me by the present Suprema.

¹⁶ Wynne (2001) has an interesting review of the "cross-species sociology" done by Stephen Budiansky. In a relevant line, Wynne cites Budiansky's view that dogs "hung around human settlements, stealing food and being a general nuisance before people found any use for them."

be very close friends¹⁷ and the fact that Papa himself explicitly espoused a positive view on reincarnation.

How is this related to the monkeys? An old folk of the village shared to me a recalled sermon from Papa Guibernas saying that ‘our deceased folks may return (*ma-reincarnar*) to New Israel assuming the form of monkeys, and so these newly-born monkeys should be taken cared of.’ It is beyond reckoning, if intriguing, to what extent the sultan’s thoughts on reincarnation has shaped and strengthened the views of Papa. But it is of comparative interest that the idea of persons in monkey-forms, implicit in the *reincarnar* view is structurally homologous with the common Filipino folk narrative of the human origins of monkeys (Eugenio, 2001: 389-390: ‘although the monkeys cannot talk, they are wise because they descended from humans’). What is certain is that the schema of nonhuman reincarnation has played a role in forging and maintaining the “natural contract” (Serres, 1995) between humans and macaques in New Israel ever since Papa Guibernas.

‘Mirrors’ for humans

One image that I heard about these cohabiting macaques is that they may serve as “mirrors” of human behaviors and may foreshadow social events in the life of humans. One particular narrative is shared to me: they tell of the intense fighting that occurred between the two troops at the center of the *barrio* just weeks before a major national event that lead to the abrupt change in the executive head of the state (dubbed as “Edsa II”). In fact, this kind of view is sometimes generalized thus: major events in the social life of humans (like local politics or MILF-government forces encounters—events that occurred in the course of my fieldwork) is either foreshadowed *or* replayed in the life of the troops. Interpreted symbolically, the New Israel folks’ tendency to look at monkeys like mirrors of humans and like “crystal balls” of coming human events does not anymore appear as so absurd—because there are broad patterns that might really mirror us in some non-trivial sense.

Noah’s ark, animals and Biblical figurations

Biblical images and the millenarian faithfuls are potent networks. Perhaps the most interesting view shared by one of the olds of the place is the perspective on animal conservation that intersects with their millenarian/Noaic appropriations: the place is the modern day “Ark” for the coming cataclysm and, *dili lang ungguy, apil tanan mga mananap—agila, binaw, tanan klase—diri mudangop para semilya kun mahugasan na ang kalibutan...* Not only monkeys but also other animals will be gathered in the place—eagle, deer, all kinds—and they will re-seed the world, after the millennial cleansing. It is a grand vision.

It is a theme most certainly constructed by Papa and the earliest pioneers of the place in their process of creatively dwelling the rainforest setting of Mt. Apo. A newcomer to the village, for example, might notice that there are many *sayao* birds (swiftlets, *Collocalia* spp.) in the

¹⁷ The friendship is not just simply between Papa Guibernas and Sultan Omar—‘the Guibernases were friends of my parents,’ in the words of James. He narrates the naturalistic love of his mother for rare plants and wildlife. James recalls particularly that they once have a giant orchid from Mt. Apo which bears flowers only every 25 years, and so was a source of delight for the whole Kiram household and its visitors when the orchids began to grow flowers one particular day. Mama Paulina, for her part, is also known for her love for flowers and orchids and so it is not difficult to understand the bonding of this families belonging to different religious traditions via Mt. Apo and its features.

sentro. Upon inquiring, one will learn that many of these are staying in the underground of the *Dakung Balay* as they were allowed to nest inside Papa's house since his time.

The role of bees (*ligwan* and *putyukan*; Hymenoptera) is also prominent in the folk narratives. The old Calago (in his late 80s), father of the previous Barangay Captain of the village and a long-time friend and neighbor of Papa Guibernas even when they were still in Cebu, narrates the following story: before the monkeys, bees were his first 'domesticates' (*buhi*). *Ligwan* bees were said to approach Papa's small house then and drew near the dining table. Papa fed them every time they came that after some time bees soon constructed their nest-cells within the periphery. These nest-cells were only removed when many members complained to Papa as they were not anymore free to draw near Papa's house, fearful of being stung by the bees. Several members would also emphasize the role of bees in defending the place from being attacked by rebels who want to penetrate the area.

