

Asian Studies

Art and Culture in the Philippines

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Faith Healing in the Philippines: An Historical Perspective

Zeus Salazar

Philippine “Seditious Plays”

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Bhinneka Tunggal Eka: The Development of a National Language in the Philippines

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Jama Mapun Ethnoecology: Economic and Symbolic (of Grains, Winds and Stars)

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Juan Pusong: The Filipino Trickster Revisited

Donn V. Hart and Harriet E. Hart



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Introduction

What knowledge we have of Philippine culture we owe to whom I call the early scholar-miners. They searched for the ore beneath the surface, collected whatever they discovered to yield a rich lode, documented their process of retrieval, and in some instances, did preliminary assays to determine the value of what they gathered. Their efforts enabled other scholars and cultural researchers to explore on their own, add to what has already been collected, assess and reassess the findings, and take the process to a higher level of critiquing and possibly theorizing.

Those of us who began our own work on different aspects of Philippine arts and culture in the 1960s and throughout the 1970s know only too well the many obstacles cultural researchers had to hurdle to gain access to even just primary materials. This was the period when just to gather primary data was an important task in itself. Basic information about our varied literatures and cultural practices was so scarce that leaving behind the comfort of a library to brave the harsh conditions of field work was almost always inevitable for serious researchers. Sometimes, it would be on a mere hunch or the whiff of a rumor that would lead us to a remote barrio or a house in a small city street, all to flush out a manuscript or a song or a legend. At other times, it would be clues mentioned in a colonial document or uttered by a distant relative or acquaintance that would prod us to cross seas, reach islands, or trek mountains just to get to the site of still unrecorded cultural practices of indigenous cultural communities. Even when field work did not yield what was expected, it never was futile. Other cultural materials could be found along the way, as could insights gained on our people's particular way of seeing and living.

As we continue to explore the rich terrain of Philippine arts and culture, it is sometimes necessary to step back and assess how far we have gone. New contributions to collective knowledge and novel approaches to critical valuations are possible because of past efforts.

This retrospective issue of *Asian Studies* retraces our path to earlier published studies that put us in touch with our cultural past through their explorations of different aspects of our cultural practices and literary traditions.

Anthropologist Eric Casiño opens up for us the world of Jama Mapun in the island of Kagayan, Sulu where “grains, wind, and stars” physically and symbolically interface with the community. His study, “**Jama Mapun**

Ethnoecology: Economic and Symbolic (Of Grains, Wind and Stars)” (1967), which is based on archival data and the field work he and his team did among the Jama Mapun in 1963 and 1966, documents the small shifts and major transformations in the environment, economy, and cultural life of the island community.

The study shows how the conversion alone of a once heavily forested island to a coconut plantation creates a vast transformation on the people’s way of living as they convert from a rice planting and multi-cropping system to one in which a single crop is tended to yield cash; as they are introduced to a Western-style education that can possibly change their way of viewing and interpreting the configuration of the stars, which they had done through legends; and as they gain access to the motorized *kumpit* that facilitate easier trading and migration to other islands like Palawan. However, Casiño notes that the natural environment of Kagayan, Sulu, which lies outside the typhoon belt, is rich in volcanic soil, has natural water drainage, and is hospitable and adaptable to the changes that have resulted from the decisions of the island inhabitants. How the Jama Mapun culture has survived through these vicissitudes is a research question that hopefully further studies will address.

Another reprinted study in this issue links us to our past. Transmitted through oral tradition are the countless stories of the often wily yet sometimes foolish Juan Pusong. In **“Juan Pusong: The Filipino Trickster Revisited” (1974)**, Donn V. Hart and Harriet E. Hart go back to the Juan Pusong stories they separately collected from other studies and from informants across the Visayas. They demarcated their research areas and carefully explained how they collected data, some of which were from printed sources and many others from informants, during their separate field work from the 1950s to the mid-1960s. They tested the authenticity of the trickster folk tale by identifying its variants. They catalogued their tales according to theme and representative plots. They point out that some of the Juan Pusong stories were excluded from the collection of other researchers because of the Filipino penchant for excrement humor that may assault Western sensibilities. It is worthwhile noting that the Harts did not have the heart to exclude such stories from their own research work.

Thanks to the research of the Harts, Juan Pusong has been rescued from the margins. Along with his equivalent in Mindanao folklore, *Pilandok*, Juan Pusong’s cunning and wit have captured the interest of other scholars, who see in their actions the willful subversion of authority figures who prove to be not as powerful as they appear to be. That Juan Pusong tales continue to be transmitted from generation to generation can be attributed,

perhaps, to the marginalized communities' strong identification with such a figure who makes fools out of rulers with his wit, guile, and often comic interventions.

That our ancient past continues to hold sway over our present medico-religious-cultural system is propounded by historian Zeus A. Salazar in his study, **"Faith Healing in the Philippines: An Historical Perspective" (1980)**. Salazar views faith healers as contemporary versions of the *katalonan-babaylan*, who were once central figures in our ancestral communities and were thought to possess healing powers of both spirit and life force. The study is quick to point out, however, that present-day faith healers themselves do not negate the necessary recourse to medical doctors or herbalists for ailments they consider "non-spiritual." Though they live in the shadow, so to speak, of Western medicine, viewing themselves as playing a complementary role to doctors, faith healers have not waned in popularity. For not even centuries of colonial experience and Western education have successfully peeled off from the Filipino psyche the belief and trust in the ability of the faith healer to restore a person's well-being, which can only be ensured if both spirit and life-force within a person are in harmony.

As a historian, Salazar has succeeded in decentralizing history, departing from an approach that considered only major events and personalities and moving an analysis of the "marginal," including the ubiquitous faith healer who has withstood time and is still trusted by many to help them regain their well-being, their *kaginhawaan*.

How theater can so cause a new colonial government to shake in its boots is explored by Paul Rodell in his article **"Philippine Seditious Plays" (1974)**. Rodell throws us back to the turn of the twentieth century when the continuing Philippine revolution impassioned Tagalog playwrights to write and stage zarzuelas and symbolic plays to dramatize the country's condition of enslavement and the struggle for freedom. The plays attracted viewers in droves, compelling the American colonial government to declare these as "seditious." Rodell documents not only the strong links the dramatists maintained with revolutionary leaders but also the details of the actual costumes and the sets and scenes that infuriated the Americans, who banned the plays and incarcerated the playwrights. Collectively, the plays constitute what Paul Rodell calls "committed art." Their immense popularity, Rodell opines, comes from their relevance, which is conveyed in indigenized theater forms familiar to the Filipino audience.

The fifth article reprinted in this volume addresses the contentious issue of

the national language. Juan R. Francisco in his study, “**Bhinneka Tunggal Eka: The Development of a National Language in the Philippines,**” (1998) looks into the multilinguistic situation of the Philippines to account for the problems attendant to the evolving process of establishing a national language in the Philippines. He details the conflict between Tagalog and non-Tagalog ethnolinguistic groups that surfaced when a Tagalog-based national language, Filipino, was declared in 1935. This is an issue that has yet to be resolved even with the formal development of Filipino as the national language. The conflict, he points out, is not unresolvable when we examine our parallel multicultural and multilinguistic situation with that of Indonesia. The unity of diverse cultures in a country can be forged by a national language that is not viewed as a threat to the cultural identities embedded in various languages. Thus he posits the Indonesian model, *Bhinneka Tunggal Eka*, as a possible framework for arriving at a national consensus of what our national language, Filipino, should be: a language that is simply our common medium of communication on the national level, but which is not viewed as privileging one language over others. To achieve this, he argues for a more equitable tri-language formula, such as the one proposed by the late linguist Andrew Gonzales, which gives importance to the learning of the Filipino national language as our common language for national communication, the learning of another major Philippine language to address the problem of equity, and the learning of English for our international communication needs.

The model and formula proposed by Juan Francisco is not much different from the University of the Philippines Language Policy approved by the Board of Regents in 1989. A recent development that addresses the problem of equity raised by Francisco is the implementation of the Department of Education Order 74 issued in July 2009 which institutionalizes the mother tongue-based multilingual education (MTB-MLE) from pre-school to Grade 3.

This issue is a kind of a journey to a past that continues to animate our present. It is also an exploration of part of our cultural terrain that has been documented by the five studies reprinted herein. We have certainly developed more critical tools to analyze our culture. As we apply them to our own cultural studies, we are reminded that the very word research means a going back to examine and re-examine, and explore and re-explore materials that are still observable; that may emerge if dug out with the proper tools; and that can be retrieved from the memories of the living. The possibilities are endless when we appreciate that basic research always leave tracks that can lead us deeper into the subject matter or reveal embedded clues that point us to other paths and directions. We also realize

that even with the many other studies that have been conducted about our diverse cultures and ways of seeing, we have really only scratched the surface of what we are as a people.

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End notes

¹ Outside of the article, it may be important to note that other literary forms such as poetry and serialized novels with content the American colonial government would have considered more incendiary, were published and widely disseminated during the same period but escaped the colonizer's attention. Of relevance is also the re-staging of the symbolic plays during the period of Martial Law. Because they were plays resurrected from the past, they were not seen as threats by the unmetaphoric mind of the Marcos dictatorship.

FAITH HEALING IN THE PHILIPPINES: AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE*

ZEUS A. SALAZAR

It has been my pet hypothesis that "faith healing" is probably just one of the forms in which our prehispanic medico-religious system of beliefs and practices continues to survive. A study of faith healing would, therefore, throw light on one aspect of the history of Philippine psychology. In my view, research into the history of Philippine psychology cannot but delve into at least four lines of filiation, and "faith healing" (particularly in its so-called "psychic surgery" aspect) is but the culminating point or an adaptive survival of one of these four areas of development—*i.e.*, precisely that of the psycho-medical system (and world view or *pananaw*) of our prehispanic ancestors.

FOUR LINES OF FILIATION

At least four separate areas of investigation appear to be available to the historian of psychology in the Philippines. These are: 1) Academic-scientific psychology, which entered the Philippines ca. 1920 mainly through the University of the Philippines and in the form of the American pragmatist-behaviorist school, although a direct filiation from Wundt has been claimed for the teaching of at least one professor at the University of San Carlos; 2) Academic-philosophical psychology, which we might presume to have started in our land with the establishment of a system of higher education around the University of Santo Tomas in Spanish times (actually toward the middle of the 17th century); 3) observation of ethnic personality as part of general social psychology (mainly indigenous) which started with the coming into contact between Filipinos and foreigners, mainly Spaniards (later simply all sorts of Westerners, including Americans) after 1521; and finally, 4) indigenous medico-religious practice and theory. Graphically, one can show the temporal interrelationships of these lines of filiation in the attached diagram.

* Introductory paper to the Seminar on Faith Healing in the Philippines sponsored by the U.P. Psychology 206 students on October 1, 1979, DSS Conference Room, Faculty Center, Diliman.

The most easily identifiable one, the academic-scientific psychology, began to establish itself towards the end of the second decade of this country with the establishment of America and its educational system in our country. Formally, one can probably date the Filipino phase of this event with the return in 1925 of Dr. Agustin S. Alonzo to the Philippines to teach at the College of Education of the University of the Philippines. Dr. Alonzo and the other Filipino pioneers in Western psychology all belonged to the pragmatist-behaviorist school which had just then begun to distinguish itself from its European origins—*i.e.*, mainly the German, English, and French traditions. Although the University of the Philippines appears to have been the prime point of entry of this type of Western psychology, other higher schools of learning were likewise involved, such as the University of Santo Tomas and the University of San Carlos, with the latter probably pioneering in the introduction of the specifically European psychology by a product of the German educational system. In any case, Western psychology has been up till only recently synonymous in academic circles to psychology as such. As a matter of fact, however, its entry into Filipino consciousness and preoccupation was a clear case of technology transfer *cum* foreign ideology and world view. Its integration as component element into a broader Philippine psychology would, in perspective, become a grave problem of orientation and relevance to more socially conscious contemporary Filipino intellectuals (Enriquez, 1976; Salazar, 1976).

The academic-philosophical line is older than the preceding one in the history of psychology in the Philippines. We might suppose that it started with the advent of higher education in our land—*i.e.*, with the establishment of the University of Santo Tomas and other Spanish institutions of higher learning like the Jesuit-managed San Ignacio and San Jose (Marcos, 1976: 171-172; Pe, 1973: 3-12). It is from their courses in philosophy and medicine that psychological materials can be sought and brought out. Another area of research would be the individual writings of the preachers and monks, including those of the Jesuits. Some of these writings are linguistic and could therefore be sources for the determination of early ideas concerning the psychology of language. In any case, all these ideas based on philosophical and “pre-scientific” considerations were the domain of the Spanish (later, also the adjunct native but Spanish-speaking) elites. Early in the twentieth century, this academic-philosophical line would rejoin the new American-oriented scientific psychology, even as the Spanish-speaking elites

converted themselves into avid supporters of the new colonial dispensation.

The third and more popular line, which carries all the threads of what I have called "ethnic psychology", is not only much older but considerably more complex than the previous two. One of these threads can be called *katutubong sikolohiya* or "indigenous psychology" in the sense of "common or innate to the Filipino" and "worked out by Filipinos from indigenous and foreign elements individually or in response to their common national and cultural experience". The framework of psychological reasoning and understanding innate to the Filipino can be culled from his language, art, literature, and even religious ideas. This includes not merely his world view or *pananaw* as a people but rather his set of integrated psychological principles with *and through* which, subconsciously, he explains (and thus places in a meaningful context) man and reality. An attempt to elicit some elements of this *katutubong sikolohiya* from language was recently made in the realm of consciousness (*kamalayan*) through semantic analysis of the indigenous idea of the soul (*kaluluwa*) and other concepts related to it (Enriquez, 1979; Salazar, 1977; Salazar and Alfonso, 1977).

There are enough examples of psychological thought expressed by individual Filipinos in terms of native and foreign elements. More or less systematic in character, these have been worked out by Filipinos in response to individual or collective experiences. Among them, one can cite the *Lagda*, a manual for the education of the half-acculturated Visayan elite published by a native cleric in 1734 and reissued throughout the 18th century; the psychological insights of Hermano Pule, Jose Rizal, Isabelo de los Reyes, and the *Kartilya* of the Katipunan; and, more recently, the more organized works of Kalaw and Mercado. It is probably to this native psychological thought that the designation of "*katutubong sikolohiya*" (psychology worked out by Filipinos or from native sources) should properly apply; whereas "*kinagisnang sikolohiya*" (psychology one has born into) should refer to the subconscious psychology imbedded in the native language, art, music, culture, and religion. Both types constitute, of course, a general *katutubong sikolohiya*.

Aside from *katutubong sikolohiya*, ethnic psychology includes the study of Filipino psychology in the sense of the Filipino people's perceived ethnic traits—"ang sikolohiya ng mga Pilipino" in the formulation of Enriquez (1976). Such

perceptions could be foreign (since 1521 mainly Spanish and then from 1898, American) or native. The latter came to be expressed in writing mainly as a reaction against the Spanish viewpoint, which became less and less positive as the Filipinos acquired and expressed more self-assurance vis-à-vis their colonizer. The early foreign views about Filipinos (such as those of Chao-Ju-Kua and other Chinese chroniclers) did not affect our ancestors, if only because they were not quite aware of them. Furthermore, there was no national psyche as yet that could be hurt by the adverse opinions of foreigners. Pigafetta was quite objective about the Filipinos in the Visayas and the coastal areas of Mindanao and Palawan; on the whole, he was in fact impressed by them. The same attitude pervades the works of Morga, Colin and the early missionaries. Negative judgments became frequent, however, as the seventeenth century wore on; but it was not until Gaspar de San Agustin (1720) that they really got crystallized into a psychological thesis on Indio character. Although Juan Delgado refuted most of San Agustin's opinions in the 1750's, these became nonetheless gospel truths about the Indio in the nineteenth century as Spaniards and other Europeans expanded on them. In fact, as late as the turn of the century, the Agustinian Eladio Zamora could still discourse, in his *Las Corporaciones religiosas en Filipinas* (Valladolid, 1901), on the innate incapacity of the pure Indio for intellectual achievement. At that time, the socio-anthropological school was constituted around the works of Worcester (later, likewise those of Beyer and Barton). The people belonging to the school tended to view the Filipinos as distinct ethnic groups different from one another, the main division being that which they perceived (and conveniently perpetuated) between "Christian" and "non-Christian," with the latter subdivided into "Pagans" and "Moros". This categorization continued up to quite recently, when the "values" of *hiya*, *utang-na-loob*, etc. were considered by the Post-World War II socio-anthropologists in Ateneo as "lowland Christian". It was however simply an attempt to give Filipino names to foreign or even universal concepts (Enrique, 1976) or rather, to discover these concepts or "values" in the Philippine setting (Salazar, 1972 a and b). Be that as it may, the *hiya* school appeared to be the latest avatar of the foreign or external view of the psychology of Filipinos.

Under the circumstances, the internal view went unrecorded, although elements of this were evident even then from stray comments by rebels about their motivations as well as

from analyses of rebellions by the friar chroniclers. Thus, the Filipino viewpoint about his own being can only be discerned through the critical evaluation of a mass of naturally biased and dispersed data. In this sense, Hermano Pule (ca. 1840) was probably the first to leave to posterity some personal documents on his psycho-religious views, principally a *dalit* (hymn) and several letters to the faithful. The documentation should of course allow the researcher to distinguish between Pule's personal psychological frame of reference (*katutubong sikolohiya*) and his view of the Filipino in psycho-social terms (*sikolohiyang Pilipino*), particularly in so far as this ran counter to the common Spanish view of the Filipinos. If the sympathetic vein is the sole consideration, then, perhaps Father Delgado's refutation of San Agustin should be reviewed as the first published expression of the Filipino (or, at least, pro-Filipino) insight into the Indio's psychology within the colonial frame of socio-economic relations. Between Delgado and Hermano Pule, we can then go into the subjacent psychological ideas of, among others, the Dagohoy and the Basi revolts. But the really direct expression of the Filipino viewpoint about himself we shall find in Burgos, Rizal, and the whole generation of Filipinos active in the Propaganda and the Revolution as well as the various "messianic" movements then and earlier. The entire complex of ideas then bruited about in affirmation of the Filipino personality became common national property, sometimes expressed with a tinge of gnawing insecurity, particularly with the growing American colonial presence in the islands. Since this affirmation, however insecure, constituted not only a common good but likewise the emotional well-springs of nationhood, it was necessary to subject its real cultural bases to scientific study. That task was left to the new socio-anthropological school starting with Worcester and then Beyer and Barton but really based on the late nineteenth-century European scientists like Jagor, Montano, Marche, Meyer and others. In the end, this line would lead to studies on Filipino ethnic character, particularly those which sought to identify the so-called "Christian lowland values". And it was partly in reaction to this *hiya-bahala-na* syndrome of the Lynch-Bulatao school in the social sciences that the movement to discover the true "*Sikolohiyang Pilipino*" through the study of psychology in the Philippine context and with a Filipino orientation was constituted sometime around the year 1970. It is in fact from that time that one could date the beginnings of the study of the various lines of psychological thought in the Philippines.

It is thus probably upon the touchstone of Filipino personality (*pagkataong Pilipino*)* that Philippine psychology will find some degree of integration in the years to come. But, beyond this "psychology of Filipinos", the study of ethnic psychology includes the practice of psychology by Filipinos from the very beginning up to our own times. Such a study is concerned with both the normal techniques of enculturation or socialization and the proto-clinical approaches to problems, tensions, and conflicts. Enculturation and social control necessitate techniques which range from child rearing practices to the use of oral literature, beliefs, myths, legends, etc. through the inculcation of norms by means of religion, ethnic law and even tribal warfare. Three stages of development seem to present themselves in this sphere—*i.e.*, indigenous; modified indigenous around a clerical core (whether Islamic or Christian); and modern-indigenous, with massive importation of American norms for the elite. The modified indigenous stage would include ideas in educational psychology in the *Lagda* to the extent that they reflect those of the Filipino elite of the eighteenth century, as well as those which we find in *Urbana at Felisa* and other *ilustrado* pieces in the nineteenth century. As for the proto-clinical techniques, one could investigate, for instance, the tension-dissipating function of the alternating chants during wakes and other occasions. Alcina already saw this among the seventeenth century Visayans who could criticize one another during feasts through the *bical*, "a chanted verse through which two persons, usually of the same sex, exposed alternately the physical and moral defects of the other, to the general enjoyment of the audience," it being understood that what was then said would be forgotten, "although not disregarded after the merriment" (Marcos, 1976: 73). This is not too far removed from certain American techniques of group therapy. The functions of intermediaries, professional peace makers (in Ifugao society), soothsayers (*manghuhula*), and the like can also be regarded as pro-clinical.

Closely related to ethnic psychology but nonetheless constituting a whole complex by itself is the psycho-medical system of our ancestors which had religion as its basis and explanation. The line of filiation which starts from this ancient Filipino system of religious-medical beliefs has already been looked into. From the religious-therapeutic ideas of the *babaylan-katalonan* to the faith healing arts of the present, one can

* Personally, I would prefer the term "*katauhan*" to translate the western concept of "personality," reserving "*pagkatao*" for "being in its various philosophical meanings."

perceive an historical connection through the messianic movements and the condemned or tolerated medico-religious practices during the Spanish period as well as through the culminating and highly acculturated *spiritista* movement at the turn of the twentieth century. In other words, this line of filiation would start from the medico-religious practices of *babaylan-katalonan* in which the diagnosis and treatment of diseases is based on the idea of two souls. During the Spanish period, these practices survived among the rural folk, even as they were condemned by the friars, who were sometimes forced to tolerate them. But it was within the messianic movements that the ancient medico-religious beliefs and skills have been preserved with the most fervor. Then, during the Revolutionary Period, we see the birth of the *spiritista* movement, itself a complex phenomenon that includes, beyond the political ends of emancipation, the socio-cultural and emotional needs to which the messianic movements have responded. Faith healing as we know it today appears to derive at once from the survival of the millenarian spirit amongst the urban poor and the peasantry and from the more specifically *spiritista* strain.

The connection between the *spiritista* movement and faith healing is quite clear. Most faith healers—in any case, those whom we have studied up to now—confess to some *spiritista* past, if they are not in fact still *spiritista*. The relationship between the *spiritista* movement and millenarian strains in the Revolution and beyond has not yet been elucidated by research. But strong messianic impulses are only too evident among various faith healer groups, some of which can in fact be considered as incipient churches with a zeal for proselytism.

About the filiation of the *babaylan-katalonan* complex to the messianic movements, there seems to be little room for doubt, although the messianic movements are a much broader phenomena, since they have generally pursued cultural as well as political ends. They were in fact at once early expressions as well as sources of later Filipino nationalism. It can be remarked, however, that the *katalonans* or *babaylans* were, aside from the *datus*, the leaders of early revivalist revolts against Spanish colonialism. In fact, *Hermano Pule* can be considered, save for his sex, a nineteenth century descendant of the *katalonans*. Indeed, some “nationalistic” thread seems to run from the early *katalonan* revolts through the messianic uprisings to the Revolution and beyond. In fact, the *spiritista* movement was an aspect of the more nativist Filipino nationalism at the turn of the century. The movement was actually a part of the

great revolutionary movement around the 1890's up to the 1920's, and a great number of spiritistas have been nationalists.

At the turn of the century, the religious aspects were being shed by the Revolution as a result of its secularization in pursuit of political authority. Some part of this great movement would thus detach themselves from its general thrust and continue as messianic movements. The most highly acculturated among the religiously oriented would coagulate into the so-called spiritista movement. Thus, one can say that the messianic movements carried the ancient medico-religious complex just as the mature and secular nationalism of the Revolution carried with it the spiritista movement. Just as an acculturative process occurred through the messianic movement to the present form of our nationalism, the ancient medico-religious complex likewise traversed an acculturative process through the spiritista phase to our present faith-healing stage. But this of course is just an hypothesis. It was through the present research effort that I had hoped to at least partly clarify this.

Faith Healing Then and Now

Of the four lines of filiation in the history of Philippine psychological thought, the fourth one is thus the most directly relevant to faith healing. The study of faith healing can in fact shed light on the survival of our ancient medico-religious system through all the vicissitudes of our history. The fourth line of filiation can in fact be clarified by comparing the ancient psycho-religious therapy to the present one of our faith healers. For this I thought we should distinguish between the process of healing itself and the ideology or explicative complex behind it. So the comparison will be on the actual techniques and the explanation for disease and the healing process. My belief is that no real healing could really take place if there were no common ideology or frame of reference—a language, in fact, a metalanguage—understood and accepted by both healer and patient. It is this as well as the techniques of healing themselves that we have thus tried to compare.

I tried to work out a comparison, and this is what has come out of it. In the first place, in our ancestral art of healing, one distinguishes between what can be healed by the available medical lore and what belongs to the realm of the spirits. What a *babaylan* or *katalonan* could (and in fact did always attempt to) heal had something to do with the relations between man and the spirit world, about which the priestess was the expert in the ancient community. There were of course the

more usual diseases, which could be cured with herbs and other tested medical preparations. The *katalonan-babaylan* could naturally cure these ailments, too; but they were generally left to other specialists. In our days, we call these native medical practitioners *herbolarios*, the name given them by the Spaniards who certainly availed of their service and appreciated herbs, albeit probably grudgingly.

This ancient distinction between spiritual and non-spiritual diseases seems to have survived up to our times. The faith healer would tell you that there are diseases that can be healed (and should in fact be healed) by the medical doctor or by a good *herbolario*. But those diseases which doctors cannot heal, the faith healer can heal. He does not therefore stand in the way of medical practice but rather complements it. The only difference between the pre-hispanic and the present situation is the fact that the modern-day *katalonan*, aside from the apparent change of sex (now mainly male, although there are *still* quite a number of women in the "profession"), is prepared to stay in the shadow of the doctor. In fact, today's *katalonan* initiates the doctor in many ways, particularly with regards to the "clinical" surroundings. In the older days, she was the center and pivot of the religious and the medical profession.

Another area where some comparison can be made is the healing procedure itself. The techniques of the *katalonan* were varied enough. Of these, at least two stand out in the literature (both in the Philippines and in comparison with other areas in the Malayo-Polynesian world). These are apparently related to the common Austronesian (or Malayo-Polynesian) idea of the double soul. Briefly, this means that each individual possesses two spiritual parts. One is the soul (in Tagalog, *kaluluwa*; in Bikol, Bisaya, etc., *kalag*) which is that part of man which in life is the essence of his intellectual and moral powers and, at death, becomes an *anito* or spirit. The other is the human being's life force which, as I have argued elsewhere (Salazar, 1976), was most probably known among most Filipino groups as "*ginhawa*". If the *kaluluwa* or *kalag* is generally situated in the head, the *ginhawa* has its seat somewhere in the intestinal region, often in the liver or *atay*. In Encarnacion's Visayan dictionary (1851), in any case, the term "*guinhaoa*" means: "stomach, and the pit of the same stomach; to live, to breathe, respiration, vital spirit; metaphorically, is taken upon eating for being that which, with nutrients, give life to all living things; . . . sometimes and with relative frequency, the term *guinhaoa* is understood to mean character, dis-

position, condition, for the good or the bad; . . . *Dihá diámáy anac ang vaca sa súkud sa íang guínhaoa.* = The cow has a foetus, a child, in its stomach. *Ayao pa ilubong cay may guínhaoa pa.* = Do not bury yet, for there is life still. *Guínaculbaan ug maayo guining acong guínhaoa.* = My spirit was greatly startled." Much earlier, in 1637, Mentrída gave practically the same meaning to "*ginhawa*", including that of "taste" or "appetite" (*Dili iyón ining canun sa ginhawa co.* This food does not go well with my *ginhawa*). There was equally *ginhawaan* which appeared to Mentrída as "the source of respiration or the vital spirits, as in *Naigoan siya sa ginhawaan, busa namatai* (He was hit on the principal part of the vital spirits, like the heart, so that he died).

How then was this concept of the double soul related to sickness and its cure? For one thing, the *kaluluwa* or *kalag* could get out of the body (willingly or through some mischief of some *aswang* or spirits) and cause, through its long absence, various diseases. Unless the *kaluluwa* is reintegrated into his body, a man would die. The *katalonan* must, therefore, reintegrate the soul in the man's body that it might again be whole. The Bikols called ailments of this type *sakon*, and the *Balian* has to rub the body with *banay* leaves to force the soul to return (Castaño, 1895). In the Calamianes, San Nicolas (1664: 228) noted that the priestess "placed a leaf of a certain kind of palm upon the head of the sick man and prayed that it (*i.g.*, the soul) would come to sit there, and grant him health."

There is another set of diseases which are caused by some object entering, or being projected into, the body, generally the abdominal region. This area, which was the seat of the *ginhawa* and thus probably called among the ancient Visayans *ginhawaan*, was in fact the special preference of the *aswang*. Among the Bikols, it was customary at the death of a *datu* to kill a slave precisely in order to offer the latter's entrails to the *aswang*, "so that, diverted by them, he should leave those of the *datu*." (Castaño, 1895). Among the Bisayans, according to Blumentritt, the *boyayao* was "an internal ailment which comes from the demons." At the turn of the century, the Tagalogs believed that *mangkukulam* or witches caused "pains in the stomach, swellings in any part of the body" and "boils or internal tumors" (Nuñez, 1905). Among the Tongas in Polynesia, *utua* meant "a sickness sent by god, pain of the entrails, inflammation" and *utua pu* referred to a "demon, bad spirit" (Dumont d'Urville, 1834:114). In the Marquésas, this sickness or *mate note atua* was the result of a "vengeance of the en-

trails" which was cured only when the shaman or *tawa* looked for the malevolent deity in order "to softly calm him with the palm of his hand" (Vincendon-Dumoulin and Desgraz, 1843: 228). In the Philippines, the method was simply to extract the object causing the disease or the *aswang* himself who entered the body of the sick person. In case it was an *aswang* which was inside the body, the Bikols performed either the *hidkid*, by which the *badian* put an emplaster of *buyo* leaves on the head of the patient and danced, or the *haplos*, which was a ritual message, preceded by the invocation of Bathala and the execration of the *aswang* (Castaño, 1895).

How do all these ancient techniques compare with those used by our modern faith healers? Concerning the reintegration of the soul, it would appear that what is put back into the body of the patient is "energy" through "magnetic adjustment". In the olden days, the reintegration of the soul into the body was presented by making some kind of insect caught by the *katalonan* disappear somewhere on the head of the patient. Or the insect could be blown into the head through the *puyo* or cowlick. Today, what actually is "charged" into the body through "magnetic adjustment" is not shown. It is something that we just have to believe, a "magnetic fluid" or "bioplasm" which somehow comes out of the healing hand of the medium and penetrates the body of the patient like some mystical electric current. In some sects, such as the In Hoc Signe Vince Church, one could get, aside from psychic energy through massage, spiritual injection and blood transfusion. It would seem that in this form the ancient *kaluluwa* or *kalag*, has acquired philosophical and scientific—even biological and medical—consistency. The *kaluluwa* has, therefore, remained a motor principle of the human being, the most important motive force in the body's inner functioning.

The old art of extracting by massage the object thrown into the *ginhawaan* by the *aswang* still persists together with the much rarer method of exorcising the *aswang* himself. This is still practised by the lesser groups of healers who, like the experts Nuñez wrote about at the turn of the century, could still tie the toes and fingers of the patient "in *anona* bark" or even beat him till the *manglukukulam* leaves the body. But then these healers operate in the fringes of the profession. The center belongs to those who have modernized the extraction technique through the kneading of the affected parts. Their most spectacular achievement seems to be that they have come to be identified with surgery, as demonstrated by their capa-

city to exhibit extracted tissues and clots of blood. In the ancient technique, to my knowledge, there was no blood involved in the operation. Blood appeared only in the sacrifice of animals (chickens, pigs, or carabaos), and used to anoint the patient and often also the assisting relatives, as in some Northern Luzon groups. Aside from this, I do not believe blood was involved in the extraction operation. Our ancestors believed too much in their own medico-religious world view to need such proof of actual operation. Besides, surgical operations were not known then. The need for blood could only come with modern times. Our faith healers apparently want to prove that they are in the same class as the surgeons. They had therefore to invent the process by which they could appear to extract materials from the bodies of their patients, thereby showing that the operation actually proceeded in terms of the modern surgical ideology. The patients might be involved here, too, for it is for them, after all, that the psychic surgeons perform. The patients expect the healers to be local and less expensive versions of those unattainable operation monsters in white. With the modernization of their techniques through blood-letting, our native healers can finally offer to suffering Philippine humanity a semblance of the highest form of modern medicine.

And what about the medico-religious ideology which both patient and healer shared in our ancient society? Obviously, the *anitos* have lost ground as prime movers in bringing about and curing illness, although I was told by one of the assistants of Placido in Baguio that he was a friend of the *anitos* and got his power from them. If they survived at all among us, it is mainly because they still help explain medico-religious phenomena to "less sophisticated" Filipinos in the rural areas and in the transitional or squatter communities in the urban environment. We have been able to interview only very few native patients, and most of these have been urban dwellers. Our data are therefore biased in favor of modern explanatory viewpoints, and even these are really quite meager. As for the faith healers themselves, they appear to have a split medico-religious ideology, with a bias toward mystical and pseudoscientific concepts like astral bodies, "bioplasm," psychic energy, etc. We have not investigated this fully, but I suspect that the psychic healer's ideology can adapt easily to changing circumstances. However, as we have suggested earlier, even the new ideas like "psychic energy" seem only to translate into the modern viewpoint the earlier qualities of *kalukwawa*, which is in reality some kind of

"battery" too which needs to be recharged when its power has been spent.

The new ideas from American occult literature (and from Asian philosophies culled from American books) nonetheless appear to be quite recent arrivals. It is the Christian framework which serves as an integrating ideology, with the Bible as an important "dictionary" for the metalanguage used to explain disease causation and therapy. We must study this further. Particularly, we must compare the Catholic and Protestant sources of the religious rituals and ceremonies surrounding the healing sessions. For the psychic healers are also religious leaders who are in the process of building up churches which they have founded. In this sense, they do not indeed differ from the *katalonans* of old, for healing in their view can only take place in the context of one's religious belief system and is in fact simply an aspect of religious experience. Finally, like the *katalonans*, our modern healers are mediums with specific contacts in the spiritual realm. The *katalonans* had tutelary *anitos* who entered or "rode" them in their trances, whereas our faith healers have as beneficent sponsors the various saints in the Christian pantheon, the Holy Spirit not excluded. More detailed research into this, I suspect, will reveal further correspondences and continuities.

