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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,

[1] The 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 cognative 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 *huma* 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 *huma* as an adjustment to the rain cycle.

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[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 specially 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 *ngusaha*), 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.

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

A *huma* may also contain different kinds of beans (string beans, mongo, 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 *ngusaha.*

Ngusaha,[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 *ngusaha,* 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 *ngusaha,* 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. *Ngusaha* (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 *ngusaha* 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 *ngusaha* 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

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[10] Archaelogical 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 *banoys* of palay and how many *gantas* of rice (*bohas*) 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 sailboat 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.

English	*Jama Mapun*	*Remarks*
Wind from:	*Baliw man:*	
north	*uttara:*	Low-tide in the morning (*laggu: subu* or *tahik uttara:*)
northeast	*timoh-laut*	

[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.

English	*Jame Mapun*	*Remarks*
east	*timoh*	
southeast	*tunggara*	
south	*sahtan*	Low-tide in the afternoon (*laggu: kohap* or *tahik sahtan*)
southwest	*balat-daya*	
west	*balat*	
northwest	*hilaga*	
"land-wind"	*ambun*	Early morning wind blowing from a large body of land
"sea-wind"	*dalat*	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 *sahtan* wind is halfway through its six-month cycle; and that when the fruits begin to fall, the *sahtan* 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 *ngusaha,* and the *lomeh* 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.

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

[14] The 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.

Jama Mapun	*English*	*Remarks*
4. *Bunta*	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 (*bunta*) being speared by *Anak Datu.*
5. *Batik* (*balatik*)	Orion's Belt	The series of stars defining Orion's belt is imagined as the shaft of a *batik* or spear-trap. Commonly used in Southeast Asia, the *batik* or *balatik* 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 *batik* is seen as aimed at another constellation, the *Mopo* (pig) or the English Pleides.
6. *Mopo*	Pleides	*Mopo* 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 *Mopo* for predicting the start of the rice planting season. Ideally planting should begin when, at dawn, *Mopo* is at the three-o'clock position in the sky.
7. *Sangat bawi*		A group of stars with a V-shape resembling the jaw (*sangat*) of a *bawi* (pig). Like *Mopo, Sangat bawi* is associated with *Batik* in a hunting legend.
8. *Tendak*		Three stars arranged like a triangle. *Tendak* is the name of a small walking-fish found in swamps and mangroves. The constellation is associated with sailing and wind-prediction.
9. *Kabaw*		A constellation showing the body and pinchers of a crab (*kabaw*).
10. *Niyu-niyu*		A group of stars resembling a coconut palm (*niyu*); the pattern shows the leaves, trunk, and roots. It sets in the south, and its rising is closely

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

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

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 acooking 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 *timoh-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 *ngusaha*, and the *lomeh*—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 Borneo[16] served as a stimulus for the widening of the early Jama Mapun *ngusaha* 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:behing*, 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.

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[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 *huma,* 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 strenthening 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

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[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 transformation *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 this 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 *huma.* 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.

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[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 *bayanihan,* 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 corrolary 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 ethnoecology 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 ethnoecological 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 *sawah* 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') within the pre-existing biotic community" (Geertz: 1963:15).

The *sawah,* 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 microecology 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.

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[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 *huma,* 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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A NOTE ON THE PA'GANG, A TAGBANUWA BAMBOO MUSICAL INSTRUMENT *

JUAN R. FRANCISCO

Introduction

THE TAGBANUWA, ONE OF THE ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE Philippines which has preserved their system of writing in spite of the inroads of modernization, live in an area in Palawan known in the maps as Aborlan,[1] approximately sixty kilometers south of Puerto Princesa, the provincial capital. Aborlan, before it was opened for settlement by other ethnic peoples of the Philippines, was a reservation set apart by the government at the beginning of the American occupation for the Tagbanuwa. With the opening of this region for settlement by alien groups, the Tagbanuwa was given more freedom of movement. Anterior to its organization as a regular municipality after the war—1946—Aborlan was governed by the Provincial Governor in Puerto Princesa through the administrator of the Palawan National Regional Agricultural High School in the town.[2]

The population[3] of Aborlan is now a composite of settlers from the various ethnic groups of the Philippines, due to the opening of the reservation and more particularly due to the National Resettlement and Rehabilitation Administration (NARRA, now the Land Authority) resettlement project of the Philippine government which was opened a few years after

* The materials used in this brief essay are part of a mass of data collected during a field work conducted among the Tagbanuwa of Palawan in 1963 and 1966 in connection with the research project on the ancient systems of writing in the Philippines. This project is financed by the Social Science Research Council of the University. I wish, therefore, to express my gratitude to the Council for the financial help it has given me to conduct this research. The manuscript is now completed and is being prepared for publication.

[1] To the Tagbanuwa, the name is *Abûlnan,* which literally means "where the cloth (*abûl*) was traded." According to the traditions of the Tagbanuwa, Aborlan was originally located at the mouth of the Aborlan River just a few hundred meters south of the present site of the town.

[2] *Vide* my paper "The New Function of Ancient Philippine Scripts," *Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review,* Vol. XXVIII, No. 4 (October-December 1963), pp. 416-423. The Palawan National Regional Agricultural High School has been chartered to operate as a National Agricultural College since 1964.

[3] According to the 1960 Census (Bureau of Census and Statistics, R.P., Census of the Philippines 1960; Population and Housing-Palawan), the population of Aborlan on February 15, 1960 was 17,530. In the 1948 (October 1) Census, there were only 6,351 people in Aborlan, which showed an increase of 11,189 within approximately 12 years or 176.0%. It may be surmised that with the acceleration of migration and settlement in the area the population would considerably have increased.

the second world war. This was accelerated with the "Land for the Landless" programme of the same government.[4]

The Tagbanuwa's general cultural characteristics may broadly be described as belonging to the type which has survived the incursions of the more aggressive cultural complexes, like the Spanish and perhaps the American. In broad outline, the Tagbanuwa cultural features may be described as coastal in orientation;[5] the traits and characteristics of its syllabary would belong to the same palaeographic tradition to which all the other Philippine scripts would belong;[6] in religion the cult of the dead which is organized in terms of the basic social unit, the elementary family is the central nave;[7] in legal system, the jural responsibilities of its individual members is strictly emphasized with imposition of fines;[8] in social organization, it is bilateral[9] (a child is related equally to both maternal and paternal kin); and its society stratified into two social classes: the "low bloods" or *timawa* and the "high bloods" or *ginuu*.[10] However, details of the description of this culture may be found in the works of Robert B. Fox[11] and Manuel Hugo Venturello[12] to name only two of those who have worked with the Tagbanuwa.[13]

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[4] Newspaper reports within the last ten or twelve months regarding the departure of migrants from Luzon on the invitation of Representative Ramon Mitra Jr. of the lone district of Palawan, particularly from the Batangas Province as a result of the eruption of the Taal Volcano, have added undoubtedly to the increase of population in the area.

[5] *Vide* and *cf.* Robert B. Fox, "Ancient Filipino Communities," *Filipino Cultural Heritage,* Lecture Series No. 1 (Phil. Women's Univ., 1966) pp. 1-14. [Fox-1]

[6] Juan R. Francisco, *Philippine Palaeography,* Social Science Research Council, Univ. of the Philippines, 1966. Ms.

[7] Robert B. Fox, *Religion and Society among the Tagbanuwa of Palawan Island, Philippines.* Univ. of Chicago Ph.D. Dissert., 1954. p. 369. [Fox-2] Ampur Bungkas, one of my Tagbanuwa informants, gave me a relatively complete list of the gods to whom they offer their oblations and sacrifices. Chief among these gods is *Mangindusa,* followed by an array of lesser *diwatas* whose functions in the whole complex of Tagbanuwa religion are specific. These diwatas are called upon by the *maglambay,* one of the higher religious functionaries, in a *lambay* ritual, which is performed for rains or sun needed in their dry rice agriculture as well as to petition the gods for the forgiveness of their acts of incest they have committed. (p. 338)

[8] *Ibid. Vide* pp. 79ff.

[9] *Vide* and *cf.* F. Landa Jocano, "Filipino Social Structure and Value System," *Filipino Cultural Heritage,* Lecture Series No. 2 (Phil. Women's Univ., 1966), pp. 1-26. *Vide* Fox-2, p. 366.

[10] Fox-2, p. 367.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] Manuel Hugo Venturello, *Manners and Customs of the Tagbanuwa and other Tribes of the Island of Palawan, Philippines.* Smithsonian Misc. Coll., vol. XLVII, pt. 4 (1907), pp. 514-558.

[13] Other details of this culture are also found in H. Otley Beyer, "Origin Myths Among the Mountain Peoples of the Philippine." *Philippine Journal of Science,* Vol. VIII, No. 2 (April 1913), 86-117; Fletcher Gardener, *Philippine Indic Studies* (San Antonio, Texas: The Witte Memorial Museum, 1943), 105 pp.; Harold C. Conklin,

The Pa'gang

The purpose of this essay is to give a physical description of the Tagbanuwa bamboo musical instrument known to them as *Pa'gang*. Any musicological references shall not be made in this essay for the author is *not* qualified to embark upon such a task. The instrument is to be described only in terms of its associations with folklore and other points relevant to it, which were observed during this author's field studies.

The instrument is made of one whole node of bamboo which is partly slit to keep the node from splitting apart. The slit serves as a resonator when the "strings"—which are lifted out of the bamboo "skin" and kept up by wedges—are plucked. The "strings" are distanced equally around the node; hence when one looks at the instrument directly squarely at the slit, only two of the "strings" can be seen.

The *pa'gang* in the possession of the present author is inscribed. There are three lines of the inscription—line I[14] between the left top and left bottom strings (when the instrument is held with the slit facing the viewer); lines II and III are on both sides of the slit. The "strings" have been designated with numbers—number 1, that which is directly to the left of line I when the viewer looks at it squarely; number 2, to the left of line II; number 3 to the right of the slit (and line III); and number 4, would naturally be between strings number 3 and 1. The sequence of the string numbers follows that of the sequence of the lines when being written one after the other—from bottom to top (from proximal point—the body of the writer—to distal point), the next line would follow on the right of the first line, when the (bamboo is) rotated counterclockwise.

The inscriptions on the instrument are: I—the identifying "marks" which tell the reader who is the owner of the instrument—*tagpuûn si sa(r)-badu(r) mi(n)ta(t)*, translated literally, The owner (of this instrument) is Salbadur Mintat; II—the name of the instrument itself—*pama'gang,*[15] *ngara(n)ya kaitu pa'gang,* meaning "the sound of the *pa'gang*; the name of

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"Preliminary Report on Field Work on the Islands of Mindoro and Palawan, Philippines," *American Anthropologist,* Vol. LI, No. 2 (April-June 1949). *Vide* also Charles P. Warren, "Dream Interpretations of the Tagbanuwa," *Anthropology Tomorrow,* Vol. IV (1956), pp. 50-61.

Apart from the notes I accumulated during the field work I conducted with the Tagbanuwa while studying their system of writing, I have also written my diary, which is now in preparation for publication in the *U.P. Anthropology Bulletin,* Second Semester, 1966-67, entitled "Palawan Journal" fully annotated and commented upon.

[14] I marked the lines—I, II, III—on the instrument for convenience in reading and to indicate the proximal end of the line, at the same time the distal end, in relation to the direction of writing while the inscription is being done.

[15] According to my informant, Mintat, *Pama'gang* means "the sound of the pa'gang." From the meaning of the word itself, it seems that the infix -am- (or -am-?) generates the idea that the instrument has a peculiar sound. This instrument is mentioned in Fox-2, but no description is made of it.

this (instrument) is *pa'gang*;" and III—process of disintegration of a living organism like the human body, thus: *kuku ma(g)kaka(n)rasa(y) sua(ng) ma(g)kakata(ng)gay*, meaning "the fingernails and the jaws are falling off."

The third line, to the reader—particularly a non-Tagbanuwa, may not be understood in what context this short line has been "recited" without the necessary explanation. It is in fact a part of a folktale that was told to this author by the owner of the instrument. The folktale in text and translation is included to give the reader a better understanding of the citation.

TEXT [16]

(1) May duwa nga daraga mag-iba-iba. (2) dûlûm dûlûm magpangiga si lusiya duon it antuniya. (3) ka magpulau sira it ikamûn. (4) yang na'layna unu nga dûlûm daga nakapangiga. (5) yapaka ikapitu nga dûlûm miyabut magtataban it pagbuwatun ya nga ikamûn. (6) tumud daga miyapiyat miyadung lamang duun it agdan. (7) mag'at it tagbalay mapiyat ka linggan. (8) tumubag ipakawa mu daan it pa'gang. (9) pagpakawaya it pa'gang mag'at it pama'gang kuku magkakanrasay suang magkakatanggay. (10) paglûtûgya i iba-ibaya nga si lusiya minilamna ka magkaulugna i suangya pagpansûg ya. (11) miyusigna si lusiya ki antuniya. (12) mag'atya mulat ka milagyuka palan. (13) nagpaaduun na si antuniya it katungkulan mag'atya tabangun aku pagusigun aku it damdam. (14) paglampud it katungkulan tabanya it kumut nga kulit it kayu ngarangya salugun. (15) piyakumutanya it mag'usig nga si lusiya. (16) nagbaliyuna nga pasla it nimatay na nira. (17) tapus.

TRANSLATION[17]

(1) Two girls (who are) friends. (2) Every night Lusiya sleeps in the house of Antuniya. (3) They weave mat (almost) the whole night. (4) For sometime, (however), within six nights, Lusiya did not sleep in Antuniya's house. (5) On the seventh night, someone arrived (at Antuniya's house) carrying materials for weaving mats. (16) But she[18] did not go up, she just sat at (the foot of) the stairs. (7) Antuniya (lit. said the one who owns the house, that is Antuniya) said, "come up, friend." (8) Lusiya[18] answered, "kindly give me the pa'gang." (9) Upon getting the pa'gang it[19] said, "the fingernails and the jaws

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[16] Transliteration from original script is based on the phonemicization I devised for my monograph on Philippine scripts: /a/, /i/, /u/, /u/, /û/, /l/, /m/, /d/, /g/, /t/, /n/, /k/, /b/, /s/, /p/, /y/, /ng/, /w/. The consonatal symbols are the International Phonetic Association sound equivalents. The vowels /a/, /i/ and /u/ also follow the IPA, while the /u/ and /û/ are transliterations of the front vowel o and the pepet vowel, respectively. The /u/ transliteration is retained with the distinguishing marks to indicate for the reader that in the original script the /u/ /u/ and /û/ are not distinguished, instead they are written with only one symbol.

[17] This translation is based partly on my Tagalog translation while in the field in 1963, and partly on my re-translation (now in English) when I re-visited the Tagbanuwa in 1966. It is partly literal.

[18] It appears that this would refer to Lusiya, her ghost?, because there is no one who would go to Antuniya to inform her that Lusiya had died.

[19] While this would refer to the *Pa' gang*, it appears that it would be the ghost of Lusiya that entoned the message with the aid of the instrument.

are falling off." (10) Upon seeing her friend Lusiya,[20] she (Antuniya) was frightened (because) she saw the jaw of Lusiya fall off; Antuniya ran. (11) Lusiya ran after Antuniya. (12) Lusiya said "wait, you are running," (13) Antuniya ran to the priest's house (duun. . . .it katungkulan). She said, "Help me, the ghost is after me!" (14) The priest[21] came down the house holding a blanket made of tree bark called *salugun*.[22] (15) He covered the (ghost of) Lusiya (16) It (the ghost of Lusiya) turned into a forest cat. (17) Finis.

There are three points that need be clarified in spite of the rather extensive footnotes. First, the text refers to the *pa'gang* as having entoned or sang the verse inscribed on the bamboo (line III, and line 9 in text). This, however, could have been done by the ghost of the dead, with the sound of the instrument as symbolic of the message and not actually the verse itself. In the other words, in symbolic language, the sound of the pa'gang meant the verse: *kuku,* etc. Secondly, it appears that while the friend (Lusiya) had physically died, her spirit(?) or *karadua* in the Tagbanuwa language has been waiting to announce her death in as much as there was no way to tell the living friend (Antuniya) that she had died. The spirit (?) had not gone to the depths of the earth(?). Inferentially, when the latter (Antuniya) learned from the playing of the *pa'gang* of her friend's death, the spirit(?) went to its destination.

Note however the metamorphosis of the ghost to a mountain cat. The informant could not give any explanation of this fantastic transformation; rather he manifested the belief among the Tagbanuwa that the spirit does not leave for the depths of the earth until all the living friends have been informed of its departure from this material world.

Thirdly, line 10 seems to contradict the actual condition of time, since it was evening or early night (*vide* fn. 20). However, it may be explained that there might have been an inherent feeling of Antuniya about the death of her friend; but she was not sure. This would further explain the immediate recognition by Antuniya that the apparition was that of her friend Lusiya.

So far, my enquiries among my informants concerning the use of the *pa'gang* to announce death has not revealed this folktale reference in actual situation. Rather, the instrument has been used in inviting friends to occasions of light nature or in community work or endeavour, like weaving mats, building a house, resting from planting or harvesting rice in the kaingin (swidden). In other words, whether at work or at play, the *pa'gang* functions as a source of enlivening the occasion.

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[20] This must be the ghost of Lusiya, but was not recognized by Antuniya because of the darkness of the evening.

[21] In Tagbanuwa, the *katungkulan* and the *maglambay,* two of the higher religious functionaries, are men. The *babaylan* is in most villages a woman.

[22] The line would literally mean "Upon coming down the priest holding a blanket that is the bark of a tree called *salugun* (*Antiaris taxicaria lesch*)."

Postscript

As this essay is primarily descriptive and no comparative data have been brought in to bear upon, for instance, the distribution of such an instrument in the Philippines as well as its definite function in the entire musicological complex, no conclusions are therefore drawn. One of the most interesting observations made of the instrument is that in all the rituals —*bilang*,[23] *runsay*[24] and the *diwata ritual*[25]—that the Tagbanuwa performs where music plays a very important role, the use of the *pa'gang* is conspicuous by its absence. Apparently, the instrument has no associations with religious activities. Therefore, it would not find its use in the rituals, which utilize for their efficacy music to worship the *diwatas*. It is an instrument of very secular function rather than religious.

[23] The *bilang* ritual is one during which the spirits of the dead are called and propitiated for the well-being of the members of the family—the nuclear unit in the Tagbanuwa society (Fox-2, p. 210). Gongs only are used in this ritual (*ibid.*, p. 281). During this ritual rice wine is served ritually, thereby attracting spirits of the dead for there is no rice wine in the other world.

[24] The *runsay* ritual is held at night once a year—the fourth after the full moon of December—on the beach near the mouth of the Aborlan River. The purpose of this ritual is . . . to protect all Tagbanuwa from the spirits of epidemic sickness. (Fox-2, pp. 357-359.)

[25] The *pagdiwata* rituals, three in a series, "are ceremonies for Mangindusa, the highest ranking deity, and for the many lesser classes of deities. These rituals are a *pasalamat*, a 'thanks' for the rice harvest and for the continued well-being of the people attending the ceremony, as well as an appeal to the deities for further cooperation and aid." (Fox-2, 305.) *Vide* footnote 7 above regarding reference to the gods.

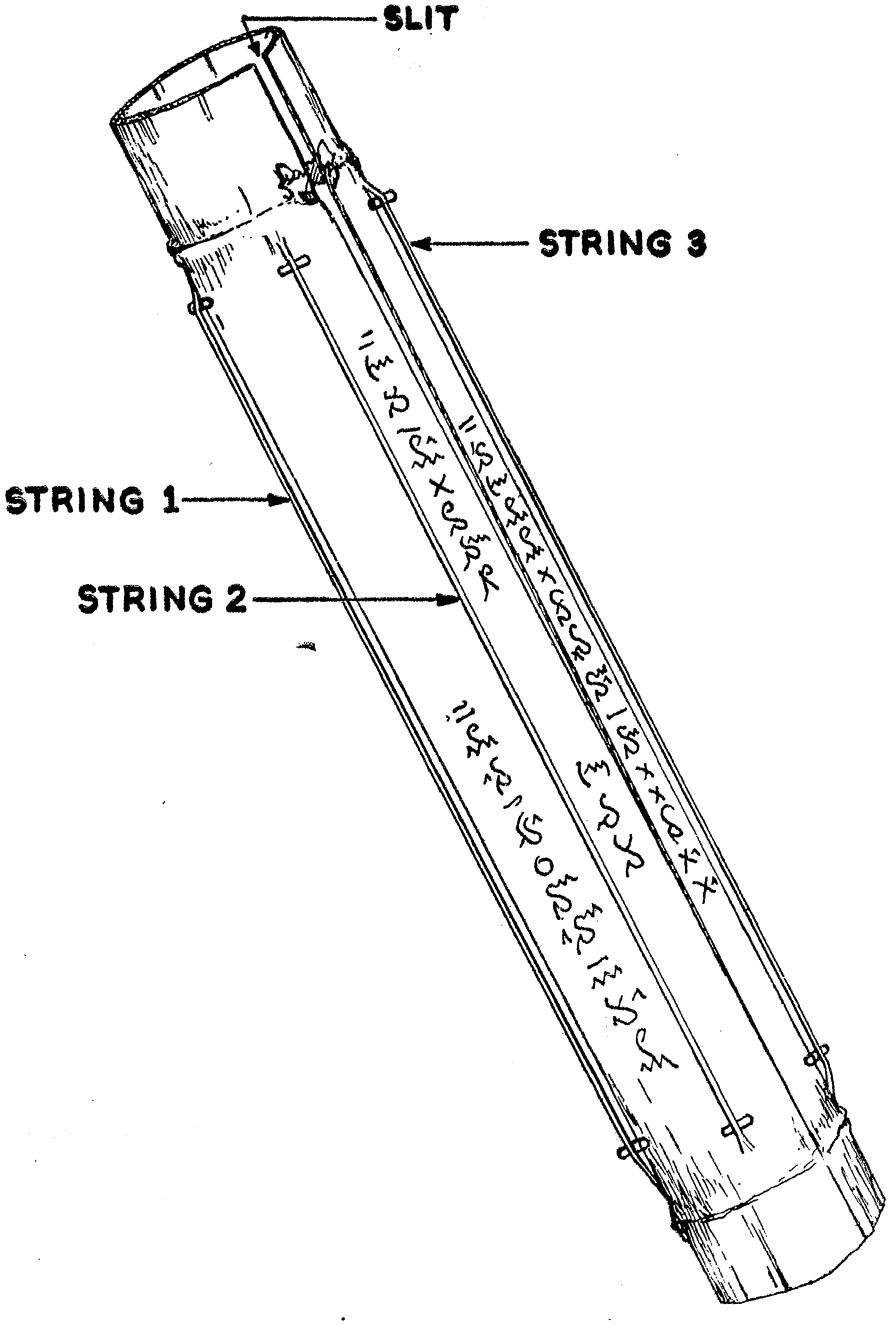
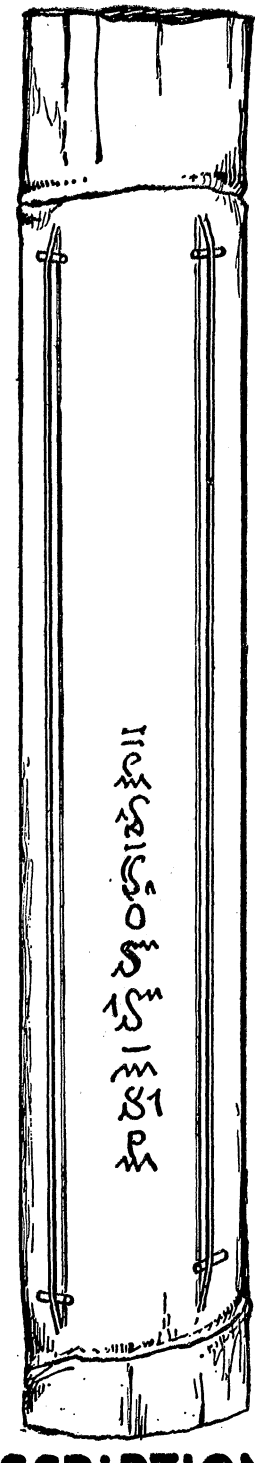
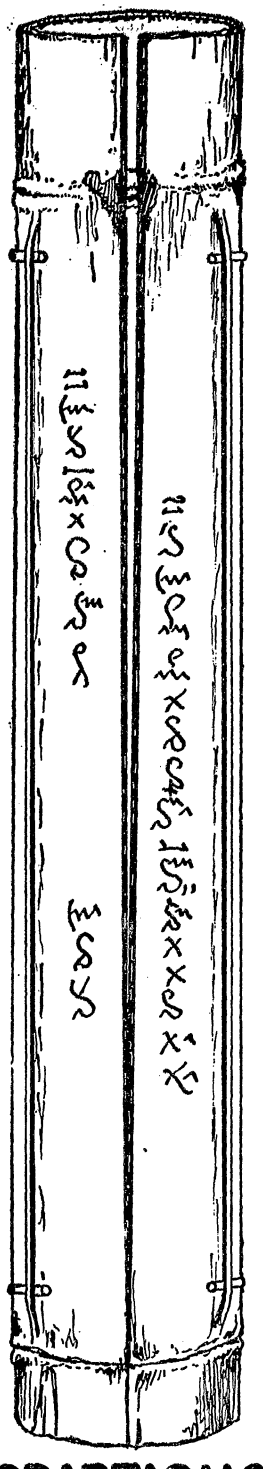


PLATE I



INSCRIPTION I

PLATE II



INSCRIPTIONS II & III

PLATE III

FILIPINO CATHOLICISM: A CASE STUDY IN RELIGIOUS CHANGE *

F. LANDA JOCANO

Introduction

IN THIS PAPER I SHALL DESCRIBE AND ANALYZE CERTAIN aspects of what has been labeled in the literature as Filipino "folk religion." I say "certain aspects" in that it is impossible within the limits of a single essay to deal with all facets of Filipino folk religious practices. In fact, the discussion will center mainly on Roman Catholicism. Even if the scope of this study is limited, it is nevertheless worthwhile undertaking if only to start something upon which other future and more detailed works may be based.

