

## Useful Plants of Selected Ayta Communities from Porac, Pampanga, Twenty Years after the Eruption of Mt. Pinatubo

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**A survey of useful food and medicinal plants was conducted among the Ayta from three barangays of Porac, Pampanga. Twenty years after the eruption of Mt. Pinatubo, the Ayta communities of Porac have experienced extensive changes in their life, culture and society. In the survey, 83 plants were used as food and 167 plants used as medicine. The most number of species are classified under the Fabaceae family. The food and medicinal plants used by the Ayta communities declined in number as compared to the study of Fox in 1952. A contributing factor to the decline may have been the dislocation of the communities and the loss of the forest after the eruption of Mt. Pinatubo. Likewise, the acculturation and integration into prevailing society has affected the lives of the Ayta, but their botanical knowledge remains an important part of their culture.**

Key Words: Ayta community, Porac, Pampanga Province, medicinal plants, culture, Mt. Pinatubo

### INTRODUCTION

The Pinatubo Ayta have been dependent on the forests for generations. The forests have served as their market, pharmacy, hardware store and ritual areas. When the Pinatubo mountain erupted in 1991, the Ayta communities have been displaced and relocated to the lowlands or other provinces in Central Luzon. Some Ayta communities have returned as soon as the threat of eruption was over. On the average, the Ayta have returned after about two years or in 1993-94. Now, 21 years after the eruption, the original forest and vegetation of Mt. Pinatubo has changed. For instance, in the town of Porac, Pampanga, in Barangay Inararo, the community has resettled in an area a couple of hours hike from their original settlement. For barangays Villa Maria and Camias, they have returned to their original areas. Upon their return, many governmental and non-governmental organizations have assisted the Ayta in

building homes patterned after the lowland settlements. A single road passes through the settlement, and houses, made of cement and steel roofs, were built on the two sides of the road. When a person decides to plant, he or she will have to hike far from the settlement and many families would build a makeshift house near their “uma” (clearings or kaingin).

The lifestyle of the Ayta have also changed. Whereas before they depended on fruits and whole plants from the forests for their food and medicinal needs, and hunted birds, bats, wild pig for their sustenance, they now had to plant and cultivate crops both for home consumption and cash. Likewise, financial and material aid from many individuals, corporations and the government flowed to the Ayta community. Many seeds were donated by local and international groups. These were planted in various areas so that eventually, many of the fruit bearing trees bore fruit and provided a source of income for some Ayta communities.

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Now, the Ayta communities have electricity and TV. They use cell phones, and their children go to school. They are integrated into the mainstream politics and local government through their barangay. The barangay council is elected by the people and in Bgy. Inararo and Camias, the barangay chairpersons are pure Ayta and in Bgy. Villa Maria, the barangay chairperson is a mestizo Ayta.

In July 15-16, 2010, Leonard Co and two Ayta leaders met in UP-Diliman in a conference held at UP NISMED. In that conference, entitled "Mainstreaming Native Species-Based Forest Restoration", the participants all agreed to use native plant species for reforestation. During that time also, two Ayta leaders, Benny Capuno and Arnel Valencia from Barangay Camias were planning a "Balik Kagubatan" or reforestation of Mt. Pinatubo. The Ayta leaders met Leonardo and discussed with him the situation of Mt. Pinatubo. (Photo 1). They also invited Leonardo to help in the assessment of the vegetation of the area. Leonardo readily agreed to go as this was part of his involvement in the restoration of forests and his continuous advocacy of supporting ethnobotanical researchers. Leonardo also encouraged the documentation of traditional botanical knowledge and this was part of his commitment to enriching and educating the Filipinos with regard to the Philippine botanical flora. Unfortunately, because of his untimely demise on November 15, 2010, this visit did not materialize. This paper, the documentation of the ethnobotany of the Ayta is an attempt to partly fulfill what Leonardo promised to do for the Ayta people. Likewise, this paper will try to answer the question: given the forest loss and acculturation twenty years after the eruption of Mt. Pinatubo, how have the plants used as food and medicine by the Ayta changed? The seminal paper by Robert Fox entitled: *The Pinatubo Negritos, Their Useful Plants and Material Culture* was published in 1952. In this voluminous work conducted for two years, Fox, an anthropologist, described the plants used by the Pinatubo Ayta. Fox worked with the Ayta from the Zambales range

and they were described as "shifting cultivators" in their "kaingin". He also wrote that the Ayta depended on 3 introduced plants: sweet potato, cassava and corn. This paper will also compare the current knowledge of useful plants by the Ayta and Fox's 1952 paper.

## METHODS

### Study area

The three barangays included in the study are upland barangays of Porac, Pampanga. These barangays are on the foothills of Mt. Pinatubo. As of 2007, Bgy. Inararo has a total population of 780 Ayta and Bgy. Villa Maria had a total population of 719. The population of Bgy. Camias in 2000 was 1,492. The Ayta from Villa Maria speak Mag-anchi dialect, while the Ayta from Bgy. Inararo and Camias speak the Mag-indi dialect.

### Participant interview

A total of 84 Ayta people were interviewed between Oct. 2010 and Oct. 2011. There were 36 informants from Bgy. Inararo and 25 informants from Bgy. Villa Maria. Eight informants were extensively interviewed in Bgy. Camias although an additional fifteen informants joined the interviews that turned into group discussions. Prior to the field work, the investigators asked permission from the PAADFI (Porac Ayta Ancestral Domain Federation, Inc.) headed by Mr. Roman King. The purpose of the study was explained to each informant and a consent form was signed or their thumb mark was put on paper by the informant who agreed to be interviewed.

The ethnobotanical survey was conducted using semi-structured interviews. The participants were mostly selected by convenience sampling. The researchers went from house to house but the families in some homes were



**Photo 1.** Leonard Co with the authors and the Ayta leaders (from the left, Mr. Arnel Valencia, Mr. Benny Capuno, Ms. Ragragio, Mr. Obico, Mr. Leonardo Co, and back to the camera, Dr. Zayas) in July 15, 2010.

not in their houses. Most were in their “uma” or planting field during the conduct of interviews.

The informants were asked their names, age, marital status, number of children and educational attainment. They were then asked what plants they used as food, medicine, material culture and plants for other purposes. The informants were also asked how they prepared the medicinal plants, what parts of the plants were used and how these are applied to patients. The most important medicinal plants were computed based on the frequency of citations by the informants (Martin 2004).

Plant collections were done after the interviews. Plant specimens were photographed or collected and brought to the UP-Manila, Department of Biology for identification. If a specimen cannot be located during the field interviews, then a subsequent collection work was made. However, some plants could not be identified scientifically since there was no sample that could be gathered. Collected plants were then dried and voucher specimens were prepared using standard herbarium procedures. The voucher specimens are kept at the Department of Biology, College of Arts and Sciences, UP-Manila.