CONCLUSION

If we compare our present faith healers with their ancient counterparts, the *katalonans* or *babaylans*, faith healing can thus be viewed as just the latest avatar of the ancient Filipinos' medico-religious system of beliefs and practices. This continuity can be traced historically along an apparently continuous line of filiation, either through survivals among our ethnic minorities or through preservation in the lowland areas as a result of the inability of the friars to suppress native beliefs or the intensity with which these were lived and revitalized in the succession of rebellious and messianic movements before and after the Revolution. This medico-religious line, however, constitutes just one of the sources and resources of Philippine psychology. We have therefore placed it in perspective with three others, one native and two foreign. The line of ethnic psychology is probably the richest of all, the poorest being that of academic-philosophical psychology. Both are however still virgin fields of historical as well substantive research. The Western tradition of academic-scientific psychology is probably the most well-known, and, until recently, it was considered as the only valid

form of psychology worthy of the scientist's attention. However, the integration of all the Philippine forms of psychology into a Sikolohiyang Filipino with a Filipino orientation may be viewed as the task of the present generation of Filipino psychologists.

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PHILIPPINE "SEDITIONOUS PLAYS"

PAUL A. RODELL

I. *Introduction*

All forms of literature are a reflection of the society of which the writer is a part. They mirror the author's particular culture even though a specific piece of literary work may make only a small portion of society its central focus or audience. This does not exclude "escapist" literature because culture determines the manner in which fantasies are developed and the form and direction which they take. Even "art for art's sake" and "dada" counter art movements can be viewed as being reflective of their societies or culture.

In the Philippines today many artists of all types, be they writers, actors, directors, or painters have become quite concerned with attempting to make their work "committed" and "relevant." Many of these more perceptive artists have taken a long hard look at their society and have come to some basic conclusions as to the whys and hows of its ills. As I see it, the main problem of contemporary Philippine society as perceived by these artists, is a combination of a search for a Filipino identity and the proper means for eliminating economic, social, and political inequalities dividing their countrymen.

In the immediate future the search for the proper methods to express commitment to the improvement or change of Philippine society through relevant literature will become even stronger. Committed literature as such will gain an increasingly important role in the realm of Philippine arts due to the felt need of contemporary artists to deal with the problem of present day Philippine society. This new sense of commitment is basically different from previous attempts of writers to deal with, understand, or explain Philippine society because:

"... after 1970, writers saw that while they were concerned with social problems, they had not seen the real causes of these problems. So committed literature differs from socially conscious stories in that it follows a certain ideological line in analyzing the Philippine experience."¹

¹ Bienvenido Lumbera, "Literature in Ferment," *The Philippine Collegian*, March 2, 1972, p. 4.

However, this does not negate other theories of literature for as Gemino Abad said in his article "The Criticism of Literature".

"... since critical statements are relative, we ought to regard the various theories of literature 'heuristically', that is, as useful techniques, each appropriate for different ends. We would then avoid the dogmatic stand that this or that theory of literature is the only valid one or the most adequate for any question that might be asked about a literary work."²

Yet, while many different forms of literary work have a function in society it seems that other roles for literature to fulfill will increasingly take a back seat to committed literature which follows an ideological line. What final ideological line the Filipino artist will choose in his analysis of Philippine society and in what medium and with what techniques he will choose to present his analysis to his public I do not feel competent to suggest. However, in my short study of the so-called seditious plays which were staged throughout the Philippines around the turn of this century I have gained two insights which I feel invaluable when presenting committed literature in at least its dramatic theatrical form.

These insights are: one, art grows out of the life of the people and therefore, if the artist wishes to be of assistance to his people and their intellectual growth and material welfare, he must communicate with them through that ill-defined folk culture which forms the whole basis of society. The closer to the people the artist can communicate his ideas, the better he will be understood and accepted. Two, this need to return to the grassroots of the people's culture will, by definition make irrelevant much of the artistic influences of alien cultures. However, foreign artistic forms and concepts need not be rejected outright. Foreign ideas, if carefully chosen and adopted to the local situation, can be of real value.

The seditious plays staged in the Philippines at the turn of the century had a definite commitment, that of expelling the American military government so that the Philippine revolutionary forces could resume power. The art form used to communicate this was of foreign origin but had been, through a process of acculturation adopted to the Philippine setting. The plays appealed to local audiences because they enjoyed the stories presented which were an accurate reflection of the workings of the real culture in both its positive and negative aspects.

² Gemino Abad, "The Criticism of Literature," *The Philippine Collegian*, March 2, 1972, p. 4.

Furthermore, the plays, by the use of more or less subtle techniques spoke eloquently of the people's desire for liberation from the new colonial ruler. Thus, this foreign theatre form which had been adopted to the Philippine culture and the necessities of the moment spoke to the people on two levels: the basic story plot which reflected either their real life or popularly idealized situations, on the one hand, and the underlying nationalistic appeals on the other.

The success of these plays can be gauged by their positive box office attraction among Filipino audiences and by the determined effort of the American authorities to put an end to this sort of "insidious" rebellion.

This paper is an attempt to learn more of the nature, extent, and use of the theatre by nationalistic writers at the turn of the century. To achieve this end we will look into the theater forms used, the biographies of some of the authors, the plays as staged, and the reaction to the plays on the part of the Filipinos themselves and their new ruler, the American government. From this exercise I hope we may see the value of writing for the people using stories based on their own lives and also how successful adoption of alien art forms can add greatly to the impact of communicated ideology. Perhaps such an inquiry will be of some benefit to concerned writers of the day who wish to make their commitment relevant and useful.

II. *Theatrical Forms in the Philippines*

The Filipino people have long been the recipients of aspects of foreign cultures which have often come in such massive doses that the average Filipino has good reason to wonder what has been developed by native intellect and in what ways have foreign art forms and ideas been assimilated into the culture. An answer to such a question would give the Filipino a clearer concept of what makes him "tick" and of what distinguishes him from other peoples. I cannot directly answer this question but in the field of drama I can state that the Filipino people have had dramatic forms of their own even before the Spaniards came.

Drama in the Philippines probably had its origins in ritualized ceremonies dealing with religious practice. This may be called dramatic art as there were definite characters, lines, and plots. Later, even during the Spanish colonial regime the population had its own dramatic

forms such as the *duplo* which was a farcical portrayal of local customs associated with both domestic and public life and the *karagatan* held during social get-togethers in which individual guests would be asked to make extemporaneous speeches revolving around amusing situations involving the group or some people in the group.³

Spanish priests added to the Philippine dramatic cultural heritage their own standards of drama which had a definite religious orientation. There were works like the *Panapatans* depicting the birth of Christ, the *Cenaculo*, presented during Lent which dealt with the suffering and resurrection of Christ, and, of course, the very popular *Pasion*.⁴

Later in the 17th century, Filipino and Spanish priests began to translate Spanish comedies into local dialects and these became known as *comedias* and later as *moro-moro* plays. Each play was a story of conflicts between Christian kings and nobles and Mohammedans. The struggle, which was spiced with a good deal of humor, always ended with a victory for the Christian rulers. Over a period of time the *moros* began to look more like Muslims from Mindanao and the fight scenes began to represent more closely battles between different groups of Filipinos rather than battles of Spaniards vs. North African or Middle Eastern *moros*.⁵ Yet, assimilation of Spanish religious plays was more profound than mere changes in dress and actions. Vicente Barrantes in his book *El Teatro Tagalo* as quoted by Quintina Daria observed that:

"The punctiliousness, the loyalty, the love and religiousness which abound in those comedies are genuinely Filipino without any of the unpalatableness of egoism and fierce fanaticism or the immorality and blasphemy which seemed to characterize their counterparts in the Spanish theatre of the 17th century;"⁶

Meanwhile, another theatrical form, which later became known as the *zarzuela*, had been developing in Spain. It was first known as the *Sainete* and to the dramatic action and dialogue were added music and dance. It was:

"... a brief comedy or farce, usually in one act, depicting scenes from popular or middle class life. The tone is humorous, ironical, or satirical, but no attempt is made at preaching or reforming manners. Plot is of less importance than humor of

³ Quintin Daria, "A Study of Severino Reyes as a Dramatist." (unpublished Master's Thesis, University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City, 1954), pp. 17-18 and 21.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

situation and liveliness of dialogue. The characters, representing familiar types from lower classes, vary in number from two to twenty, and they talk and act in a perfectly natural manner. The majority of the Sainetes are simply *tranch de vie*, slightly exaggerated, that might be seen at anytime in cafes, squares, and market-places of a big city; occassionally they represent provincial life."⁷

Still later the introduction of Italian opera caused the demise of the "zarzuela grande," but a variation of the original which was not as extensive in production, the "zarzuela chico" did survive and it was this *zarzuela* form which eventually entered the Philippines.⁸

The *zarzuela* was first introduced into the Philippines in 1878 when the troupe of Dario Cespedes from Spain came to Manila. A year later Elisa Esguerra and Alejandro Cubero arrived in Manila to train local actors and to form their own troupe.* By 1893 the Zorrilla Theatre was opened to hold *zarzuela* productions thus indicating the enthusiasm with which the performances must have been greeted.⁹

However, even though the audience could enjoy the real life situations, thinly veiled social comments, and interspersed music and dance, issues which might have created a controversy over religious or political questions were carefully avoided in the dialogue. On October 4, 1839, the *Censura Previa*, a Royal Order to establish a censors commission in the Philippines had been issued and much later on October 7, 1856, a Superior Decree was promulgated pursuant to the Royal Order for the establishment of a Permanent Commission of Censors.¹⁰ With such a body inspecting artistic works any dissent would not have been tolerated in, at least, the early years of the history of the *zarzuela*.

The effect of the Philippine revolt against Spain was to liberate her authors from the repressive hand of censorship and the stifling atmosphere of Spanish rule. The *zarzuela* became the logical choice of dra-

⁷ Isagani R. Cruz, "The Zarsuela in the Philippines," *A Short History of Theater in the Philippines*, Isagani R. Cruz editor (No publisher or date given probably from the National Media Center as it was undertaken at the behest of the First Lady, Mrs. Imelda Marcos, copies available at the Cultural Center of the Philippines Library and at the University of the Philippines Library), pp. 124-125.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 127-128.

⁹ Daisy Hontiveros-Avellana, "Philippine Drama: A Social Protest," in *Brown Heritage: Essays on Philippine Cultural Traditions and Literature*, edited by Antonio G. Manuud, (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1967), p. 670.

¹⁰ Teodoro Agoncillo, "The Development of Tagalog Language and Literature," *Fookien Times Yearbook*, (September, 1952), p. 79.

matists to use as a vehicle of protest. One of the leaders in writing patriotic and anti-Spanish *zarzuelas*, whose work *Walang Sugat* will be discussed later, was Severino Reyes. He realized the educational value of the zarzuela and together with other writers the *zarzuela* soon became a living newspaper which reported the events of the day and attacked the excesses of the Spaniards.¹¹

In April of 1902, Reyes staged his one act *zarzuela*, *Sumalangit Nawa* (R.I.P.), a parody on the moro-moro portraying it as a long-decayed corpse awaiting burial.¹² This play effectively symbolized the awakened Filipino spirit which now sought to spread ideas of independence from restraining aspects of the Spanish cultural influence, in particular, religious-oriented drama.

When the United States entered the war against Spain and collaborated with Aguinaldo, the hopes of the revolutionary forces were understandably high. The great American republic was coming to aid the nationalist Filipinos who were professing the ideas expressed in that egalitarian document, the Declaration of Independence. As events were soon to show, however, the difference between expressed ideals and actual practice is often great. The Treaty of Paris and McKinley's "Benevolent Assimilation Proclamation" of 21 December, 1898 extended American rule over the Philippines and military commanders were instructed to implement this policy.¹³ The effect of the American act of betrayal was crushing, coming as it did after the Filipino people had gotten a taste of freedom and a smell of victory. While American rule imposed controls over Philippine life, there did remain more avenues of expression and dissent open to the writer than had been known under Spanish rule. This factor, plus the newly promulgated law which outlawed the word "kasarinlan" which referred to Philippine independence greatly influenced Filipino writers to turn their *zarzuela* writing skills on the "bagong panginoon" or new lord.¹⁴

However, I should mention here that there seemed to be some doubt as to whether or not all the plays that have earned the label of

¹¹ Iluminada Magno, "A Critical Study of the Zarzuela in Pangasinan of Catalino Palisoc," (unpublished Master's Thesis, The University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City, 1954), p. 9.

¹² Daria, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

¹³ Teodoro A. Agoncillo, and Oscar M. Alfonso, *History of the Filipino People* (Quezon City: Malaya Books, 1967), pp. 256-257.

¹⁴ Teodoro A. Agoncillo, "Pasulyap na Tingin sa Panitikang Tagalog, 1900-1950," *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 18 No. 2 (April, 1970), p. 230.

seditions were, in fact, *zarzuelas*. Eufronio Alip says that Aurelio Tolentino's work *Luhang Tagalog* (Tagalog Tears) was a play not a *zarzuela* and credits Tomas Remigio's *Malaya* (Free) with being a symbolic and patriotic play.¹⁵ Nicanor Tiongson of the Department of Filipino and Philippine Literature of the University of the Philippines claims that *Malaya, Tanikalang Guinto* (The Golden Chain) by Juan Abad, and even Aurelio Tolentino's *Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas* (Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow) were not, strictly speaking, *zarzuelas*, but were rather lyric plays or "mga dula sa berso,"¹⁶ Finally, one play which certainly does not fit the description of a *zarzuela* was Pedro A. Paterno's *Magdapio* (Fidelity Rewarded) which used mythical characters in a fantasy story to drive home its message.

III. *The Authors*

Whatever theatrical form, *zarzuela* or otherwise, was being used at the turn of the century to promote nationalism, there can be little doubt that each individual writer had made his own personal commitment to this cause. Throughout the country writers had first attacked the Spanish friars and government and also had spoken eloquently on behalf of patriotism. When the American government took control of the Philippines, writers continued their cries for patriotism and a growing number wrote works urging resistance by the people against the new masters. Although the line between a patriotic and a "subversive" play might sometimes be very hard to determine, some writers are most often cited as being subversive in their writings. The best known of these subversives are Juan Abad, Patricio Mariano, Juan Cruz Matapang, Pedro A. Paterno, Pascual H. Poblete. Tomas Remigio, Severino Reyes and Aurelio Tolentino, all of whom showed a commitment in their writings and personal lives. In order that we might better understand the thinking of the aware writers of this time period and the sacrifices they were willing to go through to deliver their thoughts to their fellow countrymen a short review of the biographies of some of these writers is now important. For this purpose we will choose four of the better known writers: Abad, Tolentino, Poblete, and Reyes.

Juan Abad who was born in Sampaloc, Manila, had a history of working for Philippine independence which first manifested itself in

¹⁵ Eufronio Melo Alip, *Tagalog Literature* (Manila: University of Santo Tomas Press, 1930), pp. 112 and 118.

¹⁶ Nicanor Tiongson in a private interview January 15, 1972.

1898 when he joined the staff of the newspaper *La Independencia*. His interests gradually turned him to the theater. On September 3, 1900 he staged his play *Mapanglaw na Pagka-alaala* (Sad Remembrance) at the Teatro Universal. This led to his first arrest and the discovery that he had not taken an oath of allegiance to the United States which all adult males were supposed to have done. His next play, *Manila-Olongapo*, was about his arrest, his imprisonment, and later exile to Olongapo. This did not daunt Abad and in 1903 his most famous play *Tanikalang Guinto* (the Golden Chain) opened in Batangas causing his second arrest. The judge of the Batangas Court of First Instance, Paul W. Linebarger, convicted Abad of sedition giving him a sentence of two years and a fine of \$2,000. While appealing this decision to a higher court, Abad, who was out on bail, wrote another play, *Isang Punlo ng Kaaway* (A bullet of the Enemy). After the Supreme Court had reversed the decision of the Batangas court, he staged this latest play at the Teatro Rizal in Malabon, Rizal on May 8, 1904 and was again arrested. These repeated molestations and the defeats of the revolutionary forces by American troops successfully frustrated him and he wrote no more.¹⁷

The story of Aurelio Tolentino is more involved but it is also much more interesting. Tolentino was born in Guagua, Pampanga on October 6, 1868. Upon finishing his schooling he worked as a clerk in Tondo where he met Andres Bonifacio and became introduced to the Propaganda Movement by helping to distribute *La Solidaridad*. He became a Mason and after the break-up of the *Liga Filipina* he became one of the earliest members of the katipunan after the formation of the first triangle. He had joined Emilio Jacinto, Andres Bonifacio, Faustino Mañalak and others in their trip to Pamitinan Cave in Montalban where the first demand for independence was made on 10 April 1895. He was arrested some two weeks after the outbreak of the revolution but was soon released. Upon being released, he joined General Aguinaldo and was one of the signatories to the Declaration of Philippine Independence at Kawit on June 12, 1898. He then went to the Bicol Region where he served General Vicente Lukban as *inspector de armas*.¹⁸

¹⁷ E. Arsenio Manuel, *Dictionary of Philippine Biography Volume I*, (Quezon City, Filipiniana Publications, 1955), pp. 1-5. See also Teodoro A. Agoncillo, and Oscar M. Alfonso, *History of the Filipino People* (Quezon City: Malaya Books, 1967), pp. 306-307.

¹⁸ E. Arsenio Manuel, *Dictionary of Philippine Biography Volume II*, (Quezon City, Filipiniana Publications, 1970), pp. 371-373.

With the outbreak of the Philippine-American war, he was named to the Filipino Commission which was to confer with the Schurman Commission about the question of peace. He became a staff writer for the newspaper *La Patria* and was arrested in November of 1899 for his writings, but was later released. He then tried starting his own paper *Filipinas* but this was soon stopped by the authorities because of the paper's political color.¹⁹ It was then that Tolentino seriously turned to what for him was a new form of ideology communication, the theater.

His first play, *Sinukuan*, was a symbolic *zarzuela* in three acts which had the downfall of the revolution as its main theme. His next work *Luhang Tagalog* was not actually seditious but did stir up the audience and "inspired thoughts of war and treason." The American authorities, by a policy of harassment and threats of arrests, managed to suppress its showing.²⁰

For his part Tolentino knew that while the Filipinos might not be a match for the American troops, the spirit of independence had to be kept alive. Because arrest would be imminent if his writings were too outspoken, he, as well as the others, realized that symbols would have to be used. His play *Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas* (Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow) staged at the Libertad Theater** on May 14, 1903 went too far, however, in its condemnation of the American regime. Everyone in the theater was arrested and Tolentino was convicted of sedition and charged with 2 years imprisonment and a fine of \$2,000.²¹

The play was suppressed and the conviction of Tolentino sought because Enriquez Calderon, a former Spanish officer, objected that certain lines in the script which had been noted "Not To Be Used" were actually included in the production.²² However, the opening night performance showed more than ample evidence of the incendiary nature of the play. Tolentino's own part in the production included the ripping apart of the neck of a nipa eagle. Meanwhile, at another point in the play, the actors, who were dressed in appropriate colors, came together so that for a moment they collectively formed the Philippine

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 374.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 374-375.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 376-377

²² Amelia Lapeña-Bonifacio, *The "Seditious" Tagalog Playwrights: Early American Occupation* (Manila: Zarzuela Foundation of the Philippines, Inc., 1972), p. 15.

flag.²³ Before the play was finished fifteen or twenty Americans in the audience, being unable to control themselves, leaped upon the stage smashing scenery and furniture thereby creating a serious riot which made for the immediate cause of the arrests.²⁴

While free on bail he joined his old friend Artemio Ricarte in Palomar, Tondo on about the 5th or 6th of January 1904 and advised him that his planned uprising using only knives and bamboo lances which had been effective against the Spaniards would pose no threat to the American soldiers. Still later when Ricarte's other plan to lead an uprising vanguarded by some old friends of his who were then members of the Ilocos Constabulary failed, Tolentino again joined him. This was on February 9, 1904. Two days later, when people sent by Macario Sakay met with Ricarte and Tolentino, it seems that Tolentino had already been named as dictator by Ricarte for the revolutionary government they were planning to set up. These delusions of grandeur did not remain long and soon Ricarte and Tolentino wrote a petition to Governor-General Wright asking to be included in the amnesty of July 1902. Wright never answered and the two revolutionaries soon went their separate ways each to be arrested after not too long a time.²⁵

Tolentino was incarcerated in 1904 with a sentence of life imprisonment but had his sentence gradually reduced to eight years and finally in 1912 Governor-General Forbes granted him pardon.²⁶

Rather than the story of an intransigent radical like Tolentino the life of Pascual H. Poblete seems more typical. He was born in Naic, Cavite in 1857 and from 1888 until 1896 he founded a number of newspapers voicing the desire for a liberal government. In 1896 he was sent to Spain as a prisoner but upon his return he became active again.²⁷ Turning his attention to the new American regime he wrote *zarzuelas* in addition to his newspaper activities.

His *zarzuela*, *Pagibig Sa Lupang Tinubuan* (Love for One's Native Land), was severely censored and became the subject of extended litigation in 1900. When it was finally shown it was still quite potent

²³ Arthur Stanley Riggs, "The Drama of the Filipinos," *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 17, No. 67, (October-December, 1904), p. 285.

²⁴ Bonifacio, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

²⁵ *Memoirs of General Artemio Ricarte* (Manila: National Heroes Commission, 1963), pp. 127-130.

²⁶ Teodoro A. Agoncillo and Oscar M. Alfonso, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

²⁷ Hector K. Villaruel and others, *Eminent Filipinos* (Manila: National Historical Commission, 1965), pp. 211-212.

and Poblete and his producer Melencio de Leon were imprisoned but were later released by General Otis.²⁸ Poblete kept up his spirit, however, and became one of the founders of the Aglipayan Church, the Nacionalista Party, and the first labor union in the Philippines.²⁹

Finally, we will look at the life of Severino Reyes who we have already noted as the leading exponent of the *zarzuela*. His plays, unlike those of the above authors, were not actually seditious but were very patriotic. Thus Reyes is more representative of the majority, although not the most progressive, of Philippine playwrights.

Reyes was born in Santa Cruz, Manila on February 11, 1861. He was arrested on the charge of being a Mason when the revolution broke out in 1896, but was soon able to escape. He did not fight during the war but started his *zarzuela* career writing plays in support of nationalism. They gained immediate acceptance and he became a very popular writer.³⁰

Two of his patriotic plays were *Filipinas para los Filipinos* (The Philippines for the Filipinos) and *La Venta de Filipina al Japon* (The Sale of the Philippines to Japan). In the latter play one character suggests that the Americans will abandon the Philippines to Japan and then a Filipino patriot ends the play with a speech about freedom.³¹

Reyes' play *Walang Sugat* (Not Wounded) has been a subject of contention as to what the message of the play really was. For example, Tiongson, of the University of the Philippines' Department of Filipino claims that *Walang Sugat* was a comical anti-Spanish farce and not a serious anti American drama.³² His point is well taken as the play is set in the last years of the Spanish regime and the manuscript of the play doesn't indicate any particular anti-American bent. However, Bonifacio points out how this analysis can be deceiving because *Walang Sugat*, and some other works, to be properly classified should be known as *Chameleon Plays*. The *Chameleon Play* requires only a simple alteration of costume, scenery, or make-up to completely change the play's object of derision.³³ Thus, *Walang Sugat* which was

²⁸ Teofilo del Castillo, *A Brief History of Philippine Literature* (Manila: Progressive School books, 1937), pp. 210 and 228.

²⁹ Villaruel, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 227-228.

³¹ Avellana, *op. cit.*, p. 672.

³² Tiongson Interview.

³³ Bonifacio, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31 and 35-36.

originally an anti-Spanish work became anti-American due to the need of the cause of Philippine independence.

Reyes wrote these and other plays to increase Philippine national pride and to develop a real national theater but did not go to the extremes taken by Abad, Tolentino, Poblete, and others so as to encourage the wrath of the American government. Thus, we can see that he was perhaps not as fervent in his methods and approach to achieving Philippine national independence as these others were, but what is more important is that he, as well as the more militant writers, used the same sorts of story plots and worked his messages into the plot in the same manner as the "subversives." Each writer used a common style of writing because the people would be attracted to the play's content and would accept its ideas only if presented by the use of symbols and *double entendre* familiar to them.

IV. *The Spread of Seditious Plays*

When considering the impact of Philippine committed drama during the first years of American rule it is important to look to those areas lying outside of the direct influence of Manila. All of the writers so far mentioned were born and raised in Manila, Central Luzon, or in the general area known as the Southern Tagalog region. Abad's play *Tanikalang Guinto* was shown in Batangas which is in the southern Tagalog region and the other plays were produced in either Manila proper or in what is now known as Rizal province. Did this form of committed drama have influence outside of this Tagalog area? Some writers seem to think not.

Isagani Cruz in his article *A Short History of Theater in the Philippines*, says that Tagalog *zarzuela* writers were more revolutionary because they viewed themselves as being "creative writers of literature". Writers in the other provinces, meanwhile, were more concerned with attracting large audiences and doing well at the "box office".³⁴ Later he states that "Political theater flourished in Manila; it did not flourish in any real sense in any other part of the Philippines."³⁵ How true is this view?

If we think of the spread of culture, politics, economic programs in the Philippines, we will notice that Manila has almost always been in

³⁴ Cruz, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

the forefront. Almost everything new begins in or enters through this "primate" city. It is therefore logical to expect that this dramatic movement reached its most complete and fullest form in Manila. Furthermore, because the American government acted swiftly to stifle this heresy, once it had been brought to their attention, there was possibly little opportunity to transmit seditious plays in their most radical state to provinces outside of Manila's direct influence. Yet, the question remains as to whether this movement was completely stopped from entering other areas.

I think it can be said without too much hesitation that, while not disregarding the bravery and valiant efforts of the Filipino revolutionary forces, the American government was fairly successful in quickly establishing their rule over the country. However, to say that this theater gained popularity only in and around Manila denies the fact that Filipinos in other areas of the country might not also have empathized with and appreciated the messages of patriotism, freedom, and anti-Americanism inherent in many of these plays. To say that this spirit did not exist in non-Tagalog areas lends credence to the view that the revolution was instigated and pursued solely by and for the Tagalog "tribe". Also, to make categorical statements about the extent of the "seditious" plays is very premature since there seems to be little real knowledge even now of what drama was being produced at the time. Currently some instructors connected with the Department of English at the University of the Philippines are collecting works that were staged in places like Cebu and Iloilo during the early period of American rule and are discovering much previously unknown material.

Lilia Realubit, in her Master's thesis on popular drama in Bikol, found that when Alejandro Cubero's *zarzuela* troupe broke up in 1892 some of the actors came to Naga to spread the theatrical form there. It never became extremely popular because of the popularity of a local theater form the *Veladas* and because of the essential conservatism of the capital which was under heavy priestly influence. The residents taking the pastoral letter of 1886 seriously thought that *zarzuelas* were not for Catholic eyes and ears. Even in places in the Bikol region which permitted *zarzuela* productions the development of scripts in the vernacular was retarded because of the abundance of Spanish actors.³⁶ How-

³⁶ Lilia Maria Fuentebella Realubit, "A Study of the Popular Drama in Bikol," (unpublished Master's thesis, the University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City, 1961), pp. 121-126.

ever, during the revolt, the situation began to change and some local plays such as Timoteo Ortile's works which were both fiercely anti-Spanish and patriotic, were produced.³⁷

Later, during the American regime, some patriotic and semi-seditious plays were written such as *Pinapagtios sa Pirit* (Forced to Suffer) written by Eustaquio Diño, the former editor of the "Herald Bicol," in which the girl Didang (representing the Philippines) is forced by her parents to marry a man (representing America) she did not want.³⁸ In Sorsogon, Sorsogon, Asisclo Jimenez wrote a number of plays some of which were quite nationalistic such as *Ang Pagkamoot Asin na Balos* (Love and its Rewards) and *Pagkamoot sa Banuang Tinoboan* (Love for the Motherland).³⁹

Illuminada Magno has analyzed the works of the Pangasinan author Catalino Palisoc and found that many of them stress patriotism.⁴⁰ Also, Jay Javillonar has noted that Proceso Pabalan in his *Apat Ya Ing Junio* stressed the need to keep alive the idea of and the search for freedom "especially in a subdued suffering nation".⁴¹ And finally, Bonifacio has noted that the "seditious" play *Ang Katipunan* (The Katipunan) by Gabriel Beato Francisco was staged in Laoag, Ilocos Norte as late as February 21, 1905.⁴²

In addition to all this, Arthur S. Riggs, who was a correspondent and daily newspaper editor in Manila from 1902-1904, tells us that after the play *Hindi Ako Patay* (I Am Not Dead) was suppressed and its author arrested, "copies of the play, painfully written in longhand, circulated throughout the province. . . ."⁴³ In fact, Riggs was quite certain of the widespread appearance of seditious plays and stated that they were, "acted throughout the provinces of Luzon, Samar, and other large islands".⁴⁴ Of how many plays this was true, we cannot say, but certainly people far from Manila might have witnessed some of the best of the seditious plays.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 143-144 and pp. 153-154.

⁴⁰ Magno, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

⁴¹ Ely V. Javillonar, "The Significance of Mariano Proceso Pabalan in Capampangan Dramatic Literature," (unpublished Master's Thesis, University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City, 1961), p. 77.

⁴² Bonifacio, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

⁴³ Arthur S. Riggs, "Seditious Drama in the Philippines," *Current History*, Vol. 20 No. 116 (April, 1951), pp. 202 and 207.

⁴⁴ Riggs, *The Drama of the Filipinos*, p. 284.

In the light of these facts and the absence of complete data it doesn't seem fair to state that outside of Manila playwrights would be unaware of or unsympathetic to nationalism. Manila was the most advanced in regards to seditious plays but she was certainly not the sole reservoir of nationalism. Plays presented in the provinces may not have been as strident as Manila presentations, but there were writers dealing with the subject and audiences who appreciated their efforts. The reaction of the American government and of individual American citizens supports this view and shows that drama as a vehicle for agitation and social protest was both commonplace and widespread.

V. *The American Reaction*

In the preceding sections we have investigated the probable extent to which both the comparatively mild patriotic play and the radical seditious play were written and produced. We found the extent of radical and seditious productions to be quite impressive and from this fact we might presume that they continually met a receptive audience. To confirm this presumption I would like to quote some observations made by a man who although quite racist, was nonetheless a witness to this period of Philippine drama, the aforementioned Arthur S. Riggs. He said:

"Who of us Americans has ever dared arrest and jail to see a play, however lurid? The Filipinos did that again and again. At times entire towns made up the audience. In more than one instance, also, it was suspected that local detachments of police or constabulary were secretly sympathetic."⁴⁵

The reason he credited for the interest in this form of entertainment was that:

"... the Filipino had been tricked into believing that independence was a sacred natural right,"⁴⁶

this was easy because,

"... the illiterate native psychology is of a mixed oriental nature,"⁴⁷

and those fooling the masses and producing those plays were,

"... a fifth column of saboteurs who strove to drive all Americans into the sea for the sake of their own personal benefit and glorification."⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Riggs, "Seditious Drama in the Philippines," p. 204.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

⁴⁸ *Loc. cit.*

Riggs sent copies of two "seditious" plays plus the "relatively harmless" *Magdapi* to his friend Dr. Albert Ernest Jenks, Chief of the Ethnological Survey of the Islands, who as an "official opinion" wrote back to him that:

"I am glad to have seen these plays, because now I know the Filipino character better than before . . . They show the pitiful shallowness of the native mind, and its lack of inventiveness. . . They are puerile and weak, where one would most naturally look for something strong and essentially virile."⁴⁹

John Foreman, another observer, noting how the plays were so openly presented in front of the authorities couldn't quite understand why the revolutionary writers would try such tactics and wrote off the phenomena as ". . . one of those mysteries which the student of native philosophy must fail to solve."⁵⁰

Yet, the native mind was not as mysterious as Foreman believed because for quite some time the Filipino playwright had been able to stage his "puerile and weak" plays right under the very nose of the American military government. There were many reasons why such a situation could have taken place, the most obvious being the language barrier. As well, the Americans scorned the native's concept of drama and were put off from attending Filipino productions held in playhouses of dubious quality. Instead, the American rulers imported their own forms of entertainment directly from the mother country. And finally, the Filipinos and their mestizo friends kept up a wall of silence as to the real nature of these plays until the earlier mentioned Calderon at last blew the whistle on them.⁵¹

Once the situation was fully realized the military government assumed the duty of suppressing seditious drama as part of its campaign of "pacification". Brigadier General Henry T. Allen as the Chief of the Constabulary, was put in charge of this activity and he noted that:

"Tagalo (sic) dramas of a highly seditious nature were produced at first in Manila, subsequently in the provinces, under the auspices of said party (he was referring to the fledgling Nacionalista Party which staged a number of *zarzuelas* during their formative years so as to gain attention and public sympathy). Partially veiled meanings of the dialogue were supple-

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 204

⁵⁰ John Foreman, *The Philippine Islands*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906), pp. 553-554.

⁵¹ Bonifacio, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-2.

mented by the stage setting, and double entendres were freely resorted to."⁵²

Obviously, this conspiracy had to be stopped.

In the provinces, the American military government sometimes used the heavy hand of totalitarian suppression to stop these plays. On October 24 of 1899 a *zarzuela* troupe which had been started in Bikol under the auspices of no less than the *gobernadorcillo*, Don Hugo de la Torre, staged a performance at the Legaspi town fiesta. This was to be the last such production to be held for as soon as American troops arrived, this dramatic form was seen no more and the troupe eventually broke up.⁵³ As we have already seen, nationalistic playwriting was not completely stopped in the Bikol Region, but such repression obviously presented a serious obstacle to the growth of committed drama in the area.

This strategy could not be resorted to in Manila and many other areas. Police authorities had to allow the presentation to go on and content themselves with finding and suppressing only those plays which were truly "seditious".

General Allen had a very difficult job because plays could be staged under a false and innocuous title thus deceiving the authorities as to its real content. When a play was found to be "seditious" the police had to act quickly so as to stop the production and arrest the "guilty parties".⁵⁴ Later the court case had to be constructed and handled with great care so that convictions could be gained.

This latter aspect of police work must have been a particular problem to the authorities for as we have seen in the discussion of individual authors; Juan Abad's conviction for staging *Tanika'ang Guinto* was reversed by the Supreme Court, Aurelio Tolentino was only threatened but not arrested for producing *Luhang Tagalog*, and General Otis, himself, felt compelled to release Pascual Poblete after his arrest for showing *Pag-ibig Sa Lupang Tinubuan*. The fact that convictions could not always be gained in these cases which involved some of what are often considered the more seditious of this period's dramatic works shows the skill of writing that the authors had mastered which communicated the "committed" message but which also made a conviction based on the Sedition Law very difficult to obtain.

⁵² Manuel, *Dictionary of Philippine Biography Volume II, op. cit.*, p. 378.