Papa's closeness to animals is highlighted in the words of Rev. Butal, one of the few remaining pioneers who helped cleared the present site: *mura'g si Noe si Papa, naa'y mga pamaagi sa mananap* ('Papa was like Noah, he knows how to deal with animals.'). In fact this following line is even more interesting in linking Noah-like image, love for animals and vegetarianism: *sagupon ang mga mananap aron ka panig-ingnan pareho kaniadto ug karon... higugmaon ang tawo ug mananap... dili ipaihaw ang mananap... moabot ang panahon, ang mga mananap maningil sa gikaon nimong mananap* ('to adopt the animals so that there will be a semblance of the past and the present... to love humans and animals... not to butcher animals... time will come when they will ask payment for the animals you ate'). Recalling the legend about Solomon's unusual ability in communicating with animals, 'Papa Guibernas possessed a *kalaki* (*gahum*, power) and that's why he was able to tame the monkeys,' is the remark of one woman that I happened to converse with when I reached the border of another village while tracking the ranges of the wild troops. From the 60's up to the 80's, the millenarian-cataclysmic¹⁸ concerns of the Moncadistas might have interwoven with the then-current ecological-disaster scenarios (*ang kalibutan karon nagadulong sa panahon sa mga katalagman, ang kinaiyahan nagalihok sama sa usa ka bulkan*, 'the world is approaching the times of disaster and nature is moving like a volcano') creating a discourse that resonates with the wider, "global" context (Paluga, 2000: 46 [Endnote 32]). Only echoes of this potentially generative vision can be heard now in the place, even if the macaque beneficiaries of that hybrid eco-apocalyptic narrative persist robustly amidst the seemingly ebbing religiosity of the younger generations.

Mythic images and Bagobo links

It is of interest to note that in the level of mythic narratives, the Moncadista view holding Mt. Apo a holy place converges with the Bagobo's reverence for *Apo Sandawa*. Rooting the historical interactions between the early migrant settlers and the ethnic mountain-dwellers of Apo might also provide a revealing background. The friendly bond that was said to develop between the Cebuano migrants and the Bagobos of the place might shed cultural significance to the domestication of these macaques. Some folk narratives, one of many competing stories, said that the first monkey tamed by Papa Guibernas was a gift from the Bagobo chieftains of the area. Interestingly, a classic study on Bagobo myths (Raats, 1969) lists the monkey—certainly a

¹⁸ Haraway (1997: 41) aptly remarks: "Oddly, belief in advancing disaster is actually part of a trust in salvation."

fascicularis macaque since there is no other species in the Philippines—together with the pig and the lizard as "animal warranters of life."

Did the early Bisaya settlers also share a kind of civilizational/Austronesian schema when they started domesticating the monkeys? At the very least, it may be a case of cultural convergence—analogue to many cases of structural convergence happening in the biological realm—arising out of the pragmatics of populations in their ecologies. Welding similarities in practices between the incoming settlers and the long-dwelling Bagobos certainly facilitate deeper bonds. In that important study, the Bagobo semiotics of the monkeys is of comparative interest:

The monkey is an animal that seems to keep "death" confined within itself. If one hunts or kills exactly that animal, death "inside" it would be unleashed, and universal death would follow in a sort of chain reaction (Raats, 1969: 57).

Interestingly, an old Visayan myth of "a red monkey" that keeps "the record of the life-time allotted to everybody" is also mentioned in the study (: 58).

A community of humans and nonhumans

Perhaps the most dramatic symbol, if a liminal one, of New Israel's human-nonhuman village is Baleng's serenading of the *balete* trees (*Ficus balete* and related species) of the area—many of which are themselves planted by the early Moncadista settlers for mythic reasons and potentials. Baleng is an old midget, treated as "cognitively" deficient—one of those mentally deficient or physically deformed persons that Papa Guibernas gathered to the *Dakung Balay*. Baleng is one of those few and diminishing believers that are always present in daily flag ceremonies in the *sentro*, carrying his un/mis-tuned *ukelele*, usually strummed out of beat. He seems to be the joker/fool of the barrio, perhaps a "village idiot." The story about him serenading (*giharalahan*) for a year every *balete* tree in the barrio is famous among the folks. Baleng is capable of a coherent conversation so I asked him one time about it. It happened, according to him, because of the kisses given him by the *diwatas* or *vrillas*—terms he used referring to those *dili ingon nato* (literally, "those not like us")—that are cohabiting several areas of the barrio, including the *balete* trees. The aroma left by those kisses is said to have stayed with him for the whole year, stimulating him to serenade them by the *baletes* in the hope of attracting them again.