Plants that were used as food and medicine were listed in Tables 1 & 2 and a comparison of the plant species used by Ayta communities reported in the present study with that reported in Fox (1952) was shown in Table 3.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

There were a total of 84 informants with ages ranging from 11 to more than a hundred years old (one informant from Bgy. Camias said he was more than a hundred year old). Majority of the informants were female (59.5%) and most were between 20 to 60 years old.

Table 1 lists the plants used as food. There were 83 scientifically identified plants used as food by the three Ayta communities. Barangay Inararo informants cited 65 plants used as food, Villa Maria informants cited 53 plants while Camias informants listed only 29 plants. Fifteen plants were cited in all three barangays. These are *Begonia* sp., *Carica papaya* L., *Citrofortunella x microcarpa* (Bunge) Wijnands, *Colocasia esculenta* (L.) Schott, *Dioscorea alata* L., *Ipomoea batatas* (L.) Lamk., *Mangifera indica* L., *Manihot esculenta* L., *Musa errans* (M. Blanco) N.G. Teodoro, *Musa x paradisiaca* L., *Persea americana* Mill., *Phaseolus radiatus* L., *Psophocarpus tetragonolobus* L., *Solanum nigrum* L. and *Zingiber officinale* Roscoe. Twelve species of food plants were classified in the Fabaceae family. Six species were

classified under Moraceae family and 5 species classified under Cucurbitaceae family. Other plant families had four or less representative species and twelve families had one representative species each. Most of the Fabaceae species are the beans whose seeds are an important source of protein. Barangay Inararo had the most citations of plants used as food. One reason could be that prior to the eruption of Mt. Pinatubo, the original settlement of the Inararo Ayta was at the interior of the forest of Mt. Pinatubo. There the Inararo Ayta had access to seeds, fruits and leaves that can be harvested from the forest. After the eruption, the Inararo Ayta had to be relocated far from the forest and nearer the lowland areas of Pampanga.

Table 2 lists the plants used for medicinal purposes. There were 167 plants scientifically identified that were cited by the Ayta communities. Barangay Inararo informants cited 133 plants used for medicinal purposes. The informants from Barangay Villa Maria and Camias cited 83 and 58 plants respectively. Twenty three plants are classified under family Fabaceae. These include *Bauhinia malabarica* Roxb., *Cajanus cajan* (L.) Millsp., *Cassia alata* L., *Desmodium* sp., *Entada phaseoloides* (L.) Merr., *Gliricidia sepium* (Jacq.) Kunth, *Mimosa pudica* L., *Phaseolus lunatas* L., *Pongamia pinnata* (L.) Merr., *Pterocarpus indicus* Willd., and *Tamarindus indica* L. These plants are also listed in the Medicinal Plants of the Philippines by Dr. Eduardo Quisumbing (1978). This number is notable since most of the plants are classified under one family only. However, there are 12 plants classified under Poaceae and the families Asteraceae, Lamiaceae and Moraceae are represented by eight species each. Just like the result in the survey on food plants, the informants from Barangay Inararo had the most citations. Their access to the forest prior to the eruption of Mt. Pinatubo could explain the abundance of plants that they know and use either as food or medicine.

Table 3 shows a comparison between the plants listed by Fox (1952) and the plants provided by the present survey of the Ayta from the three barangays. A reduction in the number of plants cited by the Ayta from the 3 communities in the present study as compared to the study of Fox (1952) can be observed. For food plants from 126 plants listed by Fox, the Ayta informants provided only 83 plants. For medicinal plants, from 297 plants listed by Fox, the Ayta informants provided only 167 plants. The plants listed are the scientifically identified ones. Other plants are known only by their common names and their formal botanical classifications were not identified because of lack of specimens. The researchers tried to look for the scientific names of the common names given by the informants. In particular, the informants gave 18 common names of plants for food but none of these common names were present in either Fox (1952) or Merrill (1912).

**Table 1.** Plants used as food by the Ayta people in Porac, Pampanga Province.

Scientific name	Family	Common name	Parts used
<i>Abelmoschus esculentus</i> L.	Malvaceae	Okra	fruit
<i>Allium sativum</i> L.	Alliaceae	Bawang	bulb
<i>Alpinia haenkei</i> C. Presl.	Zingiberaceae	Tambak * <sup>4</sup>	leaves
<i>Amaranthus spinosus</i> L.	Amaranthaceae	Kulitis/Amaranth * <sup>1</sup>	Leaves
<i>Amomum</i> L.	Zingiberaceae	Dalakit * <sup>4</sup>	stem, fruit
<i>Anacardium occidentale</i> L.	Anacardiaceae	Kasuy/ Balobad * <sup>1</sup>	fruit, seed, leaves
<i>Ananas comosus</i> Merr.	Bromeliaceae	Pinya * <sup>1</sup>	fruit
<i>Annona muricata</i> L.	Annonaceae	Guyabano/Baldibana * <sup>1</sup>	fruit
<i>Antidesma bunius</i> (L.) Spreng.	Euphorbiaceae	Ayhip* <sup>4</sup>	Fruit
<i>Arachis hypogaea</i> L.	Fabaceae	Mani	seed
<i>Artocarpus altilis</i> (Park.) Fosb.	Moraceae	Tiyep/Kamansi* <sup>4</sup>	fruit
<i>Artocarpus blancoi</i> Merr.	Moraceae	Antipolo/Kalanat/Kalamunggi	Leaves
<i>Artocarpus heterophyllus</i> Lam.	Moraceae	Langka/Yangka* <sup>4</sup>	fruit
<i>Bambusa</i> sp.	Poaceae	Kawayan/bangaba* <sup>2</sup>	young stem
<i>Bauhinia malabarica</i> Roxb.	Fabaceae	Kalibangbang* <sup>4</sup>	fruit
<i>Begonia</i> sp.	Begoniaceae	Pingul-bato /alwas* <sup>4</sup>	leaves
<i>Brassica oleracea</i> L. var. <i>capitata</i>	Brassicaceae	Repolyo	leaves
<i>Brassica rapa</i> L. var. <i>chinensis</i>	Brassicaceae	Petsay	leaves
<i>Cajanus cajan</i> (L.) Millsp.	Fabaceae	Kardis/Kare	seeds
<i>Calamus</i> L.	Arecaceae	Rattan/Bulilat/yantok/law-i* <sup>1</sup>	fruit, stem
<i>Canarium ovatum</i> Engl.	Burseraceae	Bulao/Pili * <sup>4</sup>	seed
<i>Capsicum frutescens</i> L.	Solanaceae	Sili/Lara * <sup>1</sup>	fruit
<i>Carica papaya</i> L.	Caricaceae	Papaya * <sup>1</sup>	fruit
<i>Caryota cumingii</i> Lodd. ex Mart	Arecaceae	Takipan* <sup>4</sup>	water source
<i>Caryota mitis</i> Loureiro	Arecaceae	Ubol	young stem
<i>Castanea</i> sp. Mill.	Fagaceae	Kastanyas	seed
<i>Chrysophyllum cainito</i> L.	Sapotaceae	Kaimito	fruit
<i>Citrofortunella x microcarpa</i> (Bunge) Wijnands	Rutaceae	Kalamansi/Kalamunding* <sup>4</sup>	fruit
<i>Citrus maxima</i> (Burm.) Merr	Rutaceae	Suha * <sup>4</sup>	fruit
<i>Cocos nucifera</i> L.	Arecaceae	Niyog * <sup>2</sup>	seed, young stem
<i>Coffea arabica</i> L.	Rubiaceae	Kape	seeds
<i>Colocasia esculenta</i> (L.) Schott	Araceae	Gabi/Luko/gabing pula/gabing puti* <sup>3</sup>	Leaves, stem
<i>Colocasia macrorrhiza</i> (L.) Schott	Araceae	Biga/Galyang* <sup>3</sup>	stem, leaves
<i>Corchorus capsularis</i> L.	Malvaceae	Saluyot * <sup>4</sup>	leaves
<i>Cucurbita maxima</i> Duchesne	Cucurbitaceae	Kalabasa * <sup>1</sup>	flower, fruit, leaves
<i>Dioscorea alata</i> L.	Dioscoreaceae	Ube/Murado/kagunaw* <sup>3</sup>	root
<i>Dioscorea esculenta</i> (Lour.) Burkill	Dioscoreaceae	Tuge/tungi* <sup>3</sup>	root
<i>Dioscorea hispida</i> Dennst.	Dioscoreaceae	Kalut * <sup>4</sup>	root
<i>Dioscorea pentaphylla</i> L.	Dioscoreaceae	Kabwang * <sup>4</sup>	fruit
<i>Diospyros blancoi</i> A.DC.	Ebenaceae	Talang/Mabolo	fruit
<i>Dolichos purpureus</i> L.	Fabaceae	Bataw	seed,fruit
<i>Embelia philippinensis</i> A.DC	Myrsinaceae	Balinaknak	Leaves