It must be said, in this connection, that this essay is written from an anthropological point of view, not from any religious denomination. The materials used for this purpose have been gathered from different parts of the Philippines, either through fieldwork done by myself since 1955 or culled from what other fieldworkers have written during the last decade. The description of urban religious practices is based largely on a preliminary six months work in Manila's major churches and suburban centers. During this period, I have interviewed churchgoers, priests, pastors, religious devotees, and lay leaders. I have likewise participated in many of the rituals going on in or about these religious centers.

In order to appreciate the implications of many of these religious practices for the present discussion, let us first examine a number of central and interrelated theoretical points before proceeding with the descriptive analysis.

(1) Religion, viewed as an embodiment of profound human experiences, is committed to the expression and explanation of what Paul Tillich calls the "ultimate concern"[1] of society — that is, the fulfillment of the "restlessness of the heart" within the flux of daily activities.

(2) Central to this commitment is the stimulation and organization of feelings of people toward life so that they may find importance and inspiration in what they do.[2]

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* An outline version of this essay appeared in the *Philippine Educational Forum* (Manila, 1966).

[1] Paul Tillich, *Dynamics of Faith* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), pp. 2-13.

[2] Purnell Handy Benson, *Religion in Contemporary Culture: A Study of Religion Through Social Science* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960), pp. 124-128.

(3) To achieve this, there should be an awareness of the social and cultural values involved in the process.

(4) These social and cultural values however are learned and acquired by individuals as they grow up and participate in the affairs of their society.

(5) This learning process involves incorporation into an individual's "self" the perceptual and the ceremonial aspects of religion.

(6) On the perceptual side, religion is often viewed as an affair of emotions, feelings, aims, and beliefs.

(7) On the ceremonial side, religion involves behavior ranging from church-centered rites to secular (and semi-secular) rituals performed to the details of daily activities as influenced by the culture in which the individual lives.

(8) Because of this cultural orientation, whatever is introduced from the outside is not readily incorporated into one's religious system but these elements are first modified to suit one's cultural ways of believing and doing things before acceptance is made.

(9) In the event that these elements do not fit into the individual's existing pattern of cultural and religious values, they are rejected or if they are not rejected, they are retained as alternatives but their significance is not emphasized.

(10) If, on the other hand, these new and modified religious values are found to be more feasible for social and cultural adjustments, the original belief system is either given up or restructured to accommodate the nuances of the new pattern.

(11) The configuration which results from these shaping and reshaping of religious ideas and practices is what constitutes the framework of contemporary Filipino belief system. For lack of precise and better frame of reference I accept the term "folk religion" to describe this belief system.

Having thus briefly stated the thesis of this paper, let us now examine in some details its major bearing on Filipino social and cultural behavior.

Historical Background

Catholicism was brought to the Philippines by the Spaniards who came to colonize the islands during the 16th century. The initial contact was made in 1521 when Magellan and his crew accidentally hit the island of Homonhon, held the first mass in Limasawa, and converted Humabon and his followers in Cebu. However, the new religion did not take roots until Legaspi arrived in 1565 and took possession of the islands for the Spanish Crown. In order to facilitate the process of conversion and to effect administrative control over the people, a policy of regrouping scattered settlements

into compact villages, known as *cabeceras,* was adopted. A church was built at the center of each *cabecera.*

The *cabecera* system was opposed by many Filipinos even if they conformably built houses in the new villages and flocked to the churches to attend the colorful religious ceremonies associated with the fiesta in honor of the local patron saint, observance of *Flores de Mayo,* feast of *Corpus Christi* and so forth. One reason for this resistance was economic: the people were subsistence farmers whose fields were located far from the *cabeceras* and therefore would rather much live near their farms than stay in a far-off village where they could not earn a living.

The missionaries realized this difficulty and introduced the *cabecera-visita* complex as an alternative scheme. Instead of forcing the issue with the people, they visited the small settlements and in each built a chapel for religious worship. This was indeed a compromise but apparently an effective one in spreading the doctrine of Catholicism. Perhaps this is one reason why the new religion was readily accepted by the people. In later years, the *cabecera* became the poblacion, with the church as the focal point of socio-religious activities and one *visita* in the barrio with the *ermita* (chapel) as the center of annual socio-religious ceremonies.

Side by side with these developments also emerged two variant forms of Catholicism—the *cabecera* and the *visita.* Each of these forms interpreted and emphasized the doctrines and rites of the new faith quite differently. In the *cabecera,* for example, the pomp and pageantry of Spanish Catholicism was one way of indoctrinating the Filipinos about the new religion. Other pious practices include gathering of parishioners

> every day at the foot of the wooden cross erected in the main plaza of each village to chant the Rosary, and in many parishes the children walked through the streets at sunset chanting the Rosary. (Phelan 1959:73)

In the *visitas,* on the other other hand, such elaborate liturgical symbolisms were seldom emphasized and the people, due mainly to infrequency of contact with missionaries, were less informed about the doctrines of the new religion. This lack of doctrinal knowledge gave rise to a different interpretation of Catholic concepts, symbols and rites. Even

> The link between veneration of the saints and idolatry was often crossed, and belief in miracles sometimes provoked a relapse into magic and superstition (p. 78).

Contemporary Catholicism

As it exists today, the *cabecera-visita* orientations of Catholicism in the country has not substantially changed. Much of the practices and concepts have survived. For purposes of encompassing wider scope in our analysis we shall use such terms as *urban* and *rural* when referring to these variant

forms. Rural Catholicism is one in which Catholic beliefs are attenuated in locally sanctioned practices, while urban Catholicism is one in which indigenous beliefs are attenuated in Church-allowed, though not sanctioned, rites.

Contemporary Orientation of Functional Catholicism

These two forms need to be recognized if we are to understand the dynamics of contemporary Filipino Catholic values and behavior pattern. Much of the difficulty which students of Filipino religious behavior results from a confusion of these two aspects of Catholicism. This is understandable because both variant forms are anchored on the framework of the same core principles of Catholicism found elsewhere in the western world that even the people themselves hardly realize that their religion has identifiable differences resulting from local interpretations of Christian rites and concepts.

Rural Catholicism

Raymond Firth, in his book *Elements of Social Organization,* has argued that the "conceptual content and emotional quality of religious beliefs vary accordingly to its function—that is, according to its relation to other elements in the total system."[3] This is what I have in mind when I said that the best way of understanding Catholicism in the Philippines is to view it in terms of its rural or urban orientations. Catholic concepts in the rural areas are often articulated with the people's way of life; in urban areas with ritual-performance. By this I mean that often the farmers integrate their religious precepts with their economic, social, and cultural activities; the urban dwellers often separate their religious beliefs from their occupational and social commitments. It is the form of worship that matters so much for the latter, it is the content which counts for the former.

Thus when a Catholic in the barrio is asked what his religion is, he replies that he is a Roman Catholic. What he means by this is that he was born in a Roman Catholic church, and given a Christian name. His parents were married in the Church and so shall he when he gets married. He goes to church occasionally on Sundays, if the poblacion is far, and takes Holy Communion once a year during the barrio fiesta. In other words, when an individual says that he is a Roman Catholic in religion he simply means that he grew up with this orientation. Whether he understands the institutional and normative organization of the Church is another problem. But this is not important insofar as he is concerned. For what little he knows of the teachings of the Catholic church normally consists of a body of vague, disconnected ideas and pictures, half-remembered memories of grandmother tales, snatches of conversations overheard in the poblacion, few memorized

[3] Raymond Firth, *Elements of Social Organization* (London: Watts & Co., 1951), p. 228.

prayers, and gestures observed during the Mass. To him this is what Roman Catholicism is all about. From this standpoint, therefore, many of what an average rural Filipino say about his Catholicism are belied by his concrete religious activities. He is more a product of his local culture than by his Christian religion. His behavior pattern is pegged to the observance of traditional beliefs and practices sanctioned by his community and not necessarily by his Church.

It must be pointed out, in this connection, that uninstructed in Catholic doctrines as he may be, the rural Filipino is not a mere passive recipient of religious ideas. He is also a creative innovator as attested by the way he selects, modifies, and elaborates those elements he draws from the Catholic church to reinforce the structure of his culturally defined way of doing things. Thus in agriculture, for example, we find the use of Christian prayers and ritual objects incorporated with local practices very striking. In Solano, Nueva Vizcaya, for instance, the farmer prays the Apostle's Creed when he starts planting. Upon reaching the portion of the prayer which states ". . .Resurrection of the Body . . ." he plants his field rapidly so that the crops will grow immediately. In Alimoan, a barrio in Claveria, Cagayan, the farmer goes to the field with a clean attire believing that this will influence nature into preventing weeds from growing fast and the prayer is aimed at obtaining God's grace for abundant yield. In Samar and Leyte, Fr. Richard Arens reports that in the town of La Paz (Central Leyte) the planter "squats in one of the squares of the lot (he is planting) and prays to God to give him a good and fruitful harvest."[4] In Iloilo the farmers use the cross and dried palm-leaves (locally known as *ramus*) which had been blessed by the priest during Lent as part of the pre-planting ritual paraphernalia. Here is a case how pre-planting ritual is formed.

> Before the farmer brings his basket of seeds to the field, he eats a full breakfast. Eating breakfast is not ordinarily done because two meals a day is the standard way of living. However, the farmer has to eat otherwise his crops will not yield abundantly. After eating he ties a piece of cloth around his head, carries the basket on his right shoulder, and proceeds to the field. On reaching there the farmer places the basket at the right hand corner of the paddy and plants his knotted (*talahib*) stalks in the ground. Then he leaves the field and takes a bath in a nearby well or brook.
>
> Naked from the waist up, he returns to the field and waits until the sun is about right for the high tide. As soon as this time comes he goes to the place where the ritual paraphernalia are placed and, holding the rim of the basket with both hands, murmurs his prayers which consist of one *Our Father* and two *Hail Marys*. He picks up the cross, puts it aside, and takes a handful of grains from

[4] Richard Arens, S.V.D., "Animism in the Rice Ritual of Leyte and Samar," *Philippine Sociological Review,* Vol. IV (January 1956), pp. 2-6.

the basket and broadcasts it in three throwings. He repeats this process seven times before he allows any helper to assist him in doing the job.[5]

During harvest, the same religious paraphernalia are used. However, the order of ritual-performance and prayer procedure differs considerably. Here is a case I have noted during a fieldwork in Panay in 1958.

Harvesting begins when the heads of rice are uniformly ripe. However, before this is done another ritual is performed. The farmer returns to his field very early in the morning and secures *talahib* stalks along the way. He knots these into one bundle and plants it in the middle of the rice field. On top of this knot, he ties a knotted piece of red cloth containing seven slices of ginger and seven slices of *kalawag,* a kind of herbaceous plant with yellow tubers. Then facing the east, he shouts:

"Haw—I am placing this marker here as a sign that if anyone trespasses this taboo and dies, I have no responsibility."

Having done this the farmer goes home in silence, retracing his steps and avoiding people. Reaching the house, he picks up his bamboo basket and returns. In the field he cuts seven stalks of the ripening rice, places them beside the basket, bites his harvesting knife, picks up the rice stalks again, and ties them into one bundle.

As he does this he prays *Our Father* in the reverse order, that is, from the end to the beginning of the prayer. This places magic over the entire crop and and prevents evil spirits from stealing the rice grain. As soon as the ritual basket is full the farmer leaves the field. It is now safe to begin harvesting the crop.

The ability to establish a relationship with God acquires added and favorable dimensions if prayers are first addressed to intermediaries than directly to the Almighty. This implies a belief that God is too removed from worldly affairs to take any specific interest in men but saints are "almost human," they are close to the world. To God "only saints" can speak better. A person may pray to the Almighty directly but his chances of getting what he wants are slim. Thus saints are called upon or asked to intercede for the people with the Higher Divinity for the recovery of lost things, good health, safe voyage, good harvest, long life, and so on. There are images of different saints in almost all Catholic houses in the rural areas. Most of these images are made of wood. This preference for wood is borne by the belief that, according to old folks in Panay, Central Philippines, wooden saints can hear better than those made of stone, marble, or plaster of Paris. The images, it must be remembered, can only have power to intercede for the people with God after these have been blessed with Holy Water by the parish priest.

[5] In order to avoid cumbersome footnoting, all unacknowledged case studies have been derived from my fieldnotes.

Saints, in many rural areas, are conceived by the farmers not as Church personalities who have been canonized because of their good work and virtuous living but as supernatural beings with powers similar to those of environmental spirits or the *engkantu.* As supernatural beings, they can be manipulated for personal and group ends. Coercion of saints into giving the devotees what they want are expressed in long novenas, said in church or at home, for a specified number of days, and in elaborate festivals. One such festival with agricultural overtones is the celebration of San Isidro de Labrador in Nueva Ecija; Pulilan, Bulacan; Angono, Rizal; Naic, Cavite; Biñan, Laguna; and in other towns. This event takes place on May 15, the traditional date for the beginning of the rainy season. The main feature of the celebration consists of praying and parade of garland-studded carabaos of farmers. Here is a case recorded in Pulilan, Bulacan, in 1957.

> The colorful event officially started at five o'clock in the afternoon. The parade known as "paseo ng kalabaw" started from Lumbak, a barrio in the outskirts of Pulilan. About a thousand carabaos, which came from all over the province, participated in the parade. The carabaos covered a total of six kilometers —a march which ended at the church plaza before the shrine of the farmers' saint. This is in order that they may be blessed by the parish priest in the belief that this will save them from illness and that they will grow stronger. This tradition in Pulilan, according to the old folks was started in 1910 by the town mayor in honor of San Isidro Labrador. Regarding San Isidro, there are many legends about him. He was a farmer who worked in a hacienda in Spain during the 14th century. He used to wake up early in the morning to attend mass before beginning his work. It is said that San Isidro performed several miracles during his lifetime.

Not only in agriculture are Catholic concepts used but these are also utilized by fishermen for similar economic gains. The river festivals in Luzon are good examples for situations in which Catholic beliefs are attenuated in terms of local practices. In Bacoor, Cavite, the "Caracol" festival is celebrated during the month of May. This is in honor of the town's patron saint, San Miguel. The image of the saint is taken on a festival procession, followed by singing and dancing men and women who ask the saint to give them abundant catch. Bacoor is a fishing community. In Angono, Rizal, San Vicente is believed to be the most powerful patron saint for fishermen. In December each year the people celebrate a feast in honor of this saint. The following event was noted by a journalist in 1956.

> The feast day was ushered by the local band which aroused the people up. Before the sun had risen high over the foothills nearby, the people were already massed on the shore where the empty temple (known locally as *pagoda*) waited. As the images of San Vicente and the Virgin were placed under its canopy, a shout heaved from the crowd and the *pagoda* was launched. Now, from all directions, motor boats and bancas headed for the massive structure and clustered

around it like ducklings as it wended its way through fields of water lily to the open sea.

From the *pagoda* itself, a band played continuously. Women prayed and fishermen scrambled up to its platform only to be tossed playfully back to the water. Almost all of the men had their faces painted with rice paste and lipstick. To them, the women in the bancas extended bread and wine. The *pagoda* had a fixed course which would have taken but an hour to negotiate but with the merry-making and the spiritual levity hampering its speed, it took more than three hours for the craft to cover its route.

By noon, the fluvial parade was ended; the *pagoda* was hauled with long ropes to the shallow, water-lily decked shore and, from there, the images were transferred to their ornately decorated carriage. All the time, rockets swished up and exploded in the blue burning sky, fishermen group themselves raucously and three bands tried to outblare each other. From the shore the milling crowd finally ordered itself into a parade which marched back to the town, through the narrow streets lined with devotees and spectators.

Another patron saint worthwhile mentioning in this connection because fluvial rites associated with him are among the elaborate ones is San Pedro, the fisherman Apostle of Jesus Christ. In June each year in the municipality of Apalit, Pampanga, the image of this saint is taken down from its town's old church and set on a pagoda for a "voyage" up and down the river. Following its wake, circling about it happily, are bancas manned by the town's fish-folks. According to informants the watery travel, from one end of the town to another, dates back during the Spanish time. The theory is that it would do the saint good to reexperience his old life upon the water, that he will help bring the fish to the corrals and the rivernets.

Let us pause for a while and consider this question: Why do farmers and fishermen perform all these rituals and celebrate all those fluvial rites? If someone tells us that these people perform all these rites in order to have good harvest and abundant catch, we will perhaps answer: "that does not make any sense at all." Indeed, to an outsider, these practices do not make sense for there is not much that the farmers and fishermen can do to influence Nature, to make their rice grow well or their nets to catch more. But to the rural folks there is more to these practices than merely following all the steps in the process of planting and fishing: these rites are ways of dealing with the supernatural beings and of coping with events. They are aware that Nature has her own laws which govern the destiny of man. These laws are executed by supernatural beings, in the persons of saints and environmental spirits, who prescribe the rigid performance of rites and the observance of natural phenomena through which they make manifest their desires. Unless the farmers have the goodwill or favor of the saints and other spirits on their side, they will not have good harvests; unless the fishermen perform these yearly festivals, they will not have

abundant catch. In other words, these religious rites are performed in order to prevent the destruction of crops and the occurrence of bad luck in fishing. The introduction of saints, prayers, and other Christian religious paraphernalia such as the cross, palm leaves, holy water, etc., is one way of elaborating and making the rituals more pleasing to the supernatural powers, of acquiring more spiritual partners in the pursuit of life goals. To a certain extent the environmental spirits have been replaced by saints and the indigenous prayers by the Christian prayers—but the underlying concepts remain intact in that the imperatives of local beliefs and practices still provide the people with proper ritual contexture of economic propositions in seeking the goodwill and assistance of the supernatural.

The close functional association between rituals and personal needs in Philippine society becomes more apparent if we consider the fact that saints are appealed to not only for economic reasons but also for good health and cure of illness. In Naga City, for example, the feast of Our Lady of Peñafrancia is celebrated with a fluvial parade for good health. It is believed that whosoever participates in the festivity, provided the individual is deeply remorseful of his sins, will be healed. This miraculous power of the Virgin draws devotees from different parts of the country. Nine days before the celebration, the image of the Virgin is taken from the Church of Peñafrancia and is transferred to Naga City cathedral where novenas are said. After the novena, the Virgin is returned to her permanent shrine near the bank of the river through the stream in the procession of gaily-decked bancas. Our Lady of Peñafrancia festival takes place in September.

Another popular saint for all occasions is the Sto. Niño. The "historical legend" surrounding the discovery of this Infant saint in Cebu is so popular that it is unnecessary to recount it here. The Sto. Niño, nevertheless, is regarded as a rain-god, war protector, sailor's mate, fisherman's guardian, healer, and rice-god. His role as a rain-god however is rather the most popular. In Cebu, this story is told on how the Sto. Niño brings rain.

> When there was a desperate need for water, and the fields were dry, the people asked for rain and were instantly given it, so the accounts went. Some other times when the rain was not prompt in arriving, the natives brought the image in a procession to the sea and dipped it, often telling the image that if it did not give them rain immediately, they would leave it there.

Normally, the Sto. Niño responded by giving the people rain. Because of this belief, the Sto. Niño in Panay, Capiz is always bathed in the river every year, amidst feasting and celebrating. The legend on how the Sto. Niño brought rain to the drought-stricken town and how the people threatened the image with drowning if it did not bring rain is often recounted by the old folks. As it happened, one informant said, "rain came when water reached the Sto. Niño's neckline."

