

FAITH HEALING IN THE PHILIPPINES: AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE*

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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.

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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 (*kamatayan*) 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-aculturated 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 *kataloman* 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 diámay anac ang vaca sa súkid sa íang gwinháo.* = The cow has a foetus, a child, in its stomach. *Ayao pa ilubong cay may gwinháo pa.* = Do not bury yet, for there is life still. *Gwinaculbaan ug maayo gwining acong gwinháo.* = My spirit was greatly startled." Much earlier, in 1637, Mentrída gave practically the same meaning to "*ginháo*", including that of "taste" or "appetite" (*Dili iyón ining canun sa ginháo co.* This food does not go well with my *ginháo*). There was equally *ginháoan* which appeared to Mentrída as "the source of respiration or the vital spirits, as in *Naigoan siya sa ginháoan, 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 *ginháo* and thus probably called among the ancient Visayans *ginháoan*, 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 Marquesas, 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 *hidhid*, 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 *mangkukulam* 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 *kaluluwa*, 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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