Table 1 continues next page



<i>Ficus minahassae</i> (Teysm.& De Vr.) Miq.	Moraceae	Aymit* <sup>4</sup>	Fruit
<i>Ficus nota</i> (Blanco) Merr.	Moraceae	Tibey/Têbêy	fruit
<i>Ficus variegata</i> Blume	Moraceae	Kayahan	fruit
<i>Flacourtia indica</i> (Burm. F.) Merr.	Flacourtiaceae	Dalin	fruit
<i>Gliricidia sepium</i> (Jacq.) Kunth	Fabaceae	Kakawati/ Madre cacao	stem
<i>Graptophyllum pictum</i> (L.) Griffith	Acanthaceae	Saresa	fruit
<i>Ipomoea batatas</i> (L.) Lamk.	Convolvulaceae	Kamote/ kamoteng-baging/kagunaw* <sup>1</sup>	Root, leaves
<i>Kolowratia elegans</i> C. Presl.	Zingiberaceae	Panoy-poy	fruit
<i>Lagenaria siceraria</i> (Mol.) Standl.	Cucurbitaceae	Upo	fruit
<i>Litchi chinensis</i> Sonn.	Sapindaceae	Alpay	Fruit
<i>Luffa cylindrica</i> (Linn.) M. Roem.	Cucurbitaceae	Kamatiti/ Kabatuti* <sup>3</sup>	fruit
<i>Lycopersicon esculentum</i> Mill.	Solanaceae	Kamatis* <sup>1</sup>	fruit
<i>Mangifera indica</i> L.	Anacardiaceae	Mangga* <sup>4</sup>	fruit
<i>Manihot esculenta</i> L.	Euphorbiaceae	Kamoteng Kahoy/balaghoy/muros* <sup>1</sup>	Root, leaves
<i>Momordica charantia</i> L.	Cucurbitaceae	Ampalaya* <sup>3</sup>	Fruit, leaves
<i>Moringa oleifera</i> Lam.	Moringaceae	Malunggay/unaba	leaves
<i>Musa acuminata</i> Colla	Musaceae	Saba * <sup>3</sup>	fruit, flower
<i>Musa errans</i> (M. Blanco) N.G. Teodoro	Musaceae	Amukaw* <sup>3</sup>	Fruit, flower
<i>Musa x paradisiaca</i> L.	Musaceae	Saging /saa* <sup>3</sup>	fruit, flower
<i>Oryza sativa</i> L.	Poaceae	Palay * <sup>3</sup>	grain
<i>Pachyrrhizus erosus</i> L.	Fabaceae	Singkamas* <sup>1</sup>	root
<i>Persea americana</i> Mill.	Lauraceae	Abokado * <sup>1</sup>	Fruit
<i>Phacelophrynium interruptum</i> K.Schum	Marantaceae	Agik-ik	Fruit
<i>Phaseolus lunatus</i> L.	Fabaceae	I-ilo/patani/bule/buli/patani* <sup>1</sup>	seed
<i>Phaseolus vulgaris</i> L.	Fabaceae	Mongo/pardas* <sup>1</sup>	seed
<i>Pithecellobium dulce</i> (Roxb.) Benth.	Fabaceae	Kamatsile/kamantilis* <sup>1</sup>	fruit
<i>Psidium guajava</i> L.	Myrtaceae	Bayabas * <sup>1</sup>	fruit
<i>Psophocarpus tetragonolobus</i> L.	Fabaceae	Sigarilyas	fruit
<i>Raphanus sativus</i> L.	Brassicaceae	Labanos	root
<i>Saccharum officinarum</i> L.	Poaceae	Tubo	Stem
<i>Sandoricum koetjape</i> Merr.	Meliaceae	Santol/Kato* <sup>4</sup>	fruit
<i>Sechium edule</i> (Jacq.) Sw.	Cucurbitaceae	Sayote	fruit
<i>Solanum melongena</i> L.	Solanaceae	Balasinan/ Talong /barsines* <sup>2</sup>	Fruit
<i>Solanum nigrum</i> L.	Solanaceae	Untsi/Tubangmanok/bayahan* <sup>2</sup>	leaves
<i>Spondias purpurea</i> L.	Anacardiaceae	Sariguelas/siniguelas	fruit
<i>Syzygium cumini</i> (L.) Skeels	Myrtaceae	Duhat * <sup>4</sup>	fruit
<i>Tamarindus indica</i> L.	Fabaceae	Sampalok * <sup>2</sup>	Fruit
<i>Vigna unguiculata</i> (L.) Walpers subsp. <i>sesquipedalis</i> (L.) Verdc.	Fabaceae	Kamangyang/sitaw	fruit
<i>Xanthosoma</i> sp.	Araceae	Dipulyo	corm, leaves, stem
<i>Zea mays</i> L.	Poaceae	Ma-ih* <sup>1</sup>	fruit
<i>Zingiber officinale</i> Roscoe	Zingiberaceae	Luya	rhizome