In Indang, Cavite, the Sto. Niño is not bathed by dipping or submerging it in the river as is done in Cebu and Capiz. The bathing normally takes places in private homes, that is, in the homes of the owner of the image. The following entry is from the 1964 field notes of two National Museum researchers.[6]

> Before the ritual began, leaves of *Salay* (*Cymbopogon cyratus*), *Kulubo* (*citrus hystrix*), and *Lukban* (*citrus brandis*) were gathered and boiled. The concoction which resulted was left to cool. Then it was mixed with perfume, and placed in a large basin near the Sto. Niño.
>
> Undressing of the Sto. Niño is done according to the following procedure. The first of the ordinary garments to be removed were the abizarene crimson velvet boots. The exposed feet were wiped with a large piece of cotton, dipped in the bathing concoction, while at the same time the face of the image was wiped by one of the ritual participants. In this particular case four women were observed helping each other bathe the Sto. Niño.
>
> Then the tunic was removed and the wiping of the neck, arms, hands, and back of the image was done. An old piece of cloth was placed over the neck of the image as soon as this was wiped, because, according to an informant, the Sto. Niño catches cold. Then the undergarments were removed. One woman took the image's wig. Every portion of the exposed body of the image was wiped and immediately covered.
>
> While one of the women was wiping the lower limbs of the image, the others were putting on the new white satin tunic. The gold colored vest was placed next, then the gold-colored shoes. The back parts of the vest were sewn together. The sleeves were also sewn to the shoulder-portion of the dress.
>
> Then the gold-colored trousers of the Sto. Niño were put on by carefully sewing these tight to the belt, wound around the waist. The last garment to be placed was the golden cape. As this was being fixed by one of the participants, the others prepared the pedestal, the globe, and the scepter. A new wig was placed on the head of the image and then his gold crown. Having thus dressed it, the participants placed it on top of the pedestal and gave it its scepter and globe.
>
> Two unlighted candles were placed in front of the Sto. Niño. The bathing concoction was removed from the basin and was placed in bottles. When only about a finger deep was left in the basin, the two candles were lighted. Then the oldest member of the family who owns the image led the people in prayer. It is interesting to note that only 1/3 of the Holy Rosary sequence is said—the rest being reserved for the evening novena which followed.
>
> After the prayer, the bottles containing the bathing concoction were given to the guests as medicine. It is believed by the people that the water has curative powers.
>
> At about five o'clock in the afternoon of the following day, the image was taken to the Church for blessing. It was not taken from the Church, except during processions, until January 6 when it was returned to the owner's house.

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[6] Jesus Peralta and Avelino Legaspi. Unpublished Notes on Sto. Niño in Cavite (National Museum, Manila).

In Kalibo, Aklan, the festival connected with Sto. Niño has become very elaborate as to attract the attention of tourists. In fact, it has more social than religious overtones. The legend behind the *ati-atihan* recounts the prowess of the Sto. Niño as the protector of the people. According to the legend, the Muslim pirates landed at the mouth of Aklan River one day. While they were heading for the village of Kalibo (then a small coastal settlement), the men of the village came out to fight the invading enemy. However they were overpowered. Although bloody and full of mud, they fought savagely. Just about the time when the enemy was to make a deadly assault on the remaining exhausted fighters, a small boy appeared in the battle scene and drove the pirates away. Then he disappeared. Overjoyed, the people went back to the village, dancing and making noise. Many attested that the boy was the Sto. Niño who came to help the people. Since then the mud-painted dancers celebrate the *ati-atihan* festival in honor of the Sto. Niño.

What has the Catholic church to say about the *ati-atihan?* According to the parish priest, "the Church tolerates the ritual since no one can prevent the people from celebrating the ati-atihan. But this does not mean that the Church has sanctioned the practice." In spite of this statement however the Church participates in the festivity. The images which are taken along with the procession are brought first to the Church on the "bispera" and remained there till the day of the feast of the Sto. Niño which is traditionally set on the 2nd Sunday of January every year. Apart from accommodating all these images in the church, the authorities also allow the performance of the "patapak" ritual inside the church.

> The "patapak" is a traditional feature of the *ati-atihan.* The participants always make it a point to drop in the church as a group several times in-between their rounds in the streets.
>
> The whole group of celebrants kneel at the communion rail. The "sacristan" (never the priest) performs the ritual on each one in the group. He holds a miniature image of the Sto. Niño, lets the celebrant kiss the image and then puts the image on the devotee's head (making the image literally step on the devotee). Sometimes if the celebrant so desires, the "sacristan" also rubs the image on the back, arms, body or legs of the devotee who believes in the curative effect of the ritual. It is a common belief that the "patapak" relieves emotional stresses and physical pains. In some cases the celebrant lies prostrate at the foot of the altar. The same kissing and stepping patterns are executed.

The treatment the Sto. Niño receives from the performers of the rituals I have just described reminds one of the role the child has in Filipino society. In many rural areas, the child is conceived as the gift of God (*biyaya ng Diyos*). It is always the center of attention. It is bathed, fondled, caressed, and so on, for not to take care of the infant is to commit a grievous sin. Its socialization includes, however, threats with physical harm,

frightening with the *aswang,* and other forms of coercion—all involving pressures designed to make the child obey. Unconsciously, this inner feeling of care and attitude towards children is projected to anthromorphized objects or personalities with the status of the child. The Sto. Niño is conceived as a child and therefore has to be treated as a child. Thus it is threatened with drowning if it does not obey the worshippers' demand for rain; it is bathed and dressed properly before it is brought out of the owner's house to join the religious procession. In other words, here are examples of overt expressions in action pattern of internalized value-notions acquired from the local culture; cases in which Catholic beliefs are evaluated and enacted in terms of local concepts and practices, and not in terms of what are officially Church-sanctioned behavior.

As I have remarked, children are always wanted in Filipino society. In fact, some scholars[7] have argued that marriage in the Philippines is rather weak until the birth of the child. In case where childlessness is eminent, many women make a pilgrimage to Obando, Bulacan and dance before Sta. Clara, San Pascual Baylon, and the Virgin of the Salambao. In the past, the Obando shrine, which Jose Rizal vividly characterized in one of his novels, was sought primarily for fertility miracle. Today, however, people go there for a number of miraculous graces. Petitions for assistance is done during the three-day socio-religious fiesta. The first day is devoted to San Pascual Baylon, to whom suitors pray for a wife. The second day is in honor of the Virgin of the Salambao, mediatrix of childless couples. The third day is for Sta. Clara, to whom the luckless girls turn for a fiance.

A procession for the three saints is held, during which devotees pray, dance, and kiss the images' carriages. The prayers, sung while the pilgrims swing and sway, run like this:

Mahal na Po'ng San Pascual, bigyan po ninyo ako ng asawa. (Free translation: "Beloved St. Pascual, please give me a spouse.")

Sta. Clara Pinong-pino, bigyan po ninyo ako ng nobyo. (Free translation: "O Sta. Clara so fine give me a fiance.")

Mahal naming Nuestra Señora, anak po ako'y bigyan mo na. (Free translation: "Our beloved Lady, please bless me with a child.")

The dance itself follows no definite pattern. It is not really dancing in the strict sense of the word. Devotees simply sway sideways, skip or hop in the church, on the plaza in front of the church, or on the street during the procession. This custom of dancing, according to the people, constitutes the individual devotee's tribute to the saints. It is believed to have origin-

[7] Robert B. Fox, "Social Organization," *Area Handbook on the Philippines,* Vol. I, Chicago, 1956, pp. 413-70; and Frank X. Lynch, "The Conjugal Bond where the Philippines Changes," *Philippine Sociological Review,* Vol. VIII, 3-4 (July-October 1960), pp. 48-51.

ated with San Pascual Baylon, who belonged to the order of the Franciscans called Soccolans. It is said that he used to commune with Holy spirits and danced with joy while doing so. When and how the customs of dancing before the saints of Obando started, nobody in the town knows. The Church frowns on the practice but the religious zeal of the devotees has kept the authorities from outrightly prohibiting the custom.[8]

In Kalibo, fertility dance is associated with the *ati-atihan.* As an informant said:

> Women desiring to have children join in the dancing and singing in the streets, repeating these lines:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Tawi man, taw-i man | Please give, please give |
> | Taw-i man ako't unga | Please give me a child. |
>
> To reinforce the power of this prayerful supplication for the fulfillment of a wish, the devotees proceed to the church and participate in the "patapak" ceremony. They believe that this ritual has power to cure whatever illness or whatever prevents them from having babies.

The performance of these curative rituals brings us to another aspect of Filipino religious concepts behavior pattern. And this is the belief that any object derived from the Church or which has been blessed by the priest with Holy Water is endowed with supernatural power. Possessing any of these objects will enable the possessor to perform extra-ordinary feats. Thus, even criminals use the crucifix, the rosary, and prayer-books as charms (locally known as *anting-anting*). In many rural areas, Holy Water is used to cure a high fever or any disease declared by the medical doctors as hopeless cases. Palm leaves (known in Panay Bisayan as *ramus*) blessed by the priest during Palm Sunday are believed to be good for stomach aches and abnormal menstrual cycles. Local healers normally will burn these leaves, mix it with other medicinal roots, and Holy Water, and give the concoction to the patient to be taken internally. If the ilness is caused by the *aswang*, the victim's family can capture the *aswang* by the use of a special method the ritual paraphernalia of which consist of a Christian prayer, the cross and local magic formulae. As one informant narrated to Fr. Frank Lynch:

> In order to catch the *aswang,* one has to prepare three big stones and three big nails. The moment you hear the familiar "tik-tik" or "wak-wak" sounds during the night, start reciting the *Apostle's Creed.* When you reach the part which says "*ilinansag sa cruz*" (crucified in the cross or nailed at the cross) pick up one of the stones and drive one of the nails into the ground. Repeat the process twice. This will cast a spell on the *aswang* and it flies back to where you are sitting. Don't be afraid because by this time it will be as docile as your pet dog. It will alight on one of the stones and wait for whatever you want to do with it.

[8] Cf. *Meralco Magazine,* Vol. XII (October 1960).

The reason for this is that you have nailed (*linansag*) him in the prayer. You have more power than the *aswang*.[9]

The best way of warding off ghosts and evil spirits from one's house is to call for the priest, and have the house blessed with Holy Water. In order to break the spell of an *engkantu,* the cross, any saint, blessed candles (the *perdun* in Panay Bisayan) are to be used. Here is a story frequently recounted by the people in the coastal area of southern Iloilo.

A and her family were living near the seashore. Her husband died and the burden of feeding their five children fell on the poor woman's shoulders. A gathered shells and seaweeds which she sold in the market. From this work she derived a meager income with which she supported her family.

One rainy evening, A found out that she did not have any match at all. It was raining and she could not go to town to buy some. Looking out of the window, she saw a ball of fire in the middle of the furious sea. Thinking that it was the fishermen's lamp, she commented: "I wish these fishermen were near so I could ask for fire and cook supper for my children."

No sooner had she closed the window when she heard a soft knock. "Who is there?" she inquired.

"I heard you were looking for fire," said the voice.

Thinking that it might be one of the fishermen, A answered: "Yes—but I could not leave the children."

"Well, here's an ember," the voice said.

A opened the window and reached out for the ember which the strange voice was offering to her. She was dismayed when what she thought was a firebrand turned out to be a human knee-bone.

The following morning A brought this incident to the attention of the parish priest. The priest, on seeing the knee-bone, told A that the *engkantu* had cast a spell on her. This charm had to be removed. He gave A two big *perdun* (blessed) candles, two crucifixes and one San Vicente. He instructed A thus: "Put the San Vicente between these two crucifixes. Then place the two candles on the two ends of the table which you will use as an altar. When the angelus rings, light the candles and pray one *Our Father* and nine *Hail Marys*. Then wait. The *engkantu* will come back as he promised. When it asks for its fire, hand the San Vicente back instead of the knee-bone."

A went home and prepared the paraphernalia. When the angelus rang, she lighted the candles. She put the San Vicente between the two crucifixes, in front of which she layed the knee-bone. Soon she heard a knock on her window pane. A voice was heard: "I have come back for my firebrand."

"Yes," A said. "Thank you very much. Here it is." Then she handled to the unseen person the San Vicente. There was a sudden explosion, as though a bomb was detonated. A and her children ran down the house. The house was on fire. They ran to the poblacion and called for the priest. The priest came

[9] See Frank Lynch, "An Mga Aswang: A Bicol Belief," *Philippine Social Science and Humanities Review,* Vol. XIV: 4 (1949), pp. 401-27.

and with Holy Water and prayer, put out the fire. Strange enough not a nipa shingle was burnt. The priest said that the fire was the *engkantu's* spell. If A did not bring the case to his attention, A would have surely gone to hell, in that she would have inherited the sin of the dead man.

Urban Catholicism

Having thus described some aspects of rural Filipino religious behavior, let us now move to the urban end of the continuum and witness the urban people perform their religious rituals. Like his rural brother, the urban Filipino is vocal about his being a Roman Catholic. In fact, he can argue intelligently about the doctrine, ritual, and religious behavior. How much of what he does are officially sanctioned rites? Let us begin with Thursday. This is the day for the novena of St. Jude. St. Jude is the patron saint of the impossible. Most devotees are people with pressing needs and serious problems; most of those I knew who take St. Jude as their patron saint are teen-agers. It is believed that the observance of a vow, normally consisting of nine Thursday pilgrimage to St. Jude's Church, brings about the fulfilment of the wish. Here is a case.

A was a new graduate from a secretarial school. In spite of her skill she remained unemployed. A year passed and she was still out of job. She was so discouraged and several times thought of committing suicide. A friend, one day, suggested that she make a devotion to St. Jude and ask the saint to help her find a job. She followed her friend's suggestion. And after a month of pilgrimage to the saint, during which she prayed hard, she did get a job.

Another informant tells of the sorrows she underwent when her fiance broke their engagement. In her distress she made a promise to St. Jude that if the saint would bring her fiance back, she would make a yearly nine-day pilgrimage to the Church. True enough, her fiance returned without her asking him and they got married. Up to this day she comes to Manila when the month of her vow comes.

Most devotees of St. Jude attest that the saint had been helping them find solutions to their problems—those problems which one thinks are beyond resolution; an impossibility. One informant, a student from a local university, tells that me that the life of her boy-friend's father who was suffering from a liver-cancer was prolonged for two years, even after the doctors have said the man would live only for a few weeks, because she and her boy-friend prayed to St. Jude.

On the other hand, not all who pray to St. Jude obtain what they wanted. An elderly lady, a former devotee, whom I chanced to talk with in a bus one day when I went to church, said she does not believe in St. Jude at all.

"All these devotions and pilgrimages are a form of modern superstition," she said bitterly.

"Why?" I asked.

"A friend of mine advised me to pray to St. Jude when my husband deserted me and my children. Up to this time, that good-for-nothing man is still somewhere. I have given him up. I know he is living with another woman. And even if he comes back I do not want him anymore."

"Perhaps you did not pray hard," I said.

"Oh, I did. I was so frustrated then that I even cried inside the Church. But I think this is my fate and there is no saint who can help me."

I did not push the conversation further.

On the other hand, most students I have talked to, during the six months I was gathering data for this paper, agreed that fervent prayers to St. Jude bring results. (Incidentally, most of my informants are girls; the male-devotees are less articulate.) The case which follows illustrates this.

B is a student at a downtown university and an employee in a government office. Because she was not a civil service eligible, she was constantly beset by insecurity. She was one of the major breadwinners of the family, aside from her father. He mother was sickly and had to stay at home.

When the Civil Service Commission announced that it will give a general clerical examination, B filed her application. However, because of the pressure of her combined school and office work, she was not able to review extensively for the examination. Three weeks before the event, she panicked. A friend suggested that she make a novena to St. Jude so that she could pass the examination. She did; and true enough, she got a high rating.

Whether one can attribute this performance in the examination to St. Jude or to the psychological effect of the fact that she knew she would pass if she prays to St. Jude, I cannot judge. At any rate, she said: "I really did not review for that exam. But during the test, I felt that there was someone telling me all the answers."

In other words, individual skill and know-how constitute but a fraction in passing an examination or finding a job; it is the saint's grace, this unseen help which holds the key to success. Anthropologist Ward Hunt Goodenough, in a book, has this to say on how beliefs actualize one's expectations: "Whenever men have the power to create or modify the conditions in which they live, they tend to do so in such ways that their expectations, stemming from their beliefs, are actually realized. Beliefs are molded by experience, to be sure, but experience is at the same time molded by belief, each action on the other to create a closed world of empirically validated truth." [10] This is what has taken place in the experiences of the

[10] *Cooperation in Change* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation), 1964.

individuals whose accounts we have just cited. B and A's success was attributed to St. Jude and not to their skill and preparation. The distraught woman's failure to obtain what she wanted—the return of her husband—is likewise attributed to St. Jude, not to her personal shortcomings. Whichever side we look, in other words, it is clear that the belief system in these typical examples is attenuated in Church-permitted, though not sanctioned ritual-performance—the novena to St. Jude.

Let us now focus our attention to downtown Manila and penetrate into the religious behavior of the "natives" there—see them pray and listen to their prayers. If one stands on the right side of Quiapo Church, facing the altar, one easily notices a wooden railing which leads the devotees to the southern end of this side wing, towards Plaza Miranda where the Image of the Black Nazarene lies inside a glass-covered case. Here, most of the devotees are elderly men and women. There are children and teenagers too. Most of these worshippers are not dressed in their church attire, i.e. Sunday best. Some of them come with groceries tucked under the arm, others with unbathed babies, with unwashed garments; students with their books; teenage girls with very short skirts—the hemline of which are about three inches above the knees; spinsterish women with bluish eyeshadows, wearing tight-fitting dresses with very low necklines; sweepstakes vendors with paper-bags and stubs of tickets; beggars carrying their canes, hats, and bundles wrapped with dirty kerchiefs and others. There are clean, neat, well-dressed devotees too—perhaps professionals or employees in a downtown establishment. At any rate, they all follow the line leading to the glass-covered case, inside of which the Santo Entierro (Black Nazarene) lies in state. One end of the case is open and out of it protrudes the feet of the image. The devotees on reaching near the image cross themselves, wipe the glass with their handkerchiefs or any object which they wipe on any part of their bodies in turn, and murmur a prayer. Some are fingering their rosaries—but their eyes are watching what is going on inside the church. Then they move on. Reaching the end of the case where the feet of the image protrudes, they cross themselves again, genuflect, and wipe the feet of the Black Nazarene with their handkerchief, hem of the veil, or simply with their hands. As before, they wipe these handkerchiefs, veil or hands against any part of their bodies—the neck, the forehead, the arms and so on. Then they kiss the feet of the image. One devotee poured perfume (from the bottle I could see it was Chanel No. 5) before kissing the Black Nazarene. Genuflecting, they cross themselves and move out. An elderly lady, dressed in chocolate-colored attire with cotton-twine belt of the same color, keeps order in this area. She stands at the exit of this railing and keeps possible gate-crashers, who do not want to fall in line by the side-door, from making a shortcut.

One interesting behavior pattern associated with wiping of the image with handkerchief is wiping same handkerchief on someone else who did not come near the Black Nazarene. Here is a case I have observed.

> A young woman walked in. She was accompanied by a young man. From the looks of it, they were sweethearts. The girl, breasting her books, took a handkerchief and put it on her head.
>
> "Halika na. . ." (Come now) she said to the boy.
>
> "Ayaw ko. . . ." (I don't like to) the boy answered.
>
> "Halika na. . . nakakahiya ka. Ano mag-aaway pa tayo rito?" (Come now. It is shameful if we make a scene here) insisted the girl.
>
> "Ayaw ko sabi. Ikaw na" (I said no. You go ahead), the boy said.
>
> "Kung ayaw mo di ako!" (If you won't then I will go) said the girl disgustedly. The young man reached out to take her books but she refused to give them.
>
> When she came out of the visitation area, she quietly wiped her handkerchief on the forehead of the boy who, incidentally, did not protest, saying "Kaawaan ka sana ng Diyos." (May God bless you.)

This incident took place beside where I was kneeling. I have seen the same pattern occurring everyday. Apparently, this act is suggestive of an attempt to extend to someone else the power obtained from the touch of that which is Holy. This constitutes what theologian Paul Tillich calls "the content of faith"; the manifest construct arising from the inner feeling an individual experiences when he had done something appropriate, something right, satisfying to the psychic need.

But there are occasions, as in many rural areas, where the ritual is done out of having been used to it rather than for its religious content. Here is a case.

> I was standing near the Holy Water stand attached to one of those big interior ports of Quiapo Church, close to the side facing Quezon Boulevard. Three middle-aged men came, following two beautiful-looking girls, dressed in tight-fitting turquoise-blue. As one of the men reached out for the basin to dip his fingers, he nudged his companions. And crossing himself afterwards, he said: "Naku, napakaganda!" (Gee, how beautiful!)

From this side of the Church, an observer may move towards the center. Here, he can see a group of devotees walking on their knees from near the main door facing Plaza Miranda to the altar. Some murmur their prayers loudly that it can be heard clearly; others silently that what an observer can notice are movements of the lips. From this section of the church towards the main entrance, the eyes are attracted by another queue. Another group of devotees toe the line in order to get to the Black Nazarene, in Crucifix form, and pay their homage. One devotee brought a hand-

ful of flowers, wipe these on the feet of the crucifix and buried her face in the petals as she walked out.

Whether or not these rituals I have just described are part of the official Catholic practices, I shall not pass judgment. The priests I have talked to are agreed that these are not. As one priest puts it: "These are harmless forms of expressing an individual's religious convictions, of doing his penance, and are therefore permitted."

This observation brings us back to our original proposition—that in urban setting, folk beliefs are attenuated in Church permitted, though not sanctioned, rites. This is perhaps due to the fact that the people in Manila are well-informed about the teachings of the Church. But often, it is one thing to be well-informed; it is another to have faith. Faith constitutes the content of what one knows as the accepted form. The process by which form is crytallized is therefore irrelevant. In the rituals I have just described, the form may not be accepted but the faith underlying the form is. This is what matters. If we consider the ritual-content of the rural folks' practices as magic, and call those of the urban folks "faith"—we still have not changed the basic principles underlying the ritual-drama. The touch of magic which is the recurrent theme of provincial rites has not been replaced in the urban area; except its name. It is believed by many devotees whom I interviewed that the handkerchief wiped against the image of the Black Nazarene or of the Mother of Perpetual Help, as I have observed done in Sta. Cruz Church, when applied on any afflicted part of the body has power to heal.

Let us linger for awhile in Sta. Cruz Church and note this particular case I have jotted down in my fieldnotes.

> The time was late morning, about 10 o'clock. An elderly lady came in followed by a young girl. From what I can gather from this observation, the girl was her maid. The latter was carrying with her a plastic bag. When they reached the altar rail, in front of the image of Our Lady of Perpetual Help, this lady made a signal to the maid. Taking this cue, the latter pulled out from the bag a bundle of printed novena pamphlets. Fingering her rosary, the woman started to read. The girl took a beautiful Spanish fan from the plastic bag and fanned the praying matron.

Much as I prefer to label this case as "personal idiosyncrasy" on the part of that lady during that day, I am constrained to say that it is a recurrent pattern in that moving out of Manila and visiting Baclaran Church I witnessed similar cases. Here is one.

> A pious-looking lady came in followed by her maid. The latter was young and was not dressed well. She was carrying a kneeling pad and a buri fan. This matronly woman was praying the Stations of the Cross. But everytime she

changed station, the maid picked up her kneeling pad and carried it to the other station. And meanwhile that her mistress was praying she fanned her.

