

Robert Fox, Negritos and Philippine Prehistory

Jonathan H. Kress

Robert B. Fox devoted his adult life to the study of anthropology and archaeology in the Philippines. He is best known among archaeologists for his 1970 publication, *The Tabon Caves* (Fox 1970), which described his work in the Quezon area of Palawan - work which established an archaeological sequence beginning with late Pleistocene upper palaeolithic habitations and ending with Iron Age burial sites. He also confirmed the existence of middle palaeolithic industries in the Cagayan valley of Luzon (Fox 1978), worked in Sorsogon and Albay with Fred Evangelista (Fox & Evangelista 1957a, 1957b), excavated a 15th century cemetery in Batangas (Fox 1959a), and made several efforts to construct a comprehensive chronology from these diverse excavations (Fox 1959b, 1967, 1970, 1978). This body of work, breathtaking in its temporal and geographic scope, laid the foundations for the systematic interpretation of Philippine prehistory, and it remains an invaluable guide to this day.

But it should not be forgotten that Fox came to archaeology from another discipline. He began his career in anthropology as an ethnographer, and was perhaps most proud of his work among the Tagbanwa of Palawan. And certainly one of his best and most interesting works was his earliest – his study of the ethnobotany of the Pinatubo Negritos of Zambales Province published in 1952 (Fox 1952). It is a genuinely extraordinary publication – a pioneering work in the fields

of ethnobotany and folk taxonomy making use of Negrito conceptual categories and organizational principles. But it is the underlying assumptions that instigated and shaped this work are most relevant to the prehistory of the Philippines.

At the very beginning of the work Fox clearly stated his purpose – to “search for elements of culture – tools, language, beliefs, and attitudes – which might be held in common with other widely scattered Negrito groups.” Implicit in this statement are two critical assumptions: (1) that there is or was such a thing as ‘Negrito’ culture, independent of and older than that of the people who surround them; and (2) that the Negritos once spoke a language different from the Austronesian languages they now speak. The primary, but significantly unspoken, questions to be explored in this study were the significance of the Negrito presence in the archipelago, the implications of that presence for the prehistory of insular and mainland Southeast Asia, and the possible origins of the Negrito immigration. The same questions no doubt applied to all of the “other widely scattered negrito groups” encountered in small, isolated groups in the Asian mainland and insular tropics and as far away as West Africa.

This scattered distribution throughout the Old World tropics has long held great fascination for anthropologists. As long ago as the late 19th century de Quatrefages (1887 as cited by Reed 1904) posited a time when much of this area was inhabited exclusively by Negritos and for many years thereafter almost every author who dealt with the subject paid at least passing homage to his hypothesis (see Reed 1904, Radcliffe-Brown 1922, Vanoverbergh 1925, 1929-30, 1933, 1937-38). Indeed, even today it is difficult to look at photographs of Ituri Forest Pygmies, Andaman Islanders, Papuans and Philippine Negritos and not be struck by the superficial similarities in physiognomy, hair quality, skin color and stature. But is there any substance behind this façade, or is there less there than meets the eye? How does this idea relate to contemporary archaeological research, and why did Fox never mention it again in his many publications on prehistory? It is this last question that may be the most interesting as it deals directly with the internal sociology of the anthropological community.

The Negritos of the Philippines have always received more attention than the ‘other, widely scattered groups’ for several reasons. For one thing, they are the most numerous and accessible of all Negrito populations. In 1928 Kroeber estimated, based on the most recent census that there were 30,000 to 40,000 Negritos in the islands. And certainly their distribution was then much wider than it is today. Sixteenth century Spanish reports indicate that Negritos were highly visible in large groups along the coastlines of numerous islands, and in the more remote past they no doubt were the predominant group in the archipelago.

At the time of Fox's study he counted at least five bands on and around the base of Mt. Pinatubo and elsewhere along the lower slopes of the Zambales Range in the provinces of Bataan, Pampanga, Tarlac and Zambales. Other groups were noted in coastal areas of eastern Luzon and on Polillo Island off the coast.

In the Visayas Negritos have been noted with varying degrees of reliability on Panay and nearby Gimaras Island, Negros (hence the name), Cebu, Lyete and Samar, but none have ever been extensively studied. The Batak of Palawan (Warren 1964) and the Mamanua of Mindanao (Maceda 1964) have both received more attention.