The Mountain and the Bible

In itself, and apart from any comparative interest, the experience of New Israel under the "ecological" vision of Papa Guibernas might also be seen as a natural-cultural experiment on what might result if uncaged macaques are allowed to mingle freely with humans, while feeding them like humans, three times a day, and disciplining them like one disciplines children. In a broader view, the combination is an interesting cultural attempt to construct a "natural park" of sympatric primates, humans and macaques. To what extent can the sympatric living be sustained? Can two primates, each equipped with different combinations of intelligence, truly live, with most minimal tension, the ecological-utopian-symbolic vision of Isaiah?—Isaiah, being a favorite book of this mountain-dwelling millenarian group and, I believe, with millenarians in general, with its early, grand, opening vision, "Come ye, and let us go up to the *mountain* of the LORD..." (Isaiah 2: 3, *King James Version*, emphasis added):

Draft. Please inform the author when citing parts of the paper.

The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them. And the cow and the bear shall feed; their young ones shall lie down together: and the lion shall eat straw like the ox. And the suckling child shall play on the hole of the asp, and the weaned child shall put his hand on the cockatrice' den. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain: for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the LORD, as the waters cover the sea (Isaiah 11: 6-9, *King James Version*).

In a kind of ‘experiment of living’ close to “nature” (recalling Thoreau’s *Walden*, “here is life, an experiment...”), New Israel pioneers have started this close-range co-dwelling of humans and macaques since around 1950’s. Any folk would tell one that the present condition is a pale image of what existed in the 1970’s and 1980’s—when the monkeys are fourfold numerous and “more disciplined” (*medyo lahi na ni ilang batasan kumpara kaniadto*, ‘their behavior is quite different now than before’). In fact, the idea of “experimenting” is not just a conceptual covering on the phenomenon focused here: the term/idea *mag-eksperimento* is not uncommon in *Bisaya* discourses on mundane things, to simply mean, “to try, to dare doing something.” The related epistemological-term “discovery” (*mag-diskubre*) is, interestingly, the very word used in relation to the reading of the Bible! I always hear from several priests I talked to, most importantly from Rev. Melicor (“Tatay Melicor”), a most Bible-studious *pari* of the community, the line: *naa ko’y bag-ong diskubre dinhi sa Bibliya...* (‘I have a new discovery...’).

With “discovery,” the Old Text becomes a fresh terrain for daring exploration and, discovering beautiful patterns, to try, to the extent possible, applying them in their adventure of living. It is an ethic worthy of the daring pioneers that first scaled the heights of Mt. Apo. Rev. Melicor, Papa Guibernas, and many others, during their younger years, have all daringly explored the ranges of this great mountain. I enjoyed several nights of listening to Tatay Melicor’s stories: how they were able to reach the distant sources of several flowing rivers, his discovery of an unexpected water-source gushing from a crack in a solid boulder (which, placing several connected bamboos, is still the source of water for his family up to now), the many kinds of plants—like the poisonous *alingatong*, and the tandem “material-spiritual” technique in handling it for one’s safety, and—down into the strange realms of recalled narratives—the places in Mt. Apo that photography mysteriously fails to capture, as one might waste a whole roll of film on the site but come out developing nothing but darkness (curiously, this theme, uncapturable-by-film-sites, has many retold variations in different areas of the Philippines). To use a well-worn but still appropriate metaphor, he, like many New Israel Moncadistas, having scaled this side of Apo many times, from the foot up to its peak, knows it like the back of his hands. And he flips the leaves of his worn *Visayan* Bible regularly to “discover” new things and weave edifying patterns from this mountain of texts and symbols.¹⁹

¹⁹ I have witnessed, in the long series of Bible discussions I had with Tatay Melicor since 1996, how he has continued to shape his theology about Papa Guibernas, the significance of the place, and his views on various religious issues like the origin of evil and suffering on earth. I have a complete copy of this last which was also delivered as a church sermon by Tatay Melicor, sometime this year. As he was, in his youth, a writer of stage dramas in a town in Bohol, the whole piece is so developed that the dramatic flow of the narrative cannot be missed in this compact, synthetic weaving of Biblical and folk stories, *Diin Gikan Magsugod ang Dautan* (‘Where Evil Originated’).

Irritations and recent emphasis

In my periodic counts of the number of individuals of the different troops coupled with local knowledge, it seems that the number of macaques in the area has declined compared to the times of Papa Guibernas. Changing religious climate might be one factor worth relating with the phenomena. I observe, and hear complains from some folks, indices for a lowered religious devotion among many of the populace: decreasing church attendances; fewer people during morning flag assemblies; complains by older folks of youngs smoking cigarettes and roaming in the *puroks* far from the *sentro*—in a supposedly “non-smoking *barrio*,” as the village itself has declared. This lowered religiosity, coupled with the second troop’s ranging pattern that impinges more directly with the farmers’ subsistence fields, is a risky situation for this “pets” of Papa Guibernas. I have heard reports of shotguns used by some folks to “threaten” the monkeys away; I have seen the results of stoning and *bolo*-swashing even on the relatively non-destructive *sentro* troop; and I have heard—from the *Suprema* herself—reports of monkey poisoning: given these, during times when one personally witness cases of violent stoning by the children, one might even wonder how the other troops still survives up to the present.