⁵³ Realubit, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

⁵⁴ Riggs, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

Even the new Americanized school system in its attempt to change Filipino thinking attacked Filipino drama. The policy was that drama was only to be used as a means of learning English and for such a purpose it should be read but not seen.⁵⁵ Realubit noted that even as late as about 1922 or 1923, according to an informant, when a *zarzuela* was scheduled to be shown in Naga the American school teachers there were successful in banning it.⁵⁶

Thus, we can see that the sentiments of individual Americans and those in authority in both the military and civilian branches of the American government were quite negative in regards to the "seditious" drama presentations. Furthermore, the American military forces were engaged in an active campaign to suppress these productions and while they were often frustrated by the courts we have noted that the authorities were successful in cutting short the playwriting career of many a seditious writer.

To have a clear idea of the techniques used by these artists so that we might better understand why the plays were so powerful, disregarding Riggs above stated opinion, it is necessary that we now look at the plays themselves and their manner of production.

VI. *The Seditious Plays*

The first play we will review is *Kahapon, Ngayon at Bukas* by Aurelio Tolentino. By looking in depth at this play we can see some of the techniques used to incite the passions of the audience.

In this play, as in almost all the others, even the very names of the characters had a double meaning. The names and their translations and significance are as follows:⁵⁷

<i>Tagalog</i>	<i>Translation and Definition</i>	<i>Significance</i>
Inangbayan	Mother Country	Philippines
Dilatnabulag	Blind one with her eyes open	Spain
Bagongsibol	New comer-intruder	America
Masunurin	Very Obedient	Filipina girl
Taga-ilog	People of the river	Tagalog people
Matanglawin	Hawk eyes	Spanish government

⁵⁵ Cruz, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

⁵⁶ Realubit, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

⁵⁷ Ricarte *Memoirs, op. cit.*, pp. 191-192.

<i>Tagalog</i>	<i>Translation and Definition</i>	<i>Significance</i>
Malaynatin	The one we know	American government
Asalhayop	Beastly	Tagalog traitor
Dahumpalay	A Venomous snake	Tagalog traitor
Haring-bata	Young King	Chinese King
Halimaw	Lion	Friar
Walangtutol	Without objection to orders	Filipino countrymen

The synopsis of the play goes like this:⁵⁸

Act I. YESTERDAY. — Period prior to the arrival of the Spaniards in these islands. From the day that the Chinese took Balintawak the anniversary of that day has been celebrated as a day of mourning, but Asalhayop has a feast and has dishonored this day of mourning. Inangbayan has given them advice, and not having succeeded in dissuading them she told them to continue celebrating the feast over the tombs of their ancestors who had died to defend the people. Tagailog arrived and invited all to take up arms to redeem the country from the power of Haring-Bata who had reduced it to subjection. Asalhayop informed Haring-Bata of this for the purpose of serving the enemy but when Inangbayan denounced Asalhayop's treachery to Tagailog the latter ordered that Asalhayop be burned alive. Then the battle commenced; Haring-Bata was killed, and the people triumphed. Dilatnabulag arrived together with Matanglawin; they told Inangbayan and Tagailog that the Tagalog armies would fight against them, and offered to aid them in their peril. This they swore, and in order to solemnize the oath, Tagailog and Matanglawin each drank of the other's blood from a golden cup.

Act II. TODAY. — The present time. All the people appear kneeling before Dilatnabulag, Halimaw and Matanglawin, and all offer their wealth except Tagailog. When told that he must offer his wealth as the others did he threw before Dilatnabulag the money which he offered. He was immediately imprisoned. Dahumpalay advises or urges Dilatnabulag that Tagailog be shot, but Matanglawin orders that he be liberated. Halimaw visits Tagailog in prison in order to insult him. An order arrives to set Tagailog free. Halimaw received the order and hid it and did not put Tagailog at liberty. Halimaw called Inangbayan and her daughters and despoiled them of their jewels, offering to liberate Tagailog. Tagailog discovered that the one who had betrayed him was Dahumpalay, and his face was burned so that it might not be recognized; Tagailog put on Dahumpalay's clothes, exchanging his own for them, and taking the pass of the dead man left the prison without being recognized by anyone. Dilatnabulag and Matanglawin entered the prison with the idea of ordering that Tagailog be shot. Upon seeing the dead body of Dahumpalay they thought the corpse was that

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp 190-191.

of Tagailog who had committed suicide. Immediately a rumor was spread that Tagailog was dead, and simultaneously a report that his spirit commanded a big army. Halimaw ordered that Inangbayan be buried alive. The revolution against Matanglawin began and Tagailog was victorious. The grave where Inangbayan was buried opened and she came forth immediately, not dead, but on the contrary, reincarnated and with more glorious life than before. Thereupon Bagongsibol and Malaynatin arrived and united themselves to Inangbayan and Tagailog, promising to be true friends.

Act III. TOMORROW. — The future. The hearts of the good and the bad have united in order to upraise the people. Inangbayan and her daughters were sewing the flag of the people which they will float as soon as the new moon appears. Tagailog asks Malaynatin to give independence to the people. Malaynatin does not agree, and later falls asleep and dreams, and in his dreams it appears to him that a great misfortune will come to him. Tagailog organizes some air ships, cannons and guns with electric bullets, trenches and movable fortifications as well as the army which he has organized and said that the countersign and signal were as follows: when he raises the blue light, it will be the signal that the flag waves in the town; if the light which follows is red it is a signal that Malaynatin has agreed to give independence. The hour arrived; the signal was given and the flag was hoisted. Bagongsibol and Malaynatin arrive and Inangbayan asks them to grant her independence which she desires, but Bagongsibol does not agree to it. Inangbayan shows her the thousands of men who form Tagailog's army, but in spite of all this Bagongsibol does not consent. Immediately there appear boys and girls who prostrate themselves before Bagongsibol and ask independence for the people. Bagongsibol is unable to deny this request, and kindly grants the desired independence for which she is cheered and Inangbayan and Malaynatin and Tagailog are hailed with honor.

In addition to the names of the dramatic characters and the general plot, Tolentino added a number of different techniques to heighten his message's impact.⁵⁹

Tolentino did not seek to instruct the public by the use of purely figurative language but filled his drama with political phrases seething with sedition, rebellion, and insurrection and it is only necessary to know the definition and significance of the respective characters to arrive at a complete understanding of the meaning of the author. In the second act in which Aurelio Tolentino took the part of Tagailog, it was represented that the chief of the Filipinos was a ghost, and that a ghost could not be killed or conquered: that America and the American government were molesting Spain and her government, and that if America and the American government sided with the ghost of the Filipino people, Spain and the Spanish government would fall

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

of Tagailog who had committed suicide. Immediately a rumor was spread that Tagailog was dead, and simultaneously a report that his spirit commanded a big army. Halimaw ordered that Inangbayan be buried alive. The revolution against Matanglawin began and Tagailog was victorious. The grave where Inangbayan was buried opened and she came forth immediately, not dead, but on the contrary, reincarnated and with more glorious life than before. Thereupon Bagongsibol and Malaynatin arrived and united themselves to Inangbayan and Tagailog, promising to be true friends.

Act III. TOMORROW. — The future. The hearts of the good and the bad have united in order to upraise the people. Inangbayan and her daughters were sewing the flag of the people which they will float as soon as the new moon appears. Tagailog asks Malaynatin to give independence to the people. Malaynatin does not agree, and later falls asleep and dreams, and in his dreams it appears to him that a great misfortune will come to him. Tagailog organizes some air ships, cannons and guns with electric bullets, trenches and movable fortifications as well as the army which he has organized and said that the countersign and signal were as follows: when he raises the blue light, it will be the signal that the flag waves in the town; if the light which follows is red it is a signal that Malaynatin has agreed to give independence. The hour arrived; the signal was given and the flag was hoisted. Bagongsibol and Malaynatin arrive and Inangbayan asks them to grant her independence which she desires, but Bagongsibol does not agree to it. Inangbayan shows her the thousands of men who form Tagailog's army, but in spite of all this Bagongsibol does not consent. Immediately there appear boys and girls who prostrate themselves before Bagongsibol and ask independence for the people. Bagongsibol is unable to deny this request, and kindly grants the desired independence for which she is cheered and Inangbayan and Malaynatin and Tagailog are hailed with honor.

In addition to the names of the dramatic characters and the general plot, Tolentino added a number of different techniques to heighten his message's impact.⁵⁹

Tolentino did not seek to instruct the public by the use of purely figurative language but filled his drama with political phrases seething with sedition, rebellion, and insurrection and it is only necessary to know the definition and significance of the respective characters to arrive at a complete understanding of the meaning of the author. In the second act in which Aurelio Tolentino took the part of Tagailog, it was represented that the chief of the Filipinos was a ghost, and that a ghost could not be killed or conquered: that America and the American government were molesting Spain and her government, and that if America and the American government sided with the ghost of the Filipino people, Spain and the Spanish government would fall

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

without fail; that the American government told the Philippine people that the Filipinos with their own forces could not dominate Spain and the Spanish government, and as Spain had been America's enemy the Filipinos were asked to help to fight the Spaniards, and the Filipinos and Americans agreed to help each other. The Philippine people were represented as being victorious over Spain and as persecuting the friars; that the Philippine people demanded of the friars the whereabouts of Inangbayan (Mother Country), meaning the Philippine Islands, and that the friar showed where he had buried her, and the Philippine people pulled her out of the grave; whereupon a rising sun appeared from behind mountain peaks painted on the scenery of the stage decorations, and the mother country thereupon declared, "Now that my sons will live while the world lasts, have confidence that so long as I shall produce flowers without end and flowers of the most beautiful liberty;" and she then ordered that the friars, Spain and the Spanish government be buried alive in the grave where they had buried her; whereupon these three characters were pushed into the open grave, there being a hole in the floor of the stage representing a grave.

In Act 3 it was represented that the Philippine Islands ordered America and the American government to leave the Filipinos alone and not to disturb them in their exclusive liberty, accompanied by the threat that if America and the American people impede or disturb the exclusive liberty of the Philippine Islands the blood of the people will run in torrents, and in that case America and the American government will have to respond before the creator for the lives which are lost and for the orphans who will be at the mercy of death. America replied, "It cannot be."

Thereupon the children appeared and knelt before the character representing America and said: "This is the record of our unhappy country. We offer it to thee that thou mayest be acquainted with the history of our fathers." Then they placed the book in Bagongsibol's hands from which it fell, and where it fell there appeared, as if by magic, a banner or flag like the one Inangbayan (Philippine Islands) was carrying, and which was, by manipulation of a wire, drawn across the stage, accompanied by the words "Mabuhay ang Bayan" (Long live the people).

The play *Hindi Ako Patay* by Juan Cruz Matapang as reported by Foreman utilized many of the same techniques. However, his plot, unlike Tolentino's highly politicized story, has more mass appeal in that it uses a love story filled with rivalry and deceit as its basis. Foreman describes the play as follows:

"Maimbot (personifying America) is establishing dominion over the islands, assisted by his son Macamecam (American Government) and Katuiran (Reason, Right, and Justice) is called upon to condemn the conduct of a renegade Filipino who has accepted America's dominion, and thereby became an outcast among his own people and even his own

family. There is to be a wedding, but, before it takes place, a funeral cortege passes the house of Karangalan (the bride) with the body of Tangulan (the fighting patriot). Maimbot (America) exclaims, "Go, bury that man, that Karangalan and her mother may see him no more." Tangulan, however, rising from his coffin, tells them, "They must not be married, for I am not dead." And as he cries *Hindi Ako Patay*, ("I am not dead,") a radiant sun appears, rising above the mountain peaks, simultaneously with the red flag of Philippine liberty. Then Katuiran (Reason, Right, and Justice) declares that "Independence has returned," and goes on to explain that the new insurrection having discouraged America in her attempt to enslave the people, she will await a better opportunity. The flag of Philippine Independence is then waved to salute the sun which has shone upon the Filipinos to regenerate them and cast away their bondage."⁶⁰

Juan Abad's play *Tanikalang Guinto* is very similar in this respect, but its ending is not on such a happily expectant note as is *Hindi Ako Patay*.

"The Golden Bracelet in many ways is a common place theme, somewhat reminiscent of older plays like *Malaya*, but quickened, by a touch of bitter farce at the final curtain and by the introduction of a parrot as a spy. Liwanag, the heroine, is the daughter of Maimbot, who represents the American government. She wishes to marry the loyal Filipino Kaulayao, whom Maimbot disapproves of for obvious reasons. Nag-tapon, the inevitable traitor, who eventually proves to be Kaulayao's own brother, is in Maimbot's pay, and the action develops through a long series of stratagems and frustrations. In Act II Maimbot gives his daughter a golden bracelet to distract her attention from her loyalist lover, and to bribe her to agree to his plans to "enslave" the Filipinos. Before the unreal medley is over, Maimbot tries unsuccessfully twice to kill her, and is prevented once by nightmare spirits, once by a miraculously appearing angel. Kaulayao is shot by his traitorous brother, and dies. Liwanag also dies, and is shown at last riding a cloud into heaven and bidding farewell to Kaulayao, to whom she will return when she has circled the universe and Nag-tapon is dead. On the stage Nag-tapon laughs bitterly and exclaims that he is immortal. This last is a touch indicating the hand of an expert dramatist, for it suggests that evil and its forces are immortal, while peace and independence can never emancipate any people until traitors are converted."⁶¹

Finally, we come to Pedro A. Paterno's play *Magdapio* which was quite different from the above three. Paterno did not use a directly, politically motivated historical plot as did Tolentino or a story based on

⁶⁰ Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 554.

⁶¹ Riggs, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

the problems of Philippine romance. Instead Paterno wrote a mythologically oriented love story which leaned heavily on the use of allegory. A description of the story which was translated into English and privately published by General Allen in 1903 goes something like this:⁶²

ACT I. The Aetas are in possession of a sacred mountain *Magdapio* which according to legend has a beautiful girl and her father living inside it. The Malays believe that because the mountain contains this girl and many fine jewels it should belong to them and not the Aetas. A battle is fought to determine the future ownership of the valuable mountain and the girl inside.

ACT II. The mountain splits open and Mapalad the chief of the Aetas and a number of his men come to see the girl who is named *Magdapio* after the mountain and her father Botokan. Love between *Magdapio* and Mapalad immediately develops and marriage plans are made even though there is great danger from the unvanquished Malays. Due to the danger from the Malays a marriage ceremony is quickly performed and as soon as the newlyweds are about to leave, a number of arrows are shot onto the stage. Mapalad and Botokan are wounded, *Magdapio* faints, and the Malays come onto the stage and carry off *Magdapio* and Mapalad.

ACT III. In the camp of the Malays somewhere near Laguna de Bay the Malay warriors and their chief, King Bay, are celebrating the victory. Bay tries to take *Magdapio* for his own, but reviving from her state of confusion and fainting spell, she fights him off. Because of his anger at being rejected Bay has Mapalad thrown into the sea to be eaten by alligators. Heartbroken, *Magdapio* jumps in after him gladly accepting the same fate.

ACT IV. On the bottom of Laguna de Bay lives the god Baguio who is seated on his throne. An alligator brings the body of *Magdapio* to him and places her at his feet. The good and wise god Baguio questions *Magdapio* and learning of her faithfulness makes her Queen of the Oriental Sea.

In all of these plays the real situation was never directly dealt with and America was never named outright because arrest would have been immediately forthcoming. The strategy was to use a presumably innocuous sounding plot but to fill the production with a number of double meanings, revolutionary symbols, and allegorical situations ren-

⁶² Castillo *op. cit.*, p. 197.

dering the real purpose of the play explicit to only the native audience. The story plot which was superficially similar to many non-political productions but which used these stories to introduce an ideological message of nationalism had a great appeal to the local audiences which may not have understood or appreciated a more direct ideological approach.

The seditious plays were also used to communicate very direct warnings to would-be "Americanistas". One play, *Ang Kalayaang Hindi Natupad* (The Freedom That Has Not Been Obtained), promised all traitors that they would be buried alive. Meanwhile, the play *Pulong Pinaglahuan* (The Eclipsed Island) asked the traitors how they could accept positions in government from the invader while their brothers were in the mountains fighting for freedom, and vowed not to let a foreign power and its local lackeys make slaves of the people again.⁶³

Perhaps so as to be sure that the audience understood the play's message it was quite common for one of the actors to make a rousing speech at the end of the performance as was mentioned above in connection with Reyes' play *La Venta de Filipinas al Japon*. This was not a new technique because the *zarzuela* traditionally had a speech for its conclusion which restated the moral message of the play. However, the eulogy of the seditious play is quite unique.

"... these speeches were delivered extemporaneously, the speakers, depending on how strongly they were inspired and goaded on by the cheering audiences, became quite impassioned in their tirades against the U.S. and their countrymen who have turned traitors to the cause of independence."⁶⁴

Yet, the Filipino playwright did not limit his imagination to the lines of the play. He also made effective use of his stage props. A number of these devices such as Tolentino's nipa eagle, his flag colored actors, a rising sun which represented the Katipunan, a hole-in-the-stage grave, a slogan-bearing banner pulled across the stage by a wire, red flags, and the hero riding to heaven on a cloud have been mentioned above but should again be noted. The Filipino playwright used each of these, and more, devices to present non-verbal symbolisms which effectively heightened the meaning and dramatic impact of his work and, sometimes, to facilitate the transformation of an anti-Spanish play into an anti-American one.

⁶³ Bonifacio, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

It almost need not be mentioned that the mere fact that the audience could identify with and become involved in the story tends to show the assimilation that foreign theatrical forms, mainly the *zarzuela*, had undergone. Native dramatic art forms had been heavily influenced by an influx of alien ideas and forms but had in turn adopted these forms by injecting Philippine stories and situations based on local values. By presenting stories based on these values and injecting allegorical parallels concerning Philippine independence, these forms had been successfully remoulded and integrated into Philippine culture and at the same time and because of this, the theater had become a powerful tool for ideological use because issues integrated into stories based on Philippine values became meaningful and real to the common *tao*. The characters looked, talked, and acted like real people possessing human qualities and faults. The virginal young maiden might be forced or influenced to consider the rich alien as a future mate but ultimately she made her decision based upon what was right and good, i.e., the true love she felt for her faithful and ardent boy-next-door suitor.

VII. *Summary and Conclusion*

The Filipino people had a rudimentary form of theater even before the arrival of the first colonizers. This theater may not have been the sophisticated and polished drama which we of the twentieth century conceptualize as being the legitimate stage, but it was nonetheless theater. This theater fulfilled the needs of the people and was based on their culture's values, norms, and mythology.

The arrival of the Spaniards introduced not only a new form of government but also new values, norms, and myths and communicated these new concepts, in part, through Spanish (and therefore new and alien) dramatic forms. The result of this cultural influx was an increase of Philippine social complexity and at the same time a modification of these foreign concepts and art forms so that they could be assimilated into the framework of the local culture.

However, the stability of the state wherein Spaniards ruled over Filipinos was far from complete and satisfactory. Antagonisms built up between the two groups which finally erupted in 1896. In addition to bolos and guns the Philippine revolutionaries used subtle weapons such as short stories, novels, newspapers, and plays to free their country from Spanish rule. Although it seems very likely that many different forms

of plays were presented there seems to be little doubt that the majority of plays used against foreign colonialists were *zarzuelas*.

This form of dramatic art was particularly useful to the revolutionists for a number of reasons. First, the story plots, unlike religious plays, were based on the lives of common people and were presented as naturally acted out stories using everyday speech and dress. Second, the situations encountered and the problems dealt with were familiar to the audience and the production was spiced with entertaining songs and dances. And finally, the *zarzuela* presented thinly veiled comments and socially relevant pronouncements in relation to the plot which was in turn based on social, religious, and political issues of the day which directly concerned the audience.

Before the outbreak of the hostilities, Philippine authors had been reading works by Spanish authors such as Zorrilla, Calderon de la Barca, Benavente, and others and had been able to improve their writing techniques.⁶⁵ Once *zarzuela* techniques were synthesized into the context of Philippine culture they might have become a powerful weapon of social reform but the heavy hand of Spanish censorship negated the realization of this potential role.

By breaking the bond of censorship the revolution became a catalytic force to a period of Philippine literature which saw a great deal of creative effort blossom forth where formerly there had been only occasional and limited glimpses of Filipino creativity. However, the topic of this paper was not an examination of this particular phase of the history of Philippine literature, but of the period immediately following the early years of American occupation. The excesses of the Spanish government and religious orders were not completely forgotten by then but the focus of this time period became completely unified under the ideology of patriotism and nationalism and therefore anti-Americanism. Hence, much of the literature of these years was in a real sense, totally committed.

Many plays were written during the first years of this century which attacked the new American regime and while we have not had the time to analyze but a very few of them, we have had the opportunity to discover the manner in which many were produced. Radical anti-American authors used the common *zarzuela* format and injected double

⁶⁵ Agoncillo, "Pasulyap na Tingin sa Panitikang Tagalog", *op. cit.*, p. 231.

entendres, revolutionary symbols, and meaningful allegory. The basic story plot was kept simple and was used to increase the impact of the double meanings because underlying messages were clarified by the microcosmic action on the stage which was a representation of a real life situation. It was a happy circumstance that the techniques used to increase the clarity and impact of the *zarzuela* also kept the American authorities, in many cases, from completely realizing the full meaning of each of these plays.

However, the new rulers inevitably had to discover the real meanings of these plays and when they did a policy of suppression was initiated. One arrest followed another and soon the truly seditious play could no longer be seen. We might look upon Aurelio Tolentino's final imprisonment in 1904 as a data at which the seditious play ceased to effectively exist. The arrest of Tolentino, and also Abad, had coerced other anti-American writers who were loyal to the ideology of freedom from foreign domination to change their format.⁶⁶ In the future only those plays concerning politics which stressed patriotism without going to the extent of advocating rebellion against the American government were seen. Another factor which sealed the fate of the "seditious" *zarzuela* and made it passe was the establishment of the Philippine Assembly in 1907. By this time nationalists had realized the futility of fighting against superior armed strength and were using the strategy of working non-violently for eventual independence by proving themselves and their country worthy and capable of managing their own affairs.⁶⁷

When vaudeville came to the Philippines, the *zarzuela* and other forms of theater were already waning in popularity and the population readily accepted this new form of entertainment. Still later, motion pictures came to the country and delivered a deadly blow to Philippine theater.⁶⁸

Thus, we can see that seditious plays, most often the *zarzuela*, were made into an effective form of committed art. The *zarzuela* had been originally derived from a foreign source but was assimilated into Philippine culture and had become a popular form of entertainment. The *zarzuela* with its accent on social comment set within stories based di-

⁶⁶ *Loc. cit.*

⁶⁷ Manuel, *Dictionary of Philippine Biography Volume I, op. cit.*, p. 5.

⁶⁸ Cruz, *op. cit.*, pp. 154.

rectly on common values and situations found among the average citizen's experiences became a perfect tool for committed theater which wished to show the ultimate cause of the nation's problems from an ideological standpoint. Later, under the force of military suppression and the opening up of a peaceful alternative avenue to the goal of achieving Philippine independence, the "seditious" plays lost their popularity.

Today, as was mentioned in the introduction, more and more young artists in the Philippines are looking at their society and are making some definite conclusions as to the how and why of its ills. The mere fact that so many intelligent and idealistic persons are engaged in such an activity is indicative of the fact that something must indeed be acutely wrong. I started this paper not so much to influence anyone's ultimate conclusions as to the why of present day Philippine society's ills but rather to offer some suggestions as to how personal commitment to an ideology might be best translated into effective and relevant committed art. For this purpose I choose the theater because other forms of art:

"... do not have the kind of voice that utters sentences, offers propositions and problems and arguments the way theater, for instance, can become a voice."⁶⁹

I also became quite confirmed in my initial belief that art in general and "committed" art in particular need not be so other-culture oriented and that its impact will be greater if divested of phony aspects.

"The problem in the Philippines, however, is made more crucial by the injection of a high degree of what Cavell terms as 'fraudulence'. It is manifested by a glib aping and parody of every 'avant garde' or 'in' movement abroad fostered by an equally gullible dilletante clientele. By and large, Philippine artists have shown an absolute lack of awareness for the issues involved in painting (and until recently we might have added theater). Consequently, there is also an inability to come to grips with the issues in terms of the Philippine situation."⁷⁰

I furthermore hope that today's committed artists do not make tactical errors in their attempts to establish effective communications with the Filipino people. For, after all, meaningful communication is

⁶⁹ Gemma Mariano, "Art for Art's Sake — A Requiem," *The Philippine Collegian*, March 9, 1972, p. 4.

⁷⁰ Rodolfo Paras-Perez, "Art and the Reverence for Relevance," *Solidarity*, Vol. 5 No. 12 (December, 1970), p. 43.

the essence of art and especially so for committed art which must be as effective as possible in communicating its underlying ideology.

For example, Jose Ma. Sison's suggestions for the future form of the *zarzuela* is to:

"Replace the mawkishness and class reconciliation in the zarzuela with the revolutionary spirit and proletarian standpoint; and foolish love songs with revolutionary songs."⁷¹

I think it is obvious that change in all societies is inevitable and because of this presumption I find nothing wrong in altering or completely rebuilding any social institution or, in this case, any culture's art forms. Instead, what causes me concern is that too radical a transformation of Philippine dramatic art may keep committed art from effectively relating with the average Filipino who may not be ready for the change. The use of popular social situations combined with ideological themes was extremely effective in capturing the attention of widely scattered audiences during the early years of American rule and in implanting a determination to achieve the goals of national freedom. The educative value of committed theater may be lost if there is an over-emphasis on strident revolutionary form rather than effective communication. Education of those unaware of the logic and conclusions of whatever ideology is the primary objective of committed art and effective communication with the audience is the only way to achieve this educational function.

"But it is precisely why you write so that people will know. You see, how many people know about, really understand what national democracy means; or the class struggle in Philippine society. It's a phrase one hears. Perhaps, one knows the definitions. But the committed writer does not simply clarify definitions but objectifies in very vivid terms what seems to be only a phrase or a clause. So to show class struggle a short story writer may write a story about a farmer who works for an hacendero as a collector. The farmer has a family he is trying to keep together, children he has to send to college, so that he allows himself to be the instrument of oppression of the landlord. There are other peasants who have to pay their debts, who have to give their share of the harvest, with the farmer acting as intermediary. Now this is a situation which clarifies the role of an individual farmer who becomes an instrument of oppression, although he himself belongs to the class of the oppressed. Such a situation clarifies what would just be an abstract discussion in an interview like this."⁷²

⁷¹ Jose M. Sison, "Task of Cadres in the Cultural Field," *Sinag*, January, 1972, p. 4.

⁷² Lumbea, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

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* The actual date of the introduction of the *zarzuela* seems open to some question. Iuminada M. Magno in her U.P. Masters Thesis "A Critical Study of the Zarzuela in Pangasinan of Catalino Palisoc" claims that Spanish zarzuelas first came to the Philippines in the 1840's and that one of the first *zarzuela* companies was headed by a certain Don Narciso de Escosura and his wife. This was the only reference I found.

As well, Isagani R. Cruz in his article in the book he edited *A Short History of Theater in the Philippines* gives 1880 as the date when Alejandro Cubero and Elisea Esguerra came to Manila. The names and dates I have used were the ones most often to appear in various sources.

** Daisy Hontiveros-Avellana on page 671 of her article "Philippine Drama: A Social Protest" found in Antonio G. Manuud's anthology *Brown Heritage* mistakenly claims that it was held in the Zorrilla theater.

**BHINNEKA TUNGGAL EKA: THE DEVELOPMENT
OF A NATIONAL LANGUAGE IN THE
PHILIPPINES**

Juan R. Francisco *

Introduction

It is proper that the title of the essay be first explained. Many, perhaps, do not know the meaning of *Bhinneka Tunggal Eka*. In the Indonesian national experience, it became the main focus of the government in forging unity among its many ethnic societies in developing national consciousness. In developing national consciousness, the general culture was the central focus. The diversities among the various groups were recognized as important components of the national identity, with each never losing its individual ethnic character.

There are many elements of culture that can be identified to illustrate the ideals embodied in the linguistic construct. However, I would like to focus on language which is considered the most sensitive among all cultural elements essential in the understanding of a given society. Like Indonesia and Malaysia, the Philippines has to contend with various ethnic societies speaking a variety of languages -- intelligible or quasi-intelligible or not intelligible to each other. Hence, the need for developing a common medium of communication on a national level. The success of Indonesia and Malaysia in finally solving the problem of multi-linguality in their societies must be taken as models for the many societies that are embroiled in the throes of contending linguistic identities in developing a common medium of communication at the national level. Thus, the Philippines looks at the construct which, at this point in time, is considered a model concept for national unity.¹

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Historical Background

In discussing this concept in the Philippine context, I would like to present the history of the development of the national language.

As early as 1981, four periods have been recognized in this development (Constantino 1981:28-39), namely: (a) 1900-1935, the period that was characterized by the struggle between Tagalog and English, (b) 1936-1945, the triumph of the *Balarila ng Wikang Tagalog*; (c) 1946-1970, the battle between the Tagalogs and the non-Tagalogs; and (d) 1971 onwards, characterized by the conflict between Filipino and Pilipino. I would add a fifth period: (e) 1981 to the present. This falls within the context of the bilingual policy, characterized by later developments that are significant in the pursuit of a more stable national language.

Each period will be elaborated on in order to give a much better view of the discussions that will follow. I will use the descriptions by Constantino² which, to me, seem more precise:

(a) 1900-1935. There was only one linguist in the country at that time, i.e., Cecilio Lopez, who trained in Germany. With him were non-linguists, identified as *Tagalistas* (Hispanized form of Tagalog speakers), namely Sofronio Calderon and Lope K. Santos, who organized groups composed mostly of Tagalog writers to support Tagalog as the national language of the Philippines.

... These people were afraid that English was going to be the national language because that was the desire of the Americans. The Americans actually had two objectives with regard to English in the Philippines: they wanted to make it only the medium of instruction and the lingua franca all over the islands.³

This group was very much concerned about the “denationalization of the Filipinos.” Each member of the group wrote books, grammars, essays in Tagalog and worked extremely hard to make Tagalog the national language of the Philippines.

As a counter-balance to the *Tagalistas*, there was a group lead by Santiago Fonacier and Norberto Romualdez, both non-Tagalog speakers,

who supported the view that the Philippine national language must be based on the many Philippine languages. "They wanted a fusion of major Philippine languages and ... out of this fusion would develop a language which they wanted to be the national language."⁴

The most important national event during this period was the Constitutional Convention in 1935 which adopted the provision that "the national language should be based on one of the existing languages of the Philippines ... everyone knew that that one language was to be Tagalog because it had been said that for one thing that was the desire of [Manuel Luis] Quezon,"⁵ who was then the President of the Philippine Commonwealth. Thus, the Constitutional Convention marked the "death" of the pan-Philippine resource for the development of the national language; but which, of course, was to be resuscitated in the coming years.

(b) 1936-1945. The period was marked by the writing of grammar books elucidating that the national language was based on Tagalog. Giving support to this contention were two developments: the Constitution mandated that Tagalog became the foundation for the development of the national language; the Japanese rule in the Philippines during the Pacific War favored Tagalog as the national language⁶ of the Philippines. During this period, the *Balarila ng Wikang Pambansa* by Lope K. Santos became the guide book for the teaching of the national language, with Tagalog as its unopposed basis. Given these two crucial events, Tagalog thrived high in the minds of the Filipino people, but not without the resentment of others who did not speak Tagalog as their mother tongue.

(c) 1946-1970. Marked by the very intense battle between the Tagalogs and the non-Tagalogs. The controversy centered around the activities of the Institute of National Language. In the perception of the non-Tagalogs, the Institute was all for Tagalog to become the national language. Of course, this perception could not be otherwise. The directors of the Institute were all Tagalog speakers, and the proponents of this view were Lope K. Santos, Cecilio Lopez, Jose Villa Panganiban and Ponciano B.P. Pineda. *Tagalog*, however, has now taken the name *Pilipino*.

On the opposite camp were Inocencio Ferrer and Geruncio Lacuesta. Each had his own organization which was very actively involved in the serious criticism of the Institute of National Language. The Institute was also supported by equally strong organizations to propagate *Pilipino*

which was not viewed however as pan-Philippine in orientation, but as *Tagalog* masquerading as *Pilipino*.

(d) 1971-1986. This period, characterized by a major event in the history of the Philippines, provided very significant implications on the development of the national language. This event was the Declaration of Martial Rule in 1972 and which lasted until 1986. The period also saw the promulgation of another Constitution where *Pilipino* was recognized as the National Language. Organizations like the Linguistic Society of the Philippines, the Philippine Association for Language Teaching and *Samahan ng Lingguistikang Pilipino* declared their support for *Pilipino*.

It was during this period that the confrontation between *Pilipino* and *Filipino* was fiercest.⁷ It was also during this period that the purists were in direct conflict with the non-purists. The purists were supporters of *Pilipino*, which was Tagalog-based grammatically as well as lexically, with the coining of words as an adjunct of the process. The non-purists were for *Filipino*, a pan-Philippine language resource with very limited utilization of non-Philippine sources where the ideas or concepts expressed may not be found in the Philippine languages, given the centuries-old Philippine exposure to languages belonging to other families of languages.

(e) 1987-1993. The fall of the Marcos dictatorship brought about another Constitution calling for the promulgation of a language policy that would finally resolve this very sensitive, if not socio-culturally, divisive issue. In 1991, the Congress of the Philippines enacted Republic Act No. 7104, creating the Commission on the Filipino Language. This Republic Act mandated the development and investment of Filipino as the national language. The discussions on the language issue in both the Constitutional Commission and in Congress as well as outside the session halls of these two bodies were highly charged, for every one involved had an interest to protect -- his own intellectual patrimony, his language.

Some General Comments on the History of Language Development in the Philippines

Ninety-two years ago, when the notion of a unifying national language began to stir the psyche of the Filipino, it was never thought that such a notion would remain high in the cultural priorities of the people. However, the languages of the colonial powers that dominated the

Archipelago, i.e., Spanish and English, on the administrative, as well as on the religious missions level, had a very deep impact upon the intellectual development and perspectives of the Filipinos. Although on a more basic level their local languages performed the role of unifying their ideals and notions of their being. Inevitably, therefore, despite the dominance of these foreign languages (belonging to another family of languages), the innermost core of their psyche expressed in their natural media of communications had surfaced with great strength of spirit and character. Hence, as we have narrated in the five periods of Philippine national language development, the knowledge gained and understood in terms of the impact of this exercise on the general view of the Filipino people is even related to its journey into its current state.

The journey of *Filipino*, from the time it was conceived and nourished through the years in the minds of our people, has its parallel in the development of English from a “dialect spoken by great mass of people to being accepted as a language of the University, setting aside Greek and Latin to become primarily the media of the Church.” And in this context, the confrontation becomes equally significant in what Gerald T. Burns⁸ predicts ... while English still dominates the scene particularly on the University-level, eventually Filipino will become the medium through which “the sources of inspiration: intellectual, aesthetic, spiritual”⁹ will eventually prevail.