I am sure these cases do not represent the general behavior pattern of urban Catholics. Nevertheless, they illustrate a behavior which is not accepted by the Church and this is what I mean when I speak of folk religion. The feeling of religiosity in these acts may be deep and sincere. That I do not question or doubt, but the manner in which these religiosity is expressed is certainly not officially sanctioned even by Church authorities.

Elsewhere I have described the fertility dance in Obando and Kalibo. In Paco, the *tadtarin* festival is one such rite which the urban folks still observe. Here is a description of the festival recorded by a journalist five years ago.

> On the morning of December 28th, the devotees of the Tadtarin Lady gather in front of Paco Church where everybody, young and old, men and women alike, fling their arms and gaily trip it up in an enigmatic sort of unchoreographed dance to the lilting tune of native airs played by a band hired for the occasion.
>
> During the festival, the streets of Paco resemble a mardi gras scene. The devotees don gypsy clothing nostalgic of sunny Spain and Mexico. It is said that the custom originated from these countries. For most part, the people don shepherd costumes with blooming hats bedecked with flowers and hold staffs likewise decorated with vines and flowers.
>
> The flower-hat band, they say, symbolizes the crown of thorns which Jesus wore. The staff stands for that which St. Joseph planted before the door of the Virgin Mary following the annunciation. According to the Hebrew legend, the staff of Joseph bloomed with flowers as sign that he was to be the foster father of the new Christ. Still others complement this by saying the staff symbolizes Joseph's devotion to the Holy Family.
>
> Day before the affair, an improvised chapel (*visita*) is built on Merced Extension street. The picture of the Lady is provided with a cape of either flossy velvet or brocade and brought to the chapel for veneration.
>
> During each morning of the three-day festivities, a novena with a rosario cantada is held at the Paco Church. The picture is then set on a portable carriage (*andas*) and borne on the shoulders of the men who take part in the dance-procession which immediately follows. Led by a colorful figure called the banderada (flag bearer), a parish priest and his two assistants, the cross bearer and the incensers, the procession of gaily dancing devotees wends its way along the streets of Paco stopping now and then at the homes of the hermanas mayores (sponsors). Throughout the day, the picture is deposited at the chapel for veneration. And on the afternoon of the last day, a mass called "misa pastoral" (shepherd's mass), is celebrated in the Paco Church. Rustic castanets, tambourines and clanging bamboo bars accompany the hearing of the mass.[11]

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[11] Fortunato Gerardo, "Mass Dancing at Paco's Tadtarin Festival," *Sunday Chronicle Magazine* (1957), pp. 19-21.

Formally the Tadtarin festival is an invocation to the Holy Mother for blessings of many children. Ardent devotees believe that if one promised to always dance during her feast, she would be blessed by many children during her married life. A well-known story of a sexagenarian couple, once childless, now, with nine children since they prayed to the Tadtarin lady is considered a testimony to the promise of the picture.

The name *Tadtarin* is derived from the Tagalog word "tadtad" which means chopping and used in allusion to the plight of those children who were ordered to be massacred by the jealous King Herod in his furious desire to have the new-born Christ murdered. Hence, the celebration falls on December 28th, the feast of the Holy Innocents. Nowadays, however, the celebration is cut down to two days and strangely on December 28th and 30th. The reason for this is a waning interest manifested in the need for funds and sponsors for the celebration.

The festival was a church affair during the time of the friars. But today, perhaps because of its traditional trappings of excessive dancing, the Church has prudently frowned on the devotion as one not having ecclesiastical sanction, although the priest of Paco acquiesces to it as a religious tradition in the parish.

Pan-Regional Religious Observance

Apart from these practices which are observed only in either the rural or urban areas, there are practices which are non-geographic, like Christmas holiday celebration, Season of Lent, and the Santacruzan (Flores de Mayo). For details of practices clustering around the *Simbang Gabi* and the Lenten Season, I wish to refer the reader to Fr. Frank Lynch's discussion of organized religion in *Philippine Handbook* published by the Human Area Relations File. One elaborate, non-church sanctioned ritual associated with Lenten season is worth mentioning in this discussion. And this is the *penitencia.* According to anthropologist Alfredo E. Evangelista, the *penitencia* is motivated by (1) serious illness, (2) combination of illness and dreams, and (3) dreams hinting a vow. The *penitencia* is characterized by inflicting pain on the body—either by the performer himself or by an assistant. This practice appears to be a reinterpretation of "a religious penance, one of the several Catholic sacraments consisting of repentance or contrition for sin, confession to a priest, satisfaction as imposed by one's confessor, and absolution.?"[12]

There are different ways of performing the *penitencia.* In Masukol, Evangelista reports three distinct forms: (1) self-flagellating or self-whip-

[12] "Penitenc'a: The Ritual and Motivation in Flagellation," *Sunday Times Magazine,* Vol. XVII, No. 36 (April 15, 1962), pp. 10-11.

ping, (2) the tumbling-and-rolling with scourging administered by an assistant *(suned)*, and (3) the cross-bearing ritual, whose performers have several assistants playing the role of Roman soldiers. Of the three types, self-flagellation is the most popular. As Evangelista describes it:

> The most common type is exemplified by one who scourges himself. Traditionally, his paraphernalia consist of a hood (*kapirosa*) of white cotton cloth which covers the face down to the chest, a crown or wreath (*korona*) of woven twigs of shrub or vines, rarely thorns; a pair of white pants tied at intervals on the thighs and down to the upper part of the ankle; and a flagellum (*bulyus*) of cylindrical bamboo sticks, the end of which are bundled into a cord of braided cotton or abaca strings. The cord enables the flagellant to reach the macerated portion of his back.
>
> He submits himself to an "executioner" known as *verdugo* or *mananatak* for incision or maceration. The latter uses a ladle-shaped instrument (*resiton*) which consists of broken pieces of glass embedded on one face in rows.
>
> Four spats or hits with the *resiton* normally produce the desired incision from which blood oozes. The *verdugo* receives ten centavos from each flagellant, using the money to purchase candles to be lighted at the chapel (*bisita*) for the performers.
>
> Having received his incisions, a flagellant begins his ritual, swinging his flagellum left and right, always hitting the incisions. As he passes a house or chapel where the *pasion* is being chanted, he makes a sign of the cross on the ground and drops heavily upon it and lies down prostrate and arms stretched while his fingers imitate the common gesture of Christ.

It is interesting to note that not a single vow of the 30 case studies recorded by Evangelista was a result of repentance for sin or sins. None of the flagellants approached his parish priest for the purpose of securing advice involving the vow of a flagellant.

Instead, this local religious practice appears mostly to be nothing but a fulfillment of a personal promise made during a life crisis in return for a divine favor; a recognition of a debt and its promised payment. This interpretation reflects an aspect of a wider, more complicated Filipino concept of *utang na loob* which broadly means "debt of gratitude" or "debt of obligation"—a system of reciprocal obligations accompanied by an ideal behavior. Strictly speaking, fulfilling the requirements of a vow is a form of repayment, incomplete it may be, from a subordinate (flagellant) to a superordinate (God). As long as the former carries out his expected duties which he himself voluntarily promised, he is free from wrath in the form of sickness, accidents, and so forth.

The fiesta is another pan-regional Filipino celebration with religious overtones. Because this complex is so popular and familiar to everyone, I shall not discuss it here, except to point out that the fiesta is dedicated to

the patron saint of any town, barrio, or a particular street as this is done in Manila. The activities clustering around the fiesta are more social than religious.

Comments

From our description of the various rural and urban rituals associated with the Catholic faith, we have noted that central to the lifeways of the people is the belief that any man (a farmer or employee) to be successful he must square accounts with the spirits or saints by performing the necessary rites and ceremonies. This in effect reflects the concept underlying the people's world-view: that the individual being is but a small part of a wider natural-social universe inhabited largely by spirits and saints, and the social prescription for individual human action is felt to come from metaphysical demands. The pattern of social life is fixed because it is part of the general order of the universe, and even if this is hardly understood and viewed as mysterious, it is nevertheless accepted as invariant and regular. To be human is, in the final analysis, to act, talk, and think the way the people in the barrio do; to follow the precise system of social and linguistic behavior which emphasizes the man-and-spirit cooperative relationship: that is, the observance of moral obligations, respect for elders and superiors, emotional resting the order of things: one supernatural and the other human. These two poles of conceptual reference to doing things are merged in the faith the people have in their rituals. As long as one performs the rites in their primary form and as prescribed for the chosen activity, he is sure of achieving his desired goal.

Looking at the religious rituals in the Philippines from within their cultural context, they may be described as a psychological construct which underlie the emotional behavior of the people. They make possible the psychical capacity of an individual imaginatively to take situations external to himself into his private experience in such a way that self-assurance is achieved. Without these religious rites, unsanctioned by the church as they may be, the capacity of the people to have an awareness of their limitation and an understanding of the "whys" of society would scarcely develop. For the rural folks, the rituals and the basic beliefs surrounding them not only draw together all the separate strands of traditional practices and lore, but they also provide the outline upon which the people themselves may acquire a clear picture of the way their activities blend with local concepts, and an example of the manner in which the practice rites strengthen the central values of their lives.

THE COLORUM UPRISINGS: 1924—1931

MILAGROS C. GUERRERO

OF CERTAIN ASPECTS OF THE AMERICAN REGIME THAT have suffered from the distortions of hysteria and indifference, perhaps none has been treated worse than those years when the Colorums staged their abortive uprisings. While the newspapers which covered the uprisings painted the Colorums as gullible ignoramuses, others have regarded them as "reds" and subversives. Failure to look into the causes of the movement and the uprisings has further bemuddled the history of the Colorums. Yet it is quite wrong to dismiss the Colorums as ignorant individuals easily given to violence, or to consider the Colorum uprisings as nothing but a "hash of religion, politics and fanaticism."

The origin of the term *colorum* and the Colorum movement is traced to the Spanish regime when, in 1843, Apolinario de la Cruz, founded the *Cofradia de San Jose* in the province of Tayabas (now Quezon).[1] De la Cruz was a former donné of the Dominican-operated San Juan de Dios Hospital in Manila. His association with the friars must have inspired him to enter the priesthood, to become a Dominican friar. Characteristic prejudice toward Filipinos, however, closed the doors of the Dominican convent to him. Unable to join a legitimate religious order, de la Cruz decided to organize one of his own. He found a following among Filipinos who wanted to go back to the old religion as well as among those discontented with the Spanish rule. The confraternity copied the liturgy of the Catholic Church, meeting frequently in the caves on Mount Banahaw, Laguna. Atavism found its fulfillment in the inclusion of one native folk-belief in the society's tenets: all members of the cofradia were immune from danger if they wore *anting-antings* or talismans and should they face persecution, they would be aided by direct intervention of heaven. Eventually the movement came to be known as *colorum,* derived from their mispronunciation of *saecula saeculorom,* an ejaculation with which many Latin prayers end.[2] De la Cruz attempted to legalize the existence of the organization but was refused by the Spanish authorities. The latter, believing that the cofradia was in reality a political organization, using religion merely as a blind, inaugurated a policy of per-

[1] Report of Juan Manuel de la Matta, February 24, 1843, in Emma Blair and James A. Robertson, *The Philippine Islands* (Cleveland, Ohio: Arthur Clark and Co. 1903-1908), Vol. 52, p. 92.

[2] From the Latin *per omnia saecula saeculorum* (World without end). At present, the term *colorum* is used to signify any unlicensed property, particularly firearms.

secution, thus driving the members of the society to the mountains. Spanish contempt and fear of the organization drove the members to insurrection, which was, however, easily quelled.[3]

The Colorums seemed to have weathered Spanish repression for during the early years of American rule, they were found to be holding out in Mt. San Cristobal. Pilgrims continued to visit the place and paid large fees to persuade "Amang Dios" to talk to them.[4]

More Colorum organizations were established during the American regime: in Nueva Ecija, Rizal, Tarlac, La Union, Batangas and Surigao. There is no evidence that these Colorum societies were related to one another, either in ideology, leadership or organizational structure. Beliefs and practices in fact varied and depended upon the imagination of the leaders. They, however, share one common characteristic: membership was almost always confined to the peasantry and the urban proletariat.

In Tarlac, the Colorums believed in a resurrected Jose Rizal and Felipe Salvador, the latter being notorious for his brigandage during the early part of American rule.[5] They believed that their bodies could not be hurt by bullets. The Colorums of Manila, on the other hand, made a pilgrimage each year from Pagsanjan, Laguna and Lipa, Batangas to Mount San Cristobal in Laguna. The pilgrims then listened to the sermons of a "living Christ" or "Amang Dios" in a cave in the mountain.[6]

The same fanatic fervor dominated the Colorums of Surigao who organized themselves as devotees of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and the Immaculate Heart of Mary. Jose Rizal, who was believed to have been resurrected, was venerated as a god who would later on rule the Philippines. Under his rule, the property of those who refused to join the society would be confiscated and distributed among the Colorums. The members were assured that in case of an uprising, the guns of their enemy would not fire toward them; or that in case the enemy's guns did fire, the Colorums would not be wounded. If by accident, any of them were hit or died, he would revive or resurrect within five days.[7]

Assured thus, the Colorums increased in number in Surigao, and spread to Agusan, Cotabato, Samar and Leyte.[8] During the years 1923 and 1924 the Colorums of Surigao rose up in arms. The enemy, like the later Tayug uprising, was the Philippine Constabulary. On December 27, 1923, five constabulary soldiers on patrol in Bucas Island, off Surigao were murdered by the Colorums. A little more than a week later (January 8) they sur-

[3] Report of Juan Manuel de la Matta, *op. cit.*, p. 93.
[4] Dean C. Worcester, *The Philippines, Past and Present* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1914), Vol. II, p. 944.
[5] Serafin E. Macaraig, *Social Problems* (Manila, 1929), p. 410.
[6] *Manila Times,* January 13, 1924.
[7] Macaraig, *op. cit.*
[8] *Manila Times,* January 20, 1924.

prised a constabulary detachment which attempted to land in a barrio of Surigao, and killed the provincial commander and 12 enlisted men.[9]

These daring attacks on the Constabulary provoked drastic government measures to suppress "the religious fanatics and recalcitrant taxpayers."[10] An expeditionary force was sent to Mindanao to suppress Colorum activities and to check its growth. Attempts to do so literally stirred up a hornet's nest in the south. At first, the Colorums rose in Surigao but soon the rebel territory included "Colorum towns" in Samar, Leyte and Agusan.[11] Colonel H. Bowers, head of the expeditionary force, ordered the burning of Socorro town, the center of the rebellion. Farmers who were not involved in the uprising escaped to safer towns. A later attempt on the part of Senator Jose Clarin to investigate the incident did not materialize when Bowers sent word that the burning of the town was essential for the future safety of his forces.[12] The Constabulary allowed the corpses of the Colorums to rot on the spot where they fell, the better to prove to all and sundry that the Colorums did not have supernatural powers to resuscitate themselves.[13] The purpose of the Constabulary was now clear: to avenge themselves in a relentless campaign against the rebels.

Governor Leonard Wood's office sought to discourage the illegal movement by ordering all pictures of Filipino heroes removed from all public schools in Mindanao. Wood's executive staff, when confronted by protestations of Camilo Osias, then president of the National University, reasoned out that the measure was aimed at allaying the "strong racial feeling existing between the Moros and the Filipinos." "National heroes of the Filipinos, while worthy and patriotic men cannot be held in the same esteem by the Moros."[14] One other reason for this order was to discourage recalcitrant elements from taking a more active stand against the Constabulary, considering that the Colorums were not Muslims and one of their gods was Rizal. But Father Xavier A. Byrne, S. J., rector of the Ateneo de Manila, who perhaps feared that the uprising might have an untoward effect on the peaceful Catholic population, hastened to say in a press release that the Colorums were not Catholics.[15] The American-owned *Manila Times* regarded the Colorum uprising, while purely endemic and "will be quelled by a necessary but proper display of force, . . . [as] symptomatic of what might happen everywhere in the Islands should independence come." The newspaper editorialized:

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[9] Philippine Islands, Office of the Governor-General, *Annual Report, 1924* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1926), p. 51.

[10] Philippine Islands, Office of the Governor-General, *Annual Report, 1923* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1925), p. 82.

[11] *Manila Times,* January 20, 1924; February 8, 1924.

[12] *Ibid.,* January 27, 1924.

[13] *Ibid.,* February 3, 1924.

[14] *Ibid.,* January 22, 1924.

[15] *Ibid.,* February 19, 1924.

> Throughout the Philippines there are large groups of uneducated and easily influenced people who would without question become the instruments through which contending political factions would try to achieve their ends. Judging from ease with which the colorum fanatics apparently aroused them into hostile action, there would be plenty of trouble and plenty of fighting were the restraining influence of America removed.[16]

Civil war once independence is granted! The editorial was a reflection of Governor Wood's attitude toward the capacity of the Filipinos for self-government and an indication that the Republican administration was not willing to give due concessions to Filipino agitation for independence.

It was not until October that the situation was brought under control. In the different engagements that took place between January and October, 1924, about 100 Colorums were put to the sword, 500 surrendered and the rest were dispersed. The leaders of the movement were brought before the courts and sentenced to long prison terms for sedition.[17]

After the Colorum uprising of 1924, the society and its activities were to receive only curt mention from the newspapers. The government authorities did not particularly feel obliged to look into the root cause of the uprising, content with dismissing it as a "mere fanatical movement of a religious nature." The Philippine Constabulary, on the other hand, viewed the uprising as one that could always be "quelled by a necessary but proper display of force." When another Colorum uprising took place, the Constabulary was again taken by surprise.

In 1931, the Colorums were again active. This time the hotbed of unrest was Pangasinan.

The acknowledged founder of the Colorum movement in Pangasinan was Pedro Calosa, then a 34-year old farmer from the barrio of Magallanes, Tayug, Pangasinan. Calosa was typical of the Ilocanos of his time. He was born in Bawang, La Union, but at 17, he migrated with his parents to Tayug. He worked for sometime as a magician in an itinerant circus troupe but later went to Hawaii, where he stayed for 11 years. Calosa was involved in a labor dispute there and was imprisoned for nine months. Upon his return, he founded a Colorum society in Tayug. The Philippine Constabulary which got wind of the existence of the secret society as early as the date of its founding failed, however, to pinpoint his actual responsibility for founding the society.[18] Calosa maintained that he was only titular head, not founder, appointed by "Lagondindino Rizal, Abelardo Bonifacio, Artemio Ricarte Bi-

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[16] *Ibid.*, January 27, 1924.

[17] Philippine Islands, Office of the Governor-General, *Annual Report, 1924* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1926), p. 51.

[18] Biographical information on Pedro Calosa can be gleaned from an affidavit presented in Criminal Case No. 11885, Pangasinan Court of First Instance, cited in Cynthia B. Urgena, *The Colorum Uprising of Pangasinan* (University of the Philippines, 1960), M. A. thesis, pp. 14-20.

bora, Mateo Careon, Agaton Punzalan and Mrs. Aurora A. Quezon."[19] He took upon himself the leadership of the organization not so much for personal motives but for the "sake of the poor." Twenty-seven years later, when Calosa had become a charcoal dealer living in the foothills of Tayug, he would still harp on the same idea, that the Colorum organization was founded to secure social justice. "We tenants till the soil for rich people but they give us very little for our subsistence."[20]

At various times the Colorum society in Pangasinan operated under two different names. In April, 1930, when the society was organized, it was called *Sociedad ti Mannalon* (Society of Land Tenants), an association for mutual help, particularly for raising stocks and herds.[21] It was also known as *Sinarauay*, a mutual cooperation society for the improvement of barrio conditions.[22] Pedro Calosa and his lieutenants found ready adherents among the ignorant, oppressed peasants of Tayug, Sta. Maria, San Nicolas, and San Quintin.

The secrecy with which the society was organized lent mystery to it, rendering it more attractive to the simple barrio folk. Membership was graded—from corporal to general. Calosa himself was *Primero General.* It had a flag of its own—a Filipino flag with suns taking the place of the stars. The flag bore the words: *Bato a poon ti laoag. Bato a poro. Panagoayaoaya ti Eglesia Filipina Endipindiente* (Stone is the foundation of light. Pure stone. For the liberty of the Philippine Independent Church).[23] Benigno Ramos, founder of Sakdalism and editor of its paper *Sakdal* pointed out that the flag symbolized the aspirations of the simple folk: complete independence from the United States.[24] The Colorums talked incessantly about *libertad* and Philippine independence. The more avid and devoted Colorums wore their uniforms even in public, rakish and gaudy white shirts and trousers with red sashes across the front which bore the inscription "We want the Filipino flag to flay [*sic*] along." To complete their paraphernalia, they wore embroidered *anting-antings,* talismans which they believe gave them extraordinary strength and unusual courage to fight their enemies.[25]

In January, 1931, they seemed ready to launch a program that would achieve these goals. Rumors were rife that the Colorums, in collusion with some municipal officials of Tayug, would take over the town. This was ex-

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[19] *Ibid.*, Appendix A.

[20] Conrado B. Mendoza, "Ex-Colorum Becomes Charcoal Dealer," *Philippines Free Press* (September 20, 1958), p. 46.

[21] Urgena, *op. cit.*, p. 26. [*Mannalon* < Ilоko: *Talon,* "farm." Mannalon would mean "he who works in the farm," hence "farmer." Ed.]

[22] *The Tribune,* January 20, 1931.

[23] A. V. H. Hartendorp, "The Tayug 'Colorum'," *Philippine Magazine,* Vol. 27, No. 9 (February, 1931), p. 565.

[24] *Sakdal,* January 17, 1931, p. 1.

[25] A. V. H. Hartendorp, *op. cit.*, p. 563.

pected to be the spark that would kindle a peasant revolution all over Central Luzon.

Late in the evening of Sunday, January 11, 1931, a band of around 70 Colorums assembled by the roadside in San Nicolas, Pangasinan. All of them carried knives and bolos although some were armed with guns. Five kilometers away, the prosperous town of Tayug slept on. The group, taking advantage of the darkness, covered the distance between San Nicolas and Tayug by walking part of the way and later, by commandeering a truck of the Pangasinan Transportation Company (Pantranco).[26] Arriving at Bitong Creek which bounds the town on the north, the truck stopped, the men got off, leaving the 14 women behind.[27]

Shortly after two o'clock, the Colorums broke into the tiny barracks of the Philippine Constabulary in the heart of the town. The soldiers were not at all prepared to offer any defense of the barracks.[28] Lt. Sulpicio Bachinni, one of the officers-in-command in the barracks gave a pistol to his wife and sent her and their three children out of the house. In the meantime, one of the soldiers warned Lt. Martin San Pedro at the latter's quarters. But the Colorums had already swept through the barracks, killing three who crossed their path, including Bachinni and San Pedro, each of them receiving more than 35 wounds from the bolos of the attackers. The Constabulary was routed completely.