More recently, the building up of New Israel’s image as an eco-tourist site, by the village leaders and by the municipality, might be fortuitous in adding another layer for re-appreciating the monkeys. The religious organization, meanwhile, is trying to re-energize the community on religious matters, more so that they are now conscious of being eco-tourist spectacles. The need to unify and strengthen themselves at these times is also because of the imagined/real threat to their spaces given the surrounding *lumads* assertion of their ancestral domains. Assessing the varied dialectical forces, I think the tradition of protecting the monkeys and ‘managing’ their ritual areas, ever since Papa Guibernas, would continue, both for traditional and improvised reasons. After some periods of friendly links with the Tagabawa Bagobos of the place, it appears that the *yutang gisaad* (“promised land”) of the Moncadistas would now compete and challenge the *yutang kabilin* (“ancestral land”) of the surrounding Bagobos; well, that is if the present *Suprema* of the Moncadistas would have her assertive ways and ‘proud’ (according to one Tagabawa *datu*) views.²⁰

Macaque conservation and pest problems

If the present community is successful in maintaining the commensal relation, the community will still face the problem of a rapid demographic expansion of this provisioned Moncadista macaques. In the next years, the prospect for four or five troops with 30 or 40 individuals for each group might not be impossible. This might press on too much on the “carrying capacity” of the human village. What are the plans of the present set of officials in face of such prospect? As far as my informal discussions with them are concerned, they have not given much thought on such possibility, even as a few, unsuccessfully, have voiced for the caging of some of them. Perhaps the experience of some Indian villages with almost the same situation is of comparative value. While reading the article of Southwick and Siddiqi (1998) on the case of rhesus macaques that have also learned to co-dwell with humans, I was surprised of

²⁰ Recently, the *Suprema* has spearheaded the legal and extra-legal challenge to the ancestral domain claims of the Tagabawa Bagobos. There are, in fact, many other leaders (religious or political) and folks of the place who do not conform to the views of the *Suprema* on this and related issues. The fact, however, that she is the *Suprema*, the Barangay Captain, and the owner of most of the residential land areas, are highly consequential for the potential opposition.

the similarity of the situation. Their description of the “boldness” of the monkeys to roam the human spaces and the mix feelings folks have on them is almost a sketch of New Israel:

In these settings, the rhesus is a little like the pigeon in big cities, except rhesus monkeys are much more animated. They are equally at home on the ground, in trees, and all over buildings. They love to dive and swim in ponds and lakes. They chase, they beg, quarrel, play, and occasionally cause a minor furor when one of them bites somebody. Rhesus generally inspires that ambivalent mix of affection and distaste one feels for an endearing but mischievous pest (: 216).

It is, therefore, of interest to read the proposals for macaque management that the authors presented. Selective relocation of some monkeys to unoccupied areas in the forest is one of the major answers, on which a formal pilot study assessing its feasibility was done by the authors themselves:

The evidence is secure that rhesus monkeys can increase rapidly in number when protected and supplied with adequate habitat. Since increased numbers of monkeys in some areas may create agricultural problems, one solution would be to relocate sub-groups to unoccupied habitats. We have recently undertaken a pilot study of this type by relocating twenty monkeys from a large group of more than a hundred that were doing serious damage in a mango grove. We moved them to an unoccupied canal bank in September 1983, and so far these monkeys are doing well. We had to feed them for several months to keep them in their new location, but this supplemental feeding has now been stopped and they seem fully adjusted to their new home range. They are reproducing well (: 217-218).²¹

We still have much to learn in the dynamics of balancing the need to protect the fields from foraging monkeys and the imperative for wildlife conservation. At least the pilot study of Southwick and Siddiqi (1998) gives a fairly solid framework to learn from in macaque management: the “translocation of nuisance groups”—which both eases the source area and re-seeds the growingly macaque-impooverished forests, partly due to human disturbances—and “reduced artificial or supplemental feeding” by those communities that choose to cuddle these monkeys for conservationist ends. Although ‘no easy answers to ecological problems’ is always the final line, it seems that learning from the experiences of other communities, coupled with a careful documentation of the strategies employed by our own communities, might retain the hopeful note that macaque conservation will not translate to pest problems.