Indeed, though unrelated to what Burns had written about, there has already been some kind of a recognition of the issue of a common language being sought to be spoken in the Philippine setting:

... the Philippines [as] linguistically unique. It is one of the few countries in the world [where] bilinguals and trilinguals outnumber the mono-linguals. It has a great number of different languages in relation to its overall land area. Most of its literates become literate in a second language which is entirely unrelated in structure and type to their mother tongue. To top it all, here is a land which has not yet found a unifying linguistic force in the development of national consciousness inspite of the close relationship of all major tongues....¹⁰

Note that these were pronouncements made thirty years ago. What was true then is still true today. As late as a decade ago, an attempt to

resolve the country's multilingual problem was made through an act of Congress (*Batasang Pambansa*) as mandated by the 1972 Constitution (*Saligang Batas*) making bilingualism the order of the day. Mandated, therefore, was the use of the English language and Filipino (which is naturally Tagalog in another dressing). This became the policy of government and implemented by the Department of Education and Culture in Executive Order No. 25, S. 1994 in the elementary and secondary levels of education and gradually would be used in the college/university levels. However, the policy did not prosper because of the recognized inequity that it inevitably spawned.

... the Bilingual Policy of Government is inequitous and discriminatory. It discriminates against all other Philippine languages, and gives undue advantage to Tagalog, which has been tagged as Filipino ... promotes injustice and disharmony.¹¹

The policy had its strongest opposition in the Cebuano-speaking areas, particularly represented by the Cebu province. This opposition was institutionalized in an ordinance promulgated by the Cebu Provincial Government prohibiting the use of Tagalog, i.e. Filipino, in all transactions having to do with government -- both local and national. All transactions of the Provincial Government were done through the medium of Cebuano.¹²

It is yet too early to comment on, or perhaps pass judgement upon Republic Act No. 7104 (1991), mandating the creation of the Commission on the Filipino Language, and declaring that there shall be

... a policy of government to ensure and promote the evolution, development and further enrichment of Filipino as the national language of the Philippines, on the basis of existing Philippine and other languages ... (Section 2).

The Commission has already been organized and functioning, hopefully as expected. Whether or not it will be a major catalyst in the development of the National Language is yet to be seen. Yet, we have a situation where media, particularly the broadcast media, is enjoying some kind of a license in hispanizing every concept, every word that to them does not seem to have an equivalent in Filipino. As such, it is feared that the expected resulting Filipino would in the long-run be merely a creole or

a pidgin, that does not lead to becoming the “source(s) of intellectual, aesthetic and spiritual inspiration.” It is not within the power of this writer to make prescriptions to this effect, but the Commission is expected to work with media to achieve a more literary Filipino -- very intellectual, very aesthetic and very spiritual -- in the transmission of information. In other words, the Language Commission should take the lead in the fulfillment of the “principles of equity, justice, fairness and harmony in terms of our continuing attempt to establish a stable society and culture”¹³ represented primarily in the language of the people -- the National Language, Filipino.

Language Planning in the Philippine Context

From all the available documents examined, there seems to have been no definitive planning for the development of a national language. There are those who say that there was planning made, but this does not necessarily correct the impression that there was, indeed, some amount of serious planning made.

The most credible among all these works -- documents, monographs, studies -- appear to have been those by Andrew B. Gonzales, FSC (1980/83). These monographs, which appeared in 1980-1983, dealt with the history of the developing national language -- from what he termed correctly, the First Republic: nationalism without a national linguistic symbol (1896-1898), the period of the Revolution against Colonial Spain and the founding of the Republic. This, however, was cut short by the dubious entry of the United States which took over the gains of the Revolution and the Republic.

The coming of the United States ushered in the American colonial period, characterized by the Commonwealth period (1901-1935) and up to the 1946 Post-War era. This period was interrupted by what has been called the Second Republic (October 14, 1943-August 17, 1945) which was actually the Japanese occupation that started in 1942. It was a brief period described by Gonzales (1980:60ff) as one in which “a linguistic symbol of unity” has been attained, and Tagalog became the “basis of the National Language”.

By mid-1946, the Third Republic was inaugurated with the proclamation of Philippine Independence by the United States of America,

a period characterized by the “rise and fall of Tagalog-based Pilipino”, and also by the “search for a national language to be called *Filipino* ... based not on one but on all of the existing languages in the Philippines¹⁴ as mandated by the Constitution of the Martial Law Regime in 1973. If there is anything that could possibly give the Martial Law Regime some positive development, it may be said that the mandate to develop *Filipino* from the existing Philippine Languages is, indeed, the beginning of the move towards the direction of equity among all Philippine languages, where each will have a role in the development of a national language. I will say more about this when I present the paradigm for the language development.

Gonzales’ monograph ending with an epilog entitled “Toward the Fourth Republic and Filipino” appears “prophetic” in the context of events that ushered in the 1986 People Power Revolution. To Gonzales, this was a period that resumes the search and strengthening of a linguistic symbol. He was very precise when he expressed this essence to

... look[s] towards the future, the renewed search for a common national language mandated once more, this time by the 1973 Constitution. It concludes with general and theoretical considerations concerning language development and returns to the basic theme of the book, the Filipinos’ search for authenticity in a linguistic symbol of nationhood, taking a realistic picture of the prospects of success of such a search given the polyethnic situation of the Philippines and the language loyalties of ethnic groups and their regional ties.¹⁵

At this juncture, I would like to advert to what he calls the “Inadequacy of Language-Planning Models”¹⁶ throughout the three periods during which the linguistic symbol of national identity/unity was the primary objective. Even with the Fourth Republic this process continued.

Gonzales was quite precise when he wrote that language planning of any type or model aimed at developing a national language is “difficult in a multilingual society where groups will not accept a language [that] is a rival to their own.” With this premise he suggested the Swiss model which declares “all main languages official,” so that no one language stands out exclusively over the others. Or to consider a Philippine model that is still emerging ... “that of creating a name for a code that is still in the process of formation.” The “Code” referred to seems to be *Pilipino* or *Filipino*.

Both models are rejected, i.e., “in the former Swiss model, there is no national language in reality although there is one in aspiration.”

Another is the neutral language model ... “wherein no major group is threatened, because it gives no edge to any other group.” The Indonesian model in Bahasa Indonesia is considered ... “a successful one, and an ideal one, in so far as the neutral language happened to be an indigenous rather than a foreign one.” A sub-model which seems quite acceptable, though “less successful,” and that possesses “high-prestige value ... available only to the elite and worse a non-indigenous language” is the case of English as seen in the Philippines, Singapore, India and Ireland, and Spanish in South America.

I agree with Gonzales particularly in pointing out the inadequacy of the language models because the situation in the Philippines does not duplicate the situations in the models described above. The Indian situation, on closer examination, may be considered similar to the Philippines, but much more complicated than one would recognize under any circumstance considering the nature of the language problem obtaining there.

In concluding this section, allow me to advert again to Gonzales' very precise view of the inadequacy of the language planning activities in the Philippines:

... a country which has gone through all phases of language planning, repudiated this development, and began the process of deliberate planning for the future once more. What makes the Philippine case unique is that formation, not selection, is contemplated, a formation that envisages development in an undefined sense. Will it entail prior cultivation, in lexical elaboration, intellectualization? Once formation and development are completed, adoption by a formal process ... is planned. Then, presumably dissemination and propagation follow.¹⁷

Since he was writing during the period of Martial Law, he was referring to a plebiscite where a National Assembly vote could formalize the selection of the language, “especially a language that is meant to incorporate features of all the languages of the Philippines.” But, he also rejected the process through plebiscite, because it would certainly exclude

other languages. He further wrote: “the better alternative would be to plan not to plan and to let social factors, as yet fully unknown to us, take over. For some countries, benign neglect is a better alternative to deliberate and explicit language planning.”¹⁸

But, it seems to me, that was just the situation which would propel the language problem to a more systematic and deliberate search for its resolution as the Fourth Republic was ushered in by the 1986 bloodless revolution.

The Proposed Paradigm

The previous discussions showed us that there was, indeed, a very serious attempt to develop a national language symbolic of Philippine linguistic identity, when viewed primarily from the desire to achieve national unity. And we have shown in particular the enactment of RA No. 7104 (1991) and the creation of the Commission on the Filipino language. The Republic Act certainly fulfills the “prophecy” of Gonzales in his 1983 monograph. Its promulgation was accompanied by serious discussions inside and outside the halls of Congress.¹⁹ The Commission was organized in 1992.

The Paradigm/Framework herein presented illustrates the systematic development of the symbol of national language identity and unity. While it can be described generally, I would rather that we focus on the language, a cultural value that sits foremost in our perception as crucial to a society’s existence, and survival as well.

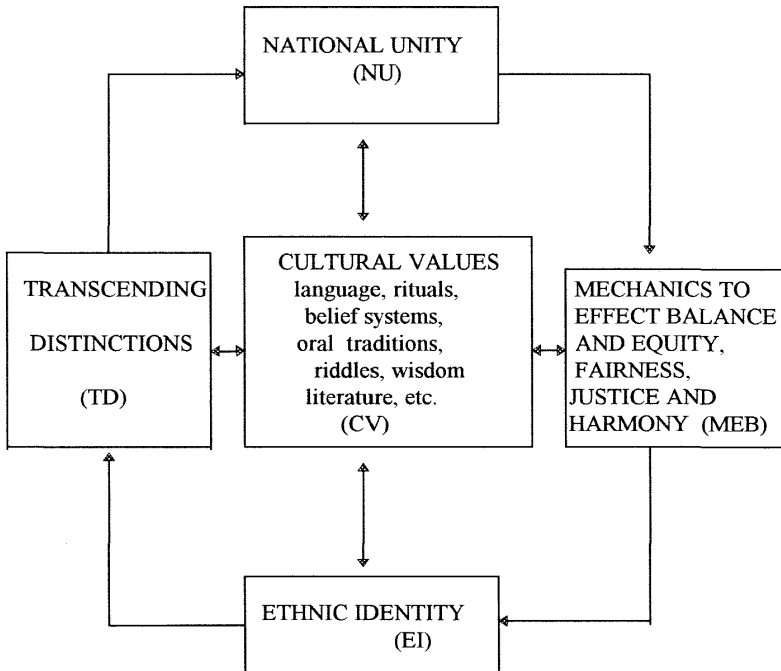
This paradigm was devised more than a decade ago but it had undergone revisions for a better understanding of its message and meanings (See Bibliographic Notes). For a start, let me describe each of the blocks in the paradigm before I discuss their relationships (See Figure 1). Please take note also the direction of the arrows.

Perhaps the paradigm ... “could be the basis on which we can adequately understand the distinctions between ethnic [language] identity and national [language] identity.”

The National Unity (NU) block constitutes the philosophical “god-head” which every society or culture aims to achieve. The Ethnic

Identity (EI) block forms the foundation of the concept of oneness on which the building blocks laid one over the other to effect the notion that we have just advanced. These building blocks are the Mechanisms to Effect Balance and Equity, Fairness, Justice and Harmony (MEB), and the Transcending Distinctions (TD). Each of these two blocks is crucial. While MEB constitutes the external interventions in a given society, such as the Government or NGO's, TD is an internal mechanism that engenders the recognition of the existence of National Unity and Ethnic Identity. TD is effected through mechanisms which I call enculturation and socialization. A brief definition of each may be made here to give us an initial understanding of what I really intend to convey. Enculturation is the process by which one learns and internalizes the values, norms and

Figure 1. **Framework for Effecting National Unity Without Losing Ethnic Identity**



lifeways of the society. It is sometimes used interchangeably with the term socialization. More references to these will be made in a full discussion of *locus classicus*.

The Cultural Values (CV) block forms the pool of all identifiable elements of culture -- language, rituals, belief systems, oral traditions, folklore, folktales, wisdom literature, etc., which, moreover, constitutes the commonalities that identify both NU and EI, as well as the characteristics distinctive only to the ethnic group that identifies them as such. CV provides the dynamics of the movement to and from all directions which return to it again to undergo revitalization, then again ramifying into the four other blocks with each receiving revivification in a continuous cycle.

If we are looking for a perfect example of synergism, the paradigm provides it. Individually, each of the boxes in the paradigm is useless in terms of our understanding of the notion within a given society. The synergism is shown by the arrows that connect each of the blocks in a single and/or two-way relationship. The arrows moving in clock-wise direction connect all the blocks in a continuous circle. The two-way arrows connecting all the five blocks provide the continuing relations between them. What do these arrows mean in the context of the synergistic relations we have just referred to? The answer to this question lies in what we had earlier referred to as the revitalization-cum-revivification of each block in the process of dynamic pulsation in a given social order, and in a continuing relation.

The Philippines as *Locus Classicus*

The geography of the Philippine archipelago finds close similarity with the *locus classicus* of the notion under investigation. It shows us a classic example of socio-cultural diversity. "More than seven thousand islands are no small evidence of the potential forces that make islanders insular in their perceptions, and consider the other islanders as causes of conflicts among them should these come in contact with each other." In this instance, geography does not serve as impediment to interchange but rather it is something that strengthens it. This notion brings to full understanding that insularity is no moment here, as the seas are no "barriers towards unity of the development of one single perception of similar phenomena." The seas had, somehow in the past as it has in the present,

been the main avenue, and they have played an important role in the continuing contacts between cultures. They were the highways through which cultural inter-changes occurred."²⁰ The arrows that connect the blocks in the paradigm are the seas through which contacts among the islands (blocks) are effected with precise and synergistic efficiency.

In the practical application of the paradigm, the various elements of culture (CV), define the notion of national identity (i.e. unity) with Ethnic Identity (EI) as the underlying foundation of the former. One such cultural element we want to underscore is language. We believe it is easiest to verify because of its daily usage among speakers of various languages and/or dialects.

In an earlier paper I wrote sometime in 1980, I discussed the problems that impede the attainment of national unity. One of the problems is the ethno-linguistic problem.

The ethnic and linguistic identities of each of the groupings in the country has contributed to much of the division of the Filipinos according to these identities. This is recognized by languages spoken by each group, and the emphasis had been primarily on the level of differences rather than on the level of commonalities.

The intelligibility of Philippine languages would range from 35% to about 70% on a very conservative estimate. This would, therefore, belong to greater Austronesian (formerly called Malayo-Polynesian) family of languages. The range of the intelligibility of these languages within this great family is 25% to 65%. Historically, before the intrusion of the western world in Austronesian regions, when various colonial experiences occurred, the range of intelligibility would be higher.

With Filipino developing as the *lingua filipina* with Tagalog as its grammatical base, a common vocabulary must be developed from all the languages spoken in the Philippines. However, there would be no attempt to obliterate the various ethnic languages. Rather, they should be allowed to develop and continue creating their individual literatures. They should even be encouraged with

government support to publish their literatures in their own ethnic languages to make them speakers of not only the *lingua filipina*.

Perhaps, to engender greater consciousness for the other languages spoken by the various ethno-linguistic groups, the tri-language formula adopted by the Indian Government must be examined for what it is worth in the context of Philippine conditions. In brief, the formula is that every Filipino, on the basis of the Language Policy enunciated by Government, must learn English as a tool for higher education and international communications. He must also learn the National Language which is *Filipino*. The native Filipino speaker must learn any of the major Philippine languages, namely Iloko, Bikol, Sugbuhanon, Hiligaynon, Waray, Tausog, Maranaw, Magindanaw. This will certainly satisfy the principle of equity, which creates a sense of unity in a highly volatile situation, where the only lasting possession of these peoples would be their cultural heritage expressed in most vivid terms, the living language.

If we recognize that commonalities do exist among various languages spoken in the Philippines, then a proactive effort on the part of the Government (MEB) has to be taken to in-put all these in the development of a National Language (NU), with TD operating on its own to smooth out some inherent difficulties that arise in the process. The distinctive traits will then fall into EI, recognizing them to constitute the basic elements of its language/linguistic identity. But to leave it alone to effect a unity through TD would take a long period of time as to negate all the expectations of national identity.

In the context of the quotation above, let us be more specific. Inevitably, when we speak of unity, the notions of fairness, equity and justice loom large in order to achieve for the country that “unity in the state of diversity.” The imposition of a language on the national level, which is seen as imperialistic or colonial in nature, will surely create problems. Hence, there is the need for a much more acceptable mechanism (MEB) by which acceptability manifests justice and equity.

We know that the Bilingual Policy of Government is inequitous and discriminatory. It discriminates against all other Philippine languages, and

gives undue advantage to *Tagalog*, which had been tagged as *Pilipino*. It is a mechanism that promotes injustice and disharmony. It is, therefore, the argument of this essay that a much fairer and most equitable MEB must be taken. It is further argued that the tri-language formula be the solution to this problem. And to emphasize this proposed tri-language formula, let me advert back again to Gonzales²¹ who made a similar observation which I also underscored in 1980. I wrote then:

... short of a massive upheaval or radical change in the politics of the region, the Filipino will be multilingual, at least tri-lingual, using the vernacular as the language of the home, Tagalog-based Pilipino as an unborn *lingua franca*, and English as the language of commerce, legislation, government and international relations, perhaps using Pilipino and English as the languages of education, and paying lip service to the continuing formation of a common national language called *Filipino*.²²

I was then very explicit about the equity that each of the languages in the “triangles” enjoys, much more so with the local languages (not vernacular) developing on the same level as the national language, i.e., *Filipino*. This alternative formula I was proposing would bring legitimacy to every language spoken in the archipelago. Each language then could be a contributor to the formation of the national language symbol, thereby giving a meaningful essence of practical reality to the theoretical construct herein presented.

Concluding Remarks

I can only hope that this serious controversy over the language issue will be resolved following the principle of equity and what Filipinos expect the Commission on National Language will do as mandated by law. But it is certain that it will find resolution, in spite of the concomitant difficulties that such a crucial issue is heir to. It is also certain such a resolution can be effected if the construct *Bhinneka Tunggal Eka* could be the framework that shall guide the development of the national goal symbolized by a language that will provide the single identity of a nation-state, and with all elements identifiable within the broader perspectives represented in the ethnicity of each of the contributing languages.

The Philippines is unavoidably moving toward tri-linguality -- a local or regional language, a national language and an international language.²³ The third language, the international language, is already resolved for the English language which has somehow become the international language of communication by the Filipinos. While it is true that the English language has become part of the language environment in the Philippines, it may not necessarily figure in the national language issue in the context of the development of the national symbol of language identity. Rather, the local regional (ethnic) languages will play a crucial role in the full realization of national unity, as shown in the paradigm.

One word of caution must not, however, be overlooked in the whole process of development. In the process, it must be recognized that the society is dynamic and pulsating and, therefore, change occurs. Language is not an exception. "Changes in language involve changes in people." Because language is a cultural element, "changes in language take place in response to other aspects of culture change." What I am trying to point out here is that in spite of the seeming rigidity that is "prescribed" in the paradigm, some room must be given for the changes occurring in the whole process of the development of the national language.

Finally, the Philippines has its models in the Bahasa Indonesia and the Bahasa Melayu/Bahasa Malaysia experiences. The process may take a quarter of a century to achieve but, at least, it could be said that the principles of equity and equality, harmony and justice had been considered. In the end, the language -- by whatever name it shall be called (it could be Filipino) will certainly be the "source(s) of inspiration: intellectual, aesthetic, spiritual."²⁴ And, that could have, indeed,

... require[d] a very great collective act of work and of will, and not simply metaphysically, of love, to embrace *Filipino* as the heart of Philippine education. But the results, the fruits of that embrace may in the long run prove worthy whatever effort the act required.²⁵

This, we can at least say, that the whole process of developing our national symbol of language identity has not been achieved without the necessary sacrifice of the whole Philippine nation.

Postscript

Discussing the Indonesian construct as a model for language planning and language use will gain better appreciation by also discussing the Bahasa Malaysia model which on closer examination provides a more structured framework, if in an extended level. In discussing the case of English and Bahasa Malaysia, Asmah Haji Omar²⁶ utilized the concept of nationalism and nationism in language planning and language use, as earlier examined by Joshua Fishman (1968). She wrote ...

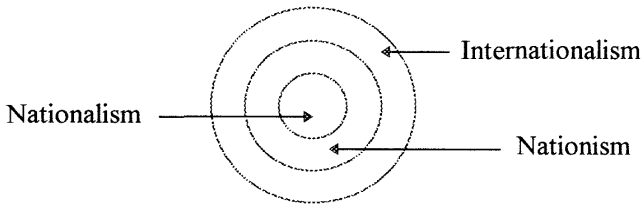
... He defines nationalism as a 'process of transformation from fragment and tradition-bound ethnicity to unifying and ideologized nationality!' ... the tie between language and nationalism represents a more ideologized historical interaction (in terms of mass ideology) since nationalism so commonly elaborates upon language as one of its markers of symbolic unity and identity!

... nationism is a process 'where the political boundaries are most salient and most efforts are directed towards maintaining and strengthening them, regardless of the immediate socio-cultural character of the populations they embrace.' ... in nationalism the development of self-identity and group-identity is through a common language, in nationism it is the question of efficiency or group cohesion that is important.²⁷

Asmah Haji Omar argues that these concepts were the bases for the development of Bahasa Malaysia as the language of national unity and identity, and the English language was and is "essential in Malaysia's rise to become a developing and industrial nation and to take its place in internationalism." (emphasis mine).

Concluding her exposition, she comes²⁸ up with what she calls "The Tripartite Ideology" (Figure 2) consisting of Nationalism, Nationism, and Internationalism, with Nationalism as the core, viz.:

Figure 2. The Tripartite Ideology



Each of these is not exclusive of the other; each supports the other. Nationalism is strengthened by the two. In other words, the synergy that is effected in the process of interrelationship is fully achieved, thus strengthening the bonds of unity and identity in the Malaysian society.

What were earlier discussed in this paper are reflective of the Tripartite Ideology, i.e., nationalism. Nationism, on the other hand, is expressed in the recognition of the ethnic boundaries in terms of the cultural values that define the identities which also include national identity. The reference to English as the language of international communications defines the third item in the Ideology. While Malaysia has already reached full realization at the ideological level in its language development, the Philippines is moving towards it at a pace which hopefully will parallel Malaysia's achievement.

In the report I made regarding my participation in the Symposium for which the paper was earlier written, I wrote in the evaluation which stated, in part:

... the development of the National Language, i.e., *Filipino*, **MUST** consider, with greater effort, the infusion of its lexical terminologies from the Philippine languages that are identifiable with those in Bahasa Indonesia/Bahasa Malaysia/ Bahasa Melayu. In other words, the broader commonalities between and among Bahasa Indonesia/ Bahasa Malaysia/ Bahasa Melayu and the developing Philippine National Language **MUST** be the **MOST** important consideration. The tendency to hispanize the

National Language MUST be last in our priorities in the lexicographic development of our language, the NATIONAL SYMBOL OF OUR IDENTITY. In the longer term, our Asian identity will be strengthened because our roots will be expressed in terms of our language symbol.

The above statement was not written in a vacuum, rather it was triggered by a paper presented in the Symposium, entitled *Perbedaan Di Antara Bahasa Indonesia Dan Bahasa Melayu Dalam Lingkungan Dunia* (The Difference Between Bahasa Indonesia and Bahasa Melayu in the World Context) by Laurent Metzger. While recognizing the differences between Bahasa Indonesia and Bahasa Melayu (spoken and written form, lexicon, syntax, semantics and language style), Laurent Metzger discussed the varied areas of unity and commonalities of these two languages, including Bahasa Malaysia and Bahasa Melayu Singapura. To achieve this unification, he took efforts at seeking the areas of unity and identity within each and among these languages. He further adverted to the fact that both Bahasa Indonesia and Bahasa Malaysia are now in constant contact with each other to seek those commonalities that exist between them, within which the proposed Bahasa Melayu Singapura and Bahasa Melayu Brunei can well become part of and to benefit thereby. Moreover, he also proposed that to make the unification more meaningful, the languages maybe unified under the name *Bahasa Nusantara* -- Archipelagic Language. And this seems logical considering that all these languages belong to the greater Austronesian (Malaya-Polynesian) language family.

In seeking our Asian connection, it is in this language that we seek its roots. I think I was not wrong in using Bahasa Indonesia/Bahasa Malaysia for my models in the development of the Philippine national symbol of language unity and identity. For it cannot be denied that the Philippines is not only geographically of Asia; its languages are Asian as well, and classified together with all the languages in the Southeast Asian regions within the greater Austronesian family.

To conclude, while the non-Asian languages in the Philippines -- Spanish and English -- continue to have a very strong influence in the current language scene, it should be borne in mind that these, particularly English, will fall under the category as language of internationalism. Considering the long history of Spanish in the Philippines, it is to be noted that the language provided the lexical terminologies of ideas and concepts that had been introduced during its ascendancy. It lost many of its

features, however, to the native languages through the centuries. It will have to give way to the introduction/reintroduction of other terminologies from the other Philippine languages and Bahasa Indonesia/Bahasa Malaysia/Bahasa Melayu, to fulfill both the concepts of nationalism and nationism. English, having sunk its roots in the country, fulfills the internationalism side of the triangle.

To make these happen will be conditioned by factors -- political, cultural, and social -- for which there is no time, at this point, to devote for their discussion.

Endnotes

¹The framework of this paper was inspired by the Indonesian *Bhinneka Tunggal Eka*, "Unity in Diversity" model, which hopefully will contribute to the final unification of the Filipinos in the formation of their national symbol of language identity. It does not, however, preempt whatever have been attained through earlier efforts at language development. Rather, the paradigm or framework is a small contribution to make all those involved in the formation of the national language recognize that the ethnic component of the National Unity is, beyond doubt, crucial in achieving that unity. At the same time, this paradigm/framework sends the message to the same group of people to rethink their position in merely *Filipinizing* or *Hispanizing* every English word and call it *Filipino*, which ends up to *Castenggalog* (Castillan, English and Tagalog). In other words, the framework makes it easier for bringing to the National Language the other ethnic languages -- large or small -- that can truly express the National Psyche, thus sending the message to these ethnic groups that they are part of the National Community. These ethnic groups can no longer be ignored; they must be made part of that continuing attempt at nation-building. For it cannot be denied that language is the soul of a people!

²Renato Constantino 1981:28-39

³*Ibid.*, p.28

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 29

⁵*Ibid.*, pp.29-30

⁵cf. Constantino1981:30

⁷cf. Yabes1981:183

³Gerald T. Burns 1992:130-167

³*Ibid.*, p. 167

¹⁰Larson 1963

¹¹Francisco 1992; cf. Francisco 1980

¹²Kiunisala 1990; cf. Llamson 1977:291-303

¹³Francisco 1992

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 97

¹⁵*Ibid.*:x

¹⁶*Ibid.*, pp.155-157

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 157

¹⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁹See Proceedings, “Specialist Conference” of January 12-13, 1990; Dialogue Between Academia and Chief Executive Officers, Government and Non-Government Agencies, May 9, 1990.

²⁰cf. Francisco 1980

²¹Andrew Gonzales 1983:157

²²*Ibid.*

²³cf. Larson 1963

²⁴Ngugi Wa Thiong’o, in Burns 1992:165

²⁵*Ibid.*

²⁶Asmah Hajo Omar 1992:61-81

²⁷*Ibid.*, p. 66

²⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 78-79

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To this writer, the language issue in the Philippines is indeed serious in terms of the total equity in the final development of that national language symbol of identity. Hence, as early as 1966, the issue was partly tackled in a paper "Notes on the Language Problem of India (*Philippine Journal of Language Teaching*, Vol. IV Nos. 1-2 [1966] pp. 1-17). The question came up again in two essays I wrote -- "Language and Cultural Identity Crisis: The Case of the Philippines," prepared for the AILA (International Congress of Applied Linguistics), August 21-26, 1978, Montreal, Canada; and "National Identity" in *Policy for the 1980's* (F. Miranda and M. Mangahas, Eds., Quezon City, 1980). Moreover, reading through Indian history, society and culture made me realize that the largest example, classic as it is, of the history of unity in diversity, i.e., *Anekaa evam ekaa*, is India herself. The paradigm used in this essay had its first appearance in an essay I wrote for the SEAMEO-INNOTECH Indigenous Learning Systems Project in 1982. Titled "Indigenous Systems: the Philippines," the paradigm served as the archetype.

In this essay, and in another one written in 1992, the paradigm has been refined for a better understanding of the notion of the construct *Bhinneka Tunggal Eka*.

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JAMA MAPUN ETHNOECOLOGY: ECONOMIC
AND SYMBOLIC
(OF GRAINS, WINDS, AND STARS)

ERIC S. CASIÑO

Introduction

IF HUMAN ECOLOGY IS THE STUDY OF THE RELATION OF human populations and their natural environment, the assumption is that neither society nor environment can be completely understood outside the concrete interlocking achieved by a particular society with a particular environment. Geertz, in his *Agricultural Involution: The Process of Ecological Change in Indonesia* (1963), pointed out the peculiar emptiness of those questions which approached the problem of man-environment relations by assuming either one as an independent, active variable and the other as a mere dependent, passive function. To inquire if and how man affects his environment is as vague as asking if and how environment affects man. In the empirical order each variable limits, conditions, and shapes the other in a mutual, dialectic fashion. A more realistic approach is to study a particular society in a particular environment and to consider both simultaneously as forming an ongoing concrete, space-time system—an ecosystem governed by its own intrinsic mechanics and having its own peculiar structure to be discovered through cultural and ecological analysis.

This realistic approach to human ecology is what we propose to use in this paper. Our aim is to show two successive, somewhat overlapping, forms of interlocking between society and environment by studying a particular changing population in a particular evolving environment: the Jama Mapun in the island of Kagayan Sulu as seen through space-time. We will attempt to show how Jama Mapun economics and symbolic images and themes are better understood by seeing them as holistically embedded in and culturally tied up with their total surrounding, the environmental pattern composed of land, sea, plants, animals, winds, currents, and stars.

The data and insights we will be using here are based on a nine-month fieldwork among the Jama Mapun, the first three months in 1963 when we did the pilot study of the group, and the other six in 1966 when we did our main ethnoecological study.¹ The present paper is only a working,

¹The main project was jointly sponsored and supported by the Community Development Research Council, the Research Foundation in Philippine Anthropology and Archaeology, Inc., and by the Agricultural Development Council, Inc. The pilot study was made possible by a SEATO research grant. The entire project was carried on by the author as a researcher of the National Museum's Division of Anthropology.

preliminary formulation of one major aspect of our study, work on which is still going on. Hence comments on the paper will be welcome.

The Jama Mapun in Kagayan

The Jama Mapun ethno-linguistic group is not limited to the island of Kagayan alone. Many of them are found in Southern Palawan, parts of coastal North Borneo, and in many small islands and islets in-between, for instance, in Turtle Islands (Taganak, Bagu:an, Bo:an,² Leheman, Sibaung, and Great Bakungan). In the 1960 Census the population of Kagayan was given as 10,789, about 10,000 of which may be considered "pure" Jama Mapun. Our estimate of the total Jama Mapun population, as found in Kagayan, Palawan, Borneo, and the intervening islands, is in the neighborhood of 20 to 25 thousand. Anthropologists have included the Jama Mapun among the nine Muslim Filipino groups in the Southern Philippines.

From linguistic and cultural evidences, the Jama Mapun constitute a major branch of the generic Samal peoples in the Sulu archipelago, which include the so-called Bajaos. One current theory is that the land-dwelling Samals started off as sea-nomads like the Bajaos, and indeed that both the Samals and the Bajaos evolved from the same, basic protoculture. In Jolo the Jama Mapun are commonly called Samal Kagayan.

Our study of the two types of Jama Mapun ecosystems is limited to the population inhabiting the island of Kagayan.³ The unusual geographical and environmental conditions of this island make it an interesting subject and setting for ecological studies. Unlike Pangutaran island to the southeast which is a low, coralline, atoll-like island, Kagayan is a high island with unmistakable mountain profiles when seen from a distance. From the air it has a roughly triangular shape with an estimated area of 70 square kilometers of rich volcanic and alluvial soils. The volcanic past of Kagayan is in evidence from a rich variety of volcanic cones, two volcanic lakes, and one natural lake. Botanists and zoologists suggest that the island's flora and fauna resemble more those found in mainland Borneo than those in Northern Philippines. For instance, the *landak* (porcupine) found in Palawan and Borneo is also found in Kagayan. Geologically, too, there is evidence that the island, during the land-bridge times, was once part of the Bornean landmass. The sea between Kagayan and Borneo is quite shallow with depths averaging only 50 fathoms, in contrast to the sea northeast of Kagayan where depths quickly drop down to 200-fathom level and beyond.

Nearer to North Borneo than to either Jolo, Palawan or Zamboanga, Kagayan has strong ethnic-historical and economic ties with the older human communities in coastal North Borneo. Kagayan is 400 km. directly west of

² Glottal-stops throughout this paper are represented by the colon (:).

³ There are fifteen different spellings given in the Blair & Robertson Index. We follow the Philippine Census spelling.

Zamboanga City; 300 km. west northwest of Jolo; 120 km. north, northeast of Sandakan; and 220 km. southeast of Balabac. From Manila, Kagayan would be approximately 850 km. On the map, the island appears as a microscopic blob at the southwestern rim of the Sulu Sea basin.

By motorized *kumpit* from Kagayan it takes nearly 36 hours to Zamboanga, 24 hours to Jolo, 22 hours to Palawan, but a mere 8 to 10 hours to Sandakan.

Some Theoretical Considerations

Ecology, in its most generic sense, is defined as the study of the relation of organisms to their environment (Odum 1959:4). Human ecology is the study of a particular case of this relation, that between human organisms or populations and the natural environment. C. Daryll Forde's *Habitat, Economy and Society* and other studies in human geography fall within the general rubric of human ecology.

Although ecology as a science may be young—the term “oecology” was introduced by Haeckel in 1869—interest in the interrelation of man and his environment is as old as man himself, for human survival depended, as it still does, on his ability to know, understand, interpret, and utilize his environment. In fact all primitive societies have their own body of knowledge regarding the nature and uses of environmental resources. Such “native ecology” is what is commonly known as ethnoecology. The interest in ethnoecology has been mainly initiated in anthropology, for anthropologists realize that to understand a particular society and culture they have to learn the ways of that people. And people's ways include their local way of categorizing and valuating environmental components and their interrelationship (Conklin 1961:27).

Thus it will be helpful to distinguish between human ecology and ethnoecology. Human ecology stresses the interlocking of society and environment as objectively seen by an observer using scientific categories, notions, and measurements. Ethnoecology studies that same interlocking as subjectively seen and structured by the values and categories immanent in the culture of the human population being studied.