It is more difficult to deal with "Negritos" in other parts of the world – those 'other, widely scattered groups' – because of the diverse names that have been applied to people of this somatotype, and because the somatotype itself is hardly uniform. Fox (1952), himself, listed nine characteristics which he felt set them off from other people in the Philippines:

- wooly hair
- very short stature
- low-bridged, concave nose with flaring alae
- nostrils frontally visible
- wide-set eyes
- round face
- dark pigmentation of eyes
- dark pigmentation of hair
- moderate to very dark brown skin color.

Fox no doubt built his description on a similar list compiled by Alfred L. Kroeber more than two decades earlier. Kroeber (1928) called Philippine Negritos "a thoroughly separate and apparently ancient type of man" characterized by:

- skin that is black in the sense that the African is black
- hair that is short and wooly
- the capacity to grow a full beard
- a perceptible coating of body hair
- a protruding jaw or lower facial prognathism
- a face that tapers to a narrow chin
- a head that is rounded (brachycephalic); width = 5/6 length

- a nose that is extremely broad: the transverse diameter exceeds the greatest length almost $\frac{1}{2}$ of the studied individuals
- a stature that is truly pygmy; the average height is appreciably less than 150 cm in men and women are even shorter; among the Philippine Negritos only the Mamanua are taller.

Years later unusually large teeth and a tendency towards steatopygia in the females were added to this list by Cavalli-Sforza and colleagues (1994:225).

Even the original short list of racial characteristics evidently applies without dispute only to the various Philippine groups and the Andaman Islanders. The Semang of the Malay Peninsula, for example, have been called Australo-Melanesian (Higham 2002:230), Negritos (Cavalli-Sforza et al 1994:208) and Veddoids (Kroeber 1928). Cole (1945) applied the adjective 'Veddoid' to the Sakai, neighbors of the Semang on the peninsula and described them as 'a short, wavy-haired, less-Mongoloid people'. He termed the Semang themselves 'Pygmy Blacks'. Kroeber, in contrast, felt the Semang were racially distinct from the Negritos because of their wavy hair. Perhaps he was confusing the Semang and the Sakai. More recent research incorporating linguistic data definitively limits the term Negrito to the Semang and suggests that the 'Veddoid' (lighter skin color and wavy hair) population – properly called the Senoi – shared a common ancestry with the Semang but developed a distinctive somatotype under differing selective pressures associated with the adoption of agriculture or through admixture with Austronesian immigrants (or both) (Bellwood 1993, 1997). Linguistically, both populations are grouped with other speakers of Asilan languages of the Austroasiatic family as the Orang Asli.

Similar people have been described in Sulawesi and Ceylon – the Veddas themselves - among the 'tribals' of the Indian sub-continent (the Kadar of Kerala who in their hair quality and facial traits are described as resembling Africans and/or Australians), and in the highlands of New Guinea. The short stature of these latter people has, however, been ascribed to non-genetic factors (Gajdusek 1970). A.R. Radcliffe-Brown (1922:6) in his monumental study of the social organization and material culture of the Andaman Islanders stated clearly that only three branches of the Negrito race survived – the Andaman Islanders themselves, the Semang and the Negritos of the interior of the Philippine Islands. He added portentously that "from their present distribution it is clear that the Negritos must at some long past time have wandered over a wide range in south-eastern Asia", and he too was fascinated by the idea that the Andaman Islanders preserved the physical character, language and culture "of the original Negrito race."

To further complicate matters the term 'pygmy' has been loosely applied to all these peoples. In Africa the pygmies proper are distributed throughout the

central African tropics in anywhere from fifteen to seventeen groups depending the method of classification. The most famous are the Mbuti of the Ituri forest in northeastern Zaire, statistically the shortest people on earth.

All of these groups speak the languages of their closest agricultural neighbors. Only the isolated Andamanese speak a distinctive tongue which has been assigned to the Austric family (Reid 1994b). Fox did find that among the 500 plant names he collected from the Pinatubo Negritos 12% had no Austronesian cognates. He was cautious in his conclusions; in fact, he ignored the implications of his discovery. More recently L.A. Reid (1994a) has gone farther in identifying non-Austronesian lexical items in Philippine Negrito languages, but no definitive connections with Austric languages have emerged.

If physical characteristics and language cannot closely relate these diverse groups one to another, what of genetics. Early genetic work was decidedly inconclusive. In the genetic tree based on 31 genes from 25 Asian populations constructed by Cavalli-Sforza, the Negritos (a mixed population of primarily Philippine extraction) cluster with several other Pacific island groups (Palau, Yap, Toba Batak and Kanaka) and are clearly separated from other Philippine, Indonesian and mainland Southeast Asians. Negritos cluster most closely with the people of Palau. Cavalli-Sforza admits this association is not particularly instructive, but notes that the Palauans are known for their dark skin and suggested that there is probably an archaic dark-skinned genetic substrate in Southeast Asia and Oceania.

Mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA) and Y-chromosome DNA studies by Thangaraj and co-authors (2003) reveal that the Nicobarese have strong affiliations with modern Asian peoples, and that the Andamanese have connections to presumably more ancient Asian and African populations. It has been suggested, too, that there is a strong link between Andamanese and Papuan peoples due to HVS-1 sequence similarities in the hypervariable central region of mtDNA. The investigators concluded that the Nicobarese are descendants of Asian neolithic agriculturalists while the Andamanese are descended from early palaeolithic immigrants into South and Southeast Asia. Further work revealed two distinctive maternal (mtDNA) lineages – labeled M31 and M32 – among the Andamanese which were believed to have evolved in isolation somewhere if not in the archipelago. Thangaraj and his team (2005) postulated a migration out of Africa for the ancestral Andamanese (and Papuans and other Asian relict populations?) beginning between 50,000 to 70,000 years ago.

Similar work among the Orang Asli found mtDNA control region sequences unique enough for a posited a time depth of their relative isolation of 44,000 to 63,000 years (Macaulay et al. 2005). A similarly distinctive set of control region sequences was noted among the aboriginal Australians. To explain the time depth

of this genetic isolation and the much earlier presence of anatomically modern humans in eastern than in western Eurasia, the authors hypothesized an earlier southern route migration out of eastern Africa (Macaulay et al. 2005; Forster & Matsumura 2005).

All of this data is extremely suggestive of an original common ancestry of most east Asian Negritos, but so far the data is no more than suggestive, for no work definitively connects all the diverse groups to each other and to the Australians and Papuans. It is also unfortunate that it is supported by no archaeological evidence, and it should be pointed out that the time of separation from a hypothetical common ancestor is not necessarily the time of the beginning of a migration or that of arrival at any specific locale. The endocrinology of short stature, which has been well studied among Philippine Negritos (Clavano-Harding 1999), could well be a repetitive *in situ* response to the selective pressures exerted by the tropical rain forest environment and cannot itself establish any connection between Philippine Negritos, the Orang Asli, the Andamanese or any other group. If, indeed, these groups are the descendants of a single group also represented today by Australians and Papuans, a divergent evolutionary history either towards or away from short stature is necessary. So are we really any closer to establishing the existence of an ancient Negrito race which pioneered the modern human habitation of eastern Eurasia, and if so how are we to identify it archaeologically?

Traditional anthropometry (both skeletal and somatic) must supply at least part of the answer. Howells (1968, 1970a, 1970b, 1972) was able to take measurements from 54 Andaman Island skulls housed in various museums around the world, but his multiple discriminant function analysis grouped them with three sub-Saharan tribes, and with them more closely than his Bushman population. Unfortunately, no other 'Negrito' group was represented in the study, so no anthropometric data speaks directly to the question of the relatedness of these many 'widely scattered negrito groups', and the anthropometric results remain ambiguous and unsatisfying. He did, however, conclude that "the idea of a distinct Negrito genetic strain can be maintained over environmental causes of local differentiation" (Howells 1970b:214), a position which now is beginning to look somewhat untenable. In the same study he also found a clear distinction between Australians, at one extreme, and Polynesians, at the other, with a highly variable Melanesian-Micronesian grouping in between – conclusions somewhat more satisfying in the light of recent theories. A refinement of the 'Melanesian' group might lead to even more satisfying results. But for the present Howells' Andamanese skulls are the only comparative skeletal data available for the archaeological identification of a Negrito population.

Years earlier Kroeber used anthropometry to address the issue of the distinctiveness of races within the Philippine archipelago, and naturally the Negritos

figured prominently in that study. This question is hardly trivial. It is necessary to be certain that 'negrito' is not a social category imposed upon a cultural minority by the dominant political or social group, be it indigenous or foreign. He took measurements of three salient physical characteristics – stature, the shape of the nose (a ratio between greatest width and greatest length or height), and the shape of the head (the traditional anthropometric ratio between greatest length and greatest width) – from three Philippine populations – the Negritos (probably from the Zambales region), several tribal groups which he lumped under the racial category Proto-Malay, and lowland or Christian Filipinos whom he called Deutero-Malay. Remarkably there was little overlap between the three populations in any of these three statistics and none in some. These results are strongly suggestive of a racial reality.