Flushed by their victory in the first skirmish, the Colorums set the barracks on fire. They continued marching, now rejoined by the women, to the center of the town. The municipal building was empty and they entered without opposition. They battered down the municipal treasury, brought out to the plaza bundles of documents, and lit them into a huge bonfire.[29] Almost simultaneously they burned the post office, a score of residences and a warehouse. The municipal president, the chief of police and the entire police force did not rally for a common defense of the town. They disappeared with the first alarm. They showed up a day later.

At dawn, a Constabulary detachment arrived in a Pantranco bus. The Colorums were still in the municipal building, ransacking the records of the Treasury office for "records of their taxes, slavery and oppression." The two parties exchanged fire which kept until 9 o'clock in the morning when the Colorums abandoned the Presidencia and rushed across the plaza to the convent. Inside they ordered Father Eusebio Bermudez to celebrate Mass and later demanded that they be served coffee.[30]

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[26] *The Independent,* January 1, 1931.

[27] *Ibid.*

[28] *The Tribune,* January 28, 1931.

[29] *Sakdal,* January 17, 1931, p. 1.

[30] Speaker Manuel Roxas, passing the town in his campaign tour of Luzon, was reportedly an "interested spectator" at this stage of the skirmish. *The Sunday Tribune,* January 18, 1931.

Reinforcements came from Constabulary units in San Quintin and Tarlac. The troops converged at Tayug at 4 o'clock and at a signal, the advance on the convent began. It was at this juncture that the fortune of battle turned against the Colorums. Their one disadvantage was their lack of familiarity with rifles. They fired desultorily and when the magazines were empty, they threw away their guns. As the two groups exchanged fire, the shots were accompanied by a pandemonium of whistles which the Colorums had apparently brought with them.[31] The attack on the convent lasted nearly three hours. Three constabulary men were wounded in the rush across the plaza. In the afternoon the soldiers rammed open the convent door. Minutes later, a white flag appeared on the convent wall.

At 6 o'clock, the Colorums that remained, 13 women and 31 men, surrendered. Their standard bearer, daughter of their "colonel' Arcadio Vidal, was killed. The father himself died of his wounds several days later. Five others were killed. Two girls, both high school students, were wounded. The rest of the group escaped through the convent rear.[32] Pedro Calosa, succeeded in escaping the clutches of the Constabulary and was captured days later in his home in San Patricio.

The uprising, if it deserves such a name, lasted for less than a day. Investigations made after the event revealed that 38 houses were burned by the Colorums during the hours on Sunday morning when they had full control of the town, with losses amounting to ₱47,180.00. This would exclude the damage sustained by the municipal building, the post office and the Constabulary barracks.[33] Most of the burned houses were owned by the municipal officials and prominent residents of the town. So great must have been the fear of the Tayug residents that nearly 90 per cent of them went on a mass exodus to neighboring towns at the crack of the first shot. It had so reduced the wretched municipal mayor to such a state of terror that he fled from the town, Paul Revere style, incompletely attired. The Chinese merchants, after barricading their shops, also fled from the town when the firing began.[34]

Governor Bernabe Aquino, on the other hand, thinking that the Constabulary soldiers were too few to handle the situation, requested the Philippine division of the United States Army then engaged in maneuvers in the province, to intervene in the Tayug trouble,[35] for which action he was severely criticized in the editorials of the metropolitan papers. Easily frightened barrio officials in the surrounding towns began to see blood thirsty Colorums in every peasant and field hand they met, keeping the Constabulary in the province on their toes for days after the uprising. A week after the incident,

[31] *The Independent,* January 17, 1931.
[32] *The Sunday Tribune,* January 18, 1931.
[33] *The Tribune,* January 15, 1931.
[34] *Ibid.*
[35] *Ibid.,* January 16, 1931.

soldiers from Bayambang Constabulary headquarters rushed to the town after a rush call had been received that peasants and students from Bayambang High School were preparing to attack the town. It turned out that the people were preparing for a garden festival in the plaza.[36]

The uprising dominated the national scene for days. Labor strikes which had reached serious proportions in the sugar centrals of Occidental Negros, Oriental Negros and Binalbagan, Iloilo, which the authorities believed were caused by "Red agitators," were momentarily forgotten.[37] More soldiers were stationed in barrios of Pangasinan, Tarlac and Nueva Ecija suspected to be infested by Colorums. General C. E. Nathorst prescribed the immediate investigation of all officials of the barrios of San Nicolas, San Rafael, Santa Maria and Natividad. Because of the latter's failure to detect the existence of a dangerous Colorum organization in Pangasinan, the Constabulary chief concluded that municipal officials were protecting the Colorums.[38]

The Constabulary was also quick to link the uprising to Communism, albeit a new idea in the Philippines at the time. A certain Agaton Abian, suspected as a "Red agent on the payroll of the Soviet Government" was pinpointed as the "brains" of the Colorum incident. A few days before the uprising, Abian was reportedly seen in the towns of Pangasinan where he was said to have delivered fiery and incendiary speeches. Abian and his driver were arrested, put under heavy guard and held incommunicado for two days. Further inquiry showed that the Constabulary were on the track of a witch hunt, which they probably were not aware of at the time, for Abian was a mere agent for an American packing company who had returned from the United States after thirteen years to look for his wife whom he married in Tayug 18 years earlier.[39]

The Constabulary believed that there were more than 100 Colorums who participated in the affair, but official reports placed the total at 70.[40] Of the 70, however, only 20 were arrested against whom complaints of murder and sedition were filed by Fiscal Pio Fajardo in the Court of First Instance of Pangasinan.[41] The Colorums impressed Secretary of Interior Honorio Ventura as "timid, harmless-looking people, with the semblance of ignorance in their appearance," with the exception of one "who, supposed to be one of their recognized leaders, looks like a bandit."[42]

The prisoners testified during the preliminary hearings that the uprising was purely endemic, uninfluenced by extraneous elements, the attack

[36] *Ibid.*, January 17, 1931.
[37] *Ibid.*, January 16, 1931; January 28, 1931.
[38] *Ibid.*, January 16, 1931.
[39] *Ibid.*, January 17, 1931.
[40] Report of the Secretary of Interior, March 21, 1931 in Philippine Islands, Office of the Governor General, *Annual Report, 1931* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1932), p. 89.
[41] Urgena, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
[42] *The Tribune*, January 17, 1931.

having been made with the purpose of overthrowing the municipal government of Tayug. They gave as reasons the abuses committed by the town officials, particularly the municipal president, the treasurer, the justice of the peace and the Constabulary soldiers. They also maintained that they fought the Constabulary soldiers to secure liberty for the country, bring about equal division of lands and the recognition of the Philippine Independent Church as the supreme religious church in the country.[43] Calosa, the rebel leader was, however, silent on the reasons for founding the society and launching the uprising during the trial. But in an interview with Cynthia Urgena on April 25, 1958, he shed light on factors that led to his active participation in the uprising. He said:

> If trouble arises through misunderstanding between [the landlords and tenants] the tenant is betrayed and brought to court. Yet the government authorities need one or two persons to defend him when there are officials of the government whose duty is to look into the welfare of those who are harmed. Instead they employ ruses by which the victim will spend much to settle the case. I consider myself an example because at present I am a victim of land trouble. The Court of First Instance has issued a complete document recognizing my ownership to a piece of land. Why was not my land measured? And what is the authority of the two lawyers to have the land title cancelled at the office of the Provincial Assessor? I brought the case to the Provincial Fiscal, yet I was not seen nor heard, because I was a nobody. This is the problem between the tenants and the landlords.[44]

In the trial that followed, all defendants with the exception of three Colorums (two of them being minors) were found guilty. They were sentenced to imprisonment, ranging from 14 to 40 years and required to indemnify the heirs of the deceased soldiers. Pedro Calosa and Cesareo Abe, the leaders of the group, were sentenced to imprisonment for a maximum period of 40 years (*cadena perpetua*). While the authorities had made much talk about the seditious character of the uprising, the court could only prosecute them for murder as it could not establish beyond reasonable doubt that the Colorums were indeed guilty of sedition and treachery.[45] Their ignorance and poverty were held as mitigating circumstances without which they would have received stiffer penalties.

Official reaction toward the Colorum uprising saw very little (or none at all) political significance in the actions of the rebels. Sympathy and commiseration for their plight was not even conceded. Undersecretary of Agriculture and Natural Resources Jorge Vargas, who went to Tayug to look into the agrarian aspect of the affair, reported that it "was not inspired by vengeance growing out of agrarian disputes between tenants and landlords but was a result of blind obedience on the part of ignorant individuals to two

[43] *Ibid.*, January 14, 1931.
[44] Urgena, *op. cit.*, Appendix A.
[45] *Ibid.*, pp. 73-74.

colorum leaders of a secret society professing patriotic purposes."[46] Ignorance and poverty were regarded as crimes. In the official report of Secretary of Interior Honorio Ventura, he pointed out that the action of the Colorums "can be attributed to the ignorance that prevails among them. These ignorant people exploited by unscrupulous people like Calosa can be led to the wildest excesses. The spirit behind their movement is a hash of religion, politics, fanaticism and a little of everything else that can serve to inflame them."[47] Acting Senate President Sergio Osmeña believed that the Colorum uprising was motivated by reasons other than religious fanaticism but declined to elaborate.[48] Manuel Roxas, Speaker of the Philippine Assembly and president of the *Bagong Katipunan,* opined that the movement was purely fanatical[49] even as prominent Americans in the country, particularly Jacob Rosenthal, criticized his *Bagong Katipunan* as a piece of patriotic fanaticism whose aims, if realized, would also result in consequences as disastrous as the Colorum uprising in Tayug.[50]

Press opinion seemed to be cast in the same mould. There was agreement with Secretary Ventura's report that the Tayug uprising was purely a local affair, as all other Colorum uprisings that preceded it, the Colorum organization being "a fanatical sect which has branches all over the archipelago." The Tayug affair was blamed on the inability of the municipal police and the Philippine Constabulary, "a bunch of nearly useless peace officers," to quash the Colorums before the latter could launch the uprising.[51] The Colorums were compared to the *peons,* "a shiftless and inflammable class responsible for confusion and disorder" in Latin-America.[52]

Mauro Mendez, editor of *The Tribune,* echoed the age-old *cacique* rationale for agrarian uprising. The Colorums' pernicious desire for "equal distribution of land" was "an indication that the tenant farmers have an erroneous idea about property rights. It would appear, to the farmer, that because they do the physical work in the whole process of planting and harvesting the crop, they are entitled to claim an equal share of the acreage they have been tilling for years." "It is a sad commentary on the character of our farming class" who lacked "the decision to go elsewhere to be free from landlordism."[53]

A number of enlightened journalists and government officials took exception from this popular opinion. Federico Mangahas, one of the eminent writers of the 1930's wrote in baffled petulance:

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[46] *The Tribune,* January 22, 1931.
[47] *Ibid.,* January 15, 1931.
[48] *Ibid.*
[49] *Ibid.*
[50] Jacob Rocenthal to Manuel L. Quezon, January 19, 1931, in *Quezon Papers,* Bureau of Public Libraries.
[51] *The Tribune,* January 16, 1931.
[52] *The Philippines Herald,* January 17, 1931.
[53] *The Tribune,* January 15, 1931.

> Those simple folk of Tayug who took it upon themselves to establish the millenium by erasing two [*sic*] Constabulary officers for a start must naturally be wrong, and the reason pure and simple is that they are poor.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> In the first expression of public revulsion, at their sanguinary adventure . . . the unanimous cry was for their blood in instant payment. This was articulated through outraged, comfortable writers. It has not developed as an afterthought detail to suggest that perhaps there ought to be some investigation of a sort.[54]

General Emilio Aguinaldo noted that the abuses and cruelty of the Philippine Constabulary, which were in fact "comparable to the excesses of the *Guardia Civil,*" contributed in no small measure to the Colorum uprising.[55] His statement may have been inspired by the testimony of a woman Colorum who, upon her arrest, wailed: "We don't want policemen or the Constabulary. We cannot endure what they are doing to us any longer. They took my boy away from the barrio and locked him up for no cause at all. Then they beat him. We cannot forget that."[56] Apparently alone among government officials, Tomas Confesor, Director of the Bureau of Commerce and Industry, stated explicitly that "the immense majority of [the Colorums] are in reality nothing but discontented tenants who have been mercilessly exploited and who seek revenge through acts of violence."[57]

The *Philippines Free Press,* even then already noted for its crusading spirit for, and interest in the welfare of, the oppressed masses, exposed the fact that most of the Colorums had been ejected from haciendas or deprived of what they believed to be their lawful lands by the courts and the Constabulary.[58] The Bureau of Lands was criticized for its inability to settle land disputes as they should be settled. As a result, many farmers were dispossessed of everything through "fabricated testimony and combinations between official investigators of the Bureau of Lands and the land-grabbers." It is interesting to note that as of the census year, 1918, there were 3,372 farms of which 635 farms have torrens titles.[59] Of the total population of Pangasinan, 36,021 were tenants[60] receiving an average daily wage of ₱0.75. An objective inquiry into the incident, which the authorities did not make, would in fact tend to confirm the conclusion that there was no way of accommodating to the *caciques* short of slavery. The administrators of the *haciendas* in Pangasinan observed practices whose origins can be traced back to the obnoxious *encomienda* system. If a tenant were to pay 17 cavans as rent to

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[54] *Ibid.*

[55] *The Tribune,* January 17, 1931.

[56] *The Tribune,* January 16, 1931.

[57] *The Philippines Free Press,* Vol. 25, No. 3 (January 24, 1931), p. 30.

[58] *Ibid.,* p. 32.

[59] Philippine Islands, Bureau of Census, *Census of the Philippines, 1918,* Vol 3 (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1919), p. 220.

[60] *Ibid.,* p. 81.

the *hacendero,* the rent was upped to 21 cavans.[61] The landlords were also at liberty to get foodstuffs from the tenant and exact personal services from them.

The *Philippines Free Press* did not believe that meting out stiff penalties to the Colorums was enough to solve the problem in Tayug. It called for legislation to improve the conditions among the peasantry. It pointed out that there is no class distinction in the eyes of justice.

> But what about the avaricious landowner, the brutal *cacique,* the oppressive usurer, in short the proponents of the *kasama* system? Who are in reality to blame for the outbreak? Their rapacious greed for huge profits, their utter disregard of the tenants, led to the Tayug uprising. What will happen to them?[62]

In a vein reminiscent of Sinibaldo de Mas' recommendations to the King of Spain after he had made a brief inquiry into the conditions obtaining in colonial Philippines, the magazine editorial warned that he who makes evolution impossible makes revolution inevitable:

> Three courses seem open: (1) Those enforcing the *kasama* system may voluntarily relax their stranglehold enough to allow the tenants to live, rather than merely exist. (2) The government may awaken from its lethargy long enough to secure justice for the down-trodden, abused tenant, who after all forms the backbone of the country. (3) The first two courses failing, the peasant may finally rise in all his might and seize by force those necessities which had been denied [him].[63]

But Manuel L. Quezon, president of the Senate and highest Filipino official, whose opinion and reaction to Philippine affairs were much sought after, was not available for comment. He was at the time of the uprising confined at the Monrovia Sanatorium, California for tuberculosis. In the first press conference which he held with foreign correspondents upon his return home, however, he discussed the Colorum uprising, the upsurge of proletarian organizations as well as the question of independence. He said:

> There is no cause for, nor intention on the part of, the people of the Philippines to rebel against the United States. The Philippine government with the Constabulary and the local police can adequately cope with the situation and maintain public order. There is a feeling of discontent due to the economic depression which is taken advantage of by some demagogues and communists who spread subversive doctrines against the peace and order to gain popularity or money, or both.[64]

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[61] F. Sionil Jose, "Agrarian Unrest in Luzon," *Sunday Times Magazine,* Vol. 13, No. 14 (November 17, 1957), p. 26.

[62] *Philippines Free Press,* Vol. 25, No. 3 (January 24, 1931), p. 30.

[63] *Ibid.*

[64] Manuel Luis Quezon, Press Conference, December 13, 1931, in *Quezon Papers,* Bureau of Public Libraries.

Quezon's view of the uprising was criticized by Crisanto Evangelista, president of the *Congreso Obrero Proletario* and a host of labor organizations.[65] In a letter dated December 14, 1931, he said:

> If you continue in your way of reactionary reasoning and demagogy, we are sure you are the one who will precipitate the social unheaval and consequently, you are digging the grave of your capitalist-imperialist regime, for it will force sudden change in the social relationship.
>
> The fault, therefore, is not ours, whom you are calling "ignorant mass or class" and whom you said are misled by "agitators who are living by becoming agitators." We remind you that we are living in the twentieth century. We cannot go back to the middle ages. . . . We can no longer endure the use of inquisition nor can we compel the peasants to become mere serfs of their feudal landlords, and the workers to live as mere beasts or robots. These are simply out of the question![66]

He further pointed out that it did not seem reasonable that the Tayug peasants could become agitated to such a point without valid cause. Indeed, it is easy for the undiscerning and uncritical observer, even 40 years or so after the Surigao uprisings and the Tayug incident to blame them on fanaticism, ignorance or Red agitation. This is not the intention here: the simplicity of the peasants' orientation certainly do not bear sole responsibility for the Colorum uprisings. Although we must acknowledge the role played by these factors, they would have remained inoperative but for more valid reason that would induce the peasants to violence. A decent familiarity with Philippine history will show that peasant uprisings, whether small or large-scale, were staged in response to intolerable conditions of land tenure, excessive taxation, usurious money lending and general misery in the rural areas. Thus in the 1930's peasant rebellions were endemic as they were during the Spanish regime when conditions were equally intolerable. The Colorum uprisings were but the beginning.

It was in realization of the conditions obtaining among the masses that Quezon redeemed an earlier *faux pas* by issuing a statement recognizing the plight of the peasants and the urban workers (obreros de la ciudad). For the first time, he enunciated the idea of social justice: *La base duradera del orden es la justicia social, no la fuerza del Gobierno.*[67] When he run for the presidency in 1934, his program of social justice no doubt earned many votes from the masses. It was a program he never had the chance to implement. The Sakdals rose even before an efficient machinery to implement social justice was discovered.

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[65] Labor Organizations and Mutual Benefit Societies in Manila, 1931, in *Quezon Papers,* Bureau of Public Libraries.

[66] Crisanto Evangelista to Manuel L. Quezon, December 14, 1931, in *Quezon Papers,* Bureau of Public Libraries.

[67] Manuel L. Quezon, "El Gobierno es fuerte y el pueblo Filipino pacifico," December 1931, in *Quezon Papers,* Bureau of Public Libraries.

In conclusion, the Colorum uprisings, particularly the Tayug affair, suggest a few significant generalizations. The Colorum movement, being politically unsophisticated, failed to sensitize the people to a new spectrum of possible identities and purposes. Moreover, as borne out by the general apathy of the government and the condemnation it received from the public officials, the uprisings did not have any significant political effects, especially in the form of much-expected socio-economic reform. That there is a direct relationship between the Colorum movement and the later Sakdal, Tangulan and other peasant movements must be acknowledged. The emergence of a politically sophisticated Sakdal Party may well owe its establishment to a recognition of the simplicity, defects and relevance of the Colorum movem

POLITICAL HISTORY, AUTONOMY, AND CHANGE: THE CASE OF THE BARRIO CHARTER[1]

MARIO D. ZAMORA

ONE CAN BETTER UNDERSTAND THE HISTORY OF REPUBLIC Acts 1408 and 2370 and the present Barrio Council by examining its historical antecedents.[2] This paper outlines the major characteristics of local government during the pre-Hispanic, Spanish, and American periods as related to the creation in 1956 of the elective Philippine Barrio Council. A glance at the past partly explains some distinctive features of the present Council. The latter part of the paper traces the origin of rural councils to their present form as prescribed by Republic Act 1408 and as amended by Republic Act 2370.[3]

The contemporary Philippine barrio grew out of pre-Hispanic "family villages" called *barangais* or *barangays*. Barangay originally referred to a group of boats and their passengers who migrated to the Philippines. Each boat carried an entire family including relatives, friends, and slaves under the headship of a *datu* or leader. After landing, the group founded a village under its *datu*. Later on, *barangay* came to mean a village constituted by these settlers.

The *datu* (also called *rajah, hadji, sultan, gat* or *lakan*) of the barangay was the village leader by inheritance, wealth and/or physical prowess. He was lawmaker, judge and executive. Usually he was assisted in village administration by a council of elderly men (*maginoo*), mostly chiefs who had

[1] I wish to acknowledge my great indebtedness to the following scholars whose help enabled me to complete this manuscript: Dr. Donn V. Hart (Professor, Syracuse University), who initiated the writer into field research in a Bulacan barrio and helped in the editing and revision of this paper; Mary Hollnsteiner, Adelaida V. Alcantara, Natividad V. Garcia, Prospero Covar, Paula C. Malay, and Aleli Alvarez for all their assistance; Dr. Guadalupe Fores-Ganzon (History), Dr. Pedro L. Baldoria (Political Science), and Dr. Onofre D. Corpuz (Political Science), all of the University of the Philippines, for their constructive comments. The writer, however, is solely responsible for any limitations of the paper.

[2] This paper drew heavily from John H. Romani and M. Ladd Thomas, *A Survey of Local Government in the Philippines,* Institute of Public Administration, University of the Philippines (Manila, 1954), Chapter I, pp. 1-14; Graciano Lopez-Jaena, "Brief Description of and General Observation of Local Government in the Philippines" *Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review,* Vol. 18, No. 2 (June, 1953), pp. 195-214; Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson (ed.), *The Philippine Islands,* etc. The Arthur H. Clark Co. (Cleveland, 1903); and Leslie R. Bundgaard, "Philippine Local Government," *The Journal of Politics,* Vol. 19, No. 2 (May, 1957).

[3] The latest developments on the Barrio Charter (R.A. 3590) are discussed in the postscript of this paper.

retired due to infirmity or old age. One function of the barangay was preservation of peace and mutual protection from hostile inhabitants of other barangays. To this end, there were occasional confederations of barangays, each governed by its own *datu* but under the overall authority of the chief of the largest or most prosperous barangay.

During the early part of the Spanish regime, the barangay organization was retained. The *datu* remained its head but his powers were nominal, restricted by both lay and ecclesiastical authorities. He became largely a figurehead to facilitate the barangay's cooperation with the Spanish administration, especially in tax collection. As Bundgaard writes, the *datus* became tax collectors, "mere executors of Spanish policy."[4] Spanish administrators utilized existing local social institutions for the formation of a highly centralized, autocratic colonial regime. "The *datu* occasionally shared his power with the lesser *datus* . . . but he did not share his power with the people."[5] During the Spanish era the changes made in local government were rarely drastic departures from the pre-Hispanic cast.