Ecology and the Economic Sphere

To show the relation of ecology to the economy of a society is not difficult. For the economy or the food-quest is by definition the exploitation of the natural environment for the satisfaction of the material needs of society. Indeed the convergent developments in disciplinary geography and economics after the Second World War have only reemphasized the logically complementary natures of ecology and economics. The total involvement of society with the natural physical environment is one of the self-evident truths

in the natural and social sciences. Geographer Ginsburg (1960:5) expressed this universal phenomenon:

All peoples, whatever their race, culture, or history, wish to procure food, clothing, shelter (housing and fuel), and medical supplies to assure against discomfort, physical disability, and premature loss of life. . . . Further, in all cultures, however "primitive," it is necessary to produce or procure a variety of implements, tools, and plant equipment; and at any level above that of hunting and gathering, it is necessary to invest labor in clearing land and preparing it for cultivation.

And in the Jama Mapun case it is not difficult to show how the development of the economy is best understood in the light of the conditions operative in the physical environment, i.e. the island and marine ecology. We will show that the introduction of the coconut as a commercial plant or cash crop and the development of the motorized *kumpit* as a technological innovation in the sea-trade have so affected the traditional man-environment relation in Kagayan that a new configuration in the social and economic organization is clearly discernible—an emergent ecosystem. Social change among the islanders appears, from the ecological point of view, as really a shift in the ecosystem. This shift will be illustrated by showing the contrast between the older ecosystem typified by the *huma* (multicrop, subsistence farming) and the new ecosystem typified by the *kabbun niyug* (monocrop, exchange or market economy involving copra production).

Ecology and the Symbolic Sphere

To show the relation of ecology to the symbolic life and the perceptual order of a society seems somewhat more difficult and perhaps unusual. The ecological framework and its special concepts, e.g. biomass, successions, climaxes, ecological niches, and energy relations do not readily appear germane to the framework and language of psychology, e.g. projections, contents, forms, and associations. Thus it may be necessary to suggest in some detail one manner in which the link-up may be done.

Researches in the theory of knowledge, psychoanalysis, social psychology, linguistics, and folklore all seem to converge towards a common hypothesis of symbols, concepts, and ideas. In the theory of knowledge the image has been traditionally regarded as a reflection or a construct from concrete reality (Lonergan 1958). Free association and the analysis of dreams in the psychoanalytic tradition assume that mental images and cognitive patterns are the results of past experiences and conditionings in one's social and natural milieu. A group of social psychologists (Krech *et al* 1962:18) asserts that: "How an individual conceives the world is dependent, first of all, upon the nature of the physical and social environments in which he is immersed." Linguistic theory in its analysis of content words and grammatical categories is generally based on the assumption that such words and

structures mean or point to particular objects or processes in one's culture and environment (Sapir 1949:102). And the analysis of folklore, of myths and place-names, seeks to throw light on society and culture by associating the images and themes to real life situations in the past (Jocano 1965).

Using a similar working assumption common in the above disciplines, we will analyze a number of Jama Mapun symbols and folktales. We hope to show that their inherent images and themes and associations are reflections or symbolic correlates of the people's way of life, specially of their food-quest. We will regard images and themes as diagnostic for understanding the people's culture and environment. Thus by associating symbolic projections with the underlying economic preoccupations we hope to provide the needed link between ecology and the symbolic.⁴

Stated more clearly, our hypothesis is that the environment through the economy is reflected in the symbolic sphere of a people's culture.

In our case study of the Jama Mapun we will show that the traditional ecosystem represented by the *buma* economy has its corresponding reflections in the symbolic sphere of the Jama Mapun culture. The relative absence of images and themes corresponding to the new *kabbun* economy does not argue towards the weakening of our hypothesis, but rather suggests a time lag between the emergence of a new economic pattern and the registration or distillation of this pattern in the symbolic elements of the culture. Indeed this time lag assumes a crucial pragmatic importance, for its presence enables us to reconstruct to some extent the older ecosystem through its manifestations lingering, like an after-image, in the symbolic sphere.

The term "environment," which up to now we have been throwing around without formal definition, certainly needs some clarification. Admittedly the concept is one of those abstract, protean ideas, like the philosophical "being," which is polymorphic. Through its variety of meanings and consequent vagueness it has built-in semantic traps to the uncritical.

One meaning of "environment" is given by Conklin (1961:27). Using a scientific ecological framework, he divides environmental components and their interrelations into three sets: climatic (moisture, temperature, air movement, and sunlight); edaphic (soil conditions, fertility, porosity, texture, relief, and drainage); and biotic (floral and faunal components of the habitat). He notes that climatic factors are the least amenable to control. We will be operating within this meaning of "environment" in our analysis of the ecological success of the coconut palm in Kagayan, and partly in the analysis of the *buma* as an adjustment to the rain cycle.

⁴ We do not wish to suggest a strictly Marxian interpretation of this problem, i.e. that the material substructure determines the ideological level, for an opposite downward determination is also possible. We adhere to a view that allows mutual feed-back.

However, there is another way of regarding environment, a mode which is more analytical and potentially more culture-bound and value-laden. Wagner suggests that "environment" be regarded not as a "great enveloping complex thing—as earlier geographers imagined," but as a *way of thinking* about certain things in relation to human events. "An environment is only an environment in relation to something that it environs, and is significant insofar as it interacts in some way with that thing" (Wagner 1960:5).

Admittedly Wagner's mode of representing "environment" is heavily cognitive, but also highly useful because it includes and goes beyond Conklin's triple set. Wagner goes beyond Conklin since there are other elements that are neither climatic, edaphic nor biotic which nevertheless interact with human populations. This second meaning of environment becomes useful in the study of symbolic elements in relation to ecology and will be resorted to as an underlying assumption in our analysis of the role of stars in appreciating the roles of fishing, hunting, and farming in traditional Jama Mapun food-quest.

We prescind from other specialized meanings of ecology, e.g. cultural, social, artificial, and others.

The Traditional Ecosystem: Huma

Approaching the island of Kagayan Sulu, either northwesterly from Palawan or southeasterly from Jolo, the eye is delighted by the sight of a green island-mass rising out of the sea-scape. As one approaches nearer, he will see that the greenness is due to rows of coconut palms sliding majestically down from the volcanic hill tops to the water edges. Kagayan is practically covered with coconut trees, about 75 per cent of the total island area, which is about 70 square kilometers. This is a sight one would see in 1966.

If one could turn back the ecological clock to 1521 or to 1842, the eye would still be delighted by the sight of a green island-mass rising out of the horizon, but on closer look one would see not coconut palms but secondary or even primary forest blanketing the hills and valleys. This is, at least, what Pigafetta and Captain Charles Wilkes tell us.

Pigafetta probably was the first westerner to set eyes and to write about Kagayan Sulu. In 1521, weeks after Magellan met his death in Mactan, the rest of the fleet left Cebu for Borneo. On their way they made brief stopovers in Kagayan and Palawan in search for food. We are thankful to Pigafetta for giving us the first or earliest known map of the island and especially for a brief but ecologically significant description of the inhabitants and their environment, thus providing us with some historical base line.

. . . laying our course west southwest, we cast anchor at an island not very large and almost uninhabited. The people of that island are Moros and were banished from an island called Burne. They go naked as do the others. They

have blow-pipes and small quivers at their side, full of arrows and a poisonous herb. They have daggers whose hafts are adorned with gold and precious gems, spears, bucklers, and small cuirasses of buffalo horn. They called us holy beings. Little food was to be found in that island, but [there were] immense trees. It lies in a latitude of seven and one half degrees toward the Arctic Pole, and is forty-three leguas from Chippit. Its name is Caghaian. (B & R, Vol. 33, p. 207).⁵

And from the *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842* we have another brief account of the island by Captain Charles Wilkes:

... and at daylight on the 7th [February 1842] we made the islands of Cagayan Sooloo, in latitude 7:03:30 N, and longitude 118:37 E. The tide or current was passing the island to the west-southwest, three quarters of a mile per hour; we had soundings of seventy-five fathoms. Cagayan Sooloo has a pleasant appearance from the sea, and may be termed a high island. It is less covered with undergrowth and mangrove-bushes than the neighboring islands, and the reefs are comparatively small. It has fallen off in importance, and by comparing former accounts with those I received, and from its present aspect, it would seem that it has decreased both in population and products. (B & R, Vol. 43, p. 189.)

With these two historical base lines given and our present knowledge of conditions in the island, it is pertinent to ask what happened, sociologically and ecologically, between 1521 through 1842 to 1966. Clearly there has been a change in the composition of the island biomass and ecological balance, from one dominated by forests and slight human population to another dominated by commercial coconuts and greater population pressure. Recalling our hypothesis that an ecological approach studies a particular interlocking achieved by a particular society with a particular environment in a definite period of time, we can say that here we have two successive types of ecosystem.

To understand the peculiar configuration and functions of the various sociocultural and ecological components in each of the two ecosystem, let us first sketch the broad characteristics of the earlier ecosystem.

Let us designate the earlier, pre-coconut ecosystem as the *huma*. For although the traditional Jama Mapun food-quest was a complex of fishing and marine-food collecting (*padilaut* and *ngusaba*), trading (*lomeh*), and farming (*huma*), it was the latter which was the basic economic activity and which was chiefly affected by the transition to the *kabbun* economy. It may be thus appropriate to typify the entire traditional food-quest by the heading *huma*, to reconstruct which is still possible. For besides the descriptions of the *huma* given by older Jama Mapun who practised it, instances of the practice may still be observed, mostly among the Jama Mapun immigrants

⁵ B & R stands for Blair and Robertson, Taipei Edition. The place called Chippit is in northwestern Zamboanga.

in Palawan as an existing, though diminishing alternative economic activity side by side and overlapping with the ever more common and popular *kabbun*.

Before 1900 all Jama Mapun families subsisted generally by practising *huma*. The *huma* is a subsistence farm consisting of dry or upland rice, corn, cassava, camote, several root crops and vegetables and fruit trees. Our fieldwork revealed that Jama Mapun recognize several "types" of each of the major *huma* crops. The following enumeration was supplied by an old Jama Mapun woman of the village of Duhul Batu, the community we studied in detail.

<i>Plant</i>	<i>No. of types (native categories)</i> ⁶
banana	21
cassava (<i>bastila: kayu</i>)	14
sugarcane (<i>tabbu</i>)	11
palay (<i>paoy</i>)	7
ubi	5
gabi	5
camote (<i>bastila</i>)	4
corn (<i>gandum</i>)	3

A *huma* may also contain different kinds of beans (string beans, mungo, peanuts), watermelon, eggplants, small pepper (*lara*), tomatoes, and aromatic grass (the Cebuano *tanglad*). Often one finds a lemon (*limao*) tree growing outside a Jama Mapun house.

A Jama Mapun family, living according to this *huma* culture, adjusted to his climatic environment by fitting his planting activities to the annual cycle of two rainy seasons. The first rainy season, and the main one, is the *uwan ta:un* which begins around June and lasts for about three months. The second rainy season, a shorter one called *uwan puli:an*, occurs sometime in November. The islanders plant their main crops, rice and corn, during the *uwan ta:un*; the minor crops are planted during the later rainy season.

From the evidence supplied by Pigafetta and Wilkes, Kagayan was not very thickly populated; before 1900 there were probably no more than 3,000 inhabitants in the island. It must also be remembered that early Jama Mapun were partly nomadic. Thus older Jama Mapun informants told us they clear and till any area in any measure they pleased. For land then was regarded as a free good open to any family willing to work.⁷ During this period

⁶ Cf. Conklin (1947) who writes that Hanunoo plant taxonomy, based on native criteria, outnumbers those in botanical books. He also notes that an ideal Hanunoo swidden plot may contain some forty-eight basic kinds of plants. The Jama Mapun *huma* undoubtedly is a type of swidden agriculture.

Some of the plants mentioned here, e.g. corn and camote, are intrusive to the Philippines, having been introduced by Spaniards.

⁷ The concept of land ownership came later, around 1917, when the first land survey was made by a private company; in 1925 the whole island was publicly surveyed and divided; stone markers (*bato*) were set to mark one property from another. Implications of this innovation will become more significant later on when we touch on the coconut farms or *kabbuns*.

each family began preparing the ground before the *uwan ta:un* in June. Among the foothills and gentle slopes of volcanic cones, where secondary forests could still be found and where plowing was therefore impractical, people prepared the soil by *kaingin* fashion—cutting down trees and slashing the underbrush and burning them when sufficiently dry. But along the valleys and other level areas, particularly around Lake Sapa: in the southeast end of the island, Jama Mapun used wooden plows (*pagdayao*) pulled by bulls; cattle was reported by Wilkes as present in the island in 1842. A farm prepared by plowing is sometimes called a *badja*.

All cleaning by slash-and-burn or by plowing was done by male members of the families. Women normally helped in the plowed field by removing weeds and breaking the soil into finer texture. Planting was done by both men and women. The men, walking ahead, bore holes in the ground by using a pointed pole, "digging stick," and the women walking behind them dropped the seeds and covered them with their foot. Sometimes both operations were done by one person.

During the four to five months when the palay was growing, continual weeding was kept on by the womenfolk. Harvesting was done by all the members of the family. With the rice and corn harvest the main farming activity ends for that year until the next *uwan ta:un* the following year.

The minor rainy season, *uwan puli:an*, was associated with the minor crops, some of them not necessarily following a strict annual cycle, e.g. camote, cassava, ubi, gabi, string beans, mongo, peanuts, eggplants, pepper, onions, tomatoes, sugarcane, watermelon, and various kinds of bananas. These secondary crops were usually planted near the homestead. Thus one may picture, in pre-*kabbun* Kagayan, Jama Mapun houses surrounded by a rich variety of primary and secondary crops following their own cycle of growth and fruiting to provide a continuous supply of harvestable resources. But this idyllic picture of subsistence farming has some basic limitations, as may be seen in similar examples from other parts of the world.

It will be helpful, at this juncture, to bring in the concept of a generalized and specialized ecosystem. By a generalized ecosystem ecologists understand a given habitat where nutrients are shared by and channelled into a great number of plant and animal species, e.g. a natural pond or a natural forest where a large number of organisms compete for wood, light, and space. A specialized ecosystem is a given habitat where the resources are shared by one or a small number of species thereby benefitting a great number of the privileged species. Because a general ecosystem has a great variety of species with a relatively smaller number of members, it has a high diversity index. On the other hand, a specialized ecosystem has a low diversity index because it has fewer species with a large number of individuals. The transition from

a generalized to a specialized ecosystem, if the species being favored are beneficial to man, is normally engineered and maintained by man.

Geertz has pointed out (1963:16) that the swidden type of agriculture under which would fall Conklin's Hanunoo swidden and our Jama Mapun *huma*, is a human imitation of a generalized ecosystem. Swidden and *huma* agriculturists maintain a multicrop farm, i.e. with a high-diversity index, in imitation of a natural forest. Thus Geertz insightfully calls a swidden plot a sort of "harvestable forest," a "canny imitation of nature." His excellent analysis of the dynamics of swidden agriculture, the cycling of soil nutrients through periodic fallowing and plot rotation, would apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to our Jama Mapun *huma*. However, although we both treat of "two types of ecosystem," there is some fundamental difference in the second terms of our comparison, between his *sawah* (wet or padi rice) and our *kabbun* (commercial coconut). The nature of this difference and its sociocultural implications will be treated in the third part.

Marine-food Collecting: Ngusaha:

Before we move on to analyze the *kabbun*, we must touch on the other aspects of the Jama Mapun adjustment to their island environment, the other links in the total interlocking. For besides being *huma* agriculturists the early Jama Mapun were part-time food-gatherers and traders. We must now see how these other economic activities fitted with the *huma* and with the general conditions of the island and marine setting.

The non-agricultural aspects of the Jama Mapun food-quest is difficult to pigeon-hole within the usual meaning of "food-gathering"—whether fishing, hunting, or seed gathering. Food-gathering culture, as an anthropological concept, seems to be a generalization from data supplied by primitive groups in continental areas like the Americas, Africa, and Australia, hence the difficulty of applying the concept of food-gathering to archipelagic and coastal groups as those found in Southeast Asia. We have therefore to explain what we mean by marine-food gathering as practised by the early Jama Mapun.

Marine-food gathering is a complex of economic-oriented activities which included fishing, shell gathering, and hunting for turtle eggs, sea-gull eggs collecting of birds' nest, *beche de mer* (trepang) and other marine resources

The Turtle Islands are, of course, the prime source of turtle eggs at present, but the territory has been traditionally inhabited by Jama Mapun islanders. And in the past the effective egg-laying range of turtles included Kagayan and the surrounding islets, as is at present to a limited extent.

Next to turtle eggs Jama Mapun also collected sea-gull eggs laid seasonally by thousands of sea-gulls (*kollo-kollo*) in the many sandy islets around

Kagayan.⁸ Both kinds of eggs as well as shellfish were important sources of protein and calcium for the islanders.

It may be recalled, at this point, our hypothesis that the early Jama Mapun approached the culture of the Bajaos, and that both may have shared or evolved from the same protoculture. In the light of this hypothesis, their marine-food gathering becomes more meaningful.

Another element of this marine-food gathering complex is the underlying nomadism presupposed by these activities. The Bajao culture, as we know them at present, is rightfully called sea-nomadic because of its migratory nature. Some limited sea-nomadism may also have characterized part of the marine food-quest of the early Jama Mapun.

To sum up in one word all these aspects of the marine-food gathering complex we would suggest (as we did with *huma*) the term *ngusaba*.

Ngusaba,⁹ in this specialized sense of marine-food gathering, is to be regarded, like *huma*, as a definite adjustment of the Jama Mapun to their island and marine environment. For the collecting of sea-shells, for instance, involved not only a practical knowledge of edible shells (of which Jama Mapun recognize no less than 43 "types"); it also implied familiarity with monthly and seasonal tides. Likewise the hunting for turtle eggs and sea-gull eggs required knowledge of nesting places and seasonal habits of turtles and birds.

Fishing, as another part of *ngusaba*, included the use of weirs, harpoons, hook-and-line, plant-poison, basket-traps (*bobo*), and lately also spearguns with rubber-band propellant and goggles. Although not all of these fishing techniques are in evidence in Kagayan now, informants assured us that they used to be quite common.

Traditional Trade: Lomeh

A third set of economic activities, in addition to *huma* and *ngusaba*, was trading with Palawan natives and Borneo Chinese. We call this aspect of the food-quest *lomeh* (sailing). The Jama Mapun trade pattern expressed by *lomeh* may be viewed from the content of the trade as well as from the dynamics of it, i.e. in terms of winds, currents, and stars—knowledge of

⁸ Two kinds of *kollo-kollo* are recognized: the "aristocratic" white which lay white eggs up in trees high up in the beaches; and the "commoner" greyish-black which lay greyish eggs on the sands. The favorite places of these layers are said to be the islets between Kagayan and the Turtle Islands.

⁹ Our choice of the term was suggested by the following linguistic consideration. *Ngusaba* (which ordinarily means "means of livelihood") seems to be a verbal cognate of the word *nusa* (island). If our etymological hypothesis is correct the root-meaning of *ngusaba* should be "islanding," going from *nusa* to *nusa* in search for food—which is what the Bajao-like background of the Jama Mapun would lead us to suspect. Incidentally, *nusa* is also a common word for "island" among all the Samal groups, e.g. *Lami-nusa* (from *lami*, pleasant, and *nusa*).

which conditioned pre-motorboat navigation. On the content of this early trade we have some indication from Wilkes (B & R, Vol. 43, p. 189).

Its [Kagayan's] caves formerly supplied a large quantity of edible birds'-nests; large number of cattle were to be found upon it; and its cultivation was carried on to some extent. These articles of commerce are not so much attended to at the present time, and the *beche de mer* and the tortoise-shell, formerly brought hither, are now carried to other places.

If Pigafetta's information were correct, namely, that the inhabitants of Kagayan Sulu in 1521 were "banished from an island called Burne" (Borneo or Brunei)—and there is no contrary evidence that these were not the predecessors of the present Jama Mapun—then they must have had some contact and trading relations with the Chinese in Borneo and Sulu. Recent historical writings are throwing more light on the extent and importance of Chinese trade contacts with Southeast Asia, particularly Borneo, Sulu, and Luzon (Majul 1966, Lamb 1964, Outram 1959). The relevance of these early trade contacts in respect to the society and culture of the peoples of Sulu and Borneo lies principally in its role as a stimulus for trade. Lamb, for instance, believes that from Sung times there is evidence that the Chinese were trading with Sarawak, "exchanging ceramics and beads for local products including, it is possible, the substance which forms the basis for bird's nest soup."¹⁰ The early Jama Mapun met by Wilkes in 1842 and by Pigafetta in 1521 already could have known that the Chinese, both the passing traders and the immigrants, loved birds' nests, *beche de mer*, and other marine foods. Awareness of these trading opportunities encouraged the islanders to widen the scope of their *ngusaba* to include marine items fancied by the Chinese. In exchange the Jama Mapun, who did not seem to have developed the weaving art, brought back articles of clothing, as well as gold, precious gems, iron, porcelain, and other commodities not producible by the level of culture and technology of the island people.¹¹ It was also possible that the Chinese traders themselves, in their junks, visited and traded in Kagayan on their way to Sulu, specially if they passed through the straits of Balabac from China Sea. Kagayan lies directly in the route of any vessel sailing from Balabac to Jolo or Zamboanga.

Contemporaneous with this Jama Mapun trade with the Chinese in Borneo was the trade with the animist pagans of Palawan (Palawanin, Tagbanuwa, and others). Trade with these rice-growing pagans, like those with the commercial Chinese, was strictly of the barter type. Early Jama Mapun

¹⁰ Archaeological excavations of the National Museum in Calatagan, Batangas and Bolinao, Pangasinan revealed the amazing volume of Chinese porcelain tradewares that entered the Philippines from the Tang dynasty onward.

¹¹ Dr. Robert B. Fox suggested the insight that a purely sea-nomadic existence could not have developed without a Chinese market where they could get non-marine commodities. As one old Jama Mapun told us, you cannot subsist on fish and turtle eggs alone.

traders used to sail to Palawan, in their *leppa and sappit*,¹² loaded with cloth, brass gongs and artifacts, spears, bolos, and other items valued by the natives of Palawan. The traders used to arrive in Palawan just before harvest time. At their arrival transactions were entered into with the Palawan *panglimas* and chiefs to decide how many *banoyo*s of palay and how many *gantas* of rice (*bobas*) each article would be worth in exchange. After the harvest the traders would sail back to the island with plenty of palay and rice and some forest products, like rattan and *almaciga*, to trade with the Chinese once more, and thus kept the cycle of barter trade.

At this point it is pertinent to ask why the Jama Mapun traded for rice when they were already producing rice in their *humas* in the island. We do not have enough data yet to answer this difficulty. We can suggest, however, that the rice trade was either an alternative form of food-quest side by side with the *huma* or a later development in the Jama Mapun economic adjustment. Whatever may be the actual reason for this seeming neutralization of the *huma* agriculture in Kagayan, the important thing at this juncture is the dynamics of the trade itself as a manifestation of the Jama Mapun interlocking with the marine environment.

This adjustment to the marine environment was effected not only by the exploitation of marine resources for direct consumption and for exchange trade with outsiders, as we have sketched above, but also by the development of navigation based on the knowledge of winds, currents, and stars. The skill of Jama Mapun as sailors was dramatically tested when two of them, *Jilan* and *Kahil*, and one *Bisayan*, sailed to Australia to take two American soldiers escaping from Palawan during World War II. This daring exploit of sailing through the Indonesian archipelago on a native sail-boat suggests a highly sophisticated knowledge of navigation.

Part of the Jama Mapun ethnoecology is their intimate knowledge of various winds, their directions, seasons, and associations with land phenomena. Any Jama Mapun elder (the younger ones seem to be losing the wind-lore as they rely now more often on motorized vessels) can tell you the names and associations of the various winds. Below we give their English equivalents, based on the cardinal points of the compass.

<i>English</i>	<i>Jama Mapun</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Wind from:	<i>Baliw man:</i>	
north	<i>uttara:</i>	Low-tide in the morning (<i>laggu: subu</i> or <i>tabik uttara:</i>)
northeast	<i>timob-laut</i>	

¹² *Leppa* was a double-masted vessel; *sappit* was a single-mast, round-bottom type, the predecessor of the *kumpit* which originally was powered by sail and only later by inboard motor.

<i>English</i>	<i>Jama Mapun</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
east	<i>timob</i>	
southeast	<i>tunggara</i>	
south	<i>sabtan</i>	Low-tide in the afternoon (<i>laggu: kobap or tabik sabtan</i>)
southwest	<i>balat-daya</i>	
west	<i>balat</i>	
northwest	<i>hilaga</i>	
"land-wind"	<i>ambun</i>	Early morning wind blowing from a large body of land
"sea-wind"	<i>dalat</i>	Late afternoon wind from the sea towards the land

Through their intimate knowledge of the winds, the Jama Mapun have developed quite amazing associations between certain winds and some natural phenomena. For instance, it is a common Jama Mapun observation that when the *kapuk* tree starts fruiting, the *sabtan* wind is halfway through its six-month cycle; and that when the fruits begin to fall, the *sabtan* is dying down. Another interesting association is with the May fly. The name given to this ephemeral flying-ant is *manuk-manuk balat-daya* (literally, winged-creature of the *balat-daya* wind) because they appear in their winged forms during the season of the *balat-daya*. And the term for clouds is *tai baliw* ("wind-shits").

It sometimes happens, while sailing under one wind, that sailors suddenly meet a strong wind blowing from another direction and causing a new surface current. In a stormy condition when no other point of reference is available, they have an ingenious way of telling where the new current is taking them. They have learned that a current going in one direction is not reversed by the flow of a new current brought in by a strong wind. The new current moves only on the surface; a few feet below this the original current continues in its original course. Just by simply lowering their legs or their paddles, these seasoned sailors can detect the old current below and the new current above and thus estimate their boat's drift and bearing.

For night navigation, when no stars are visible to guide them, this knowledge of the winds and the currents becomes their sole guide in finding their way through the dark sea. But when stars are visible, they navigate by them. The Jama Mapun's star-lore will be fully treated in the section on the symbolic. Here we will briefly mention that these sailors know that the north-star, which they call *sibilut*, does not move (*nya: usik*) from its position in the northern horizon. Thus, like all sailors in the northern hemisphere, the Jama Mapun rely heavily on *sibilut*, although other constellations are also readily used.¹³

¹³ As Kagayan lies seven degrees north of the equator, *Polaris* is sometimes hardly visible on the horizon, specially as one moves down to Borneo. Thus Jama Mapun use some of the outstanding stars and constellations in the southern hemisphere like *Crux*.

The preceding presentation of the Jama Mapun food-quest and economy tried to show that their underlying activities and behavior are best understood as particular responses and adaptations to the land and sea environment with their climatic cycles, marine biotic resources, and such physical variables as winds, currents, and stars which, in the Wagnerian sense, were ecologically important to the islanders.

If we have divided the entire network of the Jama Mapun interlocking with their environment into the *huma*, the *ngusaba*, and the *lomeb* it was not to create the impression that these were separate and unrelated strands of ecological adaptations. The traditional Jama Mapun family, as an economic unit, engaged in these three areas of adjustment to nature not all at once but according to the opportunities and schedules dictated by processes and limitations inherent in the environment—planting during the rainy seasons, egg gathering during the nesting season, fishing and shell collecting when weather and tides permitted, trading when the winds and trade opportunities were favorable.

Because these ecological adaptations have characterized the Jama Mapun culture and society for such a long time, before the *kabbun* was developed in the early 1900's, it is not surprising that many elements would find their way into the symbolic sphere of their culture. How to discover the ecological elements registered and crystallized in the images and themes of their symbolic world is the scope of the following section.

Ecology and the Symbolic

By the symbolic we mean the common images and themes in the culture and world-view of a people. Such images and themes reside in the language, literature, beliefs, legends, myths, and sayings of a people. There may be many ways of penetrating into this symbolic world. One method which we will be using in this section is to elicit them through a projective technique similar to those used in psychology.

In the ideal ink-blot test, a subject is presented an objectively patternless field or set of elements. The trick is to make the subject introduce some pattern upon the elements by projecting his own image patterns. In this way an investigator draws out the "mind" of the subject and comes into contact with his symbolic world. If the same test is given to a number of subjects belonging to a given group, e.g. an ethno-linguistic group, and the same patterning becomes apparent, then it may be concluded that recurrent patterns or images are not peculiar to a single subject but common to the entire group.

In our study of the symbolic in Jama Mapun culture we were guided by the above principles and assumptions. But instead of using a card with

ink-blots, we presented a natural phenomenon, i.e. the "star-blots" on the night sky. The essential elements of a projective test are there—an objectively patternless field or set of elements which are open to being patterned by a subject. We know, for instance, from Greco-Roman and Anglo-Saxon mythology, that constellations are structured differently by different peoples. What looked like a great-bear-with-a-tail (*Ursa Major*) to the Latins, appeared as a big-dipper-with-a-handle to the English. And so with the other constellations. At first we wondered if a Jama Mapun living in the tropics would see in this popular constellation the Latin bear or the English dipper. To our great surprise (because it confirmed our expectation) the Jama Mapun see neither a bear nor a dipper but a fish-trap called *bobo* with a string tied to it!¹⁴

We repeated this experimental procedure, asking different Jama Mapun subjects both in Kagayan and in Palawan (among the immigrant families in Pulut, Brooke's Point). We pointed to the general direction of the familiar English constellations, e.g. Big Dipper, Southern Cross, Pleides, Orion, and others. Later we allowed our subjects a free rein, and they pointed to patterns we never heard of, e.g. *Anak Datu* (Datu's son), *Niyug* (coconut), *Mopo* (pig), and others. Below we tabulate our findings, giving the original Jama Mapun with the English rough equivalent, if any, and some remarks as to their general shapes and ecological associations.

<i>Jama Mapun</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1. <i>Tanggong</i>		Three stars imagined as composed of one male and two females travelling in a single line across the sky. <i>Tanggong</i> has a very important plant-lore and origin myths associated with it.
2. <i>Bobo</i>	Big Dipper	The body of the dipper is imagined as a fish-trap in the form of a bamboo-basket. The handle of the dipper is seen as a string tied to the <i>Bobo</i> . There is a belief that when many stars can be seen within the <i>Bobo</i> , it is a good sign for fishing.
3. <i>Anak Datu</i>	Two stars from the constellation <i>Centaur</i>	Two stars to the side of the South-Cross. The islanders imagine the two as sons of a <i>datu</i> trying to harpoon or spear a blow-fish (<i>Bunta</i>), the constellation <i>Cruz</i> .

¹⁴The Manobos of Mindanao imagine none of the three. It is said they see a quadrangular sail tied to a mast. Another proof of the highly subjective patterning of constellations.

<i>Jama Mapun</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
4. <i>Bunta</i>	Southern Cross	The four stars which appear as a cross to Westerners are outlined by the islanders to represent the rotund body of a blow-fish (<i>bunta</i>) being speared by <i>Anak Datu</i> .
5. <i>Batik</i> (<i>balatik</i>)	Orion's Belt	The series of stars defining Orion's belt is imagined as the shaft of a <i>batik</i> or spear-trap. Commonly used in Southeast Asia, the <i>batik</i> or <i>balatik</i> is usually laid to shoot across the path of animals or men who happen to trip the release mechanism hidden on the trail. The constellation <i>batik</i> is seen as aimed at another constellation, the <i>Mopo</i> (pig) or the English Pleides.
6. <i>Mopo</i>	Pleides	<i>Mopo</i> is an ancient term for pig. Only the pre-Islamic Jama Mapun who were under no injunction against pork could have constructed a pig constellation related to hunting. Both the Jama Mapun and the Palawan pagans use <i>Mopo</i> for predicting the start of the rice planting season. Ideally planting should begin when, at dawn, <i>Mopo</i> is at the three-o'clock position in the sky.
7. <i>Sangat bawi</i>		A group of stars with a V-shape resembling the jaw (<i>sangat</i>) of a <i>bawi</i> (pig). Like <i>Mopo</i> , <i>Sangat bawi</i> is associated with <i>Batik</i> in a hunting legend.
8. <i>Tendak</i>		Three stars arranged like a triangle. <i>Tendak</i> is the name of a small walking-fish found in swamps and mangroves. The constellation is associated with sailing and wind-prediction.
9. <i>Kabaw</i>		A constellation showing the body and pinchers of a crab (<i>kabaw</i>).
10. <i>Niyu-niyu</i>		A group of stars resembling a coconut palm (<i>niyu</i>); the pattern shows the leaves, trunk, and roots. It sets in the south, and its rising is closely

<i>Jama Mapun</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
		associated with the occurrence of certain winds and with the planting of coconuts.
11. <i>Niyu-niyu punggul</i>		A group of stars imagined as resembling the crown of coconut leaves without a trunk. Some Palawanin imagine the group as a chicken (<i>manuk</i>).
12. <i>Naga</i>	Milky Way	The white swath of stars across the dark sky is conceived as a snake or dragon (<i>naga</i>) which is a mythical and artistic symbol common not only in China but in many parts of the Southeast Asia as well. Cf. Geertz, <i>The Religion of Java</i> .
13. <i>Sibilui</i>	North Star	A popular star among sailors as they know that it has a fixed position in the northern horizon.
14. <i>Kababasan</i>	Morning Star	<i>Kababasan</i> is probably a cognate of the Cebuano word for the same star, <i>kabugwason</i> .
15. <i>Bintang Gauk</i>	Evening Star	<i>Bintang</i> is the Malay term for star. The <i>Jama Mapun</i> word for star is <i>pote:an</i> (probably derived from <i>pote:</i> ; white); may also be a cognate to the Cebuano <i>bitoon</i> .
16. <i>Lumba-lumba</i>		A constellation named after the dolphin (<i>lumba-lumba</i>); associated with wind-prediction.

If we make a simple tabulation of the number of times certain images and/or associations occur, we come out with the following categories and counts.

<i>Images/Associations</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Constellations/Star</i>
1. Plant and Agriculture	4	<i>tanggong, niyu-niyu, niyu-niyu punggul, mopo</i>
2. Marine and Fishing	6	<i>bunta, anak datu, tendak, bobo, kabaw, lumba-lumba</i>
3. Animal and Hunting	4	<i>batik, mopo, sangat bawi, naga</i>
4. Navigation	4	<i>sibilui, bunta, niyu-niyu, tendak</i>
5. Others	2	<i>kababasan, bintang gauk.</i>

Note: Some constellations were classified twice, because although their form may belong to one category, their association is with another, e.g. *Mopo* under both hunting (animal form) and agriculture (association). So with a few others.

Among the agriculture-associated constellations the most significant is *Tanggong*. For although this does not carry a plant image, it has a well-known association with a plant myth which throws some light on the antiquity of the rice-planting element of the Jama Mapun *huma*. The *huma-tanggong* link-up is revealed in the legend of *Tanggong*. Informant: Alpad Amilhamja of Duhul Batu.