Uytterschaut's (1988) multivariate analysis of skulls from these three groups – Negrito, Proto-Malay and Deutero-Malay – confirmed Kroeber's conclusions. He was somewhat surprised when his data revealed a stronger similarity between the Deutero-Malays and the Negritos than between the latter and the Proto-Malays, but the logic of his concern escapes me.

Kroeber explained the side-by-side existence of these three races in the Philippines by postulating at least three waves of immigration into the islands – an idea he no doubt adopted from Beyer (1917). First came the Negritos who at one time possibly had the islands to themselves. This idea precludes the alternative explanation of an in situ somatic adaptation and necessitates the pre-existence of Philippine-type Negritos elsewhere. At some unspecified time later came the Indonesians or Proto-Malays who dispossessed the Negritos of much of their territory. Kroeber hypothesized superior culture as well as physical predominance as factors in this process. Finally came the Deutero-Malays, technologically and physically more powerful still, who pushed the Proto-Malays out of the lush and fertile lowlands into the highlands and other marginal areas.

It is interesting to note that Fox himself further complicated matters by identifying the Dumagat of Polillo Island and in the Baler and Casiguran areas of Quezon Province among whom he worked in 1948-49 as 'remnants of a taller,' Papuan-like,' sea-migrating "Negroid," (who) represent a racial intrusion into the Philippines distinct from the pygmies" (Fox 1952:174) – an idea which has interesting implications if Papuans and Negritos do indeed represent different facies of the same colonizing population.

While a review of this early work is important in establishing the background of Fox's study we must ask, what is the value of these ideas in the light of contemporary archaeological, linguistic and genetic research? Can they be of

any use to us today or are we correct in ignoring them? And are we really so far advanced in our thinking that we can afford to leave them behind?

Below is a tentative chronology of Palawan prehistory based on the work of Fox and his followers. It might be instructive to look for strong cultural/technological breaks in this sequence and inquire if they perhaps indicate a wave of immigration. I have limited myself in this effort largely to Palawan because it is the area I know best and it is the most thoroughly documented region of the Philippines.

I must add that the following assessment is my own, reflecting my personal experience, knowledge and prejudices. I absolve all others of any complicity or responsibility.

A Preliminary Integration of the Palawan Archaeological Record

Jonathan H. Kress, March 2006

Ille Cave (cemetery: north-south burials)	18 th cent.
Ille Cave (cemetery: east-west burials)	<17 th cent.
Ille Cave (cemetery context)	?
Sa'gung Rockshelter (upper levels)	1000 AD
Lipuun Point (dev. metal age)	100 BC to 1300 AD
Lipuun Point (jar burials, early metal age)	900 to 100 BC
Ille Cave (early Sa'huynh Kalanay level)	?
Ngipe't Duldug (jar burial, neolithic tools)	1500 to 1000 BC
Pilanduk Cave (jar burial, [edge-ground adze?])	?
Ille Cave (ceramic, polished adze level)	2000 BC?
Duyong Cave (burial)	4700 to 2500 BC
Sa'gung Rockshelter (axe/adze burials)	4700 to 2500 BC
Ille Cave ('neolithic' burials)	?
Duyong Cave (neolithic habitation)	4700 to 4300 BC
Ille Cave (dense midden layer)	5250 to 3500 BC
Guri Cave	6000 to 2000 BC?
Duyong Cave (palaeolithic habitation)	6300 to 5400 BC
Sa'gung Rockshelter (earliest burials)	?
Tabon I-A	7500 to 6500 BC
Sa'gung Rockshelter (lowest levels)	?
Kerang Kerang Rockshelter	8000 BC
Ille Cave (small chert flake level)	8500 to 6600 BC
Ille Cave (obsidian flakes, cremation)	9000 to 7000 BC
Tabon I-B	9250 to 7750 BC
Guri Cave (lower levels)	?

Tabon (frontal)	14500 BC
Tabon II	>19,000 BC
Pilanduk I	23450 to 20150 BC
Pilanduk II	22650 to 20650 BC
Pilanduk III	?
Tabon III	23200 to 19200 BC
Pilanduk IV	25470 to 21470 BC
Tabon (mandible)	29000 BC
Tabon IV	30700 to 26300 BC
Tabon (tibia)	45000 BC
Tabon V	45,000 to 50,000 BC
Cabalwanian	>125,000 BP

I wish to thank Emil Robles for his calibration of many of these early C_{14} dates and his gracious permission to use them.