However, the Spaniards did make some changes in local government structure. The barangays were consolidated into towns (*pueblos*) that assumed most of the barangay's political functions. Still later, the town was divided, for administrative purposes, into barangays of about 50 to 100 families, each under a chief called *cabeza de barangay* who continued to be the agent of the town authorities. He received no salary but was exempted from paying taxes and could appoint one or two trustworthy assistants. The barangays were no longer composed solely of related families but became artificial units based on geographical location and administrative convenience.[6] The *cabeza de barangay's* main duties were collecting village taxes and maintaining law and order. This was the state of local government prior to the Maura Law of 1893.[7]

Though never implemented, the Maura Law represented Spain's belated attempt to grant Filipinos some semblance of local autonomy. Under the Law, the *cabeza de barangay* was to be given a place on the town's

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[4] Bundgaard, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

[5] *Ibid*

[6] Romani and Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

[7] The Maura Law, May 19, 1893, was named after the Minister of Colonies of Spain, Antonio Maura y Montaner. The purpose of the law was to grant greater local autonomy to the provinces and towns in Luzon and Bisayas. Luzon and the Bisayas were subdivided territorially for administrative purposes. Each province, the largest administrative territorial division under the law, was under the provincial governor, assisted by a provincial council (*junta provincial*). Each province was in turn divided into towns or pueblos. Then towns were subdivided into barangays under *cabezas de barangay*. By a decree of the Spanish Governor-General, the operation of the law was suspended due to a brewing insurrection. See Felix M. Roxas y Fernandez, *Comentarios al Reglamento Provisional para el Regimen y Gobierno de las Juntas Provinciales*, Tipografia y Almacen, 'Amigos del Pais' (Manila, 1894), 204 pp. Cf. Jose P. Laurel, *Local Government in the Philippine Islands*, La Pilarica Press (Manila, 1926).

board of electors composed of members designated by lot by the town *principalia*[8] or prominent town citizens.

This board was to be composed of the outgoing *gobernadorcillo*[9] (little governor), popularly known as *capitan,* six *cabezas* and six ex-*gobernadorcillos* —all chosen by lot.[10] The board was to elect the five members of the municipal council, namely the *capitan* and four liutenants assisting him—the chief lieutenant (*teniente mayor*) and the lieutenants of police, fields, and livestock. The election of the town officials was to be largely controlled by an elite authority. The posts of *capitan* and his assistants were "honorary and gratuitous and . . . obligatory."[11]

Under the proposed Maura Law, the *cabeza de barangay* was to be appointed for three years by the provincial governor from a list of candidates submitted to him by the municipal council and the town board of electors. His qualifications were: (1) a Filipino or a Chinese mestizo (offspring of a Filipino-Chinese marriage); (2) 25 years of age or over; (3) resident for two years in the town (*pueblo*) where he was to exercise his functions; and (4) a good reputation. He could be reelected for an indefinite number of times, receive 50 per cent of taxes collected in his village, and had authority to require the services of one or two persons to help him with his official duties. Though never implemented, the Maura Law laid the foundation for American municipal administration in the Philippines.

In sum, the Spaniards utilized local institutions at the incipient stage of their administration. The barangay structure was retained but the *datus* became mainly tax collectors. Later, the barangays were consolidated into towns. These towns were eventually divided, for administrative convenience, into barangays of about 50 to 100 families, each under a *cabeza de barangay.* The barangay later was called *barrio* (ward or village) and the *cabeza, Teniente del Barrio* (Barrio Lieutenant). As Laurel states, the Spanish administrator "substituted barrios for barangays" and these barrios "served as bases for the formation of . . . new *pueblos.*"[12]

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[8] The native *principalia* was composed of incumbent and ex-*cabezas de barangay.* This body of principal citizens were exempted from paying tribute for their services. The principalia was formally established as a social and political aristocracy in the village by Spanish legislation and native custom. O. D. Corpuz, *The Bureaucracy in the Philippines,* Institute of Public Administration (Manila, 1957), p. 108. Cf. Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.,* V. 17, p. 331.

[9] *Gobernadorcillo* was the representative of the provincial governor in the town, a position today equivalent to the mayor.

[10] Agustin Craig (ed.), *Dr. Feodor Jagor's Travels in the Philippine Islands,* National Book Company (Manila, 1925), pp. 222-223.

[11] Laurel, *op. cit.,* pp. 39, 40.

[12] Laurel, *op. cit.,* pp. 27, 28. Sibley states that the term *barrio* has in the Philippines "a clear, and unvarying legal meaning. It is a political subdivision of a municipality, marked off as a geographical area." Willis E. Sibley, "Manalad, the Maintenance of Unity and Distinctiveness in a Philippine Village," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (University of Chicago, June, 1958), p. 14.

When the United States assumed administration of the Philippines in 1898, slight changes were made in the local government. The towns were renamed municipalities. The barrio continued as a subdivision, with the Barrio Lieutenant as its chief administrative officer.[13] President McKinley's Second Philippine Commission members were "to devote their attention . . . to the establishment of municipal governments in which the natives of the islands, both in the cities and in the rural communities, shall be afforded the opportunity to manage their own local affairs to the fullest extent they are capable."[14]

However, as Bundgaard points out, the Commission finally decided to restrict local autonomy, believing the best method of teaching Filipinos self-government was by American supervision of local political parties. The municipal and provincial codes "were virtually duplications of the Maura Law and the colonial government was given the power to supervise local government and intervene in local affairs. This was the antithesis of the local autonomy which the Americans had wished to introduce" into the Philippines.[15] Though municipal officials made their own decisions concerning local affairs, these decisions were subject to revision or annulment by the central government in Manila.

During the later part of the American period, barrio affairs were administered through a rural council.[16] The rural council was composed of the Barrio Lieutenant and four Councilmen, all appointed, not elected, by the Municipal Council in charge of the barrio. He could suspend or remove rural Councilmen "for cause."[17] The Barrio Lieutenant's main function was to assist the Municipal Councilor assigned to the barrio in the performance of the latter's duties in the community. A Secretary was elected by the rural Councilmen from among themselves to prepare brief minutes of the proceedings and draft the Council's recommendations and suggestions for submission to the Municipal Council. The rural Councilmen were not paid and their terms were fixed in their appointments.

The powers and duties of the rural council were: (1) to represent the barrio or portion of barrio where it was located in cases where such representation was not incompatible with the personality of the Municipal Council; (2) to hold regular monthly sessions; (3) to make its own rules of

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[13] John H. Romani, "The Philippine Barrio," *The Far Eastern Quarterly,* V. 15, No. 2 (1956), pp. 230-231.

[14] *A Compilation of the Acts of the Philippine Commission* (Manila, 1908), pp. 10-11. Cf. Bundgaard, *op. cit.,* p. 265.

[15] Bundgaard, *op. cit.,* pp. 265-266.

[16] Juan F. Rivera, *The Legislative Process of Local Governments* (Diliman, Quezon City, University of the Philippines Press, 1956), p. 128. Act No. 3861 of the Philippine Legislature, November 13, 1931, and later incorporated as Section 2219 1/2 of the Revised Administrative Code of the Philippines.

[17] "For cause" not explained in Section 2219 1/2.

procedure to be approved by the barrio's Municipal Councilor before they took effect; (4) to submit to the Municipal Council through their Councilor suggestions or recommendations for barrio improvements; (5) to provide for the dissemination by the town crier, or any other appropriate means, of new laws and municipal ordinances the Council considered important; (6) to organize, at least three times a year, public lectures on citizenship; and (7) to cooperate with the government for the success of measures of general interest.[18] However, the rural councils were never effective in most parts of the country; they remained largely a "paper organization."

Before World War II, the Barrio Lieutenant was the main representative of the municipal government in the villages. He was appointed by municipal officials, was paid no salary and had no legal authority. His duties were: (1) keeping peace in the barrio; (2) presenting barrio needs and problems to the municipal officials; and (3) informing the barrio folk of municipal rules and ordinances.[19] His effectiveness depended largely on his party affiliation and kinship with key municipal and provincial officials. Of course the personal qualities of the Barrio Lieutenant were also important. Often the real leader of the barrio in local affairs was not appointed Barrio Lieutenant.[20]

With Philippine independence in 1946, "local government was neither sound, active, nor particularly democratic."[21] It was the realization of this fact, coupled with the desire to organize a legal entity at the rural level to centralize community development programs, that led to the creation of the elective Barrio Council in 1956.

BACKGROUND OF REPUBLIC ACTS 1408 AND 2370

This section includes a discussion of the historical antecedents of Republic Acts 1408 (Barrio Council Law) and 2370 (Barrio Charter), the reasons behind the elective Barrio Council concept, a comparison and contrast

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[18] Section 2219 and Section 2219 1/2, *Revised Administrative Code of the Philippines* (Manila, Bureau of Printing, 1951), pp. 917-918.

[19] Robert T. McMillan, "Local Government in the Philippines," *Philippine Sociological Review,* Vol. 2, No. 2 (July, 1954), p. 21.

[20] Who the "real leader" is in the barrio is a moot question. Agaton Pal discusses what he calls "situational leadership"—that is, a leader in one area may not be the leader for another areas because "people perceive competence as a specialized skill, not a general trait." Agaton P. Pal, "Channel of Communication with the Barrio People," *Philippine Journal of Public Administration,* Vol. I, No. 2 (April, 1957), p. 163. For another method of studying leadership, see Willis E. Sibley, "Leadership in a Philippine Barrio," *Philippine Journal of Public Administration,* Vol. I, No. 2 (April, 1957), pp. 154-159.

[21] Bundgaard, *op. cit.,* p. 262.

of laws related to the Council, and a summary examination of some basic concepts of barrio government.[22]

One significant feature of the postwar period is the "discovery" of the barrio. This "mounting interest" in rural life is the result of a number of factors, namely, the general revolution of "rising expectations" occurring in Asia, renewed agrarian and political unrest, the urban population exodus into rural regions during the Japanese regime, experiments in directed change in villages, the influx of foreign ideas of "rural reconstruction" and "community development" and some socio-economic studies undertaken jointly by Philippine and American social scientists.[23]

One study (*The Rivera-McMillan Report*) that discussed conditions in rural areas pointed out that one aspect of barrio life was its almost complete lack of legal self-government. The barrio had no taxing power and government funds were not regularly set aside for local improvements. The villagers could not collect taxes for roads, schools, water supply, police or fire protection. For taxes paid to the municipal treasury, the best the barrio folk could expect to receive was simple medical care by the municipal physician at his poblacion office, periodic visits of the sanitary inspector and a municipal policeman.[24] Puericulture (health) centers extended some assistance to the rural region, particularly in midwifery. Many centers, however, were financed by funds from the government-operated lottery and the midwife spent most of her time treating poblacion residents.

Before Republic Act 1408, many governmental and non-governmental agencies were sponsoring rural improvement programs independently. Governmental units engaged in multi-functional projects, covering all phases of rural life, were the Bureau of Public Schools, the Bureau of Agricultural Extension and the Social Welfare Administration. Other government agencies involved in rural improvement were the Economic Development Corps (EDCOR) of the National Defense Department and the National Rehabilitation and Resettlement Administration (NARRA). In addition, there were

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[22] The legal history of Republic Act 1408 (Barrio Council Law) began November 13, 1931, when the Philippine Legislature passed Act. No. 3861, creating the rural council. Act No. 3861 was later incorporated as Section 2219 ½ of the *Revised Administrative Code of the Philippines,* Senate Bill No. 372, which became Republic Act 1245, June 10, 1955, amended Section 2219½. Finally, Senate Bill No. 383, amending Republic Act 1245, was passed on September 9, 1955, becoming Republic Act 1408. On June 20, 1959, Republic Act 2370 amending Republic Act 1408, was passed. This new law took effect January 1, 1960. R.A. 3590 amended R.A. 2370.

[23] Jose V. Abueva, *Focus on the Barrio,* Institute of Public Administration (Manila, 1959), pp. 11-16.

[24] Generoso F. Rivera and Robert T. McMillan, *The Rural Philippines,* Mutual Security Agency, Office of Information (Manila, October, 1952), p. 157. Cf. Robert T. McMillan, "Governmental Responsibility for Barrio Councils," *Memorandum to Ramon Binamira* (Manila, June 21, 1955), mimeographed, p. 1.

many socio-civic organizations devoted to community development.[25] As a result, there was duplication of functions and services, dissipation of effort, confusion among the barrio folk, organizational friction, and many hindrances in promoting an effective, unified community development program.

To facilitate the coordination of government and non-government rural development agencies, Congress in 1954 established the Community Development Planning Council. In 1956 this Council was replaced (Executive Order No. 156, Sec. 2, January 6, 1956) by the Office of Presidential Assistant on Community Development (PACD). This agency is responsible for integrating "all and each of the departments and offices of the government engaged in community development." An Inter-Departmental Coordinating Committee (IDCCD) was created to assist the PACD. The IDCCD is composed of directors of bureaus and chiefs of national agencies of the government having interest in or directly concerned with community development.

A recent study of the coordination among these agencies indicates that the situation has not been drastically improved over the last five or six years. Suggestions for improving the coordination of the various community development agencies, based on PACD activities in six different provinces, include better communication among the agencies, minimizing the tendency of agencies for "grabbing credit," improved coordination in planning, etc.[26]

In accordance with the belief that rural improvements should be furthered by democratic means, the PACD also seeks to promote local autonomy by creating and strengthening Barrio Councils and other development councils in towns and provinces. To encourage such a development, legislators drafted a variety of bills. In 1959 Congress enacted R.A. 2370. The history of this act will now be traced.

Early in 1955, Senator Tomas L. Cabili (a member of the Nacionalista Party)[27] discussed rural conditions with some ICA (International Cooperation Administration) officials and other Americans in Manila who were interested in improving barrio life. During these conversations, there emerged the idea of a law providing for the election of the Barrio Council. Senator Cabili drafted a bill to that effect, assisted by an ICA official and

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[25] Other organizations working for barrio improvement: 4-H clubs, rural improvement clubs, puericulture centers, self-help centers, social welfare clubs, V-corps, women's clubs, Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement (PRRM), World Neighbors, Inc., Philippine Rural Community Improvement Society (PRUCIS), National Movements for Free Elections (NAMFREL), and health centers. *Community Development Councils,* Office of the Presidential Assistant on Community Development (Manila, n.d.), p. 4; Cf. Abueva, *op. cit.,* p. 68.

[26] Remigia Carpio-Laus. *Coordination of Agencies in the Community Development Program* (Quezon City: Community Development Research Council, University of the Philippines, 1960), Study Series No. 9, [xiii] 130 pp., mimeo.

[27] For an extensive discussion of Senator Cabili's role in Philippine rural development, see Abueva, *op. cit.,* Chapters VI, XI, XII, and XIV.

other interested parties. All were convinced of the need to provide the barrio people with the legal means of governing themselves. Democracy, they felt, had to be encouraged in the barrios if initiated and increased interest in self-help were to develop more extensively at this level. In addition, it was hoped the Barrio Council would coordinate the various projects instituted by the ICA, by governmental and by non-governmental rural development agencies which often were working independently in the barrios.[28]

Three companion bills were drafted by Senator Cabili's group for the purpose of bringing greater autonomy and power to barrio government. One bill was to create an elective Barrio Council, enumerate its composition and duties. The second draft bill provided that the Municipal Councilor should be a resident of the barrio or barrio district he represents. (The practice then current was to have this official elected at large in the municipality and then assigned to a barrio or barrio district by the Municipal Council.) The third bill ruled that 50 per cent of the land tax levied by the Municipal Council should remain in the barrio for use as determined by the proposed council.[29]

The House of Representatives, where all tax bills originate, did not have time to consider the land tax bill (H. No. 2735) before the closing session, despite the support of Representatives Panfilo Manguera (Nacionalista, Marinduque) who introduced the bill, Pedro Lopez (Nacionalista, Cebu), and Constancio Castañeda (Nacionalista, Tarlac).[30] In the Senate, where Senator Cabili introduced the other two bills, the second bill, concerning the residence of the Municipal Councilor, was deferred for consideration with the proposed revision of the Election Code.[31]

Senator Cabili was determined, however, to push through Senate Bill No. 372, the elective Barrio Council Bill, entitled, "An Act Amending Section 2219 1/2 of the Revised Administrative Code and for Other Purposes." This Bill was referred to the Committee on Rural Development, May 13, 1955, of which he was Chairman[32] and passed substantially without change

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[28] From an informal discussion group with the late Senator Tomas L. Cabili, February 20, 1957.

[29] *Ibid.*

[30] "AN ACT TO AMEND THE FIRST, SECOND AND SIXTH PARAGRAPHS OF SECTION FIVE OF THE ASSESSMENT LAW, AS AMENDED, SO THAT A CERTAIN PERCENTAGE OF THE PROCEEDS OF THE REAL PROPERTY TAX LEVIED UPON ANY PROPERTY SITUATED IN A BARRIO OR SITIO SHALL BE SET ASIDE FOR THE BENEFIT AND USE OF SUCH BARRIO OR SITIO," H. No. 2735, House of Representatives, Third Congress of the Republic of the Philippines, Second Session, Manila, January 25, 1955. Introduced by Rep. Panfilo Manguera (Marinduque) but not passed. The bill sought to retain 50 per cent of the real property tax levied by Municipal Council for use by the Barrio Council.

[31] From an informal discussion group with the late Senator Tomas L. Cabili, February 20, 1957.

[32] For Senate debate on Senate Bill 372, see *Congressional Record,* Third Congress of the Republic, Second Session, Vol. II, No. 75, p. 133.

as Republic Act 1245, June 10, 1955.[33] The bill was "to prime some vigor or life into the rural councils as constituted by Section 2219 1/2, by making the members *elective,* specifying their respective duties and broadening the powers of the council."[34]

The prewar rural council was renamed the Barrio Council. The new council was to be composed of a Barrio Lieutenant, a Deputy Barrio Lieutenant for each *sitio* (a small cluster of dwellings) in the barrio, one Councilman each for Health, Education, and Livelihood. A Secretary was to be elected by the Councilmen from among their number.[35] All these officials were to be elected for one year and could be reelected for only four consecutive terms.

Like the former rural council members, the Barrio Councilmen were to receive no salary for their services except traveling expenses in attending legitimate barrio business in the poblacion, provincial, or national capital. A Barrio Council candidate could be any qualified barrio voter not less than 25 years of age, with the necessary training, experience, and fitness[36] for the post, regardless of political affiliation. All bona fide barrio folk 21 years old or over, resident in the barrio for at least six months prior to the Barrio Council election, could vote. A voter who could not attend the election could appoint a proxy in writing to cast his vote. The annual election was to be held on the third Tuesday in January. The Barrio Council was to have the same general duties as the former rural council.

Republic Act 1408

Republic Act 1245 was never implemented for, three months after passage, it was amended by Republic Act 1408, originally Senate Bill 383. This bill was introduced by the late Senator Cipriano Primicias on July 7, 1955 and referred to the Committee on Rural Development of which Senator

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[33] Republic Act Number 1245, "AN ACT AMENDING SECTION TWENTY-TWO HUNDRED AND NINETEEN AND ONE-HALF OF THE REVISED ADMINISTRATIVE CODE AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES," Official Gazette, Vol 51, No. 6 (June, 1955), p. 2811.

[34] Juan F. Rivera, *op. cit.,* p. 129. Underscoring supplied.

[35] The titles of the Councilmen were suggested by the four major areas for rural development emphasized by the Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement (PRRM): health, education, livelihood, and self-government. The PRRM, a non-governmental agency devoted to rural improvement, claims that, "Republic Act 1245 creating the Barrio Council, later amended by "Republic Act 1408, was inspired by the PRRM through its demonstration of the value and effectiveness of the Rural Council. The role played by the Rural Councils in the development of their respective barrios proved the strength of local lay leadership . . . This was what led Senator Tomas L. Cabili, member of the Board of Trustees of PRRM, to introduce in Congress Act 1245." *PRRM Progress Report* (Manila, 1956), mimeographed, p. 2, Cf. Felipe Lagon," "'Resolution' in Five Barrios." *Philippines Free Press,* Vol. 49, No. 10 (March 8, 1957), p. 36.

[36] "Training, experience, and fitness" were not explained in either Republic Act 1245 or 1408.

Jose C. Locsin was Acting Chairman.[37] Republic Acts 1245 and 1408 were similar with regard to the organization of the Barrio Council, but the latter increased the Barrio Council's dependence on the Municipal Council. In fact, R.A. 1408, passed by the Senate on third reading, July 13, 1955, restored to the Municipal Councilor the power to recommend to the Municipal Council suspension or dismissal of any Barrio Council member for the still undefined "cause." This important provision had been part of Section 2219 1/2 of the Revised Administrative Code, but was purposedly omitted by Cabili in R.A. 1245. Furthermore, disbursements of Barrio Council funds by the newly created Treasurer were also made subject to the Municipal Council's approval.

Other revisions of R.A. 1408 changed the age qualification for Barrio Council candidates from 21 to 25 years and abolished voting by proxy. In addition, one major modification occurred between the passage of R.A. 1408 in the Senate and its final printing. The Senate had agreed that voters who qualified in the national election could vote in the Barrio Council election, and that one-half of the qualified voters constituted a quorum. However, the final bill limited Barrio Council voters to *heads of families* and with only one-third of the qualified voters necessary for holding the election. Senate Bill 383 was signed by President Ramon Magsaysay on September 9, 1955, one of the bills presented for his signature at the close of the Second Special Session of the Congress.

The composition of the Barrio Council under R.A. 1408 was the same as under R.A. 1245 except for the election of the Vice-Barrio Lieutenant, as they were now called, and a Treasurer. There were as many Vice-Barrio Lieutenants as there were *sitios* in the barrio, or one Vice-Barrio Lieutenant for every 200 barrio residents without *sitios*. A Treasurer was to be elected from among the Barrio Council members in the same manner as the Secretary. For example, a Vice-Barrio Lieutenant or a Councilman for Education could concurrently serve as Treasurer.

The Treasurer collected all fees and contributions due the barrio treasury, issued receipts and disbursed funds upon the signatures of the payee and Barrio Lieutenant with the approval of the Municipal Council. As custodian of barrio funds, all collections were deposited with the Municipal Treasurer within one week of their receipt. The powers and duties of the Barrio Council under Republic Act 1408, the term of office, and manner of

[37] Senator Locsin took over as Acting Chairman when Senator Cabili went to the United States with Dr. James Yen, PRRM head, to seek a congressional appropriation to finance a large scale rural reconstruction project. Senator Cabili's absence prevented him from following up the new amendments to his original bill, enabling the insertion into R.A. 1408 of provisions decreasing the Barrio Council autonomy granted by R.A. 1245. The Cabili-Yen mission to United States is discussed in Abueva, *op. cit.*, pp. 300-333.

suspension or removal from office of the unpaid Barrio Councilmen were the same as under Republic Act 1245.

Republic Act 2370

Considerable criticism was directed against this first Barrio Council Law, Republic Act No. 1408, by the Manila press and other publications. In 1960, a new law (Republic Act 2370),[38] known as the "Barrio Charter," amended Republic Act 1408 and converted the Barrio Council "from a mere recommendatory body into an autonomous organ, empowered to act for, and in behalf of, barrio residents."[39] Signed by President Carlos P. Garcia, June 20, 1959, the new law took effect January, 1960.