The Origin of Rice-Planting

In the beginning there were only three people, a man called Tohng and his two wives, Masikla and Mayuyu. One day Masikla took some grass leaves and placed them in a pot over a fire; while she went down to the seashore to look for some sea-food, she asked Mayuyu to look after the pot. Mayuyu, who did not know what was inside the pot cooking was carefully instructed by Masikla not to open the pot until her return. But Mayuyu was so curious to find out what was inside the pot; she decided to open it without waiting for Masikla's return. To Mayuyu's surprise she saw that half of the pot contained grass leaves and the other half, rice. When Masikla returned she was very angry with Mayuyu for opening the pot against her instructions, saying that if she had only obeyed her, people need not have to plant rice or wait for rice to head and bear grain. People could have turned grass into rice by simply putting them inside a cooking pot.

On another day Tohng went out to the field. Neither of his wives knew what he was doing out there in the field. Mayuyu, curious as ever, secretly followed Tohng to spy on him. Hiding behind some bushes, Mayuyu saw that Tohng was sitting under the shade of a tree, playing on his bamboo flute, doing no work at all. While beside him, near the edge of the field, his bolo and ax were cutting down trees and the underbrush. The instruments were working by themselves without Tohng holding them. Mayuyu made another blunder by stepping out of hiding and berating Tohng and shouting at him for his laziness. At this disturbance the bolo and the ax dropped to the ground and never again worked by themselves. Tohng became very angry at Mayuyu and told her that had she not disturbed the bolo and the ax, people need not have to work with their own hands. Thus both Tohng and Masikla were angry at Mayuyu for her mistakes which caused a lot of hard work and sorrow on people. Because of this Tohng and Masikla left the earth and took to the heavens. Masikla left first, followed by Tohng, and lastly by Mayuyu who did not want to be left behind.

Since then these three became three stars travelling in single file across the night sky. These three stars now form the constellation called *Tanggong* which the Jama Mapun use for timing the start in the preparation of their *huma* and rice planting.

Folklorists and myth-analysts may look into the contents and literary values of this star-linked legend, but our interest is simply to point to the

congruence between its theme and the *huma* practice which we know from other sources was part of the ancient food-quest of the Jama Mapun.

The *huma*, however, is by nature a multi-crop farm and included not only rice but other species of plants like cassava, ubi, sugar cane, and others. Our search into food and plant legends yielded two short origin-myths, one about the sugar cane, and the other about the *ubi*.

The Origin of Sugar Cane (tabbo)

In the early days of *Tana: Mapun* (the name by which Jama Mapun call the island of Kagayan), the sea between the northern islets and the mainland was very shallow, so that people could travel back and forth on *gakits* (rafts) propelled only by poles.

One day a man was rafting to one of the islets. As he was leaning on his pole to propel his raft, the pole snapped and some juice from the pole splattered on the man's face; some juice entered his mouth, and on tasting it, the man found it was sweet. Thus people discovered that a certain plant, the *tabbo*, has a sweet juice.

The Origin of Ubi

In the beginning people did not know that *ubi* was edible. One day a couple of fishermen landed on an islet. They pulled their boat up the beach and prepared to cook some of their provision. They looked around for some objects to serve as a stove. They found three hard, brown objects. After they finished cooking, and as they removed their pot, they noticed that the brown objects cracked open and revealed a white substance inside. Curious at this strange substance, they tasted it and found it was good to the taste. This was how people discovered *ubi*.

Why only rice, sugar cane, and ubi have found a place in the symbolic sphere of the Jama Mapun culture may suggest that these three were some of the earliest food plant known to and cultivated by the early islanders. Some of the plant species, for instance the corn (maize) found in a *huma*, were intrusive to the Philippines and thus to the inhabitants of Kagayan too.

Going back to the Jama Mapun ethnoastronomy, we find that not only agriculture but also fishing, hunting, and sailing are reflected in the images woven by Jama Mapun upon the stars. Without going into detailed analysis to link the images to the corresponding society-environment complex, we would like to draw attention to the fact that the constellations *bunta*, *anak datu*, and *bobo* are all related to fishing. The Jama Mapun have a belief that when the constellation *bobo* has many stars inside it, it is a sign that fishermen will catch much fish.

The constellation *niyu-niyu* has two associations: one with coconut planting,¹⁵ and the other with wind prediction and navigation. According to some Jama Mapun coconut planting should be synchronized with the rising of the *niyu-niyu*. Planting should be done when the leaves and the fruits of the *niyu-niyu* are just above the horizon, for then the planted coconuts will start bearing fruit very early. On the other hand if planting is done when the *niyu-niyu* is already high in the sky, the trees will not bear fruits until they are already quite tall.

The *niyu-niyu* is likewise associated with the predicting of weather and winds. According to Bilal Kolong, a well-travelled Jama Mapun, sailors can tell the coming of certain winds by watching certain marks along the trunk of *niyu-niyu*. If in the early evening the first *buku* (the node-like marks on coconut tree trunks) is visible, the wind *timob-laut* (northeast wind) will be blowing. There are two other *buku* marks below the first one: the *buku makkit* and the *alun panjang*, both marks being signs for climatic phenomena. When the entire constellation emerges in the sky, at early evening, one will see the *bunka kamut*, the roots of the *niyu-niyu*, which is the signal for the start of generally bad weather in the sea.

Similar analysis could be made of the other constellations in an effort to link them with specific elements in the general ecosystem of the Jama Mapun. But we have sufficiently indicated, we hope, the main thrust of our thesis, namely, that the symbolic sphere of a people's culture contains reflections of the underlying economic preoccupation and ideological traces of their general environmental experiences. All the main components of the earlier adjustments of the islanders to their land and marine environment—the *huma*, the *ngusaba*, and the *lomeb*—find corresponding reflections in the symbolic projections woven around *tanggong*, *bobo*, and *niyu-niyu*.

The Emergent Ecosystem: Kabbun

An investigator visiting Kagayan Sulu in 1966 to study the socio-economy and environmental adjustment of its inhabitants—if he is aware of the previous ecological picture—will surely be amazed at the changes he will see. Instead of multi-crop *humas*, he will see solid patches of coconut *kabbuns*. Instead of the graceful sails of the *leppas* and *sappits* etched on the horizon or riding anchor near the shore, he will see motorized *kumpits* chugging in and out of the main harbor at Lupa Pula (the poblacion of the municipality). Where before there were no schools, now he will see Jama Mapun children trudging to public schools or playing in the school campus

¹⁵ This first association suggests that the Jama Mapun had an early experience with the coconut palm, but not in its commercial context. The world market for coconut oil, and hence for copra, started picking up only around 1890 in response to the diminishing supply of whale oil for which coconut was found to be a good substitute.

of the Notre Dame High School. Occasionally he may catch the grey bulk of patrolling Navy boats across the harbor or hear the whine of the red missionary plane winging in to make a landing on the white coral airstrip. And he will see trucks and motorcycles running over dirt roads around the island. Such is the transformation that has visited the island and society of the "natives" encountered by Wilkes and Pigafetta several centuries and generations ago.

Our interest, however, is the new ecological interlocking achieved by contemporary Jama Mapun after the introduction of a monetized agriculture based on commercial copra, and after a technological innovation in trade brought about by the use of marine engines.

That the old *huma* has yielded to the new *kabbun* is here taken as ecologically given. Thus the important question is how this shift has come about. Why did the coconut plant become so successful as an economic and an ecological factor in the island? What were the instigating factors that triggered the march of the coconut population into the territories formerly occupied by secondary forest and subsistence crops?

The first stimulus towards the *kabbun* shift was supplied by the Chinese traders. We have seen that the presence of the Chinese in nearby Borneo¹⁶ served as a stimulus for the widening of the early Jama Mapun *ngusaba* to include birds' nest, trepang, tortoise shells, and other forest and marine products valued by the Chinese. A parallel development happened in respect to the coconut. The enterprising spirit of the Chinese, in the latter case, led them to cross over to Kagayan to get at the source of these products; some of them crossed over from Jolo, Pangutaran, and Sibutu. In Kagayan they opened stores and thereby introduced consumer goods and money right in the villages. Just about this time, say, the last quarter of the 19th century, the world demand for coconut oil began to rise. The Chinese, alert to the possibilities of the coconut, started buying whole nuts and encouraged the islanders to cultivate them, as there were a few trees scattered in some villages then.

The second, and no doubt the main, stimulus towards the *kabbun* shift was the establishment of a coconut plantation in Kagayan. The first Deputy Governor of the island was an ex-soldier, Guy Stratton, a ranch-bred American from Wichita, Kansas who had a big dream (partly realized) of starting a cattle ranch and coconut plantation.¹⁷ And like the Chinese he was aware

¹⁶ *Tana:bebing*, literally the land nearby, is commonly used by the Jama Mapun to refer to Borneo.

¹⁷ As a westerner Stratton must also have been familiar with the Dutch and English plantation systems in Malaya and the East Indies. His choice of Kagayan as a ranching site was not blind. Kagayan has some excellent grazing areas near the two volcanic lakes which can serve as watering places. And we know from Wilkes that even in 1842 there was a good number of cattle in the island. Why cattle-raising did not become a major economic base in the island is a good ecological problem.

of the world possibilities for copra. Thus, together with Atkins Kroll and Company who gave much financial backing in exchange for his running a general store owned by them, Stratton launched into a large-scale planting of coconuts. He chose the best lands available for the plantation and for ranch, which was not too difficult in his capacity as "king of the island." Besides there was much excellent land then for his needs. In the development of the plantation he encouraged and, often, coerced the natives to plant and cultivate coconuts. Some older Jama Mapun today still recall that Stratton would often grant passes to traders bound for Palawan or Borneo on the condition that they plant fifty coconut trees each. Thus side by side with the growth of the coconut plantation, native coconut farms also began to develop.

Stratton arrived in the island around 1910, and by 1920 the company was beginning to harvest and sell copra. Thus began the gradual transformation of the economic base of the people as well as the ecological balance in the island. No doubt there was a definite logic in the economic change, the long-range effect of it in terms of the island's biomass was probably not realized by either the company officials or the Chinese traders who triggered the change. By 1932 probably more than 50 per cent of the island was planted to coconut. There was enough open land left, however, on which to practise the old *huma*. But the trend towards the *kabbun* was unmistakably there. This was dramatically revealed during the destructive freak storm that levelled Kagayan in 1932. Many Jama Mapun suffered in this natural catastrophe, both through the physical loss of houses and cattle and through the destruction of their young coconut farms which were then beginning to yield fruits and to bring in some money. It was this experience with money, with its easy convertibility to consumer goods from the Chinese stores, which sealed the fate of the *huma*. For immediately after the storm the peoples replanted their lands with more coconuts. During the war, when the replanted trees were yet unproductive and when there was no market for copra, the people went back temporarily to the *huma* practice and to rice-trade with Palawan. But after the war the post-storm trees were already bearing fruits. The people went back to copra business. And thus the *kabbun* kept on crowding out the *huma*.

One way of gauging the revolutionary impact of the *kabbun* economy on the outlook of the people is in the mass migration of Jama Mapun families in the last twenty years to Palawan to look for new land on which to plant coconuts. We estimate about 30 per cent of the island population have moved out to Palawan; some went to Borneo. Of course population growth and the consequent pressure on the island are partly responsible for this migration. But the fact that immigrant families invariably planted coconut trees in their new habitat betrays the fact that the main driving desire was to establish a *kabbun*.

The analysis of the instigating factors in the shift towards the *kabbun* brought out only the role of the Chinese traders and the plantation officials. We must now look into the socio-psychological variable in the people themselves, which abetted the initial stimuli. How to explain the shift, from the people's standpoint.

One possible explanation lies in the difference of energy expenditure involved in the two types of economic activity. The *huma* system required more energy expenditure repeated annually, whereas the *kabbun* system required less; the coconut palm once planted required minimal care and weeding. In the *huma* a family gets a return only once; in a *kabbun* the harvest is three times a year throughout the life-cycle of the palms which may be as long as eighty years. There are more natural risks inherent in a rice farm, e.g. pests, drought, etc. but less in a coconut grove. Finally, it seems to be an economic law that once a society has set its foot inside a cash or market economy, at least in a semi-monetized form, it cannot easily revert to its primitive non-monetized footing.

But even if we try to explain the transition by taking account of the instigating and participating human factors, our interlocking framework remains incomplete unless our analysis include the environmental side of the man-nature equation. We must thus revert to the concept of the ecosystem and explain the *kabbun* shift in ecological terms.

The success of the coconut *kabbuns* in Kagayan shows that the ecological conditions in the island favored it. Mere socio-cultural acceptance of an agricultural innovation is not a complete guarantee that the innovation will succeed unless favorable natural conditions are likewise present and operative. Hence we have to discover these environmental variables and show how the natural organic requirements of the coconut as a plant species were satisfied. In short, we have to investigate the natural environmental components, in Conklin's sense, which enabled the coconut to establish an ecological *niche* in the island.¹⁸

The natural requirements or preconditions for the successful growing of coconuts include favorable latitude, altitude, soil, drainage, and climate. The coconut is a tropical plant and grows best within the tropic zone; it cannot tolerate high altitudes and prefers coastal areas; it can adjust to a relatively wide range of soil types—alluvial, lateritic, sandy, clay and volcanic; but it prefers soils with moderate calcareous content, for instance, soils from coastal lowlands developed from a coralline base (Huke 1963:22).

The coconut requires a warm climate without a great daily variation in temperature. The palm grows well where temperatures throughout the

¹⁸ It is interesting to draw a parallel between the introduction of the coconut species in Kagayan (commercially) and the introduction of the horse in North America. The resulting social and ecological transformations in both instances are quite revolutionary.

year average between 22 degrees C. and 32 degrees C. Optimum average monthly temperature should be between 26 degrees C. and 28 degrees C. And the average diurnal variation should be around 7 degrees C. (Huke 1963: 269; Child 1964:46). The coconut tree is highly dependent on water, rainfall, and subsoil water. It grows best under a well distributed annual rainfall between 50 and 90 inches of rain. Higher precipitation is tolerated as long as there is a good drainage. The palm cannot stand stagnant water, but has a high tolerance for brackish water and thus can adapt well to coastal margins. It gets stunted under heavy shade and cannot survive competition from unchecked forest growth. Its need for good insolation (sunlight requirement) makes the coconut grow tall, a fact which also exposes the palm to damage from strong winds and storms.

These natural conditions are best met by islands, peninsulas, and archipelagoes in the tropics—the macro-ecology of the coconut palm.

Five large producing areas—Philippines, Indonesia, Malaya, Ceylon, and Oceania—account for over 90 per cent of the world's exportable coconut products. . . . another factor appears to be very important, namely, location. The Philippine islands, Indonesia and Oceania are archipelagoes composed of hundreds of small and large islands. Ceylon is an island, Malaya is a peninsula. In archipelagoes, islands and peninsulas the length of the coastline is considerable, its ratio to the area of the country reaching very high figures, greatly exceeding those of continental countries. (Child 1964:29)

A check on the ecological conditions in the island of Kagayan reveals that the natural requirements and preconditions for the successful growing of the coconut palm are well met.

First, Kagayan is within the tropic belt. It lies astride the line defining the 7th degree N. latitude. In the Philippines commercial coconuts are grown as far north as 18 degrees N. latitude.

Second, the highest elevation in Kagayan is Mt. Liran with a height of 1021 feet (thus not really a "mountain" by common standard). The rest of the land is coastal and lowland between hills and volcanic forms. The highest altitude where coconuts can be grown commercially is 2000 feet, although near the equator coconut palms can be found up to 4000 feet above sea-level.

Third, Kagayan has some type of volcanic soil. The island has six volcanic cones and two volcanic lakes; the larger cones are arranged like a castle's crown around the triangular shape of the island; the smaller cones are scattered in the island's interior. The soil in the lowland areas may have a good calcareous content as these places were built up gradually from an underlying coralline base.

Fourth, drainage in Kagayan is excellent. Unlike a large island, like Negros or Cebu, with a central camel-back ridge which forces rain water to

flow from the high center to the low edges and out to the sea, Kagayan's system of hills and volcanic cones are so arranged that rain-water flow over most of the land forms. In fact the confluence of three mountain-sides has resulted in a small natural lake, *Sapa:*, near the southeastern corner of the island-triangle.

Fifth, rainfall and moisture requirements are sufficiently present. Being a volcanic island, the under soil is porous volcanic stuff which easily absorbs and holds water needed by coconut roots. Rain is abundant and occurs at two intervals (cf. *uwan ta:un* and *uwan puli:an* in connection with the *huma* system). The dry season around March is relatively short.

Lastly, Kagayan is outside the typhoon belt. Destructive storms are extremely rare, the last one being in 1932, as we mentioned. Insolation is not a problem either. Being a small island without high mountains or heavy forest, plants are fully exposed to sunshine. And the loading of copra in small kumpits can be done in several convenient points around the three sides of the island (cf. the observations of Wilkes and Pigafetta again), thus facilitating the transit of copra from any point in the island's interior.

One final note on the *huma-kabbun* transition as seen on the biotic level. The very natures of the two plant species, rice (the major biotic form in a *huma*) and the coconut, seems to have tilted the balance in favor of the palm in the contest for ecological space. The life cycle of the coconut is of a much higher order than that of rice. Once coconuts have taken root in a particular habitat it is quite difficult to abolish them without man's intervention, whereas the ephemeral rice plants have a life cycle of three to five months only, and left to themselves are easily choked by weeds. One is sturdier and more tenacious, the other is delicate and needs constant care to flourish. Thus from the very nature of the competing species, the weak species was crowded out by the stronger one. Nor could the two co-exist within the same biotic community, since rice cannot grow under the shadow and with the tangled roots of the coconut.

Our investigation of the environmental variables in the emergent *kabbun* ecosystem has shown that the success of the coconut in achieving an ecological *niche* in the island was as much due to the economic, social, and psychological orientation of the human variables as to the favorable climatic and edaphic preconditions present in the island,¹⁹ as well as to the very natures of the competing economic species themselves.

¹⁹ Our check on the climatic and edaphic components favorable to the coconut's success in the island certainly needs instrumental verification. During our fieldwork there were no available measurements or information on these components. But we took steps to remedy the lack. Through our efforts and the cooperation of the Notre Dame Fathers, specially Father Crumpp, the Oblate Superior in Sulu, and Father Lacasse, the educator-missionary assigned in Kagayan, the Weather Bureau was induced to put up a rain-gauge station in the island in cooperation with the Notre Dame school. We also collected soil samples for analysis. And we hope in subsequent studies to obtain accurate temperature measurements.

The New Trade: Kumpit

The new ecological balance, brought about by the substitution of the *bu-ma*, by the *kabbun* ecosystem, has its counterpart in the development of a new trade brought about by the substitution of wind power by inboard motors.²⁰ In our description of the pre-motorboat trade practices we emphasized the fact that the dependence on wind cycles conditioned the sea-roving habits of the early Jama Mapun. This conditioning was to such an extent that the people have developed a whole body of knowledge of winds, currents and stars, a body of knowledge which is nothing short of ethno-navigation. The Jama Mapun have developed a marine culture, moreover, which reflected itself even in their symbolic images and associations.

The motorized *kumpit* came after the establishment of the *kabbun*, for the use of the inboard motor became popular only after World War II. To date there are close to a hundred *kumpits* in Kagayan, some owned by the Chinese traders, many owned by the rich *hadjis* and ordinary Jama Mapun families. Many of these *kumpits* are being made in Borneo where skilled boat-makers and fine boat-building materials are easily available. Some Jama Mapun traders acquired their *kumpits* on credit from the *towkies* (Chinese trade-capitalists) in Borneo. The Chinese impose the condition that the islanders sold their copra exclusively to them while the *kumpits* were being paid back. Thus in one stroke these smart *towkies* got the goodwill of the islanders and assured themselves of a constant supply of copra.

The new trade does not differ much from the traditional one in its basic orientation. The Borneo-Kagayan trade alignment is a very ancient system, dating back doubtless to the Brunei-Manila trade relation existing before the Spaniards arrived in 1521. This is a fact that is often overlooked in trying to control the flow of goods from Borneo to the Philippines.²¹ The coming of motorized vessels only meant the strengthening of the trading bond.

One characteristic of the new trade lies in the substitution of trade items. The routes and the network are basically the same; but the demands and consequently the supply of trade goods is relatively new. In the old *lomeh* the bulk of trade goods was rice, sea foods, forests products, cloth, and iron

²⁰ There seems to be no comparable shift from the old *ngusha* (fishing, gathering of marine resources) to an improved fishing technology. Or at least no appreciable reformation yet that is worth a separate treatment. Probably some entrepreneuring native might yet come up to fill this gap. At present many Jama Mapun are content to buy fish from professional Samal fishermen living in an anchorage behind the harbor at Lupa Pula.

²¹ It is common knowledge that the copra trade with Borneo Chinese is linked with the import of cigarettes and other trade goods legally tagged as "smuggled." We are aware of a host of cultural, historical, and ethical problems involved in this aspect of the *kumpit* trade. Such problems, however, would require a much longer paper than his one.

implements; in the new *kumpit* trade the main bulk is copra, rice, and other basic commodities not available in Kagayan.

Another characteristic of the new trade, and the most basic from the ecological standpoint, is the fundamental difference between wind and engine power.²² It used to take one to two days to sail from Kagayan to Borneo, a good wind willing; now it only takes from eight to ten hours. Instead of relying on the direction and prevalence of various winds familiar to the early traders, the new traders have become practically masters of their schedule and choice of ports, thanks to mechanical power. This technological innovation allows them to leave at any time whenever copra was available and to shift to any port—Zamboanga, Jolo, Palawan, or Borneo—depending on the current price levels of trade goods in these ports.

Finally, the new *kumpit* trade is giving Jama Mapun sailors a wider trading scope. Now many of them sell copra that come not only from Kagayan but from Palawan as well. Some traders have gone up and down the length of western and eastern Palawan buying copra to sell to Zamboanga or Borneo. The new trade may be seen as an outgrowth of the traditional Palawan-Kagayan barter trade in brass gongs and rice. The new trade, however, no longer deals through barter goods but in copra and money.

The transition to the *kabbun* and *kumpit* economy is another way of expressing that a change to a type of monetized market is underway. This monetary implication flows right out of the nature of a commercial plant: copra, in the economic context, is a cash crop. For one does not produce copra to eat but to sell for money with which to buy basic commodities which in a primitive economy would have been directly produced from the land or from native technology. Thus the Jama Mapun by embracing the cash-based *kabbun* virtually rejected direct food-production through the *buma*. The islanders now find that cash, as an economic substitute, is more versatile for acquiring the basic commodities they still need but no longer produce. And once their economic energy expenditure was committed to the *kabbun* pattern, it was difficult to back out due to the quasi-permanent nature of a coconut farm; they had little choice but to go on in this new monetized direction. The coming of motorized *kumpits* was therefore looked upon as a complement to the *kabbun* system, for the use of the motorized vessels enabled them to maximize their revenue from copra by adjusting to the price levels in various ports; it also enabled them to bring back consumer and luxury goods from Borneo to be sold in the Philippines where they command a high price, thus further increasing their revenue.

²² *Kumpit* owners are familiar with the standard brands of inboard motors, e.g. Yanmar (Japanese), Jute (German), Daiya (Japanese), MWM (German), Lester (English), Pearlbank (English), Southheron (Chinese), and Caterpillar (American). This is in order of popularity, according to one informant.

Sociological Correlates

Many of the features attendant to socio-cultural changes and which are often observed in societies making the transition from a primitive to a peasant economy are found in the Jama Mapun society in Kagayan. We will not discuss all of these features here. But we would like to indicate a few of the outstanding ones.

One marked change is seen in the practice of reciprocity which was highly characteristic of the traditional Jama Mapun culture. In the *huma* system, a type of reciprocal labor used to be practised. One was called *gandangin* where a family invited its neighbors to help clean and plant its *huma*; the only obligation of the host family was to feed the helpers. The other practice was call *liyu-liyu* (literally, taking turns), a sort of mutual labor pool similar to a *bayaniban*, where the entire labor force shifted from farm to farm of each of the members until all were benefited. These two types of reciprocity patterns are gradually disappearing. With the new emphasis on money, hired labor is becoming the rule. If a family needs help in harvesting its *kabbun*, they hire helpers even from among their relatives who own *kabbuns* and those who do not but manage the farms. Thus even kinship ties are losing some of its economic functions.

A second marked change is the reversal in the trend towards education. When the public school was first introduced in the island between 1910 and 1920, many families fled to Borneo in fear of losing their Muslim religion in a school distrustfully attributed to a Christian government. This negative attitude, however, has taken a dramatic turn to the positive in the climate of a money economy. Many families are now allowing their children to enter school, but their reasoning is not that they have lost their distrust of the Christian government but that they see the economic advantage of schooling. Many of the high school students we interviewed are planning to become teachers, *mastal*, with the whole-hearted support of their parents. And the main reason is that teachers receive a monthly salary. Both students and parents argue that to be a *mastal* is a better way of making a living, better than working a *huma* or *kabbun*. In a *kabbun* one has to wait for three months before one can earn some money; a *mastal* receives money every month without soiling his hands husking and drying copra. Thus the movement towards education has a definite economic, i.e. money-conscious, underpinning. Of course the economic consideration is not true of all the students and parents, but many do think in these money-oriented terms.

A third marked change is the new value land has taken in Jama Mapun eyes. Formerly land in Kagayan was a free good; people could work on a *huma* practically anywhere and in any measure they pleased. Land litigation was unheard of. Now many cases in the municipal court in Lupa Pula involve land quarrel. Their attachment to the land has been greatly condi-

tioned, strangely enough, by the quasi-permanent nature of a coconut farm. For one can transfer his *huma* every year or two; but one is tied down to the land where his coconuts are growing. This new consciousness of land value and land ownership was also brought about by the official land survey conducted in the 1920's when free, communal land was parcelled out and assigned to definite families. In economic terms, land was transformed from a free good to a scarce commodity. A corollary to this transvaluation of land was the surprising number of immigrant families going to Palawan in search of land on which to start a *kabbun* with all its implication for money making.

Finally, division of labor along sexual lines made a smooth transition from the *huma* to the *kabbun* production mechanics. Men still do the heavier tasks: in the past, clearing the field, plowing; now, picking the nuts with long poles, gathering them to the drying places, and husking. Women still handle the lighter tasks: in the past, planting, weeding, harvesting; now, extricating coconut meat and drying them over slow fires.

Contrasts and Conclusions

Our discussion of the Jama Mapun ethnecology was an attempt to understand the *huma* and *kabbun* systems not only as human economic specializations but also as natural ecological transformations. Both the *huma* and the *kabbun* are types of ecosystems, specific interlockings of the island population with their island-sea environment. We used both the ecological and ethnecological frameworks, one as an objective assessment of the ecological balance between the Jama Mapun and the environment, and the other as a culture-based evaluation of the environments as perceived by them and as revealed in their symbolic world.

Our treatment of the food-quest as an aspect of the ecological balance of man with nature differs in some important respects from that of Geertz. His characterization and contrasting of the *swidden* and the *sawab* limited the ecological scope to the physical mechanics and nutrient cycles of the two ecosystems. The *swidden* was described as an inelastic but canny imitation of a forest, of a generalized ecosystem. In a *swidden* the ecological transformation goes with nature's grain, "not through altering its diversity index, but through more or less maintaining its over-all pattern of composition while changing selected items of its content; that is, by substituting certain humanly preferred species for others in functional roles ('nichies') with in the pre-existing biotic community" (Geertz: 1963:15).

The *sawab*, on the other hand, was described as an intensive, elastic reworking of the ecosystem through specialization, by changing the diversity index of a pre-existing biotic community. The emphasis was on the micro ecology of the *padi* field.

The sociological and demographic correlates of the two ecosystems were described in terms of volume: because the swidden is inelastic and dependent on the existence of diminishing forests, the man-land ratio is likewise limited; and because the *sawah* is elastic and open to intensification through improved technology, it can support a higher volume of human consumers.

Our contrast between the *huma* and the *kabbun* differs mainly in the wider meaning we gave to the term "environmental variables." For besides the climatic, edaphic, and biotic variables suggested by Conklin, we included such other variables as winds, currents, and stars which were significant in the total adjustment of the island population to their marine environment. In this wider interpretation we find Wagner's definition of environment as more useful, i.e. as a way of thinking about certain things in relation to human events.

Another important difference in our "two types of ecosystem" is the introduction of the money variable implicit in the cash-oriented nature of a *kabbun*. No amount of ecological analysis, if reliance is placed only on organic laws and nutrient cycles and energy relations, can explain the *kabbun*. The *kabbun* adjustment is one step away from direct subsistence activity, i.e. direct dependence on the land typified in the *huma*. There is no direct link, as in a food chain or in ecological pyramids (Odum 1959:59), between *kabbun* activity and food-acquisition. The link is provided by a cultural factor expressed in the concept of money. This intervening variable is a dimension of the superorganic which is always present in man's confrontation with nature, and is essential in understanding the *kabbun* (Forde 1934).²³

The process of ecological transformations in Kagayan has important implications for the future of the island society. The cultural decision in favor of a cash crop like copra tied the Jama Mapun economy to the world market for coconut oil. The implication here is that henceforth the island economy has become a dependent variable to the laws of supply and demand and price stability for coconut oil in the world market. The *kabbun* opened a window for the islanders to the realities of twentieth century international trade. The new *kumpit* trade opened a second window to the larger society in Southeast Asia. Modern consumer goods are finding their way, through the active *kumpits*, to this little island near the middle of the Sulu Sea basin. Just as copra made the people suppliers for the world market, the new *kumpit* trade made them buyers of the latest manufactures from the industrialized world.

²³ Aside from the ecological there are several productive frameworks for understanding this decreased direct dependence on the land as a result of technological improvement of man's exploitive industries. See Clifton R. Wharton, *Research on Agricultural Development in Southeast Asia* (1965), Cyril S. Belshaw, *Traditional Exchange and Modern Markets* (1965), and Norton Ginsburg (ed.), *Essays on Geography and Economic Development* (1960).

Gone is the life of the old *buma*, which through self-subsistence tended to isolate them. By rejecting isolationism they have entered into a new life of interdependence with the world society. Henceforth their life depends on, and contributes to, the wider life of the world at large.

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JUAN PUSONG: THE FILIPINO TRICKSTER REVISITED¹

DONN V. HART and HARRIETT E. HART

Introduction

One of the most popular characters in Filipino folklore, Juan Pusong (or Tamad), has been largely disregarded by Filipino folklorists and those interested in the oral literature of the Philippines. This article re-examines, and adds too, the extensive existing corpus concerning this mercurial figure. The basic data are 141 tales, some published, some from unpublished manuscript sources, and the rest collected in the field by the authors. Among the topics which this article discusses are Pusong's physical appearance, family background, social class and personality traits. Basic motifs of these tales are also examined, including Pusong's success in his contests with others and his means of achieving victory. The distribution of Pusong tales among different Filipino cultural linguistic groups is briefly surveyed. A comparison is made between Pusong and other folkloristic tricksters. Finally, new Pusong tales, gathered in rural and urban communities in Samar and Negros, are presented with commentary on their relationships to the entire corpus.

The Philippines: Background Sketch²

Three is a significant number for most Filipinos. It represents the three major geographical divisions of the archipelago as symbo-

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² Donn V. Hart, "Christian Filipino Society Approaching the 21st Century," *Silliman Journal* 18 (1971):21-55.

lized in the nation's flag — the northern island of Luzon, the central cluster of islands known collectively as the Bisayas, and the southern island of Mindanao and its appendage, the Sulu Archipelago. The population of the Philippines traditionally is divided into three broad categories. The largest group is composed of Christian Filipinos who occupy the lowlands of the nation and its cities. The second largest group, concentrated almost entirely in southern Mindanao and Sulu, is the Muslim Filipinos or Moros. The last group is the smallest, the hill or mountain people (primitives) who live mainly in the forested uplands of northern Luzon, Mindoro, Negros, Panay and Mindanao.

All Philippine languages are similar in phonetic and grammatical structure; they belong to the Austronesian linguistic family, with their closest affinity to Indonesian languages. There are approximately 75 main linguistic groups in the country. However, linguistic diversity should not obscure the fact that most Christian Filipinos will find their mother tongue on this list of eight — Ilokano, Tagalog, Pampango, Bikolano, Cebuano, Hiligaynon, and Samareño. English is still widely spoken in the country but today a slightly larger percentage of Filipinos speaks Filipino, the national language based on Tagalog.

Three, as a symbol of the Trinity, is of additional significance because most Filipinos are Catholics. This is their heritage of nearly 400 years of Spanish contact (1521-1898). Spain's greatest impact on the Philippines was to transform the archipelago into the only Christian nation in Asia. Although Filipinos were extensively Hispanized, the process of acculturation was not uni-directional. There was both the Hispanization of lowland Filipino culture and society and the Filipinization of diffused Spanish customs. This dual process is of utmost importance in understanding Philippine folklore.

As a result of a series of complex later events, with the end of the Spanish-American war, the Philippines became the United States' sole possession in Southeast Asia. In the four decades the United States governed the Philippines, Americans established a national public educational system based on instruction in English. Church and state were separate. Giant steps were taken to improve sanitation, expand medical facilities, and end epidemics. After the destruc-

five Japanese occupation of the country during the Second World War and an equally ruinous liberation of the nation, the Philippines gained independence in 1946. In 1972, formal democracy's stormy history in the Philippines ended, at least temporarily, in a "benevolent" dictatorship by its president — after a hectic period of crises (both real and managed).

Research Areas

Bisayan Filipinos are the largest cultural-linguistic group in the Philippines. They live in the major islands separating Luzon and Mindanao — Panay, Negros, Cebu, Bohol, Leyte and Samar and on many smaller islands. Three major sub-groups of Bisayans are identified; each speaks a related but different language. Those who speak Cebuano reside mainly in Cebu, eastern Negros, Bohol, and western Leyte. Those who speak Ilongo or Hiligaynon are concentrated in Panay and Western Negros. The third group, who speak Samareño live in eastern Leyte and Samar. The northern part on Mindanao is occupied primarily by Cebuano-speaking Bisayans.