The Cabalwanian of the Cagayan Valley has been well established as a palaeolithic culture by the work of Fox and his colleagues from the Philippine National Museum in the 1970's (Fox 1978), but its association with the Middle Pleistocene megafaunal finds of von Koenigswald (1956, 1958) remains uncertain. Still, these people are probably the earliest known inhabitants of the Philippines. They produced a fairly sophisticated lithic assemblage, but as yet there is no evidence which sheds any light on the racial affiliations of the people themselves, their point of origin, the extent of their dispersal in the islands, the length of their stay or their ultimate fate. We can only speculate that they were a race of *Homo erectus* or archaic *Homo sapiens*. Certainly they were not Negritos.

The next known archaeological remains in the Philippines come from the lowest levels of Tabon Cave, at least 75,000 years younger (Fox 1967, 1970, 1978). There are so far no known signs of human occupation during this long period, nor is there any evident connection between the two assemblages. Whoever these later people were, Negritos or otherwise, they quite possibly arrived in an uninhabited archipelago. The Tabon tibia, the only human remains so far discovered which relates to this issue and time period, is undiagnostic.

Contemporary with and very similar to the Tabon sequence is that from Pilanduk Cave, but there are considerable taphonomic differences between the two depositional environments. Shell and bone are plentiful in the Pilanduk sequence (Kress 2000), and at least one hearth was uncovered. What Fox has called the '*kuba*' or Tabonian scraper does not appear in the earliest levels, nor do I recall seeing any examples in the earliest Tabon collections (Fox 1970, 1978). There is also at Pilanduk a general diminution in flake size and a greater consistency

in shape between the later assemblages, I, II and III and that of IV, so there is clearly a development of some kind in the Pilanduk sequence, and presumably also in that of Tabon. What this difference between the earliest and the later components represents is still an open question. Is it an endemic development within a continuous lithic tradition as Fox has stated, or is the result of some kind of outside influence – diffusion or immigration? Fox and I, at one time, hoped we could solve this problem by describing the assemblages finely enough to be able to discern changes or continuity in knapping traditions, but the initial results were inconclusive.

Both the Tabon mandible and the frontal fragment probably belong to this second, more developed period of the Tabonian tradition. The frontal bone was studied by W.W. Howells (1970a, 1970b) and on the basis of his “preliminary work” he felt that the rounded nature of the interorbital area excluded the individual from any modern Far Eastern ‘Mongoloid’ population, but he noticed certain ‘Melanesian’ affinities and similarities to the Zengpiyen burials of the south China post-Pleistocene, while Macintosh associated the mandible with Australian populations (Macintosh 1978). The skeletal material from Zengpiyen has been related to that from Liujiang which would place these people in the Orient at least 60,000 to 70,000 years ago. If there is any reality to these associations, it fits nicely with the idea of a pan-tropical population ancestral to Melanesians speaking languages ancestral to modern Papuan family. Negritos, Andamanese, and those other widely scattered Negrito groups represent isolated members who have undergone extreme drift and intense selection stressing diminution of stature. A very early separation between the Papuan and Australian subgroups of this early Asian population, perhaps even at or close to the point of origin could account for the differences, linguistic and otherwise, between them.

The next evidence of cultural change coincides with major climatic and eustatic change in the islands and major redistribution of resources necessary for human subsistence, and it is during this period lasting from about 10,000 to 6,000 BC that we see at several sites – Ille in the north, Tabon, Sa’gung, probably Guri Cave and Duyong in the south – great technological development as well as regional diversification which could be explained in terms of time, ecology or resource availability or any combination of these factors.

In the earliest levels of Ille we find very small obsidian flakes; at Duyong, Fox’s small flake and blade industry; in the lowest levels of Guri blades of chert and numerous small retouched flake tools; and in the lowest levels at Sa’gung hints of a quartzite flake industry which is echoed at somewhat higher levels at Ille. Guri presents the biggest problem because of a C¹⁴ date of about 2,100 BC from the lower levels, but the presence of deer bone and antler in these deposits leads me

to distrust this date. Until we can date these sites more securely, no definitive explanation can be offered.

The only diagnostic skeletal piece belonging to this period is a frontal fragment from a deep burial/cremation at Ille. The skeleton is quite small and gracile, probably falling within the range of modern Negritos in stature, but features of the skull display affinities with contemporary non-Negrito Philippine populations.