\*Refer to plants listed in Fox (1952)

<sup>1</sup>Refer to plants of American or New World origin according to Fox (1952)

<sup>2</sup>Refer to plants introduced from other places other than the New World according to Fox (1952)

<sup>3</sup>Refer to cultivated plants of prehistoric introduction according to Fox (1952)

<sup>4</sup>Refer to cultivated, semi-cultivated and spontaneous fruit trees of prehistoric introduction according to Fox (1952)

**Table 2.** Plants used as medicines by the Ayta in Porac, Pampanga Province.

Scientific names	Family	Common names	Uses
<i>Acacia</i> Mill.	Fabaceae	Alikasya	Smallpox, chicken pox
<i>Acacia auriculiformis</i> A. Cunn. ex Benth.	Fabaceae	“Eucalyptus”	Insect repellent
<i>Albizia procera</i> (Roxb.) Benth.	Fabaceae	Alalangad / Krael	Toothache
<i>Allium cepa</i> L.	Alliaceae	Sibuyas	Measles
<i>Allium sativum</i> L.	Alliaceae	Bawang **	High blood pressure dog bites, toothache
<i>Alpinia haenkei</i> Presl. *5	Zingiberaceae	Tambak**	seasoning
<i>Alstonia scholaris</i> (L.) R. Br.*5	Apocynaceae	Dit-a	dropsy
<i>Amaranthus spinosus</i> L.	Amaranthaceae	Aya /kulitis **	Kidney problems
<i>Anacardium occidentale</i> L. *1	Anacardiaceae	Kasuy/Balobad* *	Headache, fever, nosebleed
<i>Ananas comosus</i> (L.) Merr.*1	Bromeliaceae	Pinya **	Anti-cancer, throat pain, tonsillitis
<i>Andropogon citratus</i> DC. *3	Poaceae	Tanglad/Tanglay/Sulay/Salay/Bangyad	High blood pressure, stomach ache
<i>Annona muricata</i> L. *1	Annonaceae	Guyabano/Goldibana/Baldibana**	Fever, insect repellent, headache, stomach ache
<i>Annona squamosa</i> L.	Anonaceae	Atis	Stomach ache, vomiting
<i>Arachis pintoii</i> Krapov. & W.C. Greg.	Fabaceae	Mani-manian	“binat”, childbirth
<i>Arcangelisia flava</i> Merr.	Menispermaceae	Shuma	Wounds
<i>Areca catechu</i> L. *2	Arecaceae	Mama (nganga)	Toothache
<i>Aristolochia</i> L.*5	Aristolochiaceae	Malaubi	Diarrhea
<i>Artemisia vulgaris</i> L.*2	Asteraceae	Dikot Maria/Damong Maria	Sore eyes, ear infection, cough
<i>Artocarpus blancoi</i> Merr. *5	Moraceae	Antipolo/ Kalanat/ Kalamunggi* *	Insect repellent
<i>Artocarpus heterophyllus</i> Lmk. *4	Moraceae	Langka/Yangka* *	Anti”kilat”(sudden fever after birth)
<i>Athyrium esculentum</i> (Retz.) Copel.	Woodsiaceae	Pako	Vegetable
<i>Averrhoa bilimbi</i> L. *1	Oxalidaceae	Kamias	Fever, measles
<i>Azadirachta indica</i> A. Juss.	Meliaceae	Neem Tree	Insect repellent
<i>Bambusa</i> Schreb.*2	Poaceae	Kawayan/Bangaba* *	Dropsy
<i>Bambusa vulgaris</i> Schard. ex. J.C.Wendl.*2	Poaceae	Kawayang dilaw	To cut umbilical cord of newborns, childbirth
<i>Bauhinia malabarica</i> Roxb.	Fabaceae	Kalibangbang**	Throat pain, tonsillitis, headache
<i>Bixa orellana</i> L.	Bixaceae	Atsuete	Stomach ache, headache
<i>Blumea balsamifera</i> (L) DC.*5	Asteraceae	Aliabong/Sambong	Fever, vomiting, cough, colds, spasm
<i>Breynia vitis-idaea</i> (Burm.f) C.E.C.Fisch.*5	Phyllanthaceae	Bugbugayong/ Matan-ulang	Mouthwash
<i>Bryophyllum pinnatum</i> (Lam.) Kurz *5	Crassulaceae	Kataka-taka	Boils, rashes, diarrhea, wounds
<i>Buddleja</i> L.*5	Loganiaceae	Tutuloy/Kutuan	To calm babies
<i>Cajanus cajan</i> (L.) Millsp.	Fabaceae	Kardis/Kare	Diarrhea, skin diseases, measles
<i>Calamus</i> L. *1	Arecaceae	Rattan/bulilat/yantok/ Law-i **	Childbirth
<i>Capsicum frutescens</i> L.*1	Solanaceae	Sili/Lara **	Sore eyes, pregnancy or during parturition
<i>Carica papaya</i> L. *1	Caricaceae	Papaya **	Antihelminthic, pregnancy, snake bite