In 1955, the authors live in Borongan, a small town of about 5,000 people in eastern Samar. Harriett Hart spent full time collecting folklore in this town and the adjacent rural communities. Donn Hart did collecting in Barrio Lalawigan, a village of nearly 900 peasants about five miles south of Borongan. Elsewhere the authors have written about the corpus of more than 750 tales they collected in eastern Samar, including a detailed description of their field research techniques.³

In 1964, the authors returned to eastern Negros. In 1950, Donn Hart had begun research in Barrio Caticugan, a village of about 750 people 35 miles southwest of Dumaguete, the provincial capital of Negros Oriental province. During 1964, Donn Hart resided in Caticugan, while Harriett Hart collected folklore in Dumaguete and Siaton, a small town about two miles south of Caticugan. Previous pub-

³ Donn V. Hart and Harriett E. Hart, "Collecting Folklore in Eastern Samar," *Silliman Journal* 3 (1956):207-236. This article discusses the selection and training of our assistants in eastern Samar, introduction to the communities, location of informants, collection milieu, problems and interview and questionnaire schedules used with most informants.

lications have described various aspects of life in these communities (and those in Samar), including their folklore.⁴

In 1955, Borongan was a typical small Philippine town with a plaza bordered by an old stone Spanish church, the public hall, and a post-war private Catholic college. Although most residents of Borongan were Catholics, there was a small Protestant church in the town. Eastern Samar, then and now, is isolated from its western shores by a central mountain complex that is forested and largely uninhabited. Bus transportation provided minimal services to towns along the eastern coast and to nearby Leyte, to the west, ferrying the narrow strait between the two islands.

The residents of Lalawigan were all Catholics whose livelihood depended on fishing and rice agriculture. The main cash crop was Manila hemp (abaca). Residences were made of bamboo and palm thatch, raised several feet above the ground on poles. In each house was a family altar with saint figures, usually including the patron saint of the village. Community life centered around church affairs, the annual patron saint's fiesta, school programs, and the rituals and festivities associated with baptism, marriage, and death.

Dumaguete had a population of 35,000 in 1964. It consisted of several major streets of movie houses and stores — hardware, tailor, grocery, and general merchandizing. There were four hospitals and three private colleges and universities in the city. The major educational institution was (and is) Silliman University, founded by American Presbyterians in 1901. The local airport provided flights to nearby Cebu, to Manila, and to cities in Mindanao. The urban core of the city was surrounded by villages some of whose household members worked in the city while others cultivated nearby corn fields.

⁴ Donn V. Hart and Harriett E. Hart, "Sleuthing for *Susumatons* [Folktales]," *The National Police Gazette* (Manila) 4(1956) : 11-12,15; Donn V. Hart, "A Philippine Version of 'The Two Brothers and Dragon Slayer' Tales," *Western Folklore* 19 (1960) : 253-275; Donn V. Hart, *Riddles in Filipino Folklore: An Anthropological Analysis* (Syracuse, New York, 1964); Donn V. Hart and Harriett E. Hart, "Cinderella in the Eastern Bisayas: With a Summary of the Philippine Folktale," *Journal of American Folklore* 79(1966) : 307-337; Donn V. Hart and Harriett E. Hart, "Maka-andog: A Reconstructed Myth from Eastern Samar, Philippines," *The Anthropologist Looks at Myth*, eds. M. Jacobs and J. Greenway (Austin, Texas, 1966) : 84-108; and Donn V. Hart, *Bisayan Filipino and Malayan Humoral Pathologies: Folk Medicine and Ethnohistory in Southeast Asia* (Ithaca, New York, 1969).

Siaton municipality is located on the southern tip of Negros. The municipal center, of the same name, was a small town of a few thousand people. The Catholic church dominated Siaton's plaza. Nearby were the public marketplace, a few stores, the elementary school, and a small Catholic college. There were several small Protestant groups in Siaton. In 1964, Siaton was about two hours by bus from Dumaguete.

Caticugan (with about 750 residents in 1964) was reached by wading the shallow Siaton river. The villagers were subsistence-agriculturalists; they primarily grew corn and some rice. Caticugan and Lalawigan did not have electricity or running water. The priest nearest to each barrio (village) was the one who resided in the nearby town. Both villages were peopled by single-class subsistence farmers or fishermen. No drastic social or technological innovations were found to have occurred in these communities during the past several decades. The people shared many characteristics: most still reside in whichever village they were born; mate selection was localized; and the means of living were precariously insecure.

Sources of Tales

It was these Bisayan communities, both rural and urban, that the 56 Pusong tales this article analyzes were collected, primarily by Harriet Hart. The tales were collected either by longhand or a tape recorder. Their translation into English was facilitated by personally trained research assistants who were local residents.

A second source of unpublished tales utilized in this article are Silliman student reports presented to Professor Timoteo Oracion for his introductory folklore course. Students gathered the tales in their home communities during vacation. They were presented in English. Since most Silliman students came from the Bisayas, their tales, with some exceptions, were collected in the vernacular of this region, including northern Mindanao. Two master's theses dealing with folklore were also examined.⁵

⁵ Fe Java Dignadice, "A Critical Study of Folklore in the Western Visayas (Antique, Capiz, Iloilo, and Negros Occidental)" (Dumaguete, Philippines, 1955). M.A. thesis in English. Maria Caseñas Pajo, "Bohol Folklore" (Cebu City, Philippines, 1954). M.A. thesis in English.

A third source of tales was obtained from printed sources, including Dean Fansler, Gardner Fletcher, Mabel Cole, Berton Maxfield, W.H. Millington, H. Arlo Nimmo, Maria Coronel, and others.⁶ Other tales, often taken from those sources and then rewritten, were found in books published primarily for use in the schools or for the general public.⁷

Finally, the published folklore of primitive groups in the Philippines was searched e.g., Bagobo, Bontoc, Ifugao, Tinguian, Nabaloa, Apayao, and Mangyan. With a single specific exception, no tales about Pusong were found in this quite large group of publications. On the other hand, tales about Pusong (and his prototype, Pilandok) appear to be popular among some Muslim Filipino groups.⁸

Since Pusong tales often are boldly erotic, or emphasize scatological themes, student reports and especially published sources intended for public school or popular consumption bowdlerized such tales. However, it is believed that most student reports do not suffer

⁶ Dean S. Fansler, *Filipino Popular Tales* (Hatboro, Penn., reprinted 1965); Harriott E. Fansler, *Types of Prose Narratives: A Textbook for the Story Writer* (Chicago, Illinois, 1916); Berton Maxfield and W. H. Millington, "Visayan Folktales," *Journal of American Folklore* 19 (1906): 97-112; H. Arlo Nimmo, "Pusong, Trickster of Sulu," *Western Folklore* 29 (1970): 185-191; Herminia Q. Meñez, "Juan Tamad: A Philippines Folktale Hero," *Southern Folklore* 35 (1971): 83-92; Maria Delia Coronel, *Stories and Legends from Filipino Folklore* (Manila, Philippines, 1968); Juan Francisco, "Themes in Philippine Folk Tales," *Asian Studies* 10 (1972): 6-17; Clara K. Bayliss, "Philippine Folk-Tales," *Journal of American Folklore* 21 (1908): 46-53; and Lucette Ratcliffe, "Filipino Folktales," *Journal of American Folklore* 62 (1949): 298-308.

⁷ Gaudencio Aquino and others, *Philippine Folktales* (Quezon City, Philippines, 1969); Gaudencio Aquino, *Philippine Legends and Fables* (Manila, 1972); Manuel Arguilla and Lyd Arguilla, *Philippine Tales and Fables* (Manila, Philippines, 1965); Ismael V. Mallari, *Tales from the Mountain Province: From Materials Gathered by Laurence L. Wilson* (Manila, Philippines, reprinted 1969); F. Landa Jocano, *Myths and Legends of the Early Filipinos* (Quezon City, Philippines, 1971); Maximo Ramos, *Tales of Long Ago in the Philippines* (Manila, Philippines, 1953); Maximo Ramos, *Philippine Myths and Tales for Young Readers* (Manila, Philippines, 1957); Laurence L. Wilson, *Apayao Life and Legends* (Manila, Philippines, reprinted 1967). The shortcomings of these sources are discussed by E. Arsenio Manuel, "On the Study of Philippine Folklore" in Antonio G. Manuud, ed., *Brown Heritage: Essays on Philippine Cultural Tradition And Literature* (Quezon City, Philippines, 1967): 262.

⁸ Nimmo, *op. cit.*; Coronel, *op. cit.*; Robert D. McAmis, *An Introduction to the Folk Tales of the Maranao Muslims of Mindanao in the Southern Philippines* (Chicago, Illinois, 1966).

greatly from this limitation because the tales that would be told students would be selected to meet their expectations.

Filipino folklore as the folk knows it often deals with excrement, breaking wind, or illicit coition. For many Filipinos, especially those in the villages, these themes are not considered as offensive as they would be to most westerners or urbanized Filipinos. Finally, scholarly works published dealing with Pusong, especially those printed during the early part of the 20th century, did not escape censorship. Gardner suppressed some tales about Pusong he felt were "too coarse for Western ideas."⁹

In summary, it is believed that few Pusong tales published in English have escaped our notice. Moreover, the corpus of these tales has been increased by more than one-third by the addition of stories collected in Samar and Negros.

Pusong's Name

The two most common names for this Filipino trickster are Juan (Suan) Pusong (Posong, Osong, or Puson) or Tamad. He may also be called just Juan with no surnames. Most tales in Fransler refer to him as Juan the Fool or, only in one tale, Juan Loco. Gardner suggests that, in English, Juan Puson translates as "Jack Paunch".¹⁰ Generally speaking, Juan usually is called Pusong by Bisayans, while Tamad is his more popular name among non-Bisayans, e.g., Tagalogs. In six tales he is known as Pilandok, Padol, Masoy, and Andres.¹¹ Finally, in some tales he remains unnamed, but his character and actions quickly identify him as Pusong or Tamad.

Table 1 gives the various meaning of *pusong* or *tamad* in seven Philippine languages. The most detailed definition of *pusong* is in Wolff's dictionary where the word is said to mean

a person who is good in putting up a front of innocence when committing mischief, so called from the character Huwan Pusong of folk tales who is always getting the better of people.¹²

⁹ Gardner, *op. cit.*, 104.

¹⁰ Gardner, *op. cit.*, 104

¹¹ Ramos, *op. cit.*, (1953); Ramos, *op. cit.*, (1957)192; Coronel, *op. cit.*, 516; Fansler, *op. cit.*, 332; and McAmis, *op. cit.*, 101.

¹² John U. Wolf, *A Dictionary of Cebuano Visayan* (Ithaca, New York, 1972) : Vol. 2 : 811.

As Table 1 indicates *pusong* and *tamad* have common meaning in five Philippine languages. Although the definitions of *pusong* cover a broad range, each is accurate, for Pusong is tricky, arrogant, and mischievous in addition to being a braggart, liar, knave and arrogant rogue. As will be demonstrated shortly, Pusong neither always bests his opponents nor is he always lazy and indolent. The definitions of *pusong* in Table 1 omit, based on an analysis of our corpus, such meanings as shrewd, witty, immoral, etc. The Pusong of our tales is truly a "man for all seasons."

TABLE 1
MEANINGS OF PUSONG AND JUAN TAMAD IN SEVEN PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES

Language	<i>Pusong</i>	<i>Tamad</i>
Ilokano	Arrogant, haughty, proud, lordly, imperious ¹³	*
Tagalog	Knave, arrant rogue, saucy, buffonery, foolishness, impudent, insolent, arrogant, proud, lofty, overbearing ^{14, 15, 16}	Lazy, indolent ¹⁵
Pampango	*	Lazy, indolent ^{15, 17}
Bicolano	*	Lazy, indolent ¹⁵
Cebuano	To pretend to be innocent, michievous, ¹⁸ tricky, prankster, bluffer	To feel too lazy to do ¹⁹
Hiligaynon	Liar, boaster, braggart, teller of invented stories ²⁰	Idle, lazy, indolent ²⁰ *
Samaraeño	Buffonery, foolishness ¹⁵	

* Term not used in the dictionaries consulted.

Most of our informants in Samar and Negros orally defined *pusong* as meaning tricky, cunning, unscrupulous, liar, funny, im-

¹³ Andres Carro, *Iloko-English Dictionary* (Baguio, Philippines, 195-251).

¹⁴ Pedro S. Laktaw, *Diccionario Tagalog-Hispano* (Madrid, reprinted 1965) 3 : 1100.

¹⁵ Jose Villa Panganiban, *Diksiyunaryo-Tesaurus Pilipino-Ingles* (Quezon City, Philippines, 1972) : 836.

¹⁶ Maria Odulio de Guzman, *An English-Tagalog and Tagalog-English Dictionary* (Manila, Philippines, 1966) : 642.

¹⁷ Michael L. Forman, *Kapampangan Dictionary* (Honolulu, Hawaii, 1971) : 221.

¹⁸ Wolff, *op. cit.*, 2 : 811, 975.

¹⁹ Thomas V. Hermosisima and Pedro S. Lopez, Jr., *Dictionary Bisayan-English-Tagalog* (Manila, Philippines, 1966) : 486.

²⁰ Panganiban, *op. cit.*, 836, 951.

moral, etc. Some better-educated, more "Americanized" urban informants thought we should not collect stories about Pusong since they often were concerned with immoral activities. They would reflect unfavorably on Filipinos when read by Americans.

Rural informants, however, always considered Pusong's amatory adventures hilarious and never criticized them, for he was behaving like a "normal young Filipino male." Filipinos known for telling "tall tales" are said to be nicknamed Pusong. Dignadice's survey of the folklore of the Western Bisayas (Panay and Negros Occidental) described Pusong as a rustic, uncouth simpleton, but added that he was entertaining and amusing.²¹

Pusong's Physical Features, Family and Social Background and Personality Traits

With a few exceptions, Pusong's physical features, and most of his personality characteristics, are not specifically described or emphasized in the tales. His traits emerged as each tale's action unfolds. This topic, therefore, is discussed on two levels. First, on the basis of direct statements made in the tales, usually during the opening paragraphs. Second, this character delineation is expanded by an analysis of Pusong's activities in the stories. The two accounts, one based on direct statements and the other implied by Pusong's adventures, are usually but not always in agreement.

All tales were read and every direct statement about Pusong's physical appearance, age, social class, family life, and personality was recorded and collated. This is the basis for the assertion that certain features or traits were mentioned in specific tales.

Storytellers in eastern Samar and southern Negros rarely gave titles to their tales. It is assumed, therefore, that when published tales have titles, they were added by the collector or editor. For this reason, titles were excluded as sources of data in this analysis.

Pusong's age rarely is mentioned in the stories. In one tale he is a "small boy," in three tales he is seven years old, and in one tale apiece he is eight, twelve, sixteen and twenty years old. However, in most of the tales Pusong must be assumed to be a young married adult. At the start of many tales he is unmarried, although often at their conclusions he weds the princess (or rich girl) whose hand he has won through trickery or achievements. In several tales

²¹ Dignadice, *op. cit.*, 47-48.

the plot centers on his search for a wife at the behest of Pusong's worried mother.

Four tales state that Pusong is "handsome," while one tale indicates he is so ugly the princess will not marry him. Since he usually wins the girls, most listeners must assume he is physically attractive. One tale presents a detailed and certainly inaccurate (based on our corpus) description of Pusong's person — a most unflattering picture of a Filipino.

Juan is twenty years old He is short in stature. His eyes are neither bright nor dull; they are very black, and slowly roll in their sockets. His mouth is narrow. He has a double chin, and a short flat nose. His forehead is broad, and his lips are thick. His hair is black and straight. His body is round like a pumpkin and his legs are short.²²

In six tales Pusong is said to be an only child (in one, the "favorite"). Three tales state Juan lives with his widowed mother; however, numerous tales mention only his mother, although several indicate Pusong lives with his family. In a few tales Pusong's father is the main protagonist. In one tale Pusong resides with his grandmother. On the whole, Juan appears to be an only child of a widowed mother; siblings are rarely mentioned.

Invariably Pusong is a peasant, usually a farmer who lives in a village. Although some tales specifically state that Pusong, or his family, is poor, their poverty is only implied in most stories. Pusong's lower class status is everywhere made obvious in the tales. For example, in one story he must learn to wear shoes since he always had gone barefooted. The listeners are always delighted when Juan marries the princess for it is a case of a "poor boy making good."

The three most prominent personality traits of Pusong, based on specific statements in the tales, are laziness (21 tales), stupidity (12) and cleverness (9). He is also said to be a liar (6), rudiciously obedient (4), mischievous (4), a drunkard (2) and a braggart or boaster (2). Other characteristics each mentioned only once in the stories are Pusong's criminality, deceitfulness, bravery, compassion, and possession of miraculous powers. An analysis of Juan's behavior in these tales underlines these qualities but also indicates that he is immoral, selfish, greedy, generous, honest, cruel, kind, crude, disrespectful to his parents and elders, a laughable dupe, a victorious contestant, witty, rich, and a glutton.

Pusong's personality is one of mixed opposites. Although he is a complete fool or a native dupe, he is also clever, shrewd, and

²² Fansler, *op. cit.*, 339.

wise. He acts both honestly and dishonestly, humanely and cruelly, generously and selfishly. Pusong is a poor peasant yet often he marries a member of the royal family or elite class. However, there are two sides of Juan's personality that are not balanced by positive opposites. First, lazy Juan rarely is industrious, although his indolence may bring him profit. Second, his sexual immorality as a young unmarried man lacks any counterbalance. However, as already mentioned, this last aspect of Pusong's personality probably is not as negative a trait in the minds of rural Filipinos as it would be for many Americans.

Meñez's analysis of these trickster tales claims that "The emphasis in the Philippine versions is on the laziness of Juan Tamad while the Spanish analogues stress Juan's stupidity..."²³ Our analysis, based on a more comprehensive corpus for the Philippines, does not support this finding. Frequently Pusong is as stupid in his behavior as he is lazy; moreover, his laziness often is rewarded. Finally, Juan's laziness often is mixed with shrewdness and luck.

Meñez, in comparing Spanish and Philippine trickster stories, found in the former "... the conclusion is always negative. Juan gets scolded, beaten, punished, or even killed."²⁴ The conclusions of the Philippine stories are "always positive" for "... in the end, Juan becomes master of the situation and definitely subdue both [mother or wife]."²⁵ Table 2 presents data regarding the conclusions of Pusong tales analyzed in this article. Table 2 supports Meñez's statement in the sense that when Pusong is involved in a debate, he wins much oftener than he loses. However, this table underlines another crucial aspect of the tales: namely, that in about one-third of all tales, *no contest occurs*. This feature of the corpus reflects the large number of numskull tales.

TABLE 2
THE CONTEST THEME IN PUSONG TALES²⁶

<i>Wins Contest</i>	<i>Loses Contest</i>	<i>No Contest Involved</i>	<i>Total</i>
92	13	58	163

²³ Meñez, *op. cit.*, 87.

²⁴ Meñez, *op. cit.*, 87.

²⁵ Meñez, *op. cit.*, 88.

²⁶ The total of Table 2 is larger than the corpus since some tales include several contests; each contest was counted separately. A contest was defined as an event in which Pusong struggled with others for a certain goal, e.g., wealth, marriage with a princess, seduction, community prestige, besting an opponent in a verbal duel, etc.

Table 3 indicates the means by which Pusong wins his contests and the results of his victories.²⁷ In addition to many and varied tricks, the most common means are soothsaying, the substitute of another person for himself, and helpful animals. One might argue that in the tales where Pusong is aided by helpful animals, the ultimate victory should not be credited to him. His most popular rewards are marrying the princess (or rich girl), or wealth, illicit sexual intercourse, prestige, or merely the pleasure of defeating his opponent.

TABLE 3
HOW PUSONG WINS HIS CONTESTS AND THEIR ASSOCIATED RESULTS*

<i>How Contests Were Won</i>	<i>Number of Times</i>	<i>Rewards</i>	<i>Number of Occasions</i>
Trickery	20	Marries princess or rich girl	33
Substitute another for himself	14	Wealth	12
Pretends to be a soothsayer	15	Illicit coition	12
Helpful animals (dogs, cat, monkey, eel, crab, snake, horse and bird)	11	Defeats opponent (victory is sole reward)	12
Lying	11	Gains prestige (praise from parents, community helped, local fame, etc.)	12
Disguises himself	5	Food (often in excessive amounts)	10
Uses magical objects	5	Sells wares	6
Wisdom	2	Escapes execution	5
Miscellaneous (one apiece, bribery, laziness, honesty, frightens opponents)	4	Miscellaneous (one apiece, freed from slavery, becomes sultan, gets class dismissed early)	3

* Since in many single tales Pusong wins dual or triple rewards, the totals for the two columns in Table 3 are not identical.

²⁷ Various difficulties occurred in constructing Table 3. First, trickery is a broad topic. It is an element in other means by which Pusong wins his contests, e.g., pretending to be a soothsayer. However, it was sometimes difficult to be more specific; for example, trickery in some instances was an accident, etc. Second, the numerous variants focused on one motif (e.g., how Pusong escapes from the cage by convincing another

The Philippine Distribution of Pusong Tales

With some exaggeration one might claim the distribution of Pusong tales to be pan-Philippine. They have been collected from the north to the south in the archipelago, for primitive, Christian and Muslim Filipinos. However, only one Pusong tale has been published for a primitive group, the Mangyan of Mindoro.²⁸ This tale, collected by an anthropologist, is a popular one in the Philippines — Juan sells to a gullible king an animal that is purported to defecate money. When the animal does not perform as promised, the King imprisons Pusong in a cage for his fraud. (See I: *Pusong and The Cage-in-the Sea Trick*).

Several stories were located for other primitive groups in Luzon that are quite similar to Pusong tales, although the main character is neither identified as Pusong nor Tamad. One common motif in Pusong stories is how Juan tricks his parents or friends so he may enjoy feast. The Apayao (of northern Luzon) tell about Ekkon, a "naughty boy," who tells his mother a friend blind in one eye is coming to slaughter their pig. He leaves, returns with a sticky substance he has put in one eye, fools his mother, and kills the pig. "That was the best supper that Ekkon ever had in his life."²⁹ The Tinguian and Kankanay, also of northern Luzon, tell a brief story about a man who visits a town where people replied, when their visitor asks what they were eating, that it is *labon* or bamboo sprouts. He returns home, cuts and cooks his bamboo house ladder, thinking the people had said they were eating *aldan* or the house ladder.³⁰ Numerous Pusong stories are based on the confusion over the meaning of words or purposely giving incorrect names to objects or terms.

Moss published a large number of "Trickster Stories and Fables" for the Nabaloi, again from Northern Luzon.³¹ All the tricksters

to be his innocent substitute) were counted separately; they might have been counted only once. Third, in some tales additional rewards are indirectly implied, e.g., when Juan marries the princess he eventually would become the king. However, this and other rewards are listed in Table 3 only when specifically mentioned in the tales.

²⁸ Coronel, *op. cit.*, 151-154.

²⁹ Wilson, *op. cit.*, 230.

³⁰ Fay-Cooper Cole, *Traditions of the Tinguian. A Study in Philippine Folklore* (Chicago, Illinois 1915) 14 : 198-199. In the Kankanay version the man dies from eating his residence bamboo ladder. Morice Vanoverbergh, C.I.C.M., "Tales in Lepanto-Igorot as it is Spoken at Baco," *University of Manila Journal of East Asiatic Studies* 1(1952) : 6-118.

³¹ C. R. Moss, "Nabaloi Tales," *University of California Publications in Archaeology and Ethnology* 17(1924) : 296-353.

in his published selection are animals and no tale is a variant or duplication of our Pusong corpus. However, Moss states "A few [tales] which were told to me were not recorded on account of their similarity to lowland Filipino myths that had previously been published."³²

Although most of the standard published folklore sources for the major primitive societies in the Philippines were examined, a more comprehensive search might locate additional Pusong tales. It is our opinion, however, that Pusong tales are rarely told among these groups. Of all Filipinos, they have lived and continue to live in the most isolated areas of the country. For this reason they were the least influenced by the Spaniards and Americans or the people of folklore of these groups was "no more 'uncontaminated'" than that of Christian Filipinos.³³ The final word on this subject is yet to be written.

According to anthropologist Nimmo, "Stories of a comic trickster called Pusong are told by both the [Muslim] Taosug and Samal inhabitants of the Sulu Islands of the Philippines."³⁴ Coronel writes that

The stories of Pilandok are very many and varied. Each story shows how he manages to escape a complicated situation by his wit or lack of it. Many a situation happens due to his being a half-wit. Though generally considered a funny man, Pilandok now and then shows brilliance of mind and wit . . . He is the Muslim counterpart of Juan Tamad.³⁵

Unfortunately, Coronel published only one tale about Pilandok, collected from an informant (Muslim?) in Zamboanga city in Southern Mindanao.³⁶ Finally, the Muslim Maranao (Western Mindanao) tell trickster tales in which the central character is a man called Pilandok.³⁷ One Filipino writer equates the Maranao Pilandok with Juan Tamad.³⁸

A popular trickster of Sabah is the clever mouse-deer (Malay: Pelandok) who outwits larger animals but usually is beaten by smaller ones. The numerous tales about Pelandok (Pilandok or P'landok)

³² *Ibid.*, p. 320.

³³ Fansler, *op. cit.*, xviii.

³⁴ Nimmo, *op. cit.*, 185.

³⁵ Coronel, *op. cit.*, 30.

³⁶ Coronel, *op. cit.*, 30-32.

³⁷ McAmis, *op. cit.*, 101.

³⁸ Abdullah T. Madale, "Pilandok of the Maranaws," *This Week Magazine* (Manila, May 8, 1960).

have many parallels with stories told by Muslim Filipinos in Mindanao and Sulu.³⁹ Francisco speculates that Juan Tamad may be a "modern Tagalog adaptation of the Pilandok character."⁴⁰

Pusong as a Trickster

In discussing Coyote tales, Thompson states this trickster has three roles: the beneficent cultural hero, the clever deceiver and the numbskull.⁴¹ Pusong is never a cultural hero but the tales in this article vividly illustrates that he is both a clever deceiver and a numbskull. As indicated earlier, Pusong's personality is that of thesis and anti-thesis; like other tricksters he is both smart and stupid, he cheats and is cheated.⁴² He shares another trait of American Indian and African tricksters — he is a glutton.⁴³ The plots of various tales are centered on the tricks Pusong plays to obtain food to satisfy a voracious appetite. He, like other tricksters, also has his helpful companions or stooges⁴⁴ and often appears as a "retarded" child in his "... preoccupation with the humor of elemental incongruities, scatology, and cruelty..."⁴⁵

Yet the Filipino trickster differs from the general pattern of tricksters in other cultures. Pusong is human, and normally without supernatural qualities. Our Filipino trickster does not give Filipinos their basic cultural equipment (e.g., fire, plants, etc.) or important customs that determine and guide their behavior.⁴⁶ But it is not "inaccurate to call him a 'Trickster'"⁴⁷ for he is both intelligent and clever. Pusong often plays wilful tricks on his opponents, displaying both brilliance and cunning.

³⁹ Juan R. Francisco, "Some Philippine Tales Compared with Parallels in North Borneo," *Sarawak Museum Journal* 10(1962) : 511-523. Also see George Jamuh, Tom Harrisson, and Benedict Sandin, "Pelandok, The Villain-Hero—In Sarawak and Interior Kalimantan (South Borneo)," *Sarawak Museum Journal* 10(1962) : 524-534.

⁴⁰ Francisco, *op. cit.*, 518-519; McAmis, *op. cit.*, 101.

⁴¹ Stith Thompson, *The Folktale* (New York, 1951) : 319.

⁴² Linda Degh, "Folk Narrative" in *Folklore and Folklife: An Introduction*, ed. Richard Dorson (Chicago, Illinois, 1972) : 68.

⁴³ Thompson, *op. cit.*, 326; Paul Radin, *The Trickster: A Study in American Indian Mythology* (New York, 1956) : 155-156; Susan Feldman, ed., *African Myths and Tales* (New York, 1963) : 15-16.

⁴⁴ Maria Leach, ed., *Funk and Wagnall's Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Tales* (New York, 1936) : 1124.

⁴⁵ John Greenway, ed., *The Primitive Reader. An Anthology of Myths, Tales, Songs, Riddles, and Proverbs of Aboriginal Peoples Around the World* (Hatboro, Penn., 1965) : 57.

⁴⁶ Radin, *op. cit.*, 156.

⁴⁷ John Greenway, *Literature Among the Primitive* (Hatboro, Penn., 1964) : 72.

Greenway concludes that of all primitive narratives, Trickster tales are the most offensive to Euramerican readers because of his habit of committing unnatural sexual acts and wallowing in excrement.⁴⁸

Pusong tales discussed in this article (and others not included) illustrate the prominence of excrement in their plots. The feature is a common characteristic of Filipino folktales that do not involve Pusong. Yet Pusong for all his sexiness never commits an unnatural sexual act. This is not because deviant sexual practices are unknown in the Philippines. Male and female homosexuality, including transvestism, are part of life in Caticugan and Dumaguete.⁴⁹

Finally, Pusong has another prominent trait usually not associated with trickster stories in other societies — his abnormal indolence. In one tale collected from a female informant in Eastern Samar, Pusong was so lazy that he did not brush his teeth or wipe his mouth after eating. During the night the rats smelled the odor of food in his mouth as he slept in bed.

The rats began to eat Juan's lips. He expected his wife to drive them away. His wife was watching and expecting her husband to drive them away. In the morning Juan's lips had been eaten by the rats.

"Why did you not drive the rats away?," asked his wife. "Look at your handsome face now!"

The wife was so angry she left Juan. They were separated because of Juan's laziness.

Yet Pusong's laziness may be rewarded. In one tale (collected in Samar) he was so lazy that he threw his wife's valuable golden hairpin at the thieving birds in their fields. Later the hairpin was found in a bush that grew where a buried treasure was found. So in some tales Pusong's indolence is profitable either through luck or shrewdness.

One Pusong tale ends by the storyteller commenting on his character. But are there different Juans asked the granddaughter?

Oh yes there are many kinds. There is Juan whom they sometimes call Suan who is lazy and full of bragging lies and other Juans who are not as lazy or stupid as they seem. How can you tell which Juan is which? You can never tell chuckled the grandmother. You only wait and see.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 76.

⁴⁹ Donn V. Hart, "Homosexuality and Transvestism in the Philippines: The Cebuan *Bayot* and *Lakin-on*," *Behavior Science Notes* 3 (1969) : 211-248.

⁵⁰ Arguilla and Arguilla, *op. cit.*, (1965) : 81.

In conclusion the Juan Pusong (or Tamad) stories remain a luxuriant and relatively unexplored field for folklorists interested in trickster tales. Numerous generalizations about Trickster tales remain either inaccurate or incomplete since they do not include data from the Philippines — and the rest of insular Southeast Asia. Juan Pusong urgently needs to be “revisited” by folklorists.

New Pusong Tales from the Bisayas

Space prohibits the inclusion in this article of all 56 Pusong tales collected in Eastern Samar and Southern Negros. This section presents a selection of these stories arranged around popular Pusong plots. When variants were collected for the same tale, the “best” example is given, e.g., the longest tale that has the greatest detail, internal consistency, etc. The footnotes indicate the variants for each tale, as found in student reports, theses, and published sources. A brief summary of the basic plots of all the tales in each group precedes the presentation of the story actually gathered in Samar or Negros.

I. Pusong and the Cage-in-the-Sea Switch

Fifteen variants of this tale were collected in Samar or Negros and located in the other sources previously described. Versions of this tale occur among Christians, Muslim, and primitive (Mangyan) Filipinos.

Pusong is imprisoned in a cage (fish trap or chicken coop) by the king (paymaster or captain of a ship) because he: 1) courted a princess; 2) had illicit sexual relations with a queen; 3) sold an animal (carabao, chicken, etc.) that he fraudulently claimed defecated money; 4) claimed the owner's cows he watched were buried in the ground (when only their severed tails had been covered); or 5) broke the law.

Pusong is placed in a cage to be dropped into the sea. He manages to trick someone (executor, judge, friend, student, fisherman, etc.) to enter the cage as a substitute (often falsely claiming he was in the cage because he refused to marry the princess). Pusong “miraculously” returns from the sea, claiming his executor's deceased parents or other relatives lived under the sea, possessed great wealth, and wanted to see their kinsman. After the cage with the executor is thrown into the sea, Pusong claims the bubbles, feces, blood (said

to be wine) and other signs indicated he was being welcomed by his relatives. Actually, he drowns. Pusong marries the princess, becomes rich, and, by implication or direct statement, is proclaimed king or sultan.

Story No. 1

There is a story from the olden days about Juan Pusong. Juan Pusong was a watcher of cows. The cows were in a corral along the beach. One day Pusong went to the corral to inspect the cows. What he did was to cut off the tails of all the cows and bury them in the ground so only their tips showed. He then opened the corral and drove the cows into the forest. After this he reported to the king. He told the king:

‘Señor, all the cows in the corral burrowed into the sand except for their tails that are still sticking out.’

The king walked to the corral with Pusong; there were no trucks [i.e. buses] then. The king was worried what to do when he saw only the tails of his cows exposed. He ordered Pusong to go to the queen to borrow a *sadol*. [*Sadol* in Samaran means a type of pick but also, by double-entendre, coition]. Pusong went to the queen. On his arrival at the palace he told the queen:

‘Señora, I was told to come for the *sadol*.’

‘Oh, you foolish Pusong, get out of here,’ the queen said.

Pusong went to the king at the corral and told him:

‘The queen does not want to give me the *sadol*.’

‘Go again and get the *sadol* from the queen,’ ordered the king.

Pusong ran to the palace and said to the queen:

‘Señora, I was told to *sadol* by the king. So the queen permitted him to “*sadol*” her.

‘Where is the *sadol*?’, the king asked Pusong.

‘Oh, I lost it on my way. I don’t know where it is now.’

The king returned home with Pusong. The queen told the king that Juan Pusong had come and ‘made foolishness’ [coition].

‘He asked for *sadol* and I gave him *sadol*,’ said the queen.

The king imprisoned Pusong in a cage. The cage was built along a path. To the many who walked past along the path, Pusong kept shouting:

‘I don’t want to marry the princess!’

The princess was the most beautiful girl in the city. She was like Miss Philippines. Friends of Pusong passed while he cried out:

‘I don’t want to marry the princess.’ A prince asked Pusong:

‘What did you say?’

‘The princess is forcing me to marry her but I don’t want to,’ answered Pusong. They agreed to change places on the next day.

‘I’ll come and take your place. Will that be all right?’ said the prince.

‘Well, if you would like to marry the princess, that’s all right with me,’ Pusong said. [Here the informant commented: ‘Pusong is very tricky.’]

Early the next day, about 5 a.m., the prince came in full uniform. Pusong gave him the key and he opened the cage.

The prince took off his uniform and exchanged it for Pusong's clothes. He took Pusong's place. Pusong closed the cage.

Be sure to say you want to marry the princess,' Pusong said.

Then Pusong strutted around in the uniform with its sword like a real prince. Many people passed the cage saying:

'Pusong will soon be killed by the king.' The prince kept saying:

'I want to marry the princess,'

Around 4 p.m. the King rode around in his coach. When he passed by the cage he heard the prince say:

'I'd like to marry the princess.'

The king got out and scolded the prince.

'You had better keep still, Pusong, and get ready for what will happen to you tomorrow.'