Most importantly, during this period little outside influence can be specifically identified. In one of the deep burials at Sa'gung pre-pottery ceramic votive objects hint at influence from the Asian mainland – Thailand – but there is little else (Kress 1977).

At about 5,000 BC we see a really dramatic change. At Duyong and Sa'gung flexed burials are accompanied by relatively rich grave goods including shell pendants, necklaces of crocodile teeth, lime plugs for betel chewing and shell and stone edge-ground axes. At Sa'gung some of these stone axes are bifacially shaped in a manner strongly reminiscent of mainland Hoabinhian. Bellwood (1993, 1997) has equated the Hoabinhian of the Malay Peninsula with the Orang Asli (their arrival in the area or a localized cultural development?), and if this association holds up, the flexed, 'Hoabinhian' Sa'gung burials could be evidence of the arrival of ancestral Negritos in the Philippines. It is interesting to note that the Gua Cha burial sequence – flexed to extended – is paralleled at Sa'gung, but at the latter site there are flexed burials (nos. 11 and 7) in a pre-'Hoabinhian' context.

At Ille burials similarly rich in some of the same grave goods appear, but they are extended and without the axes. The lack of the axes might be explained by the lack of appropriate raw material. The accompanying skeletal material from all of these burials is unfortunately largely fragmentary and has not yet been studied in any case, but the cultural change is so dramatic, at least in southern Palawan, that it is suggestive of very strong outside influence, if not immigration.

The next big change in the sequence involves ceramics and polished adzes. This 'Austronesian farmer' complex (including of course red-slipped pottery) was first recovered in Palawan during the 2004 season at Ille Cave in what I have called 'the pit' probably in association with a burial (Kress 2005). This period is rendered even more interesting by two jar burial assemblages at Pilanduk Cave (Kress 1980) and Ngipe't Duldug (Fox 1970) in Quezon municipality of Palawan. The latter included neolithic tools and from the surface of the former an edge-ground axe collected by Eric Casiño in 1962. Although this last association is problematic, it cannot be ignored. None of these three features can be dated with any certainty, and until they or similar assemblages are, several interpretations are possible. The most interesting is that they represent near simultaneous introductions of new technologies from different sources – the Austronesian farming complex from

the northeast, perhaps not on an express train, but on a slower pace locally, and the jar burial complex from the west, directly or indirectly from the Southeast Asian mainland. That train may have bypassed southern Palawan and made its next stop in north Borneo.

The subsequent, and last, big break in the sequence marks the introduction of the metal-jar burial complex – first with bronze, then with iron – again in the Quezon area. These two events – the prior introduction of ceramics and polished adze technology and the subsequent introduction of metallurgy – certainly have no bearing on the Negrito question, but it is worth noting in passing how well this data fits with Paz's (2002) notion of northeastern insular southeast Asia as a friction zone with two distinct agricultural developments – an earlier one featuring the introduction of the Austronesian farming complex on a limited and localized scale ca. 2,000 BC and a subsequent, irresistible spread of rice agriculture throughout the region facilitated by the introduction of metallurgy ca. 500 BC, all of which could be relevant to the idea of Proto- and Deutero-Malays.

I must now return briefly to one of my original questions: why did Fox drop the subject of the Negritos and Proto- and Deutero-Malays when he confronted Philippine prehistory in his scientific publications? In the mid-50's Fox left the Philippines to get his Ph. D. at the University of Chicago. There he came under a completely different set of intellectual influences. The diffusionist school with which the waves of immigration theories of Beyer and Kroeber were associated (rightly or wrongly) was fast falling into ill-repute and the association of archaeological complexes with races had become an unimportant if not embarrassing subject. The ideas of Steward (1955), White (1959) and Service (1962) were just taking form and were redirecting anthropological thought. Adaptive patterns and the complex relationships between culture, technology and ecology were to dominate archaeological thinking for decades to come and there was little interest in the prehistory of Negritos. Today, fortunately, the worm has turned again, and hopefully some of these many questions can be answered.

References

- Bellwood, Peter 1993. Cultural and Biological Differentiation in Peninsular Malaysia: The Last 10,000 Years, *Asian Perspectives* 32(1):37-60.
- Bellwood, Peter 1997. *Prehistory of the Indo-Melanesian Archipelago*. Revised Edition. Honolulu: Univ. of Hawaii Press
- Beyer, H. Otley 1917. *Population of the Philippine Islands in 1916 (Población de las Islas Filipinas en 1916)*. Manila: Philippine Education Co.