Table 2 continues next page

<i>Cassia alata</i> L.* <sup>1</sup>	Fabaceae	Akapulko/ Pakayungkong	Skin problems, ringworm
<i>Casuarina equisetifolia</i> L.	Casuarinaceae	Agoho	Dropsy
<i>Catharanthus roseus</i> (L.) G. Don	Apocynaceae	Chichirica	Cough
<i>Ceiba pentandra</i> (L.) Gaertn	Bombacaceae	bulak/kapis	Diarrhea
<i>Chamaesyce hirta</i> L.* <sup>2</sup>	Euphorbiaceae	Tawa-Tawa/Gatas-gatas	Wounds, fever
<i>Chromolaena odorata</i> (L.) King & H. Rob.	Asteraceae	Paliktad	Nausea, childbirth
<i>Chrysophyllum cainito</i> L.	Sapotaceae	Kaimito**	Stomach ache, diarrhea
<i>Citrofortunella x microcarpa</i> (Bunge) Wijnands	Rutaceae	Kalamansi/ kalamunding**	Throat pain, tonsillitis, cough, colds
<i>Citrus maxima</i> (Burm.) Merr.	Rutaceae	Suha **	Dropsy
<i>Citrus nobilis</i> Lour.	Rutaceae	Dalanhita	Sore throat
<i>Clerodendron</i> Burm.* <sup>5</sup>	Lamiaceae	Mung-iw/tagalbag	Fever
<i>Clerodendron minahassae</i> Teysm.& Binn* <sup>5</sup>	Lamiaceae	Danuko	Stomach ache
<i>Cocos nucifera</i> L. * <sup>2</sup>	Arecaceae	Niyog**	Kidney stones; wound healing, pregnancy, cough
<i>Coffea arabica</i> L.	Rubiaceae	Kape **	Wounds
<i>Coleus blumei</i> Benth.	Lamiaceae	Mayana	Headache
<i>Colocasia esculenta</i> (L.) Schott* <sup>3</sup>	Araceae	Gabi/Luko **	childbirth
<i>Corchorus capsularis</i> L.	Malvaceae	Saluyot**	Low blood platelet count
<i>Cordia dichotoma</i> Forst. * <sup>5</sup>	Boraginaceae	Anonang	Diarrhea, “binat”, edema
<i>Coriandrum sativum</i> L.	Apiaceae	Kolantro/Kulantro	Chicken pox, measles
<i>Crotalaria linifolia</i> L. * <sup>2</sup>	Fabaceae	Lihik-lihik	Sore eyes
<i>Cyanthillium cinereum</i> (L.) H. Rob* <sup>5</sup>	Asteraceae	Vernonia	Childbirth
<i>Cyperus cyperoides</i> (L) Kuntze	Cyperaceae	Muta/Mutha	Spasm
<i>Cypholophus moluccanus</i> (Blm.) Miq.* <sup>1</sup>	Urticaceae	Ulip	Childbirth
<i>Desmodium scorpius</i> (W.) Desv.	Fabaceae	Kinew	Sore eyes
<i>Desmodium</i> Desv. * <sup>1</sup>	Fabaceae	Pakpak-langaw	Lazy eye, sore throat, wounds
<i>Dianella javanica</i> (Blm.) Kunth * <sup>5</sup>	Xanthorrhoeaceae	Payuyut	Childbirth
<i>Dioscorea alata</i> L.	Dioscoreaceae	Ube/Murado**	Stomach ache, fever
<i>Dioscorea esculenta</i> (Lour.) Burkill* <sup>5</sup>	Dioscoreaceae	Tuge **	Boils
<i>Dioscorea hispida</i> Densst. * <sup>5</sup>	Dioscoreaceae	Kalut **	Wound, clotting
<i>Donax canniformis</i> (Forst.)K. Schum	Marantaceae	Bamban	“pasma”
<i>Elephantopus scaber</i> L. * <sup>1</sup>	Asteraceae	Kalahaka	Cough
<i>Eleusine indica</i> (Linn.) Gaertn.* <sup>2</sup>	Poaceae	Hayapey/Hayapaw	Rheumatism, body pain, childbirth
<i>Entada phaseoloides</i> (L.) Merr.	Fabaceae	Gugo	Skin diseases, baldness
<i>Eucalyptus</i> sp. L.	Myrtaceae	Eukaliptus	Headache, nausea, flu
<i>Ficus hauili</i> Blco. * <sup>5</sup>	Moraceae	Awili	Wounds
<i>Ficus minahassae</i> (Teyms. & De Vr.) Miq.	Moraceae	Aymit	Childbirth
<i>Ficus nota</i> (Blanco) Merr.* <sup>5</sup>	Moraceae	Tibey/Têbêy **	Toothache, stomach ache
<i>Ficus nuda</i> Miq.	Moraceae	Balete/Balite	Muscle spasm
<i>Ficus</i> L.	Moraceae	Gih-gih / Is-is	Weak blood circulation
<i>Gliricidia sepium</i> (Jacq.) Kunth * <sup>1</sup>	Fabaceae	Kakawati/ Madre cacao **	Fever, cough, toothache, stomach ache
<i>Gmelina arborea</i> Roxb * <sup>5</sup>	Lamiaceae	Melina	wounds