²¹ Because the rhesus macaques of India have been formally documented by the authors to have been on severe decline since their series of inventories starting 1959, as a result of “the conflict between primates and people”—even in this subcontinent with the Hanuman monkey-god myth—their further comment is of interest to quote in full:

Fortunately, India’s agricultural output has increased greatly throughout the 1970’s, and we hope that this will mitigate some of the conflict between primates and people, *between India’s critical need for food and the desire of her people to conserve their rich store of wildlife, among which primates have such an important role*. We do not believe the rhesus monkey population of India can ever be what it once was—and certainly not what people imagined it to be—but we have reason to hope that it is now recovering from many years of decline (: 218, emphasis added).

References Cited

- Adams, W. M. 1996. *Future nature*. London: Earthscan Publications, Ltd.
- Barro, Giusepphine T. 2005. Socio-Environmental History of Sitio Locatong, Biangan, Makilala, North Cotabato (Mt. Apo Natural Park). Unpublished undergraduate thesis (University of the Philippines in Mindanao).
- Ciochon, Russell L. and Richard A. Nisbett. Eds. 1998. *The Primate Anthology*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall: 211-218.
- Corpuz-Paluga. 2005. Fecal protozoa and helminthes of *Macaca fascicularis philippinensis* (Philippine long-tailed macaques) in New Israel, Makilala, North Cotabato. MS Biology Thesis. Department of Biology (Notre Dame of Marbel University, City of Koronadal, South Cotabato).
- Cullinane, Michael. 2000. The Master and Juan de la Cruz: Hilario C. Moncado, Politiko and Man of Mystery. In A. McCoy (Ed.), *Lives at the Margins*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press: pp. 63-148.
- DENR (Department of Environment and Natural Resources [Philippines]). 1997. *Philippine biodiversity*. Makati: Bookmark.
- Emmons, Louise H. 1999. Of mice and monkeys: Primates as predictors of mammal community richness. In *Primate communities*. Eds. John Fleagle, et al. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 171-188.
- Eudey, A. and Members of the Primate Specialist Group. 2000. *Macaca fascicularis ssp. philippinensis*. In: IUCN 2004. *2004 IUCN Red List of Threatened Species*. <<http://www.iucnredlist.org/>>. Downloaded on 15 April 2006.
- Eugenio, Damiana L. 2001. *The myths (Philippine folk literature series, Volume II)*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press.
- Fleagle, John. 1999. *Primate adaptation and evolution*. San Diego: Academic Press.
- Fleagle, John, et al. Eds. 1999. *Primate communities*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Flores-Tolentino, Victoria V. 1982. The 'Moncadistas' of Mindanao; A Study in a Religious Movement. *Kinaadman IV* (Xavier University): 1-36.
- Fooden, Jack. 1991. Systematic Review of Philippine macaques. *Fieldiana Zoology* 64: 1-44.
- Gatmaytan, Augusto B. and Gliceto O. Dagondon . 2004. Sustainability And Survival: Four Case Studies From Indigenous Communities In Northern Mindanaw. ICRAF Southeast Asia Working Paper, No. 2004 (5). <http://www.asb.cgiar.org/PDFwebdocs/ICRAF-SEA_WP_Phil_Final_Report_Phase_1.pdf> Downloaded on Jan 2, 2006.
- Gould, Stephen Jay and Elisabeth Vrba. 1998 [1982]. Exaptation—a missing term in the science of form. In *The Philosophy of Biology*. Ed. by David Hull and Michael Ruse: 52-71.
- Gupta, A. K. and David Chivers. 1999. Biomass and use of resources in south and south-east Asian primate communities. In *Primate communities*. Edited by Fleagle, John G., et al. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 38-54.
- Haraway, Donna. 1989. *Primate visions: gender, race, and nature in the world of modern science*. London: Routledge, Chapman and Hall.
- Haraway, Donna. 2005. *The companion species manifesto: Dogs, peoples, and significant otherness*. Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press.
- Hare, Brian, Michelle Brown, Christina Williamson, and Michael Tomasello. 2002. The domestication of social cognition in dogs. *Science* 298: 1634-36.
- IUCN. 2004. *The 2004 IUCN Red List of Threatened Species*. <<http://www.iucnredlist.org>> Downloaded on April 23, 2006.
- Ileto, Reynaldo. 1979. *Pasyon and Revolution*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.
- Knight, John. 1999. Monkeys on the move: The natural symbolism of people-macaque conflict in Japan. *The Journal of Asian Studies* 58 (3): 622-646.
- Licauco, Jaime T. 2003. Controversy on reincarnation [Column: "Inner Awareness"]. *Philippine Inquirer* 15 April 2003.