- Cavalli-Sforza, L. Luca, Paolo Menozzi & Alberto Piazza 1994. *The History And Geography of Human Genes*. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press
- Clavano-Harding, Annabel B. 1999. Initial Characterization of the GH-IGF Axis and Nutritional Status of the Ati Negritos of the Philippines. *Clinical Endocrinology* 56(6):741-7.
- Cole, Fay-Cooper 1945. *The Peoples of Malaysia*. Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company Inc.
- Forster, Peter and Shuichi Matsumura 2003. Did Early Humans Go North or South? *Science* 308:965-6
- Fox, Robert B. 1952 The Pinatubo Negritos: Their Useful Plants and Material Culture. *The Philippine Journal of Science* 81(3-4):173-414
- Fox, Robert B. 1959a The Calatagan Excavations: Two Fifteenth Century Burial Sites in Batangas, Philippines. *Philippine Studies* 7(3):325-390.
- Fox, Robert B. 1959b *The Philippines in Prehistoric Times*. Manila: UNESCO National Commission of the Philippines
- Fox, Robert B. 1967 Excavations in the Tabon Caves and Some Problems in Philippine Chronology, In Mario D. Zamora (ed.), *Studies in Philippine Anthropology*. Quezon City: Alemar-Phoenix. Pp. 88-116.
- Fox, Robert B. 1970 *The Tabon Caves*. Manila: National Museum of the Philippines.
- Fox, Robert B. 1978. The Philippine Paleolithic. In Fumiko Ikawa-Smith (ed.), *Early Paleolithic in South and East Asia*. The Hague, Paris: Mouton Publishers. pp. 59-85.
- Fox, Robert B. and Alfredo Evangelista 1957a. The Bato Caves, Sorsogon Province, Philippines. *Journal of East Asiatic Studies* 6(1): 49-56
- Fox, Robert B. and Alfredo Evangelista 1957b The Cave Archaeology of Cargaray Island, Albay Province, Philippines. *Journal of East Asiatic Studies* 6(1):57-68.
- Gajdusek, D. Carlton 1970. Physiological and Psychological Characteristics of Stone Age. *Man, Engineering and Science* 33:26-33, 56-62
- Higham, Charles 2002 Languages and Farming Dispersals: Austroasiatic Languages and Rice Cultivation, In Peter Bellwood & Colin Renfrew (eds.) *Examining the Farming/Language Dispersal Hypothesis*. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research. Pp. 223-232.
- Howells, W.W. 1968. Multivariate Analysis of Human Crania. *Mimeograph copy*.

- Howells, W.W. 1970a. Multivariate Analysis of Human Crania. Proceedings of the VIIIth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences vol. 1: Anthropology.
- Howells, W.W. 1970b. Anthropometric Grouping Analysis of Pacific Peoples. *Archaeology & Physical Anthropology in Oceania* 5(3):192-217.
- Howells, W.W. 1972. Analysis of Patterns of Variation in Crania of Recent Man. In Russell H. Tuttle (ed.). *Functional and Evolutionary Biology of Primates: Methods of Study and Recent Advances*. Chicago: Aldine. Pp. 123-151
- Kress, Jonathan H. 1977. Contemporary and Prehistoric Subsistence patterns on Palawan, In Wm. Wood (ed.). *Cultural-Ecological Perspectives on Southeast Asia*. Athens, Ohio: University Southeast Asian Series Vol. 41. pp. 29-47.
- Kress, Jonathan H. 1980. The Ceramics from Pilanduk Cave and Sa'gung Rockshelter, Quezon Municipality, Palawan Island, the Philippines. *Asian Perspectives* 21(1):58-83
- Kress, Jonathan H. 2000. The Malacoarchaeology of Palawan Island. *Journal of East Asian Archaeology* 2(1-2):285-328
- Kress, Jonathan H. 2004. The Necrology of Sa'gung Rockshelter and Its Place in Philippine Prehistory. In, Victor Paz (ed.). *Wilhelm G. Solheim Festschrift Southeast Asian Archaeology*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press. Pp. 239-291.
- Kress, Jonathan H. 2005. *Some More Random Thoughts on the Archaeology of Ille Cave*. Manila: The Solheim Foundation Annual Report
- Kroeber, A.L. 1928. *Peoples of the Philippines*. New York: American Museum of Natural History.
- Macaulay, Vincent, Catherine Hill, Alessandro Achilli, Chiara Rengo, Douglas Clarke, William Meehan, James Blackburn, Ornella Semino, Rosaria Scozzari, Fulvio Cruciani, Adi Taha, Norazila Kassim Shaari, Joseph Maripa Raja, Patimah Ismail, Zafarina Zainuddin, William Goodwin, David Bulbeck, Hans-Jurgen Bandelt, Stephen Oppenheimer, Antonio Torroni, and Martin Richards. 2005. Single, Rapid Coastal Settlement of Asia Revealed by Analysis of Complete Mitochondrial Genomes. *Science* 308:1034-1036.
- Maceda, Marcelino M. 1964. *The Culture of the Mamanua*. Manila: Catholic Trade School.