Table 2 continues next page

<i>Gomphrena</i> L.	Amaranthaceae	Malabutonis	Skin problems
<i>Goniothalamus amuyon</i> (Blanco) Merr.	Annonaceae	Amuyong	Mosquito repellent
<i>Graptophyllum pictum</i> (L.) Griffith	Acanthaceae	Saresa**	Wounds, stomach ache
<i>Hibiscus rosa-sinensis</i> L.* <sup>2</sup>	Malvaceae	Gumamela/Rosas	Boils. Sore eyes
<i>Hyptis capitata</i> Jacq. * <sup>1</sup>	Lamiaceae	Pansi-pansi/Palsi-palsi	Stomach ache, childbirth, diarrhea
<i>Imperata cylindrica</i> (L.) P. Beauv.	Poaceae	Ilib/Yabot/Kugon	High blood pressure, kidney problems
<i>Intsia biyuga</i> (Colebr.)Kutze	Fabaceae	Ipil	deworming
<i>Ipomoea batatas</i> (L.) Lam.* <sup>1</sup>	Convolvulaceae	Kamote/Kamoteng baging/kamotenggapang/kagunaw**	High blood pressure
<i>Ipomoea trilobata</i> L.	Convolvulaceae	Magkakamote/Magkakamutsi	Insect repellent
<i>Ixora coccinea</i> L.	Rubiaceae	Santan	Goiter, post pregnancy, UTI
<i>Jatropha curcas</i> L. * <sup>1</sup>	Euphorbiaceae	Tuba-tuba/Takumbaw	Wounds, inflammation
<i>Lagenaria siceraria</i> (Mol.) Standl.	Cucurbitaceae	Upo **	High blood pressure, childbirth
<i>Lagerstroemia speciosa</i> (L.) Pers.* <sup>5</sup>	Lythraceae	Mitla/Banaba	Fever, tea, health enhancer, "pasma"
<i>Lantana camara</i> L.	Verbenaceae	Gaymis/Gaynis	Headache, flu, nausea
<i>Laportea meyeniana</i> (Walp.)Warb.	Urticaceae	Lepa	Sinusitis
<i>Leea manillensis</i> Walp. * <sup>5</sup>	Leeaceae	Imamali	"binat", wounds
<i>Litchi chinensis</i> Sonn.	Sapindaceae	Alpay	"binat", skin diseases
<i>Litsea</i> sp.Lam.* <sup>2</sup>	Lauraceae	puso-puso	Baldness
<i>Lunasia amara</i> Blanco	Rutaceae	Lunas/Dayangdang/dayang	Toothache , sore eyes
<i>Lycopersicon esculentum</i> Mill.	Solanaceae	Kamatis **	Skin burns
<i>Macaranga tanarius</i> (L.) Muell.-Arg.	Euphorbiaceae	Binunga	Throat problems, spasm
<i>Mangifera indica</i> L. * <sup>4</sup>	Anacardiaceae	Mangga **	"pasma", diarrhea, skin problems, fever
<i>Manihot esculenta</i> L.* <sup>1</sup>	Euphorbiaceae	Kamoteng Kahoy/balanghai/muros**	Insect repellent, fever, colds, high blood pressure
<i>Melanolepis multiglandosa</i> (Reinw.)Reichb. & Zoll.	Euphorbiaceae	Em-em	Snake bite, chicken pox, headache
<i>Mikania micrantha</i> (L.) Kunth	Asteraceae	Malakamote	Insect repellent, wounds
<i>Mimosa pudica</i> L.* <sup>1</sup>	Fabaceae	Makahiya/Kurerungey/kalump-arit	Ear infection, pregnancy or parturition
<i>Miscanthus floridulus</i> Warb. ex K Schum & Lauterb.* <sup>5</sup>	Poaceae	Uyong/Las-a/Dakipan	Fever, snake bite
<i>Momordica charantia</i> L.* <sup>3</sup>	Cucurbitaceae	Ampalaya **	Cough, skin diseases, high blood pressure
<i>Morinda citrifolia</i> L. var. <i>bracteata</i> (Roxb.)Kurz		Apatot	Heart problems, male sterility
<i>Moringa oleifera</i> Lam.	Moringaceae	Malunggay**	Wounds , toothache
<i>Mucuna nigricans</i> (Lour.) Steud.* <sup>5</sup>	Fabaceae	Pamiki-win/mantug	Fever
<i>Mucuna sericophylla</i> Perk * <sup>5</sup>	Fabaceae	Duglo	Fever
<i>Muntingia calabura</i> L.	Tiliaceae	Sari-sa / Mansanitas/Aratiles	Cough, diarrhea
<i>Musa acuminata</i> Colla.	Musaceae	Saba **	Diuretic, toothache
<i>Musa errans</i> (M.Blanco) N.G.Teodoro * <sup>3</sup>	Musaceae	Amukaw**	Diuretic
<i>Musa x paradisiaca</i> L. * <sup>3</sup>	Musaceae	Saging **	Wounds, stomach ache, diarrhea
<i>Nepenthes alata</i> L.	Nepenthaceae	Baso ng Binangonan	Snakebite

Table 2 continues next page



<i>Nicotiana tabacum</i> L. * <sup>1</sup>	Solanaceae	Tabako/Tobako	Toothache
<i>Ocimum sanctum</i> L.	Lamiaceae	Solasi	Skin diseases
<i>Opuntia ficus-indica</i> (L.) Mill.	Cactaceae	Cactus	Stomach ache
<i>Orthosiphon aristatus</i> (Blume) Miq.	Lamiaceae	Balbas pusa	Sore throat
<i>Oryza sativa</i> L. * <sup>3</sup>	Poaceae	Palay **	Throat pains, tonsillitis, measles, sore eyes
<i>Pandanus odoratissimus</i> L.f.	Pandanaceae	Pandan	Stomach ache
<i>Pandanus</i> L.f.	Pandanaceae	Pandan na lalaki	Stomach ache, kidney stones
<i>Persea americana</i> Mill. * <sup>1</sup>	Lauraceae	Abokado **	Cough, colds, stomach ache, vomiting, diarrhea
<i>Phaseolus lunatus</i> L.	Fabaceae	I-ilo **	Headache, pregnancy
<i>Phyllanthus niruri</i> L.	Euphorbiaceae	Sampaluk-sampalukan/Magla	Menstrual problems, fever
<i>Piper nigrum</i> L.	Piperaceae	Paminta	Wounds, toothache
<i>Pipturus arborescens</i> (Link.) C.B.Rob. * <sup>5</sup>	Urticaceae	Dalunot	Fever
<i>Pithecellobium dulce</i> (Roxb.) Benth. * <sup>1</sup>	Fabaceae	Kamatsile/Kamantilis**	Stomach ache, diarrhea
<i>Plectranthus amboinicus</i> (Lour.) Spreng.	Lamiaceae	Oregano	Wounds
<i>Pokliospermum suaveolens</i> Rlm.	Urticaceae	Anupo	Cough
<i>Pongamia pinnata</i> (L.) Pierre	Fabaceae	Balun-balunan /Balu-balo ng manok	Wounds
<i>Portulaca grandiflora</i> Hook.	Portulacaceae	Tagalbag	Dropsy
<i>Premna odorata</i> Blco. * <sup>5</sup>	Verbenaceae	Aglaw	Headache, cough
<i>Psidium guajava</i> L. * <sup>1</sup>	Myrtaceae	Bayabas **	Wounds, fever, tonsillitis, headache
<i>Psophocarpus tetragonolobus</i> L.	Fabaceae	Sigarilyas **	Inflammation
<i>Pterocarpus indicus</i> Willd.	Fabaceae	Narra	Fever, measles, flu
<i>Ricinus communis</i> L. * <sup>2</sup>	Euphorbiaceae	Tangan-tangan	Measles
<i>Rottboellia ophiuroides</i> Benth.	Poaceae	Talangaw	Toothache
<i>Saccharum spontaneum</i> L. * <sup>5</sup>	Poaceae	Talahib/Taib	Kidney problems
<i>Sandoricum koetjape</i> Merr. * <sup>4</sup>	Meliaceae	Santol/Katoh/Karakatos* *	Fever, fever, snake bite, measles, diarrhea
<i>Schizostachyum diffusum</i> (Blco.) Merr	Poaceae	Bikas/Bika	High blood pressure
<i>Schizostachyum lumampao</i> (Blanco) Merr.	Poaceae	Buho	Cough, headache
<i>Schizostachyum</i> Ness.	Poaceae	Binahak	Yellow eyes
<i>Scleria scrobiculata</i> Nees. * <sup>5</sup>	Cyperaceae	Banglit	Measles
<i>Scoparia dulcis</i> L. * <sup>1</sup>	Plantaginaceae	Kolantro **	Measles
<i>Sida acuta</i> Burm.f.* <sup>2</sup>	Malvaceae	Mamalis/Palis-palis/ Walis-walis	Wounds, chicken pox, skin diseases
<i>Solanum nigrum</i> L. * <sup>2</sup>	Solanaceae	Untsi/Tubang-manok/ Baya-ban**	Swelling
<i>Solanum</i> L.	Solanaceae	Tanggutum	Sore throat, fever
<i>Spondias purpurea</i> L.	Anacardiaceae	Sariguelas/Siniguelas **	Fever, cold
<i>Stachytarpheta jamaicensis</i> (L.) Vahl	Verbenaceae	Yabing	Itch, dandruff
<i>Stachytarpheta</i> Vahl.	Verbenaceae	Ikoy dagis/Buntot ng daga	Itch, dandruff
<i>Streblus asper</i> Lour.	Moraceae	Kalyos	Mouth sores and gum problems
<i>Swietenia macrophylla</i> (L.) Jacq.	Meliaceae	Mahogany	Diarrhea
<i>Syzygium cumini</i> (L.) Skeels * <sup>5</sup>	Myrtaceae	Duhat **	Diarrhea, skin diseases