Draft. Please inform the author when citing parts of the paper.

- MRDP [Mindanao Rural Development Plan]. 2002. Barangay Development Plan, Barangay New Israel 2002-2004.
- Paluga, Myfel Joseph. 1999. Gahum at Araw ng "New Israel": Mga Pananaw at Simbolismo ng Alpha and Omega. In *History from the People*, Volume 10, ed. by Bernardita R. Churchill. Quezon City: NHI & PNHS: 73-91.
- Paluga, Myfel Joseph. 2000a. "Araw" at "Gahum" ng New Israel sa Mindanaw: Isang Pag-aaral sa Sekta ng Moncado Alpha and Omega sa Perspektibang Historiko-Kultural. *Bagong Kasaysayan: Mga Pag-aaral sa Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas*, Lathalain Blg. 9. Lunsod Quezon: Palimbagan ng Lahi.
- Paluga, Myfel Joseph. 2000b. "Power" and Healing: Explorations on the Healing and Health Practices of the *Alpha and Omega* Sect. Unpublished manuscript.
- Paluga, Myfel Joseph. 2003. Macaques (*Macaca fascicularis philippinensis*) and the Moncadista: Patterns and dynamics in macaque behavior and macaque-human interactions in New Israel, Makilala (Mt. Apo Natural Park). MA Anthropology Thesis (Department of Anthropology, University of the Philippines, Diliman).
- Paluga, Myfel Joseph. 2004. Monkeys, millenarians, and Darwin: Evolutionary themes and Barrio New Israel. Supplemental Paper for the same-titled lecture delivered during the UP-Mindanao Foundation Month Lecture Series (February 9).
- Paluga, Myfel Joseph. 2005. Socio-ecological Tensions in Paradise: Ambiguities in Human-Macaque Relations in a Mt. Apo "Natural Park" Village. Paper read at the 27th Annual Conference of UGAT (Anthropological Association of the Philippines), "Anthropology of Crisis," Panel Theme: "Environmental Crisis," University of the Philippines-Visayas at Miag-ao, Ilo-ilo City, October 20-22.
- Raats, Pieter Jan. 1969. *A structural study of Bagobo myths and rites*. Cebu: San Carlos Publications.
- Serres, Michel. 1995 [1992]. *The natural contract*. Translated by Elizabeth MacArthur and William Paulson. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
- Seyfarth, Robert M., Dorothy L. Cheney, and Peter Marler. 1980. Monkey responses to three different alarm calls: Evidence of predator classification and semantic communication. *Science* 210: 801-803.
- Southwick, Charles, and M. Farooq Siddiqi. 1998 [1985]. The rhesus monkey's fall from grace. In *The Primate Anthology*. Ed. By Russell L. Ciochon and Richard A. Nisbett. New Jersey: Prentice Hall: 211-218.
- Tan, Jose Ma. Lorenzo. 2000. *The last great forest: Luzon's northern Sierra Madre Natural Park*. Makati: Bookmark.
- Technical Committee on Sustainable Use of Monkeys. 1995. *The Philippine recommends for sustainable use of monkeys*. (PCARRD-DOST [Philippine Council for Agriculture, Forestry and Natural Resources Research and Development-Department of Science and Technology] Philippines Recommends Series No. 79). PCARRD: Los Baños, Laguna.
- Whitmore, T. C. 1998. *An introduction to tropical rain forests*. Second edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wynne, Clive. 2001. Pets aren't us. *American Scientist* 89 (2): 173-176.

Appendices

Appendix A. Selected Tables

Appendix A-1. SELECTED NEW ISRAEL DATA

Total area	709.83 has. (Agricultural: 436.16 [61%]; Forest: 260.25; Residential/Commercial: 8)
Agricultural products	Rubber, coconut, banana, coffee, vegetables, cutflowers, root crops
Total population	1,478
Total number of households	344
Average family size	4-5
Average household income	P 2,705.27 per month (Poverty threshold level used, P 6,000/month)
Occupation	Farming: 71.22%; Employee: 13%; Laborer: 6.11%; Driver: 4.07%; Carpentry: 1.74%
Educational attainment	Degree holder: 12; College level: 18; HS (Secondary-level) graduate: 51; HS level: 64; Elementary graduate: 64; Elementary level: 135
Educational facilities	Complete Primary and Secondary school facilities; 8 teachers, 1 principal
Religious affiliation	Moncado Alpha and Omega: 98%; R. Catholic: 1%
Ethnic groups	Cebuano: 81%; Ilonggo: 11%; Boholano: 3%; Ilocano: 1%; the rest (4%): Antiqueño, Zamboangueño, Samareño, Tagalog, Leyteño, Bicolano, B'laan, Bagobo
Households with electricity	70%
Source of water	Local springs attached with long flexible hoses for conveyance to different houses ("spring development project")
Health facilities/workers	1 health center (temporary building with very inadequate facilities); 2 BHW and 1 RHM
Causes of morbidity	Malaria, cough, fever, pneumonia, TB