- Macintosh, N.W.G. 1978. The Tabon Cave Mandible. *Archaeology and Physical Anthropology in Oceania* 13:143-59.
- Paz, Victor 2002. Island Southeast Asia: Spread or Friction Zone. In Peter Bellwood & Colin Renfrew (eds.), *Examining the Farming/Language Dispersal Hypothesis*. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research. Pp. 275-285.
- Quatrefages, Jean Louis Armand de 1887. *Pygmées*.
- Radcliffe-Brown, A.R. 1922. *The Andaman Islanders*. New York: The Free Press.
- Reed, William Allen 1904. Negritos of Zambales. Manila: Bureau of Public Printing, *Philippine Islands Ethnological Survey Publications* 2(1).
- Reid, L.A. 1994a. Possible Non-Austronesian Lexical Elements in Philippine Negrito Languages. *Oceanic Linguistics* 33:37-71.
- Reid, L.A. 1994b. Morphological Evidence for Austric. *Oceanic Linguistics* 33:323-44
- Service, E. 1962. *Primitive Social Organization*. New York: Random House
- Steward, J. 1955. *Theory of Culture Change*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Thangaraj, Kumarasamy. L. Singh, A. Reddy, V. Rao, S. Sehgal, P. Underhill, M. Pierson, I. Frame, E. Hagelberg 2003. Genetic Affinities of the Andaman Islanders. *Current Biology* 13(2):86-93.
- Thangaraj, Kumarasamy, Gyaneshwer Chaubey, Toomas Kivisild, Alla G. Reddy, Vijay Kumar Singh, Avinash A. Rasalkar, and Lalji Singh. 2005. Reconstructing the Origin of Andaman Islanders. *Science* 308(5724):965-996
- Uyterschaut, Hilde 1988. Affinities of Philippine Populations: An Anthropological Study Based on Human Skull Data. *Asian Perspectives* XXVI (1):157-168.
- Vanoverbergh, Morice. 1925. Negritos of Northern Luzon. *Anthropos* 20:148-99, 399-443.
- Vanoverbergh, Morice. 1929-30. Negritos of Northern Luzon Again. *Anthropos* 24:1-75, 897-911.
- Vanoverbergh, Morice. 1933. Philippine Negrito Culture: Independent or Borrowed? *Primitive Man* 6:25-35
- Vanoverbergh, Morice. 1937-38. Negritos of Eastern Luzon. *Anthropos* 32:905-28; 33:119-64

- von Koenigswald, G.H.R. 1956. *Fossil Mammals from the Philippines*. Special Reprint, National Research Council of the Philippines. Quezon City.
- von Koenigswald, G.H.R. 1958. Preliminary report on a Newly-discovered Stone Age Culture form Northern Luzon, Philippine Islands. *Asian Perspectives* 2(2):69-70.
- Warren, C.P. 1964. *The Batak of Palawan: A Culture in Transition*. Philippine Studies Program Research Series, No. 3. Chicago: University of Chicago, Dept. of Anthropology.
- White, L. 1959. *The Evolution of Culture*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Abstract

The ethnobotanical work of Robert B. Fox among the Negritos living in the vicinity of Mt. Pinatubo, Zambales Province, is taken as a starting point for an examination of the position of Negritos in Southeast Asian Prehistory. Early ethnographic and anthropometric investigations are reviewed along with more recent archaeological and genetic work. No study, ancient or contemporary, establishes an unquestionable unity between all the scattered Negrito populations of Asia and the Khoisan-pygmy populations of Africa on the one hand, and Australian-Papuan aboriginal populations on the other, although some evidence is tantalizingly suggestive of such a connection. The archaeological sequence of Palawan to which Fox made extensive contributions is examined for possible evidence of an early Negrito presence but with no conclusive results.