The most important innovations introduced by Republic Act 2370 center around: (1) Voting, office holding and the Barrio Assembly, (2) the Barrio Council's taxing powers, (3) the Barrio Council's legislative powers, (4) the Barrio Council members' tenure of office, (5) the removal or suspension of Barrio Council members, and (6) Barrio Council members' compensation.[40]

Voting, Office-Holding, and the Barrio Assembly

Under R.A. 1408, only resident heads of families, 21 years of age or older, could vote or be candidates for the Barrio Council.[41] Thus individuals qualified to vote or candidates in national elections were disqualified from the same in Barrio Council elections if they were not family heads.[42] Ac-

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[38] To make the "over 19,000 barrios all over the country . . . vigorous . . . political units" three Nacionalista legislators, namely Congressmen Antonio Y. de Pio (Cebu), Godofredo Reyes (Ilocos Sur), and Rogaciano Mercado (Bulacan) and twenty-four other lawmakers introduced some 42 bills which were consolidated into House Bill 3156 by the Committee on Provincial and Municipal Governments, April 1, 1959. House Bill 3156 was passed on second reading, May 7, 1959, third reading on May 15, 1959 and then sent to the Senate requesting concurrence on the same date. Passed by the Senate with amendments on May 21, 1959, it was subsequently referred to the Committee on Provincial and Municipal Governments on the same day. The Senate agreed to the amendments, May 21, 1959. House Bill 3156 was finally signed by President Garcia, June 20, 1959, becoming Republic Act 2370 (An Act Granting Autonomy to Barrios of the Philippines). See *Committee Report No. 1493,* Committee on Provincial and Municipal Governments, Bills and Index Division, House of Representatives, Congress of the Philippines.

[39] Emmanuel Pelaez, *Explanatory Note* on Senate Bill No. 317, Second Session, Fourth Congress, Republic of the Philippines (1959), mimeographed, p. 3.

[40] For the full text of R.A. 2730, see the appendix.

[41] However, public school teachers, often the best qualified individuals in the barrios, could not be elected to the Barrio Council because of the "constitutional and civil service prohibitions against participation of civil service employees in political activities." See, "Tuason Rules Against Teachers Serving as Barrio Councilors," *Manila Chronicle* (Feb. 15, 1957), p. 5.

[42] One critic proposed that qualifications for Barrio Council elections should be the same as those for national elections, but that literacy requirements must be waived. Banguis, *op. cit.,* p. 5.

cordingly, some barrio residents jokingly suggested that the Barrio Lieutenant's position was higher than that of the President of the Philippines.[43]

The creation of the Barrio Assembly by R.A. 2370 radically changed the qualifications for voting for and election to the Barrio Council by eliminating the provisions that restricted these privileges to family heads.

Section 4 provides that "The barrio assembly shall consist of all persons who are qualified electors, who are duly registered in the list of barrio assembly members kept by the secretary . . . and have been residents of the barrio for at least six months." Candidates for election to the Barrio Council also must be qualified electors and residents of the barrio for at least six months prior to the election. They must not have been convicted of a crime, involving moral turpitude or of a crime which carries a penalty of at least a year's imprisonment.[44] Commenting on the Assembly, one writer noted:

> Nothing has dramatized so effectively the birth of the barrio charter as the creation of the barrio assembly. It is the barrio Congress. . . it provides . . . a truly representative government and a solemn opportunity to discuss the barrio problems and their solutions.[45]

The barrio assembly meets annually for the Barrio Council's report on activities and finances and convenes for the Barrio Council election upon written petition of at least one-fifth of the members. One-third of the Barrio Assembly constitutes a quorum.[46]

The Barrio Lieutenant presides over the assembly in all meetings whereas the Barrio Council Secretary is concurrently the assembly Secretary. He is helped by an Assistant Secretary who takes over in his absence or incapacity.

The Barrio Council's Taxing Powers

Act 1408 stated that the Barrio Council could not officially solicit funds for community development without the permission of the Social Welfare Administration. Red tape and long delays for approval often resulted in the abandonment of worthwhile projects. Since no taxes stay in the barrio for use by the Barrio Council, this agency is financially handicapped. To remedy this difficulty, some urged that the law be amended, giving the

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[43] Santos, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

[44] Republic Act 2370, Section 9, *op. cit.*

[45] Rama, "Barrio Folk At the Polls," *op. cit.*, p. 33.

[46] Republic Act 2370—"AN ACT GRANTING AUTONOMY TO BARRIOS OF THE PHILIPPINES," Second Session, Fourth Congress, Republic of the Philippines, Manila (1959), mimeographed, p. 2.

Barrio Council authority to conduct local fund campaigns without the formal approval of the Social Welfare Administration.[47]

According to the late Senator Tomas L. Cabili, a provision of his original bill which became R.A. 1245, was that one-half of the land tax collected should remain in the barrios where the funds were collected.

Other critics had also urged that the Barrio Council be authorized to retain for local use a part of the taxes collected in the barrio. The 1957 Baguio Community Development Conference recommended that Barrio Council members help collect local taxes and retain 3 per cent of the amount for local improvements.[48] The League of Governors and City Mayors, in a convention in Manila, February, 1957, recommended that the barrio folk be given "broad powers of taxation with a provision that at least five per cent of taxes imposed on barrios be placed at the disposal of the Barrio Council."[49]

In 1958 Senator Lorenzo M. Tañada introduced Senate Bill 100 designed to amend Republic Act 1408 with a view to giving greater autonomy to the Barrio Council. While the original proposal contained no new revenue provision, a clause was inserted on second reading in the Senate authorizing the Barrio Council "to collect fees and/or solicit contributions at such rates or amounts as it may decide by resolution."[50] This addition may, for the most part, be traced to a memorandum sent to the Senate by Ramon P. Binamira, Presidential Assistant on Community Development. He urged that the Barrio Council either be given the taxing power or that a substantial part of the taxes collected in the barrio and forwarded to the national government, revert to the Council treasury on a regular quarterly or yearly basis. The PACD head favored the first suggestion.[51] Senate Bill 100, however, was not passed in the first session of 1958.

The new Barrio Charter (Act 2370) vests taxing powers in the Barrio Council. The Council may now raise, levy, collect and/or accept monies and other contributions from the following sources.

1. Voluntary contributions annually from each male or female resident, 21 years or over;

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[47] Recommendation of Mr. E. C. Santos, Community Organizer, in a letter to Project Director Rural Community Self-Help Proj. No. 70, Bureau of Public Schools, Manila, datelined Cebu City, February 21, 1956, and Ramon Binamira, Presidential Assistant on Community Development, Memorandum on "Proposals to Promote Local Autonomy on the Barrio Level," p. 9.

[48] "Baguio Community Conference Ends," *Manila Times* (Jan. 14, 1957), p. 16; and "Final Report, Work Group No. 1, First Northern Seminar on Community Development," Pines Hotel, Baguio City (Jan. 10-13, 1957).

[49] "Autonomy Bill Is Endorsed," *op. cit.*

[50] Senate Bill No. 100, Fourth Congress of the Republic of the Philippines, First Session introduced by Senator Lorenzo M. Tañada.

[51] Ramon P. Binamira, "Proposals To Promote Local Autonomy on the Barrio Level," pp. 1 and 2.

2. Licenses on stores, signs, signboards, and bill boards displayed or maintained in any place exposed to public view except those displayed at the place or places where profession or business advertised is in whole or in part conducted;
3. A tax on gamecocks owned by barrio residents and on the cockpits therein; provided, that nothing herein shall authorize the Barrio Council to permit cockfights;
4. Monies, materials and voluntary labor for specific public works and cooperative enterprises of the barrio raised from residents, landholders, producers and merchants of the barrio;
5. Monies from grants-in-aid, subsidies, contributions and revenues made available to barrios from municipal, provincial, or national funds;
6. Monies from private agencies and individuals;
7. An additional percentage, not exceeding one-fourth of one per cent of the assessed valuation of the property within the barrio, collected by the municipal treasurer along with the tax on real property levied for municipal purposes by the municipality and deposited in the name of the barrio with the municipal treasurer; Provided, that no tax or license fee imposed by a barrio council shall exceed fifty per centum of a similar tax or fee levied, assessed or imposed by the municipal council.[52]

In addition to these sources, "ten per cent of all real estate taxes collected within the barrio shall accrue to the barrio general fund, which sum shall be deducted in equal amounts from the respective shares of the province and municipality."[53]

Diverse comments regarding the Barrio Council's new taxation power have been made. One adherent of the Council taxation idea stated:

> the Charter is designed to overhaul the popular concepts and procedures in levying taxes. It has a built-in tax reform system . . . people evade taxes because they have not learned to associate taxes with public services . . . if the taxpayer knew beforehand that his money will return to him or his community in the form of a school for his children, a road . . . he would . . . contribute to such a public fund.[54]

On the other hand, critics see flaws in the taxation provisions. Their comments center on: (1) the objects subject to taxation; (2) the imposition of an additional percentage of real property in the barrio; (3) the Barrio Treasurer's filing of a bond; (4) the barrio collector's possible relationship with landlords; (5) the numerous responsibilities of the Council in relation to its limited financial resources; and (6) the employment of community development workers.

First, critics point out, objects subject to taxation include gamecocks, stores, signs, signboards and billboards. The difficulty in taxing gamecocks

[52] Republic Act 2370, Section 14, *op. cit.*
[53] Republic Act 2370, Section 15, *op. cit.*
[54] Napoleon G. Rama, "Home Rule for the Barrios," *Philippines Free Press*, Vol. 53, No. 2 (Jan. 9, 1960), p. 29.

lie in determining which cocks are gamecocks. Storeowners are usually barrio leaders who would be reluctant to pass ordinances taxing themselves. Signs and signboards are not found in most barrios.[55] Second, the imposition of an additional percentage of real property in the barrio is thought to be unwise. As pointed out by a recent Community Development Research Council (CDRC) study:

> In Iloilo most landowners have been delinquent in the payment of their real property tax for some years . . . . the most logical step therefore is not to increase taxation but to step up collection.[56]

Third, it is urged that the provision that barrio treasurers post a bond not exceeding ₱10,000.00 (US $3,000) be eliminated. The barrio's 10 per cent share of the tax collected might just be enough to pay the bond premium.[57] Moreover, the post of barrio treasurer is viewed by some as a financial liability. As one critic wrote:

> The Barrio Charter requires barrio treasurers to post a bond . . . which can be confiscated if anything goes wrong with barrio funds. So, "I can't afford it" was the usual reply of persons urged to run for the position. It's possible that many of those who did run were prevailed upon to do so, against their wishes.[58]

Fourth, it is argued that it will be difficult for the barrio collector to get the legal share of the real property taxes if he is a tenant trying to collect from his landlord. As one report pointed out:

> In one of the barrios covered . . . the barrio lieutenant is a tenant of the municipal mayor. If the collector from the barrio cannot collect tax dues from his own landlord, how will he be able to convince other landowners to pay their taxes through him?[59]

Fifth, it is pointed out that the Barrio Council is invested with numerous duties and responsibilities. Council performance therefore will be affected by its limited and uncertain sources of income.[60] Finally, it is noted that the employment of, or contributions to the expenses of employing community development workers will add to the financial burden of the Barrio Council.[61]

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[55] Tito Firmalino, *Political Activities of Barrio Citizens in Iloilo as They Affect Community Development,* Community Development Research Council (University of the Philippines, Quezon City, 1960), p. 236.

[56] *Ibid.*

[57] *Ibid.*

[58] Delfin A. Salvosa, "The Barrio Treasurer," *Philippines Free Press,* Vol. 53, No. 9 (Feb. 27, 1960), p. 67.

[59] Firmalino, *op. cit.,* p. 237.

[60] *Ibid.*

[61] *Ibid.*

On the whole, the taxation powers of the Barrio Council are not very extensive, and are unrealistic in light of rural conditions.

The Barrio Council's Legislative Powers

Act 1408 had provided that "the barrio council shall have power to promulgate rules not inconsistent with the law or ordinances of the municipal council, and subject to the approval of the latter, which shall be operative within the barrio."[62]

This particular provision was designed, according to some knowledgeable informants, to permit municipal control of the Barrio Council. Some politicians perhaps fearing a diminution of their own power, argued that it is dangerous to permit the Council to become too independent of the Municipal government. Others felt Barrio Council members were less mature in governmental affairs than Municipal officials. This belief is brought into question by recent findings regarding congressional estimates of barrio competence for self-government. The study shows that 93 per cent of the congressmen-respondents believe barrio folk to be as competent to govern as themselves.[63]

Since one purpose of the Barrio Council law had been to encourage greater participation of the barrio folk in their own government, some argued that the law should be amended, making the Municipal Council only an advisory body. They felt that while the Municipal Council should be notified of the Barrio Council's decisions, it should not be able to set them aside.[64]

In the new Barrio Charter, R.A. 2370, however, municipal dominance over the Barrio Council is continued. Section 12 provides that "The barrio council shall have the power to promulgate barrio ordinances not inconsistent with law or municipal ordinances." In case of conflict between the Barrio Council and the Municipal Council, the dispute is referred for final action to the provincial fiscal.

The Barrio Council Members' Tenure of Office

The tenure of office of Barrio Council members was extended, and more flexibility was introduced in regard to the days on which elections might be held.

R.A. 1408 had stated, "The election shall take place annually on the third Tuesday of January." Actually many barrios held their election on different days, although Justice Pedro Tuason ruled that elections held outside the specific date would be considered null and void since R.A. 1408

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[62] Republic Act No. 1408, Section 2219½, *op. cit.*

[63] Buenaventura M. Villanueva. *A Study of the Competence of Barrio Citizens to Conduct Barrio Government,* Community Development Research Council (University of the Philippines, Quezon City, 1959), p. 190.

[64] Banguis, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

fixed the definite time and place for the holding of polls, making them mandatory.[65]

As for R.A. 1408's provision for the holding of annual elections, the objection to this was registered by Senator Lorenzo M. Tañada in his explanatory note to Senate Bill 100 that would have lengthened the Barrio Council members' term to four years. With an annual barrio election and biennial national election, Tañada argued:

> ...it will not be the least expected if we should find our barrio councilmen hopelessly and bitterly entangled in petty politics instead of faithfully discharging the functions of their office for the benefit of the community . . . the resultant one year term of office is too short a term of office even for an honest and capable councilman to pursue with success whatever useful or necessary improvements he may have planned for his community.[66]

The Senate discussion of this subject resulted in the following compromise:

> The members of the barrio council shall hold office for two years from the time of their election and qualification or until their successors are duly elected and qualified. In no case shall a member of the council be elected to the same position for more than three consecutive terms, but after two years shall have elapsed from the expiration of his last term he shall again be eligible for election to the same position.[67]

The new Barrio Charter (R.A. 2370) also states:

> The election shall be held on the second Sunday of January of even-numbered years; Provided, That if the meeting is not held on the second Sunday of January, it may be held on any day thereafter within the month of January to be determined by the barrio council.

The Removal or Suspension of Barrio Council Members

Act 1408 provided that Municipal Councilors might, "for cause,"[68] recommend to the Municipal Council suspension or dismissal of any Barrio Council members. It was suggested that this provision be amended so that no council officer could be suspended or dismissed without due process, that the member be removed from office only upon a

> two-third vote of the barrio assembly, and only on specific grounds such as conviction of a crime involving moral turpitude, malversation of funds, membership in subversive organizations, insanity or incapacity. He cannot be removed from office at the mere pleasure of the municipal councilor.[69]

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[65] "Tuason Rules Against Teachers Serving as Barrio Councilors," *op. cit.*
[66] Lorenzo M. Tañada, "Explanatory Note," Senate Bill 100, *op. cit.*
[67] R.A. 2370, Section 7, *op. cit.*
[68] R.A. 1408 does not define the term "cause."
[69] Banguis, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

Senate Bill 100, which failed to pass Congress, sought to give the Barrio Council rather than the Municipal Council the power "to remove or suspend any member for cause by two-thirds vote of all members of the Council."

Section 9 of R.A. 2370 now gives the municipal mayor the power of supervision over barrio officials which in the past was the responsibility of the Municipal Council. He shall, for instance, "receive and investigate complaints made under oath against barrio officers for neglect of duty, oppression, corruption or other form of misconduct in office, and conviction by final judgment of any crime involving moral turpitude."[70]

Barrio Council Members' Compensation

Act 1408 stated that "members of the Barrio Council shall not receive any compensation or emolument."[71] The elected officials, especially the Barrio Lieutenants, often complained that they must spend their own money to entertain the officials who often visit their barrios.[72] One Barrio Lieutenant suggested that they be paid a monthly salary of one peso per day and, when on official duty, a per diem of not more than two pesos a day.[73] Mr. Alvaro Martinez, formerly Executive Director of the Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement (PRRM) and now with the PACD, believed, however, that Barrio Council members should not be paid; salaries for barrio officials, he felt, would destroy their voluntary spirit, making them a prey to materialism.[74] One Barrio Lieutenant wrote that if President Magsaysay's plan to pay a salary to Barrio Lieutenants would materialize they should be given a daily allowance or per diem to defray actual expenses.[75]

Under R.A. 2370, the Barrio Assembly is now empowered to provide for the reasonable compensation of Barrio Council officers by a two-thirds vote.

Furthermore, the 1959 Barrio Charter grants certain added rights and privileges to Barrio Lieutenants. They now have

> preference in appointments in and to any government office, agency, or instrumentality or in and to any government-owned or controlled corporation and they also have priority to purchase public lands and government-owned or managed agricultural farms or sub-divisions, to obtain homesteads, concessions and fran-

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[70] *Ibid.*, Section 9.

[71] Republic Act No. 1408, Section 2219½, paragraph 4, *Official Gazette,* Vol. 51, No. 10 (October, 1955), p. 981.

[72] Mario P. Chanco, " 'Absentee Candidates' Mark First Barrio Polls," *Manila Daily Bulletin* (January 18, 1956), p. 1; and "Our Barrio Lieutenants Write," *This Week,* Vol. 12, No. 7 (February 30, 1957), pp. 30-31.

[73] "Our Barrio Lieutenants Write," *op. cit.,* p. 30.

[74] Interview with Mr. Alvaro Martinez, February 8, 1957.

[75] "Our Barrio Lieutenants Write," *op. cit.,* pp. 30-31.

chises, and other privileges for the exploitation of the natural resources which are permissible and made available by existing laws.[76]

In addition, an incumbent Barrio Lieutenant permanently incapacitated from work owing to sickness, disease, or injury incurred in line of duty shall receive free hospitalization and medical care from government hospitals. Finally, incumbent Barrio Lieutenants' children are exempted from paying tuition fees in public elementary and intermediate schools.[77]

MINOR CHANGES INTRODUCED BY R.A. 2370

The Composition of the Barrio Council

The Council's composition was altered in two respects. First, the Barrio Treasurer was made subject to election by the Barrio Assembly in the same manner as other Barrio Council members. Under R.A. 1408 the treasurer had been selected by the barrio council itself, from among its own members. Second, instead of the three councilmen for health, education and welfare respectively, called for by R.A. 1408, R.A. 2370 provided for the election of four council members without portfolio.

Election Procedures

The Municipal Councilor has been stripped of the power to appoint a board of inspectors and canvassers; the new measure grants authority to the barrio assembly to elect a board of three election tellers, one of whom should be a teacher.

Voting

Voting is open or secret as decided by a majority of qualified voters in the meeting.

Election Disputes

While R.A. 1408 was silent on the manner of settling election disputes, R.A. 2370 vests decisions in a committee of three chosen by the barrio assembly before the balloting.

Meetings

Whereas under R.A. 1408, the Municipal Councilor convoked and presided over election meetings, the Barrio Lieutenant now presides over Council balloting.

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[76] Republic Act No. 2370, Section II, *op. cit.*
[77] *Ibid.*

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In sum, the original law (R.A. 1408) was found to be defective. Many serious flaws were accordingly corrected with the passage and implementation of the new Barrio Charter (R.A. 2370). Although certain Barrio Charter provisions are still felt to be inadequate, nevertheless this new law is a hopeful sign that official recognition and support has been finally extended to those who believe barrio home-rule to be crucial to community development and political democracy in the rural Philippines.

It may be useful to re-examine the present Barrio Council in the light of past traditions with regard to: (1) the role of a council in barrio government; (2) the Barrio Lieutenant; (3) his authority; and (4) his compensation.

The Council: During the pre-Hispanic period, a council of elders (*maginoo*) assisted the *datu* in village administration. However, their authority and power varied with their prestige and wisdom as well as the leadership qualities of the *datu.* Under the Spaniards, the council was not continued, although the *datus,* now called *cabezas,* were allotted a place on the board that elected town officials. Interestingly, during the 1957 convention of the League of Provincial Governors and City Mayors, it was suggested that the Barrio Lieutenants should have a non-voting consultative position on the Municipal Council or permission to attend two special sessions of the Municipal Council every month to represent their respective barrios.[78] During the latter part of the American regime, barrio welfare was to be guided by an appointive rural council (Act 3861). However, these councils, as a whole, were ineffective. Whereas the idea of a formal council is not completely alien to Philippine local government, it never played a vital role in the barrios during either the Spanish or American eras.

The Barrio Lieutenant: The position of the Pre-Hispanic *datu* was hereditary, buttressed by wealth and kinship. The Spaniards assimilated these leaders into the local government by recognizing their position. Furthermore, the *cabeza* was legally "charged with the responsibility of looking after the peace and order of his barangay, which consisted of about fifty families—the jurisdiction in this case being based on territory and no longer on blood relationships—and of collecting their tribute, taxes, and labor services."[79] The village leader was now appointive not hereditary, although kinship factors weighed heavily in his selection. Today the Barrio Lieutenant is elected, an innovation of considerable importance. However, wealth and kinship connections are often the prime qualifications for the "election" of a Barrio Lieutenant, as the case study of Tulayan illustrates.

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[78] "Autonomy Bill Is Endorsed," *Manila Times* (Feb. 15, 1957), p. 1.
[79] Corpuz, *op. cit.,* p. 108.

Authority: The pre-Hispanic *datu* was lawmaker, judge, and executive; his authority, largely autocratic, was not used, however, without consultation with the village elders. Under the Spaniards, the *datu* became an appointive figurehead for both lay and ecclesiastical authorities. Though he collected tribute and contributions, settled minor disputes, disseminated official orders, and watched over the welfare of his community, he had little formal authority.

The contemporary attitude of Filipino officialdom toward the Barrio Lieutenant is remarkably similar to the Spaniard's concept of the *cabeza's* role in rural life. At a conference of governors and city mayors, the group stated: "The Barrio Lieutenant is the best agent for the dissemination of news, orders, ordinances, and practically all government requirements. The Barrio Lieutenant is the embodiment of a partriarch, a judge, and a police chief."[80] Yet, for all this, the Barrio Lieutenant before R.A. 2370 had no more authority than his past counterpart, the *cabeza.* The power structure in the Philippines, for the most part, does not give much authority and independence to the Barrio Lieutenant. In authority, the Barrio Lieutenant remains largely within the hierarchical structure of the past, "the lowest position in Philippine officialdom."[81] The enactment of the Barrio Charter is an ambitious attempt toward autonomy for the Barrio Council and its members.