Source: MRDP (2002)

Appendix A-2. AGRICULTURAL CROPS OF NEW ISRAEL

CROPS PLANTED	AREA (HAS.)	Percentage in Relation to Total Agricultural Area (436.16 has.)
Rubber	140.05 has.	32.07%
Coconut	42.70 has.	9.78%
Coffee	39.75 has.	9.10%
Corn	35.00 has.	8.02%
Vegetables	37.25 has.	8.53%
Cut-flowers	21.75 has.	4.98%
Root crops	3.25 has.	0.74%

Source: MRDP (2002)

Appendix A-3. LAND AREAS [MANP AND NEW ISRAEL]

	72,113.00 has. (DENR, 1997)	
Mt. Apo National/Natural Park (MANP)	65,100.01 has. [including PNOC and buffer zones (DENR, 2003]	% of Barangay Land to the Total Area of Natural Park
76,900 (Proc. 59 [5/9/36])		
72,813.59 (Proc. 35 [5/8/66])		
72,113 (DENR, 1997)	55,344.48 [Park Proper] (76.74% of the 1997 size)	
New Israel (not including the ritual areas of Mt. Makalangit and Mt. Zion)	709.30 has.	1.28 %

Source: DENR; MRDP

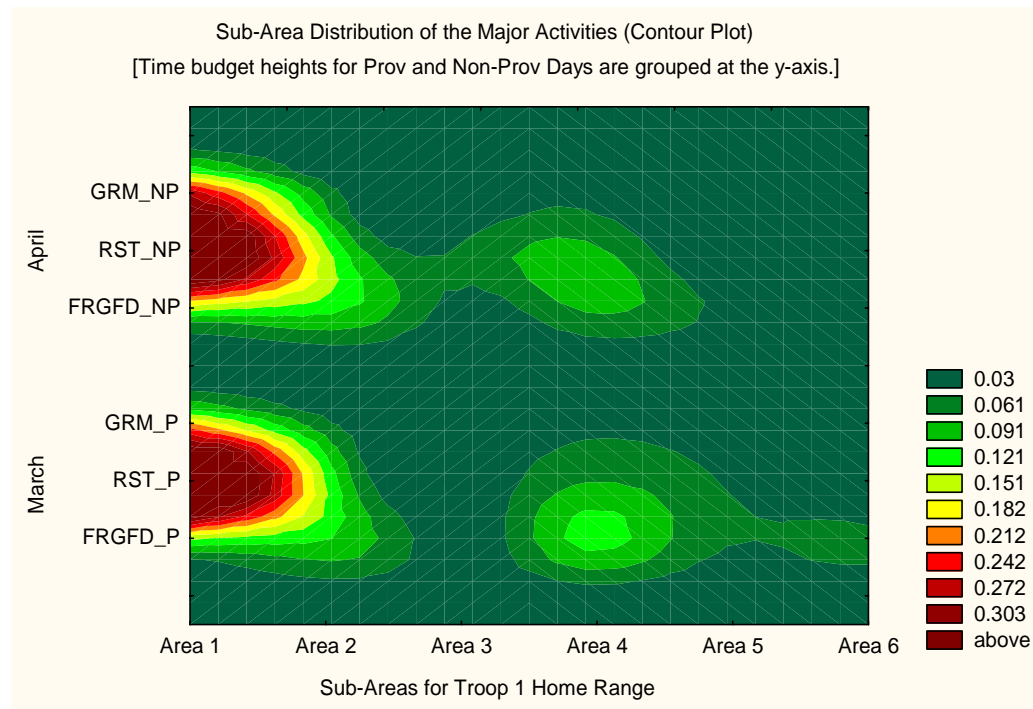
Appendix A-4. TABLE 2. SELECTED BARANGAY LOTS AND TROOP RANGING SIZE