'I want to marry the princess,' said the prince.

The next day the king called his ministers and policemen and told the policemen to throw Pusong into the ocean. The policemen brought the prince in the cage and threw him into the ocean. When Pusong heard the prince was thrown into the ocean he visited the palace. When the king saw him he was surprised.

'Why, Pusong,' said the king. 'Why are you here?' Pusong told the king:

'I went to the place where your parents are living. They are rich and have a big store. They are lonesome for you. I was told to tell you to visit them.'

'Oh, what a nice place to have been to. I wish I could see my parents,' the king said.

'You can go as long as you do what you did to me,' said Pusong.

The king ordered the policemen to build a cage for him. The following day the cage was ready. The king ordered the policemen to bring him to the queen. Pusong went with him. The king said goodbye to the queen.

'I'll go with you and show you the right way to get to your parents,' Pusong said.

While sailing on the ocean Pusong tied a rope and iron bar around the king's neck. The king asked Pusong:

'Why are you tying a rope and iron bar around my neck?'

'Well, I am doing this so you will immediately sink to the place where your parents are living. Otherwise you might be eaten by the big fish around there.'

In the middle of the ocean the king was thrown into the water. Later bubbles and feces came up to the surface.

'Oh, the king is enjoying himself with his parents,' said Juan. 'They have eaten so much food that feces are floating up.'⁵¹

⁵¹ This tale was collected from a 27-year old married male Filipino, one of our best storytellers, who lived in the rural outskirts of Borongan. He said the tale was first told him by his grandfather when he was five years old. He had not retold the tale since learning it! The "moral" of the story, according to his grandfather, was that he should not grow up to be a liar like Juan Pusong. In later questioning, he said Pusong did not marry the princess — "he just went away." Pusong had buried the tails of the king's cows "to see if the king could see through his trick." Six similar versions of this tale were collected in Borongan and two in Dumaguete. Two versions were found in Oracion, *op. cit.*, 92-93, 94-101.

II. *Pusong and His Obedient Monkey Servant*

Seven versions of this tale were located, of which one was collected in Samar and another in Negros.

Juan Pusong captures (in several tales he used a tar-baby) a monkey raiding his fruit trees or field (corn or camotes). He spares the monkey's life since he promises to be his faithful servant. Several times, the monkey borrows a measure from the king (rich man) on the pretext it is required to count Juan's great wealth. Each time the measure is returned, the monkey sticks to it a silver or gold or coins of increasingly larger denominations. The king is convinced Pusong is a wealthy man; so Pusong marries the princess.

In some versions the king says that before he will agree to the proposed marriage, Pusong must own a palace, land, and animals. The monkey goes to a witch (*ingkanto* or environmental spirit or a king whose subjects are animals) who owns a palace and digs a large hole in the ground. The owner of the palace is tricked into jumping into the hole (to hear sweet music or escape a fictitious invading army) where the monkey kills and buries him. On the way to see Pusong's palace, the people he passes tells the king (on the instructions of the monkey) that their animals land belong to Pusong. Juan usually marries the princess; however, in one tale the princess refuses to wed him because he is ugly. The monkey either returns to the forest or remains a valued friend of Pusong.

Once there was a family who owned a camote field. This family has a son named Juan Pusong. He watched their camotes because monkeys often stole them. Juan made some traps to catch the monkeys. He caught one in his trap. When he caught the monkey he went to it with his *bolo* [a broad-bladed multi-purpose knife most farmers carry]. He intended to kill the monkey.

'Juan, please do not kill me. I'll be your servant,' said the monkey.

Juan still intended to kill the monkey and moved toward him. The closer Juan came the more the monkey pleaded. So Juan did not kill the monkey but brought it home with him. The other monkey in the forest no longer raided his camote field because they saw that the monkey had been caught in the trap, so they were taught a lesson.

Most of the time Juan went to the sea to fish. The monkey, because it was tame, often went to town for a walk. He did this for a long time. One day the monkey found a 50-centavo coin.

Published versions are included in Maxfield and Millington, *op. cit.*, 108-109; two versions in Coronel, *op. cit.*, 151-154, 30-32; and one version in Nimmo, *op. cit.*, 188-189.

He did not give the money to Juan. The next day he found a one-peso bill. He kept the bill, too. One day he said:

'Juan, you'll have to prepare our meals because I have a job in the town as a clerk and can no longer cook.'

Juan believed the monkey; so he no longer went to the sea, because he had to have the meals ready as soon as the monkey came home.

One day the monkey went to the king to borrow a measure. When he was before the king, he said:

"King, may I borrow your measure because Juan is going to measure his money?"

The king lent him the measure. On the following afternoon the monkey returned the measure, putting the 50-centavo coin inside it. The king saw the coin in the measure and asked:

'What does this coin you left here mean?'

'That is the money Juan wants to pay you for the use of your measure,' answered the monkey.

'No, you do not have to pay me, for I have plenty of money,' the king said.

'Juan has more money than you have,' replied the monkey.

[The informant chuckled most of the time while telling this story.]

So the king kept the coin. The following morning the monkey again went to the king to borrow the measure.

'King,' he said, 'may I borrow the measure again because Juan is going to count his money?'

'Yes, I'll lend you my measure.'

The following afternoon when the monkey returned the measure he put the one peso bill inside. The king saw the one peso bill in the measure.

'What does this one peso bill mean?,' he asked.

'That is payment for the use of your measure.'

The king told the monkey that he had plenty of money and did not need the peso.

'Juan has plenty of money, more than you have,' answered the monkey.

The monkey went back to Juan's house and asked permission to be away for a week. Juan gave him permission. So the monkey left. He went to a palace where the king was a human but his subjects were animals. He thought the palace must be enchanted because the subjects were animals. Before he entered the palace he dug a deep hole. He then went before the king.

'King, come and hear sweet music. I hear sweet music. Do you want to hear it?'

'Certainly I do. Where is it?'

'Come with me,' said the monkey.

The king followed the monkey to the hole.

'Put your ear to this hole and you will hear the sweet music,' said the monkey.

When the king put his ear to the hole the monkey pushed him into it and quickly buried him. He then went to the dead king's palace. There he found some keys and a bell. He rang the bell. As soon as he rang it the animals gathered before him. He said to the animals:

'You must be very obedient now, for you have a new king.'

He rang the bell again and another group of animals appeared before him and he told them the same thing.

The monkey then returned to Juan's house.

'Come with me. You will marry the princess,' he said.

'I will not be accepted by the king. He is a king and we are lowly persons.'

'Believe me, the king will accept you as the husband of his daughter.'

So Juan went with the monkey to the palace. True enough, the king liked Juan because he believed the monkey when he said that Juan had plenty of money. Juan was married to the princess.

After their marriage, the monkey told Juan about the kingdom of animals. He said Juan was going to be their king. So Juan and his wife went to that kingdom to live. Juan became their king. From that time on Juan was very rich through the monkey's cleverness.

Then the monkey asked Juan's permission to go home to the forest. Juan gave him permission. When the monkey arrived in the forest the other monkeys did not recognize him. Maybe it was his bad odor. [The informant, when asked about this odor, said it was a different odor than the other monkeys. It was the odor of humans for the monkey had lived with people for a long time]. So he lived by himself. He never went back to Juan.⁵²

III. *Pusong, The Stupid Yet Successful Vendor*

Six versions of this tale were located, including two collected in Samar and one in the Caticugan.

Juan Pusong is sent to the market (by either his mother or father to sell pork or rice cakes. On the way he "sells" his food to various animals (dog, cat, housefly, frogs, and a pig) and to his reflection in the water in a well.

The next day Juan returns to be paid. By threatening the owner of the animals and the well (or the person on whom a housefly had lighted), Juan collects. In one tale, Juan is praised by his father as a skillful vendor. In another tale, Juan "sells" his rice cakes to some frogs, fails to collect, and his mother promises never again to send him alone to the market.

Story No. 3

Pusong's father had a pig. Pusong once said to him: '*Tatay* [address term of respect, also Daddy], kill the pig so we can sell it.'

His father agreed. He killed the pig. Juan left to sell the meat in the market. On his way a housefly lighted on his meat. He spoke to the fly:

⁵² This tale was collected from a 65-year old spinster who lived in Boroñgan and first heard this story from her mother. She had rarely retold this tale. Another version was collected in Boroñgan and one in Caticugan. Versions are also given in Fansler, *op. cit.*, 352-353; Oracion, *op. cit.*, 61-62; and Arguilla and Arguilla, *op. cit.*, (1965):69.

'Do you want some of my meat? Here it is. I'll give you the meat, but you must pay me on Thursday.' He put some meat on the ground.

He went on his way. He met a dog and said to the dog: 'What, do you want some of my meat? Here is some, but you must pay me on Thursday.'

He continued and came across a well. He looked down and saw his reflection on the water.

'What are you looking at? My meat? Do you want the rest of it? You must pay me on Thursday.' He threw the meat into the water.

Pusong went home. When he arrived he said to his father: 'Tatay, my meat was bought on credit. I sold it ahead of the rest. They are all going to pay me on Thursday.'

When Thursday came Pusong went to collect his money for the meat. He saw a housefly on the head of a Chinese. He said to the fly:

'You must now pay for my meat. Give me your money.'

The Chinese thought Pusong was speaking to him.

'No, I did not buy any meat from you.'

'Yes you did,' said Juan. 'You must pay now!' He was talking to the housefly.

'If you do not pay me I shall kill you with this stick.'

The Chinese, fearing for his life, paid Pusong.

Pusong continued until he saw a dog. He said:

'You pay me. This is Thursday.' The dog ran away. Pusong ran after him until they arrived at the house of the dog's owner.

'What is wrong?' asked the owner.

'He bought some of my meat and he is supposed to pay me today. If he does not pay me I shall kill him,' answered Pusong.

The owner did not want his dog killed so he paid Pusong what the dog supposedly owed him.

Pusong continued. He came to a well. He looked down and saw his reflection in the water. He said:

'Don't look at me! Pay me! You are supposed to pay me today.'

His reflection did not answer. Pusong became angry. The owner of the well saw him. He did not want Pusong to make his well dirty so he paid Juan the amount the well was supposed to pay.

Pusong went home after he had collected all the money owed him.⁵³

IV. *Pusong: The Trickster Farmer and the "Pig Nest"*

Nine versions of this tale were located, of which four were collected in Boroñgan and Lalawigan and one in Caticugan.

⁵² This tale was collected from a 70-year old married male informant who lived in Boroñgan and first heard this story from an aunt of his father. The aunt, a schoolteacher during the Spanish period, told stories after the evening prayers. Although he has told this story many times, he has never told it to his children. Another version was collected in Negros. Two versions can be found in Fansler, *op. cit.*, 326-328; and one apiece in Gardner, *op. cit.*, 108-109; Ramos, *op. cit.*, 192-203; and Ratcliffe, *op. cit.*, 289.

Juan Pusong tricks his parents (or only his mother) into believing he has hired workers (in one tale 100 farmers) to work their field. He does this by putting hats on stumps and a *bolo* along each hat. At Juan's request his parents prepare a large feast for the workers. Juan eats the food. As a result of over-eating, he defecates, creating a large pile of excrement. He covers the pile with leaves and twigs, and returns home.

There he tells his father he has found a nest where a wild pig is delivering. He urges father to capture the pig. When his father jumps on the "nest" he is covered with Juan's feces. Realizing he has been tricked, the father lets the feces on his body dry. Later he serves the dried feces to his son, claiming they are *pili-pig* (roasted, pounded rice, a Filipino delicacy).

In one version Pusong is sent to the forest to gather *egot*, a wild edible tuber. He fills the basket with only a few tubers, gets inside, covers himself with leaves. Later his unsuspecting father carries the basket home. Juan is again sent to the forest on the same errand. This time he fills the basket with tubers but his father, thinking Pusong again has tricked him, stabs the basket with his fish spear. The tubers emit a red juice that is mistaken for Juan's blood. When he thinks his father is no longer angry with him for his trick, Pusong returns home to tell him he has discovered a wild pig's "nest," etc.

In two versions Juan is punished by his father but is not fed his own feces. In another tale he hides when his mother comes to the field where she finds out his ruse and sees the great pile of feces Juan made by eating the food for the workers.

Story No. 4

On one occasion Pusong asked permission from his father to go to their *kaingin* [a semi-permanent field cleared in the forest] that they had harvested earlier so as only grass remained. His purpose was to clear the field so they could plant camotes.

There were many big stumps in the field. What Pusong did was to make many big hats (*sadok*) from broad shaped leaves of *anahao* and put them on each stump. In the distance it looked like many persons were working in the field. As soon as he was finished he went home.

'Father, I have many workers. If I were you I would kill a big pig for them.'

Pusong and his father went near to their field. The father saw many hats and believed Pusong.

His father, being an honest man, killed one of their pigs for Pusong's workers. Pusong kept on going back and forth from the field to his father's place to see what his father was doing. When he saw his father was through cooking the pig, he told him:

'Father, it is best to bring the food to the place were my workers are.' It was almost noon and time to eat.

When they were some distance from the field, Pusong said to his father:

'Let's place the food here.'

His father followed Pusong's advice. They brought not only a cooked pig but also other food. After this his father went home and Pusong carried the food further away from the place where his father had put it. He put the food near a bent tree. He sat on the bent tree and ate and ate the food. He became full and moved his bowels. While eating he moved his bowels, ate some more, moved his bowels again, etc. But he could not eat all the food, for there was too much. The extra food was returned to where his father had put it earlier.

Pusong had made a big pile of feces. He covered it with some leaves and small branches so it looked like a nest where a wild pig was delivering. Pusong went home and told his father:

'Father, I saw a *dogmon*' [nest where a wild pig delivers].

His father went with Pusong to the *dogmon*. On their arrival Pusong told his father to jump on the *dogmon* but to do it carefully and to be sure to jump on the top for otherwise the wild pig might run away. The father jumped on what he thought was a *dogmon* and was covered with feces. Pusong ran away for he feared his father would punish him.

His father was angry but Pusong was gone.

'My goodness, how foolish is Pusong!'

His father went to the field and found the 'workers' were only stumps on which Pusong had put hats. His father got angrier. His father went home without cleaning his body. On his way home he kept thinking how to take revenge on Pusong. He stayed under the sun. After a long time the feces on his body were hard and brittle like *pilipig*.

He took the feces off his body and dried them again in the sun. The feces became more brittle. His father put the feces in a small basket and brought it home, hanging it from a rafter.

Pusong did not return home for nearly two weeks. The *pilipig* still was in the basket. After two weeks Pusong returned home.

'Father, do you have food for me to eat?' he asked.

Oh, Pusong, we have no food.' His father answered slowly to hide his anger.

'Don't you have anything to eat?' Pusong asked.

'There is a basket hanging from the rafter where you will find *pilipig*,' replied the father.

His father said it was even *linubi* [*pilipig* repounded with grated coconut and sugar].

Pusong got the basket and began to eat the '*linubi*.' While eating he said:

'Father, this smells bad.'

'Oh, maybe it is because we have been saving it for a long time,' his father said.

After Pusong ate all the 'inubi,' his father laughed and said:

'What you have eaten was your own feces. Because you tricked me earlier, now I have tricked you more.'⁵⁴

V. *Pusong, The Seducer*

Eight tales were collected whose plots center on how Pusong seduces women (usually princesses). Three versions come from Boroñgan, and one apiece from Lalawigan and Caticugan.

The seduction methods used, in addition to that given in the following tale, were: 1) luring the girls to bend over to listen to "sweet music" coming from a hole in the ground; 2) disguising himself as a pregnant woman to gain entrance to their bedroom; 3) tricking the princesses into permitting him to enter their warm quarters by pretending a terrible chill (two versions); and 4) telling the princesses they can go to "paradise" only after being "nailed", i.e. coition. In one additional story, Pusong actually is seduced by the princess who unties his penis when he sleeps with her. He had tied his penis to his waist so he would be unable to have intercourse, and would thereby gain her hand in marriage.

Story No. 5

One time Juan Pusong made a boat from the trunk of the *badyang*. The *badyang* is a tree whose sap makes one itch and have to scratch. After the boat was built Juan invited some young unmarried ladies (*daraga*) to accompany him on an excursion. The girls were glad to go because Juan said he had plenty of food. So they went with Juan in his boat on the river.

Before they started Juan told the ladies to pull up their dresses around their waists before sitting down. This was so their dresses would not get wet. [Informant acted out how the girls raised their dresses to their waists]. The ladies did as Juan advised. After a short time the girls' bottoms and sexual organs began to itch from the sap of the *badyang*. The girls were very uncomfortable, scratching and moving around inside the boat.

⁵⁴ This version was collected from a 56-year old married male informant living in Boroñgan; he had first heard the story when residing in Suribao, southern Samar. The last time he told the story was several months earlier to his grandchildren, the eldest being 14 years old. He said the moral of the story was not to trick people, especially your parents, for one would eventually be tricked more by the person fooled. Three versions were found in Oracion. *op. cit.*, 116-117, 58, and 78-79. The sole printed version is in Arguilla and Arguilla, *op. cit.*, (1965): 79-81. In this story lazy Juan actually plants and harvests the rice field, to the great surprise of his mother and neighbors.

Juan paddled the boat to the river bank. The girls got out. When they were out of the boat, Juan found a tree called *malobago*. He removed the bark from the tree so its trunk was barkless. When this tree has no bark it is very slippery. Juan then told the girls to climb to the top of this barkless tree so their itching would stop.

The girls climbed the tree, one by one. Because the trunk was slippery, when one almost got to the top, she would slide down. What Juan had done was to sit at the base of the tree, straddling the trunk with his legs, penis erect. As each girl slid down the tree his penis went inside her womb and they had coition. After this the girls went home and the excursion ended.

This is why Juan made his boat from the *badyang* tree and told the girls to pull their dresses up before they sat in the boat. Later the girls found out he had no food but was only bluffing.⁵⁵

No versions of the next three Pusong stories were located in published or manuscript sources. Apparently they are new additions to the Pusong corpus. Although variants of the first two stories were collected in either Samar or Negros, the tale of how Pusong killed Maka-andog was not duplicated in Negros. The many tales Samarans tell about the mythical Maka-andog have been analyzed elsewhere.⁵⁶

VI. *Pusong Wins the Princess*

Only one similar version of this tale was collected in Samar. In this version Pusong was the handsome houseboy of the king. He successfully met three challenges before he could wed the princess. First, through the help of a fish, he found the ring the princess had dropped in the sea. Second, through the help of a cat, he located a horse with wings. Finally, he was able to survive in a caldron of boiling water, emerging from this test dressed as a prince. The king beheaded his three competitors, all princes, and Pusong married the princess.

⁵⁵ This tale was collected from a 70-year old married male resident of Boroñgan who first heard the story from his father when he was a small boy. He had told it one afternoon about five years earlier when his audience consisted of children, but no girls. The audience during the time this story was collected included the informant's two married daughters and a visiting female cousin. They all thought the story amusing. This story is quite similar to one of the three variants collected by Nimmo, *op. cit.*, 186-189. The Muslim version has Pusong overhearing the seven daughters of the Sultan planning to go to their farm. He hurries there, buries himself under a tree with only his erect penis above the ground. The daughters climb the slippery tree, only to slide down onto Juan's penis. Finally the youngest girl told her sisters that the "delicious stick" was Juan's penis. This tale then continues with how Juan escapes from drowning in a fish trap by obtaining an innocent substitute.

⁵⁶ Hart and Hart, *op. cit.*, (1966).

Story No. 6

Juan was 16 years old and his mother was 53 years old. The mother supported Juan and they were very poor. There was a famine in the land so all the people were poor.

One day Juan Pusong's mother told him to cook a cup of ground corn while she went to a distant village to look for food. She told Juan not to leave the house. Juan followed her orders. He sat by the window watching the people pass. He was attracted by an old man carrying a cat. Juan asked the man where he was going with the cat.

'I'm going to throw the cat into the sea. He is not a good cat for he eats our food and chickens.'

Juan pitied the cat so he exchanged his cup of ground corn for the cat.

When his mother came home she was very angry to learn that Juan had exchanged their only cup of ground corn for a foolish cat. Juan explained he felt sorry for the cat. The next day he was again left alone in the house and told not to leave while his mother went to look for food. Again he sat by the window. This time he saw a man with a dog. He asked him where he was going with the dog. The man told him he was going to throw the dog into the sea because it ate his food. Juan offered to exchange a cup of ground corn for the dog.

The next day while he was again by the window he saw another man with a snake.

'Where are you going?,' asked Pusong.

'I am going to throw the snake into the sea. It ate six of my roosters last night.'

Juan said he would exchange a cup of ground corn for the snake. The two made the trade.

When his mother came home she was again very angry with Juan. But Juan explained that the cat, dog, and snake were very unhappy in their former homes. This was why they ate all the food. Now in their new home they would never eat any of their master's food because they would always be fed.

One day the king called a meeting of all the people in his kingdom because he wanted to find out if his dreams were true. All the people came to the palace except Juan. He did not go because he was lazy — he was the laziest person in the kingdom. The king had dreamed that his future wife lived in a kingdom under the sea. At the first meeting the king did not find any one brave enough to go to get his future wife. Then someone said there was a certain person who was the laziest person in the kingdom. He would be the one to go for he was not doing anything else.

The king sent three soldiers to get Pusong. The soldiers arrived while Pusong was eating. Juan said he would follow after he had finished his meal. Later Juan went to the palace. He saluted the king and said:

'Your Majesty, I am here and ready to do what you command.'

'Juan, get my future wife who is in a kingdom under the sea.'

Juan said he could not do this because the kingdom was under the sea. The king became angry and gave him alternative — either get his future wife in three days or be killed.

Juan went home. He was crying so loudly that when his mother returned she asked him why. He said he was commanded by the king to get his future wife from a kingdom under the sea.

'*Tatay*,' said the cat, 'I hear you crying. Tell me your troubles for I am ready to help you.'

Because Juan was very angry he threw the cat out of the window. The cat returned and said:

'Tell me what to do, for I am ready to help you.'

Juan told him the king commanded him to get his future wife who lived under the sea. The cat said he could not do that so Juan again threw him out of the window.

The snake said:

'*Tatay*, I heard you and I am ready to help you.'

Juan kicked the snake and said:

'Don't bother me.'

'Tell me what to do, for I am ready to help you.'

Juan said the king commanded him to get his future wife who lived under the sea. The snake replied:

'Very early tomorrow, at dawn, we shall eat breakfast and then go to the sea. You put me on the sand and I'll become a horse. Since you do not know where the kingdom is, listen to my instructions. You ride on my back. Remember we shall pass many houses and many beautiful girls. Do not touch any girl unless she is the right one.' So they did this.

They passed many big houses and saw many beautiful girls under the sea. They finally arrived at a big city. They were walking in the big city when they passed a small house. The snake said:

'See the beautiful girl sewing? Do not leave my back for I'll do some tricks.'

Then the snake, disguised as a horse, jumped in front of the window. The girl saw them and was attracted to the horse and said to the handsome man:

'Where are you going to sell that horse?'

Juan the foolish, pretending to be the son of the king of dry land, said:

'I'll not sell the horse because my father will get angry.'

'Who is your father?'

'The king of dry land,' said Juan.

'Well, I am attracted by the well-built body of that horse,' said the girl.

Juan invited the girl to take a ride with him. The horse whispered that once the girl was on his back they would run as fast as they could to dry land. When they were on dry land the girl could not go back to her house. She cried. They continued to the king's palace. All the people were surprised to learn how Juan had gotten the girl who lived under the sea.

The king said she would be his wife. The girl said she wanted to marry Juan since he had got her from under the sea. The king said that Juan was only one of his subjects. The girl said:

'All right, I will marry you but first you must get my ring that fell in the sea on my way here.'

The king commanded Juan to get the girl's ring lost in the sea. Juan refused but the king said:

'I'll kill you if you do not do as I tell you.'

Juan went home and cried again. The cat came and said:

'*Tatay*, tell me your troubles. I will help you.'

Juan said the king wanted him to look in the sea for the girl's lost ring. The cat said:

'Early tomorrow we will eat breakfast and then you get on my back and we will go to the sea.'

When they arrived at the sea the cat suddenly dived into the sea looking for the ring. They could not find the ring but they met a fish called *botiti*. The cat said:

'Juan, since this is a big fish I'll tickle him and he will vomit the ring.'

The fish vomited the ring. They got the ring and went to the palace, returning it to the girl. The king said to her:

'Now will you marry me?'

'I have a last request. Look for a caldron, fill it with boiling pig fat and have Juan swim in the fat,' asked the girl.

The king called Juan and commanded him to swim the next day in the boiling fat. Juan went home and cried and cried. The dog said:

'*Tatay*, tell me your troubles for I'll help you.'

'The king said I must swim in boiling fat,' said Juan.

The dog told him not to worry. Pusong was told to cut one of the veins in the dog's neck and to massage the blood over his body. He could then enjoy swimming in the boiling fat.

Early the next morning Juan cut one of the veins in the dog's neck and massaged his own body with the blood. He went to the king's palace. The king was surprised to see how happy Juan looked facing death in the boiling fat. With the sound of the trumpet Juan swim in the fat.

After swimming for one hour in the boiling fat, Juan said:

'Give me some soap. I enjoy swimming.'

The people were surprised because while swimming in the fat Juan also had become very handsome. The girl said to the king: 'Now it is your turn to swim in the boiling fat so you will become more handsome.'

The king, however, was not brave enough to swim in the boiling fat right away. He said he would do it tomorrow. That afternoon the king sent for Juan and asked him what trick he did to survive in the boiling fat.

'You have a very big dog in your palace. Cut one of its veins and massage the blood on your body,' Juan replied.

Early the next morning the king cut one of the veins of his bulldog and massaged its blood on his body. He called the girl and said he was ready for the swim. At the sound of the trumpet the king jumped into the boiling fat and died. The girl announced to the people of the kingdom that Juan was now king. All the soldiers respected Pusong because of his great deeds.⁵⁷

VII. *Pusong Pretends to be a Live Saint*

Two similar versions of this tale were collected in Lalawigan.

In one story Pusong poses as a saint when the fisherman husband of an unfaithful wife unexpectedly returns home. The husband, while

⁵⁷ The informant was a 59-year old married male residing in Siaton poblacion who had been a municipal official of Siaton for most of his adult life.

lighting a lamp on the altar, sets fire to Pusong's pubic hair as he poses there. Pusong runs away. In the second version Pusong hears a young girl tell her father she would like to have a large image. Juan gets the woodcarver, ordered by the father to make a large image, to paint him as a saint and sell him to the girl's father. One day while the girl was dusting, she raised Pusong's robe and saw his penis. The father thought the woodcarver had not finished the image. He remarked he would get a saw to remove the "unfinished piece of wood"; on hearing him Juan runs away.

Story No. 6

There was a rich king who was fond of collecting different types of images. He had many. But he was not contented with his collection. He wanted to collect more but different images. He thought of getting a living saint. He told Pedro, his house-boy, to look for a living saint. For three weeks Pedro went about the town looking for a living saint. After three weeks he returned and told the king that he could not find one.

The king could not get the desire to have a living saint out of his mind. So he asked Juan Pusong to try for another week. Juan and Pedro talked to each other about how they could find a living saint. Juan had an idea. He said:

'I will paint all of my body and pretend to be a living saint,' Pedro agreed.

Pedro told the king the following day that he had found a living saint. The king was happy and gave Pedro five hundred pesos. Juan immediately went to a store and bought different colored paints. In the afternoon Pedro painted Juan's body. Three days later the paint on Juan's body was dry. Pedro carried Juan to the palace. The king was happy to have a living saint, not knowing it was Pusong. The king told Pedro to put the image on the altar.

The following day the king left for Manila to attend a conference. He was to stay there for a long time because he would also tour the island. Before he left he told his three daughters to take good care of the living saint. Whatever he asked for should be given him. The three princesses listened carefully to their father's instructions.

After the king left that morning Juan became hungry. In a loud voice, he said:

'I am hungry. Give me some food. I am used to eating good food in heaven.'

The eldest princess quickly ran to the kitchen and got food for him. Pedro, who was listening to Juan, laughed.

During lunch time Juan again asked for food. The second princess ran to the kitchen to get food for him. In the evening Juan asked for his supper. It was the turn of the youngest princess.

The following day, early in the morning, Juan shouted that he had to move his bowels. This time Pedro carried him downstairs. The two were laughing at Juan's naughtiness. The three princess took turns in feeding Juan.

In the evening Juan thought of more foolishness. He said to the eldest princess that he wanted to sleep in her room. The eldest princess was afraid that her father might be angry with her but she consented because he had told them before leaving to give the saint all he wanted. In the morning Juan went back to the altar.

The next night Juan told the second princess that he wanted to sleep in her room. The second princess agreed. On the third night, Juan told the youngest princess he would sleep in her room. The youngest princess did not like him to stay in her room. The two elder sisters told the youngest sister that their father might be angry if she did not agree. They said:

'Remember what our father told us. He said that whatever the living saint wanted should be given him.'

The youngest princess consented because otherwise she might be scolded by her father. They took turns having Juan sleep in their rooms.

Four months later the king returned home. He was surprised to see all his daughters were pregnant. He asked them what happened. The princesses told him that it was because of the saint. The king went to his room to get a gun. Juan saw him so he left the palace as fast as he could. He went to the river and took a bath. He rubbed all parts of his body. Then he went home in time for the arrival of Pedro from the palace.

'Juan, you are called by the king,' said Pedro.

Juan and Pedro went to the palace. The king asked Juan what kind of saint he had brought him. He told the king that he did not know who the living saint was. The king could not do anything. It was his fault for wanting a living saint.

The three princesses delivered at the same time. The children of the princesses were the ones who told the king who their father was. They said.

'Our father is Juan Pusong.'

Juan was summoned by the king and told that he would be hanged because he was the father of his grandchildren. Juan said:

'Señor Hari [Mr. King], first let me explain. It was by your order that I looked for a living saint. You told me that if I did not find one you would hang me. So my life would be spared, I thought of painting myself so you would be happy.'

The king agreed that Juan was right.

'But you must marry one of my daughters,' he protested.

Juan chose the youngest princess and they were married a week later.⁵⁸

VIII. *Pusong and Friends Kill Maka-andog*

A major mythical figure in eastern Samar is the benevolent giant known as Maka-andog (Samaran, "a person who when walking creates a loud noise like thunder and shakes the earth like an earthquake"). According to our informants, he was the first inhabitant of Samar

⁵⁸ The informant was a 68-year old married resident of Boroñgan who did not remember when he first heard this story.

and also the founder of Boroñgan. He had supernatural powers, an enormous appetite, and his adventures in eastern Samar explain many local landmarks, e.g., indentations in the coral where the sinkers of his fish net rested and his "footprints" can still be seen in certain rocky coastal formations. Many stories are told by the older people of Lalawigan and Boroñgan about Maka-andog; it is not unusual that some Pusong tales would adhere to this cycle.

Story No. 7

A story is told about Maka-andog and Juan Pusong who were friends. One day the two friends had an angry dispute. Both claimed that they were stronger than any animal in the world. To settle their argument they agreed to fight to see who was stronger; the loser would become the slave of the winner. So the two men fought. Pusong struggled with all his might but to no avail. Maka-andog, famous for his physical strength and supernatural powers, merely tapped Pusong with a finger and he fell at once prostrate to the ground. Maka-andog won so Pusong became his slave.

Pusong was a faithful and obedient slave to his master. He was given a field to cultivate. He went there to work each day. Maka-andog brought his food everyday. One day Maka-andog failed to bring food, for he slept all day. Pusong became very angry with him. So he started to his home in a boat with a plan to kill his master.

On his way he met a whetstone [*kamanga*].

'Good afternoon, Pusong' said the whetstone.

'Good afternoon,' answered Pusong.

'Where are you going?'

'I'm going home to kill my master. He did not bring me food this noon and I'm very hungry. Perhaps he is still asleep.'

'If you'll only let me ride in your boat I will help you kill your master,' the whetstone requested.

Pusong permitted him to ride and the two sailed on.

While they were sailing they met an eel. Like the whetstone, the eel asked Pusong where he was going. Pusong told him the story.

'If you'll let me ride in your boat I'll help you kill your master,' said the eel.

'All right, get in the boat,' said Pusong.

The three friends then sailed on until they met a bird called *getget*.

'Good afternoon, Pusong. Where are you going?' asked the bird.

'I'm going to kill my master because he did not bring me food this noon while I was at work.'

'Will you let me ride in your boat? I will help you kill Maka-andog,' said the bird. Pusong, happy to have him, allowed the bird to ride with them.

The four friends continued sailing until they met a *copapa* [a fern frond used as a fan]. Like the other passengers *copapa* asked Pusong where he was going. Pusong told him the story.

Finally the five friends sailed on together. At last they met a big bee.

'Good afternoon, Pusong. Where are you going?,' asked the big bee.

'I'm going to kill my master because he did not bring me food this noon.'

'May I ride in your boat? I'll help you kill your master.'

'Yes, you may,' replied Pusong.

So the six continued sailing. [The informant forgot in the first telling to include the meeting with the crab, making six members for the group.] As they sailed they planned how they would kill Maka-andog. As the leader, Pusong said:

'All right, please listen to me. I'll tell you what each and everyone of us will do. Maka-andog is still sleeping. So what we will do is — we will arrange ourselves in the house. *Getget* will stay on a rafter above the place where Maka-andog is sleeping. The fan will stay by the cooking hearth. The crab will hide inside the drinking water jar. The big bee will stay by the door. The eel will lie flat on the top rung of the house ladder. The whetstone will stay on the ground, at the bottom of the house ladder. I shall shout as loud as I can in the yard to awaken the snoring Maka-andog. As he awakens he will yawn. As he opens his mounth *Getget*, on the rafter will drop his waste in his mouth as it opens.' Pusong then told the rest what their respective duties would be.

Soon they arrived at Maka-andog's house. The members of the group at once went to their assigned places while Pusong stayed in the yard. Seeing all of them were ready, Pusong began to shout as loud as he could to awaken his master. As his master opened his eyes, he yawned and yawned. Then the bird who was on the rafter began to drop his waste into Maka-andog's mouth. This forced him to rise. He ran to the kitchen. As he passed by the door, the big bee stung him. He went to the cooking hearth to build a fire for he was going to kill the bee. When he got there, the fan blew ashes into his eyes, blinding him.

Maka-andog went to the drinking water jar. He was going to wash the ashes out of his eyes. But as he dipped his hand inside the jar, the crab bit his fingers. By now he had many pains in his body so he decided to leave the house. As he stepped on the first rung where the eel was laying, he slipped and fell on the big whetstone on the ground in front of the ladder. Maka-andog broke his head and died.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ The informant was an unmarried Filipina in Boroñgan. She first heard this tale from a 44-year old married male informant who lived in Sorok, a rural area of Boroñgan city.

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