<i>Tabernaemontana cumingiana</i> A.DC. * <sup>5</sup>	Apocynaceae	Kalibutbut	Stomach ache, wounds, tooth ache
<i>Tagetes erecta</i> L.	Asteraceae	Amarillo	Diarrhea
<i>Tamarindus indica</i> L. * <sup>2</sup>	Fabaceae	Sampalok**	Fever, throat pains, tonsillitis, colds
<i>Tinospora rumphii</i> Boerl. * <sup>2</sup>	Menispermaceae	Makabuhay	Rheumatism
<i>Tithonia diversifolia</i> A. Gray	Asteraceae	Samplawud/Kuber/maglalami-ran	Wounds, childbirth
<i>Tradescantia pallida</i> (Rose) D.R. Hunt	Commelinaceae	Violet	Sore eyes
<i>Tradescantia spathacea</i> Sw.	Commelinaceae	Aksibal/Bangkabangkaan/Ma-sitas	Inflammation, sprains and fractures
<i>Trema orientalis</i> (L.) Bl.	Ulmaceae	Maladurong	Sprains and fractures
<i>Trema tomentosa</i> (Roxb.) Har.	Cannabaceae	Alarung/Alarong	Diarrhea, cough
<i>Tridax procumbens</i> L. * <sup>2</sup>	Asteraceae	Pulukutus/Pulukuto	Stomach ache, diarrhea
<i>Urena lobata</i> L. * <sup>1</sup>	Malvaceae	Pakalkal	Sprains and fractures
<i>Verbena</i> L.	Verbenaceae	Kalandirya/kandelaria	childbirth
<i>Vigna radiata</i> (L) R. Wilczek	Fabaceae	Monggo/balatong **	Wounds, measles
<i>Vitex negundo</i> L. * <sup>5</sup>	Lamiaceae	Lagundi	Colds, cough, throat problems, "pasma"
<i>Zingiber officinale</i> Roscoe * <sup>3</sup>	Zingiberaceae	Luya **	Stomach ache, colds

\*Plants listed in Fox as medicinal.

\*\*Plants listed as food by the Ayta.

<sup>1</sup>Refer to plants of American or New World origin according to Fox (1952).

<sup>2</sup>Refer to plants introduced from other places other than the New World according to Fox (1952).

<sup>3</sup>Refer to cultivated plants of prehistoric introduction according to Fox (1952).

<sup>4</sup>Refer to cultivated, semi-cultivated and spontaneous fruit trees of prehistoric introduction according to Fox (1952).

<sup>5</sup>Refer to plants listed in Fox(1952) as medicinal but origin not described.

**Table 3.** Comparison of plants listed in Fox (1952) and those reported by the three Ayta barangays in Porac, Pampanga Province.

Category	Fox (1952)	Ayta barangays (2012)	Cited in both
Food	126 plants	83 plants (65.8% of Fox)	51 plants (40.4% of Fox)
Medicine	297 plants	167 plants (56.2% of Fox)	77 plants (25.92% of Fox)

Fox (1952) listed a total of 126 plants used as food. These plants were categorized into: 1) plants of American origin (or New World plants) and used by the Ayta, prior to the arrival of the Spaniards, 2) introduced plants not of American or New World origin, 3) cultivated, semi-cultivated plants, spontaneous fruit trees and plants of prehistoric introduction, and 4) wild food plants.

In the present study, of the 83 identified as food plants, fifty-one of these plants were also listed in Fox (1952) and categorized as food. Of these food plants, 18 are of New World origin (category 1 of Fox (1952) and 5 plants are introduced plants not of New World origin (category 2 of Fox (1952)). Nine plants are included in the category 3 of Fox (1952) while 19 plants are category 4 of Fox (1952).

The 32 plants not found in the list of Fox are plants commonly sold in markets all over the province. These are the common vegetables that were probably cultivated elsewhere. These plants include *Abelmoschus esculentus* L., *Allium sativum* L., *Brassica oleracea* var. *capitata*, *Brassica oleracea* L. var. *chinensis*, *Arachis hypogaea* L. *Castanea* sp., *Cocos nucifera* L., *Coffea arabica* L., *Dolichos lablab* L., *Lagenaria vulgaris* Ser., *Litchi chinensis* Sonn., *Moringa oleifera* Lam., *Psophocarpus tetragonolobus* L., *Raphanus sativus* L., *Saccharum officinarum* L., *Sechium edule* (Jacq.) Sw., *Zingiber officinale* Roscoe. Furthermore, fruit trees were mentioned by the Ayta and the fruits are eaten and harvested. These include *Artocarpus blancoi* Merr., *Chrysophyllum cainito* L., *Diospyrus blancoi* A. DC., *Spondias purpurea* L. and *Antidesma bunius* (L.) Spreng.

According to Fox (1952), when he analyzed the sources of food during the prehistoric and historic periods, he said that plants were a greater source of food than animals during the prehistory. However, in the list of food during the historic period, Fox (1952) showed that more than 53% of the food of the Ayta was sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*). Corn, (*Zea mays*), *Colocasia* sp., two species

of *Dioscorea*, *Manihot* and bananas comprised only 35% of their annual subsistence. Cultivated vegetables and rice was only 1.5% of the total diet. At present, most of the Ayta eat rice and vegetables purchased from the market. They grow different vegetables (during the dry season they cultivate *Colocasia esculenta*, and during the wet season, other commercial crops such as ampalaya). They also subsist on sweet potatoes and yam but they are becoming more dependent on what is commercially available. When the Ayta stayed in camps after the eruption of Mt. Pinatubo, people donated canned goods. They grew to dislike the canned goods. This is similar to the study reported by Seitz (1998) among the Ayta of Zambales province. One of the stimuli to return to their original villages was the quest for natural foods from the forest.