	Lot Number ²²	Size (Ha.)	[A] Rough Estimate of size ranged by Troop on the Identified Lot	[B] % Of [A] To The Total Titled Barangay Land (709.83 has.)
Troop 1	443	5.1	3.0	
	444	8.8	5.0	
	445	8.0	1.0	
	TOTAL HECTARAGE			9.0
Troop 2	467	2.1	2.1	
	480	2.1	2.1	
	471	1.7	1.7	
	468	1.2	1.2	
	469	3.0	3.0	
	474	3.5	3.5	
	470	3.0	3.0	
		2.0	2.0	
		2.0	2.0	
		3.0	3.0	
		2.0	2.0	
		1.0	1.0	
		5.0	1.0	
TOTAL HECTARAGE			27.6	3.9 %

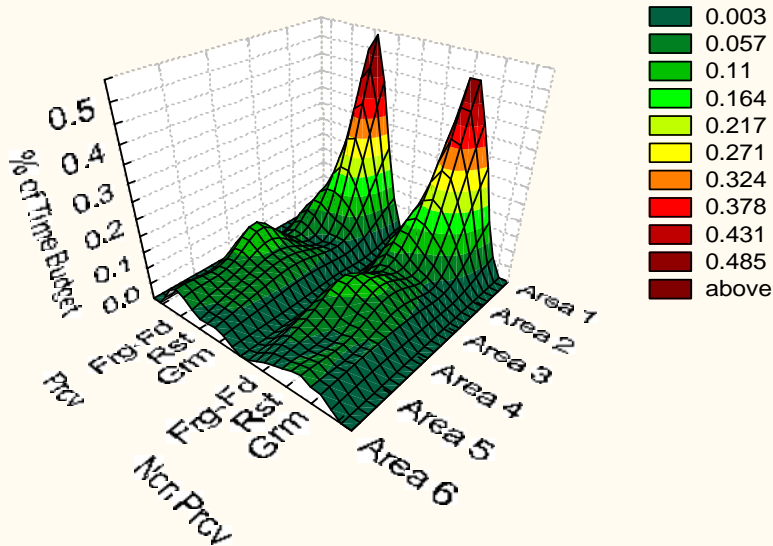
Source: Provincial Assessor's Office, North Cotabato; Barangay New Israel Land Titles Data; Interview of Farmers (in cases of untitled lots)

²² Lots 443/444/445 are titled to the Guibernas family and is where 80% of village houses are situated. Portions of them, however, are subdivided and sold as residential lots by the present *Suprema*; another portion is also bought by the Barangay. Lot 444 is the *sentro*, where the religious edifices are located: the *Dakung Balay*, the *Simbahan*, and the *Balangaw*. The Barangay Hall and the cottages for visitors are also located here.

Appendix B. Graphs



Sub-Area Distribution of Foraging-Feeding, Resting, and Grooming
Provisioned and Non-Provisioned Days



[Foraging-Feeding (Frg-Fd), Resting (Rst), Grooming (Grm); Provisioned (P) and Non-Provisioned (NP) Days; Measured samples of macaques' activities taken: March-May, 2003. Sub-areas correspond to pre-sampling demarcations of area usage. I divided Troop 1's ranging area into six sub-areas on the basis of my reconnaissance and subsequent observations in the different areas that the troop visits and stays for some time. The core area of the troop—the mostly used sub-area within their total ranging area—is the *Dakung Balay* area, and this is the coded Area 1. It includes the flag ceremony area, the houses fronting the Big House and the space between the *Balay* and

the Basketball Court area, this last being part of Area 2. Area 2's center is the Barangay Hall and the old *balete*. The troop usually starts their day by crossing the court to forage in the insect-rich area with its *marang* (*Autocarpus odoratissimus*), *mangga* (*Mangifera indica*), and other trees. Area 3 includes *Purok 5* and *6* area of the *barrio*, where the troop also forages usually during noon and early afternoon. Area 4 is the *Parke* area; and above it is Area 5, the "mountain" where some few remaining dipterocarps are still standing and can be seen in the eastern portion when one enters the village through *Purok 1*. Area 6 is the area near the PNOC-funded fishpond and up to the houses at the side of the *barrio* cemetery. Further from this area, the first troop would now be entering the margins of the second troop's range (Paluga, 2003).]

Draft. Please inform the author when citing parts of the paper.

Appendix C. Photos



C-1 [An old photograph showing Papa Guibernas (center), villagers of New Israel, and visitors feeding the monkeys]



C-2 [Yearly procession around the village during Lent Season]



C-3 [Benefits of living with humans: access to highly concentrated food sources]



C-4 [Costs of living with humans: (beside) hit on the head by stoning; (above) slashed on the arm probably by a *bold*]