The 167 plants used for medicinal purposes listed in the present study were about half of the number listed by Fox (1952) which was 297 plants. This is a reduction of the number of plants for medicinal purposes as most of the interviewees said that they would usually buy medicine from the drugstore for ailments such as headache or fever. It is also noticeable that only 77 plants or 25.92 % in the present study are found in the study of Fox (1952). Similar to the plants categorized by Fox (1952), the categories 1 to 4 follow the categories for food plants; that is, Category 1 refers to plants of American or New World origin, Category 2 refers to plants not of American or New World origin, but introduced, Category 3 refer to cultivated, semi-cultivated plants, spontaneous fruit trees and plants of prehistoric introduction, and Category 4 refer to wild food plants. However, Fox (1952) made a separate list of plants used as medicine. He did not determine the origin of these plants. These plants are listed as Category 5 in table 2. Twenty one plants are in Category 1, 14 plants are in Category 2, 8 plants are in Category 3 and 3 plants are listed in Category 4. Thirty plants are listed in Category 5.

Of the medicinal plants in the present study, nine are promoted by the Dept. of Health as part of the list of medicinal plants for use (PDI 3/18/2007) These are akapulco, ampalaya, banaba, bawang, bayabas, luya, gumamela, lagundi, and sambong. Of these, only ampalaya, gumamela, banaba, lagundi and bayabas are listed by Fox (1952). Other than their medicinal use, fifty four plants are also used as food by the Ayta. For example, the fruits of coconut are used as food but the roots are used as medicine.

Mt. Pinatubo Aytas' traditional ways of healing and medicinal sources of plants are also derived from their bakuran (kitchen garden), open fields and forest. These plants are used to deal with illnesses from a simple fever, stomach pain and headache, etc. and especially illnesses

caused by malevolent spirits, transgression of spaces in the forest, eating the wrong combination of food, among other things (Zayas 2010).

Most of the plants used by the Ayta for medicine are herbs and shrubs. These are usually boiled and used as decoction. Common ailments treated include cough, colds, diarrhea, aching body parts, wounds and pregnancy problems. *Psidium guajava* L. is said to treat 36% of the ailments mentioned by the Ayta. These include headache, stomach ache, sore throat, diarrhea, inflammation, wound, toothache, spasm, fever, animal bites, cold, tonsillitis, infection, skin diseases and anemia. Coconut (*Cocos nucifera* L.) is the second plant that is said to treat about 30% of diseases. The roots are boiled and used as a bath to treat various skin problems. In some cases, patients drink the root decoction to alleviate dysmenorrhea and relapse. It is said that Ayta women drink the decoction after giving birth to avoid *binat*. Sambong (*Blumea balsamifera* (L.) DC) is said to treat 27% of the total ailments. These include fever, spasms, cough, cold, diarrhea, sore throat, inflammation, headache, wounds, rheumatism and again for *binat*.

Several studies have shown that there is a decline in traditional plant knowledge among indigenous peoples (Bussman 2011, Sher 2011). In Ethiopia this has been attributed to a preference for a Western lifestyle especially healthcare since this is perceived to be better. Likewise, there is an expansion in the last decades of the healthcare supplied by the government (Bussman 2011). In a study in Pakistan, the decline in traditional plant knowledge has been explained by lack of awareness regarding the importance of medicinal and aromatic plants (Sher 2011). This has resulted in overharvesting of plant material and lack of conservation measures for the plants.

Mt. Pinatubo is intimately linked with the culture and society of the Ayta. Benny Capuno, one of the Ayta participant, says that the term *pinatubo* in their language means "nurtured with care". When the Ayta says that the mountain is nurtured with care, this means that the mountain for them is life and they will never harm the mountain. For they care for the mountain in the same manner as their ancestors did in the past. Capuno has this to say about the importance of Mt. Pinatubo: "*Tulad ng ninuno naming, inaalagaan nila (Ayta) ang kabundukan dahil dyan sila kumukuha ng herbal medicine. Diyan nakakakuha ng panggatong. Diyan sila kumukuha ng pang haligi ng bahay, inumin. Nandiyan na ang pagkukunan ng isda. Noon inaalagaan nila ang mga kabundukan dahil ang mga karneng nakukuha sa gubat walang kemikal. Kaya ang mga Ayta nuon ay walang malalang sakit. Kapag nagkakasakit sila, malaria lang. Nagkakasakit man*

*sila – tigdas (at) lagnat.*” (Shimizu 1991). Mt. Pinatubo is also the spiritual center of the Ayta and for them, the mountain has cultural and spiritual significance (Seitz 1998).

Prior to the eruption, the exploitation of the forest of Mt. Pinatubo were undertaken in large scale by mining companies and big time loggers. However, the eruption was the single largest event that had the greatest impact on its forest. This event almost erased life in this hitherto sleeping mountain. The traditional Ayta way of life was altered. They left their homes, fields and hunting and gathering forest grounds. After a time they were slowly enlarging the areas where they could plant staple and cash crops. With their villages open to lowland merchants, they have become dependent on sakadora (middle men/women) for cash to purchase rice and other lowland food stuff and amenities, living in resettlement areas and/or areas designated as affected by the eruption of Mt. Pinatubo where schools and clinics were established. For the first time, the once slash and burn cultivators-cum-hunters and gatherers have now been absorbed in the Philippine national polity. An open access and a settled community of the Ayta have resulted in their patronage of a dual health care system, i.e. both traditional and western. Tradition refers to the use of medicinal plants and shamanistic rites, while western refers to the lowland health care practices.

On the other hand, the most traditional aspects of Ayta lives are still present. For example, most of the informants would say that with only a “bolo”, the Ayta can live in the forest and find the plants for his food, medicine and materials for trapping game. The Ayta can also create fire from bamboo, build makeshift structures for sleeping and make things from plants for their needs. Judging from the information gathered, the Ayta have allocated certain places in their territories for plants. In the *gubat* (forest), they plant trees that attract animals that are also coveted as delicacies and sources of protein for their diet. *Sa paligid* (around the village settlement) are useful plants for immediate needs such as medicinal as well as food sources. Finally from their *kaingin*, are staple food and cash crops and also some secret medicinal species of traditional healers. Three basic knowledge derived are: (1) never leave land uncultivated for a long time; (2) plant trees that bear fruits which attract protein rich animals; and (3) plant useful plants for healing close by in the village (Zayas 2011).

Twenty years after the eruption of Mt. Pinatubo, the lives and environment of the Ayta has been severely changed. However, botanical knowledge is embedded in the minds of the Ayta people and their perseverance to restore the forest will be forever part of their lives. This paper is a tribute to Leonardo L. Co’s deep concern for the plant life

which even perhaps intersects with what Mt. Pinatubo means to the Ayta, the indigenous inhabitants of the mountain. We dedicate this paper to Leonardo and to the Ayta of Porac, Pampanga.

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