Compensation: During the early part of the Spanish regime, the *cabeza* was not paid, although he was exempted from paying tribute. A provision of the abortive Maura Law of 1893 gave him 50 per cent of the taxes collected in his barrio. Before R.A. 2370 the Barrio Council members received no compensation except traveling expenses connected with official business. This provision, however, was seldom implemented. The *cabeza* and Barrio Lieutenant served largely because it was difficult to refuse appointment, and for increased personal prestige. As Sibley states: "On the barrio level, leadership is not sought but is imposed informally upon those who possess the necessary qualifications. Once selected . . . village leaders do not shirk their responsibilities."[82] R.A. 1408 and 2370, as previously described, give modest compensation to Barrio Council officers.

In sum, the present *elective* Barrio Council has no historical precedent. However, informal and voluntary committees are prominent in barrio life; they may manage the annual fiesta, form voluntary cooperative groups, and the like.[83] Though the Barrio Lieutenant is now elected, the importance of

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[80] Bundgaard, *op. cit.,* p. 287.

[81] *Philippines Free Press,* Vol. 49, No. 9 (March 1, 1957), p. 27. Comment was taken from a letter written by a reader to this magazine.

[82] Sibley, *Philippine Journal of Public Administration, op. cit.,* p. 158.

[83] For an extensive discussion of the role of informal and voluntary committees, see Buenaventura M. Villanueva, *The Barrio People and Barrio Government,* Community Development Research Council, University of the Philippines (Quezon City, 1959), 41 pp.

family connections and income often negates the democratic purposes of an election. On the other hand, the persons chosen often represent wisest selection because they possess the very qualifications necessary to obtain action from municipal and provincial officials.

Although elected, the Barrio Lieutenant can be removed "for cause." Before R.A. 2370, he was subservient to the municipal government for its approval of Barrio Council policies and the acquisition of funds. This relationship was in line with past tradition. Compensation apparently has never been a major factor in encouraging a man to become a *cabeza* or Barrio Lieutenant. One political scientist feels that in the past the Filipino official class at the rural level assumed "the posts of local administration which tradition and social expectation assigned to them (under vexatious conditions) . . . as . . . part of the natural order of things.[84] Today the general informed public's attitude toward adequate payment of the Barrio Lieutenant reflects this statement. Many Filipino officials and public leaders believe it almost immoral—besides financially impractical—to allot to this rural leader a regular salary. They reason that adequate rewards should be found in the knowledge he is performing his civic duty. Nonetheless, some material rewards are now extended him.

This brief historical sketch of the development of Philippine local government shows, in part, that the Barrio Council can expect to face many serious problems. Despite the vigorous steps taken by Congress and the PACD to invest more authority in the Council, its nationwide effectiveness is yet to be demonstrated. When one looks at the past, the present status and problems of the Barrio Council are more understandable.

Postscript

Republic Act (R.A.) 2370 (1959) was amended by R.A. 3590 (Revised Barrio Charter) on June 20, 1963. Under R.A. 3590, the title of the village executive was changed from Barrio Lieutenant to Barrio Captain and the Barrio Council's composition was increased from 4 to 6 Councilmen.

The Barrio Assembly's authority was enlarged to a great extent. For example, the Assembly's powers were expanded to include: (1) recommending the adoption of measures for barrio welfare; (2) hearing annual reports of the Council; (3) acting on budgetary and supplementary appropriation for special tax ordinances; and (4) calling plebiscites for the recall of erring barrio officials. The revised Barrio Charter also makes more explicit the duties and functions of the Barrio Council officials. (For a comprehensive summary on the developments of the Barrio Council from 1956 to 1966, the reader is referred to a forthcoming publication entitled "An Annotated Bibliography on the Barrio Council: 1956-1966" by Donn V. Hart, Mario D. Zamora, Mary Hollnsteiner and Celia M. Antonio.)

[84] Corpuz, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

THE FOUNDATION FOR CULTURE-AND-PERSONALITY RESEARCH IN THE PHILIPPINES

ROBERT LAWLESS

THE 128 TITLES ON WHICH THIS PAPER IS BASED ARE NOT inclusive but they do cover probably over a quarter of the total literature in this field, including almost all the better and most recent studies; therefore this paper should give a comprehensive overview of the work in Philippine culture-and-personality.

No adequate bibliography of the literature in this field has been published yet, but one is now being prepared by Leticia Lagmay and Allen L. Tan of the University of the Philippines. Containing nearly 400 titles and still expanding, this definitive bibliography unfortunately will not be annotated; and, as rightly so in such an inclusive listing, the poor works stand unsegregated next to the excellent. Perhaps our paper will provide somewhat of a guide for the uninitiated reader.

Along with scientific studies this paper will also review some non-scientific writings—simply because they *are* writings on Philippine culture-and-personality and because we feel that the student in this field can learn much from good literary work, for indeed the essayist and journalist often deal with culture-and-personality. (Fiction will not be covered, and there are to our knowledge no Philippine studies correlating culture-and-personality with art, with folklore, or with music.)

However, we shall judge these works in behavior science terms, and we feel no hesitancy in doing so. If a columnist writes on economics, he is expected to know some Keynes; and if he does not, he is rightly censured. Similarly if our popular writers are ignorant, for example, of the concept of culture relativity, we will feel justified in criticizing them.

First, let us define our topic. Culture-and-personality is concerned with the interrelations among culture, society, and individuals, with how society induces individuals to fill predetermined status positions and play prescribed culture roles, with how individuals in this interaction with culture affect society, and with correlations between culture artifacts and personality dynamics. A large part of this field deals with the administration and interpretation of psychological projective tests in relation to ethnographic information.

(But in this area nothing of significance has been published about the Philippines.)

An offspring of an interdisciplinal marriage, the field currently seems dominated by anthropologists insufficiently trained in psychology and to a lesser degree by psychologists inadequate in anthropology. Culture-and-personality studies often examine socialization processes and are usually interested in discerning national character.[1] George M. Guthrie, in writing about the Filipino child and Philippine society, provides a definition of national character adequate for our purposes:

> A national character type refers to a set of personality patterns which are preferred or favored in the culture concerned. It involves a shared pattern of interpersonal relationships which makes more predictable the behavior of others and more apparent the behavior expected of the participant. These patterns include not only the amount of dominance or extroversion, or any other need which one may express, but also a range of appropriate and inappropriate manifestations. They also include the gestural and expressive aspects of behavior. . . . This constellation of attitudes, expectations and gestures is implied in the term national character. (47:6-7)

The earliest writings that were concerned with Philippine culture-and-personality revolved around the Spanish allegation that Filipinos are inherently lazy. Jose Rizal, who, as a member of the Anthropological Society of Berlin, was the first Filipino anthropologist, answered this charge in 1890 with his famous essay, "The Indolence of the Filipino." (101) "Examining well," Rizal wrote, "all the scenes and all the men that we have known from childhood; and the life of our country, we believe that indolence does exist here." (101:218)

Claiming, however, that this indolence was a result of the climate and Spanish misgovernment and not inherent in the Filipino personality, Rizal searched documents to show that the Filipino was not indolent before the Spaniards came. This effort, made a decade before the 20th century, was brilliant, and no Filipino was to match it for over half a century. Rizal, of course, was partly wrong, or, more kindly, he was misoriented and without benefit of modern culture-and-personality concepts. As an educated Filipino, he underestimated his countrymen and wished them to emulate Europeans much as deracinated Filipinos today, including even some behavior scientists, evaluate their countrymen by American standards.

In 1905 James A. LeRoy wrote, "Judged by the standards of the temperate zone, [the Filipino] is undoubtedly lazy." (68:73) More sophisticated than Rizal's viewpoint and less defensive, this is, nevertheless, still inaccurate. Today, with contemporary studies such as those by Ethel Nurge (85) and

[1] For a recently published introduction to this field, see Victor Barnouw, *Culture and Personality,* Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1963.

Ralph Diaz and Horst and Judith von Oppenfeld (29) and with the conceptual handles of modern anthropology, we know that labeling Filipinos as lazy is an incredible value judgment, that Filipinos, as all people, simply expend their own amount of energy in their own way in pursuit of their own goals, and that to expect them to work in pursuit of Western values is not to say anything about any Filipino personality trait but merely to display one's own ethnocentrism and ignorance of the subject at hand.

True personality traits may approximate ideal norms, and every culture has ideal standards of behavior for its members. These may be easily articulated in a less fluid society, or they may be somewhat obscure in a rapidly changing one. Unfortunately those that list ideal norms usually have an implicit commitment to their own model and employ a certain license in their scholarship.

This license is perhaps best illustrated by Encarnacion Alzona's listing of traits (2). She begins with "courtesy," saying, "The use of courteous language is an ancient attribute of our people." (2:263) Here we see the need for cross-cultural norms for courtesy, as well as for laziness and conversely for industriousness. In what sense can we say a people are "courteous"? Indeed, is the word itself a useful description at all? Does the presence of honorific terms in a language denote a personality trait of courteousness or stratified superordinate-subordinate relations or some sort of historical linguistic idiosyncracy? If, in translating Tagalog into English, every *po* is rendered as "sir," the resultant English is unnatural (see the dialogues in 76). So do we have an illustration of courteous language or simply a poor translation? The point is that Alzona is making a cross-cultural value judgment with no cross-cultural norms or data. The mistake is legend.

Alzona's list continues through manliness, dignity, prudence, honesty, tolerance, belief in God, and so forth, ending with "democratic values" and the surprising statement that "these islands were settled by men in quest of freedom." (2:282) The authority for this statement is not clear, but in writing about ideals as opposed to reality perhaps there is greater allowance for imagination. At least Alzona terms these norms *ideal,* not actual, and perhaps in strict usage all norms are ideal, but many writers make no such distinction, writing about idealized behavior as though it were actual behavior.[2] (See 9, 12, 47, 57, 62, 73, 79, 91, 98.)

There are many popular writings about ideal behavior. We will consider only a representative few. Francisco B. Icasiano in 1941 wrote a set of essays describing different social situations and the expected ideal behavior (57). One well-known book, a translation from a work written in Spanish in 1935 by Teodoro M. Kalaw (62), lists "five preceptives from ancient morality": courage, chastity, courtesy, self-control, and family unity.

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[2] See Jack P. Gibbs, "Norms: The Problem of Definition and Classification," *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. LXX, No. 5 (March 1965), pp. 586-594.

In search of a code of ethics reflecting Philippine personality, Emiliano Castro Ramirez, with admirable industry, collected 3,347 proverbs and classified them into 32 character traits (98). Prudence and foresight and personal discipline (self-control) are valued in the largest number of proverbs; the least number of proverbs deal with sportsmanship and cheerfulness. The most frequently mentioned proverbs are "A santol tree will not bear mabolo fruit" and "He who is too choosy may get the worst after all." (98:38) How these proverbs reflect character traits seems determined by simple mathematical ranking, and since there is no theoretical justification for this, we may question Ramirez' conclusion. Nevertheless, the collection of over 3,000 proverbs seems to us commendable in itself.

Another memorable collection is a cyclopedia of quotations from Filipinos, arranged alphabetically by subject from *ability* to *zarzuelas* (41). What these quotations are supposed to show is not quite clear. (The book is ambitiously titled *The Filipino Mind.*) They might lend themselves to some sort of content analysis but this would not say much about national character—only about what politicians say when they know their words are being recorded.

Paul Rodriguez Verzosa's list of proverbs (123) is a less ambitious collection than Ramirez's (98) but contains more high-handed interpretations.

Already we see emerging from these collections some norms grounded vaguely in concepts of courtesy, self-control, and family life, suggesting a world-view anchored by prescribed face-to-face behavior based on kinship ties.

These same concepts are reflected in popular writings on Philippine customs. In a series of well-written essays, I. V. Mallari discusses "vanishing" customs (79). Although enumerating many Philippine customs, this collection is difficult to utilize because the descriptions are highly idealized and there are no references to how or where the material was gathered. Armando J. and Paula Carolina Malay's book *Our Folkways* (77) is more useful than Mallari's collection because in the Malays' book the customs are specifically related to locales, but still we do not know how, when, and from whom the material was gathered.

Particularly evident in these writings is the concept of family unity, both as protection against the outside world and as a self-contained unit responsive to the needs of its members.

Family unity is also shown vividly in studies dealing with marriage. As one investigator remarks, "Marriage is an affair of the entire family." (96:141) And even though men and women marry late (3), much evidence shows that there is considerable parental control over the choice of mates. According to Donn V. Hart, "Now parents rarely force their children, particularly sons, to wed against their wishes." (50:70) But in some rural areas it is noted that a girl marries when her parents approve—despite her own

feelings (78:77). Also a relevant finding is that if a couple are away from the family, the courtship period is shorter (42).

In case studies of 53 students at Silliman University in 1966 (99), Harriet Reynolds finds that the choice of the couple is secondary to social and economic considerations and that among the students there is no "strong sense of resistance to some parental participation in mate selection." (99:215) The women, in particular, would not marry someone the parents disapproved of.

In line with this, Gelia Tagumpay Castillo's study (22) finds that youngsters are highly interested in getting a job they know will please their parents (22:15). But in another study she finds that "the number of respondents who are willing to go along with the parents' wishes without any compromise is rather negligible." (24:11) This is in answer to questionnaires, however, and may not reflect actual behavior.

In addition to family unity and parental authority, another feature of the Philippine family often mentioned is the equality of the sexes. Lourdes R. Quisumbing, supporting the theses that the family is a very stable institution and that women have equal status with men, writes, "Respect and appreciation of women is striking." (96:141)

Still another study shows that "sexual division of labor in the Philippines is not a rigid dichotomy." (24:10) In matters of the exalted position of women, Hart notes that Filipino women control the family purse because they are the earners of cash. They can sell ricecakes, pottery, and woven abaca. The men's work in the fields is consumed by the family or given to the landlord as rent with no surplus for sale (51:27).

A perceptive American observer wrote in 1905, "In no other part of the Orient have women relatively so much freedom or do they play so large a part in the control of the family." (68:49) And again one investigator finds that the "emancipation of women, in modern terms, has involved little conflict." (45)

Bartlett H. Stoodley's 1957 study (116) is still the best short description of the rural Tagalog family. Having gathered data through a number of operations, he sees the family structure built on a foundation of obligations. He finds also that children are highly prized and indulged (116:240), that toilet training and nursing are relaxed (116:241), that the authority is equal between the two parents (116:242), that sex-neutral kinship terms are employed, and that, in general description,

> ... the family is symmetrically multilineal, that neither female nor male roles are likely to be dominant, and that effective family roles are provided for a family extended to three generations in the direct line and to brothers and sisters, on both sides, and their spouses and children collaterally. (116:234)

Questionnaires to more than 200 students at Silliman University find that the interdependence of familism is still the dominant characteristic of modern college youth and that it is strongest among lower socio-economic groups (94). Filipino family cohesion is also manifest in urban corporations. According to an investigator, "Distributing corporate stock beyond the kin group has not been successful in most cases." (39:415)

At least one writer claims that close family ties make barrio government unworkable (124). Analyzing this problem in more scientific terms, Willis E. Sibley notes that the work partner choice in villages is within the kinship group and based on past interaction and expectations of personal and social treatment, overriding considerations of efficiency (111; see also 127:4).

Philippine familism has always impressed foreign observers. An American writes, "The family in the Philippines fulfills many welfare functions which in the United States and in European nations have been assumed by the Government. The Philippine family generally cares for its aged, sick and unemployed members and relatives." (100:135)

This echoes an observation made by a foreigner in 1905: "What a complex society, with its impersonal charity-organization, does out of a more remote piety, or out of cold-blooded enlightenment as to social needs, the non-industrial society does by a sort of family feudalism." (68:48)

In a thorough study Cayetano Santiago Jr. comments on this function of the family:

> The Filipino family is engaged in the extension of relief but is not functioning as a social welfare agency. This is because it gives assistance not on the basis of helping the dependent relatives help themselves but merely to help them. Instead of minimizing dependency, which is the paramount aim of assistance to dependents, it, in a way, tends to encourage and develop dependency. (108:103)

Noting that chronic unemployment does not lead to chaos because of the family, Santiago believes, however, that this family function "has led to the development of mutual parasitism between parents and children." (108:118) He, nevertheless, claims that this study shows that dependency is cultural, not economic. An otherwise excellent study is somewhat marred by this final conclusion, for the evidence presented does not support it. In addition, the interrelations between culture and economics are much subtler than anything shown in this work. A later paper by E.P. Patanñe relates dependency and aggression to poverty (95).

Three findings of Santiago especially pertinent to culture-and-personality are that family authority discourages free thinking since all older relatives have authority over children, that the family's protective attitude is a hazard to individual enterprise, and that children develop a lack of self-confidence since family decisions show little faith in youngsters.

The stress of this general dependency appears in a cross-cultural study of suicide patterns of Chinese and Filipinos in Manila (25). Suicide among the Filipino youths is often caused by the frustration of being controlled by elders. This is also no doubt related to the stress of changing and conflicting values in the urban areas.

In rural areas this stress is absent or at least has not been reported. The traditional rural family, with the authority structured by age, seems to lack the "generational gap" so often reported in urban findings. In a touching description of the role of a seven-year-old girl during the birth and subsequent death of her younger brother, Harold Conklin illustrates that among the rural people he studied no boundaries, except of degree, exist between child and adult knowledge (27).

While on the subject of the family, we can enter here an example of writing from the University of Santo Tomas, a doctoral dissertation characteristically based on casual observations with a strong theological orientation, less interesting for its opinions than for what it says about the distressingly low quality of behavior science in the oldest and largest Roman Catholic university in the Philippines:

> The Filipino family is in transition. It is confronted with factors that contribute to its disintegration, namely: (a) decline of the role of religion, (b) radical departure from the traditional type of the Filipino woman, and (c) de-emphasis of traditional family functions. The Filipino family, however, may be preserved with factors such as: (a) the return to God, (b) true feminism, and (c) restoration of family functions. (43:from synopsis)

The December 1965 *Unitas,* a quarterly published by the University of Santo Tomas, was a special issued entitled "The Anatomy of Philippine Psychology." This journal usually is filled with quasi-journalistic, theology-oriented articles dealing in opinions and casual observations and almost never containing any footnotes or bibliographies. But one article, decidedly superior to the others, has some interesting insights into the Filipino family. According to Adoracion Arjona:

> In our culture, the child-rearing practices do not put emphasis on self-reliance and independence training. The Filipino family is authoritarian and child-centered. The child grows under a hierarchy of authority imposing on certain rights and privileges. He is, therefore, given many opportunities to depend on adult guidance and indulgence. The consequence of this relation has set a high premium on conformity and obedience and the curtailment of initiative to plan, organize, and execute. (5:550)

Child-centeredness and authoritarianism are recurring themes in these writings. Noting this importance of children to the family, one descriptive article mentions that childlessness would make Filipinos very unhappy not because of the joy children bring but because "they thought that without

children, no one would serve them or support and take care of them during old age." (19:19) The high importance placed on family life and children is also reflected in a study of stereotypes of priests (32) in which priests are viewed as unmanly because they do not propagate a family. William Henry Scott's article (109) emphasizes that the Igorot baby learns early that he is wanted.

One investigator observed 62 children from mixed backgrounds and tends to conclude that authoritarian patterns show parents indulge younger children (58). Although this study was done in line with similar American studies, no cross-cultural data is presented.

A study of 111 middle-class families in rural and urban areas (97) shows that the children are exposed to a wide family circle and that many may care for them in much the same way as in traditional families. The important family factors in a child's development emerging from this study are prominence of over-protectiveness, close cooperation, far-reaching kinship system, hospitality, cohesiveness, and intimacy.

Miguela M. Solis, in attempting to determine differences in child-rearing in different socio-economic levels, investigated 250 children during their first year (113). Unfortunately, for logistical reasons, one criterion for the subjects was the employment stability of the family head. This may have biased the sample so that there is no true representation of the lowest socio-economic levels.

Almost all the family studies noted so far have been made by Filipinos. Too often in the behavior sciences in the Philippines, a foreign professor, competent in his field but studying in the country only a year or so, goes on to write articles and books with only little knowledge or understanding of the Philippine setting. This is especially true of American psychologists and psychiatrists, less true of sociologists, and notably absent among anthropologists, whose concept of culture relativity forearms them against ethnocentrism.

Guthrie, in his book on the Filipino child (47), betrays this fault many times. Another American observer who was in the Philippines for a short time, Lee Sechrest, makes conclusions from studies of persons committed to mental institutions (110). Without warning us of the limitations mentioned by Rodolfo R. Varias, who says it is questionable what can be learned from these patients because of cultural factors operating in their selection (122), Sechrest writes:

> The training of children seems oriented toward the denial or suppression of hostility, and yet there is an incompatible tendency toward arousal of hostility produced by the tendency to blame any misfortunes on other persons. Thus, if the writer's observations are correct, children are encouraged to blame others for their misfortunes, but they are proscribed from indicating their error in any open

> way. Therefore, feelings of anger go unlabelled, unrecognized, and ultimately uncontrolled. There are few, if any, intermediate expressions of anger taught to children and when hostility occurs, it occurs in rather extreme forms. (110:198)

As we noted earlier, one of the great interests of culture-and personality is the socialization processes. The best studies in the Philippines of child-rearing and socialization begin with Fe Domingo's 1961 paper (33). Using Whiting's *Field Guide*,[3] Domingo, a University of the Philippines psychology graduate, lived in a rural Tagalog barrio for one year conducting extensive interviews and administering child thematic appreception tests to study socialization in nine patterns of behavior: aggression, succorance, obedience, achievement-orientation, responsible performance of duty, sociability, nurturance, dominance, and self-reliance.

The investigator finds that overt aggression is highly undesirable and is channelled into gossipping and teasing, that most mothers are responsive, that the child grows up with minimal restrictions but requests are highly authoritarian. "It is [however] easy for the children to obey their parents and elders" because of the simplicity of life in the barrio (33:123). Sociability is desired but there is concern that aggression may rise from play; self-improvement is rewarded but overt competition is not; responsibility training is very relaxed and those responsible carry out tasks because of the tasks' importance, not fear of punishment.

Domingo finds that little tolerance is felt for the child's attempt to dominate the parents, and dominance toward peers is not encouraged: "The important thing is that they get along well." (33:183) (This theme has become quite controversial as we shall see later.) The findings in nurturance and self-reliance are ambivalent.

The overall characteristics of child-rearing are its "gradualness" (33: 206), the child's concern for the mother rather than fear of punishment, and the child's feeling of being loved and relatively anxiety-free (33:204-205). The Filipino outlook that "eventually this will be settled" is traceable, Domingo suggests, to this anxiety-free upbringing (33:208). (This study, incidentally, was carried out in the same barrio where Stoodley (116) did his work on the Tagalog family.)

In relating child-rearing practices to adult personality traits, the authors of *Mothers of Six Cultures* (81) write that the potential of ostracism is developed through teasing:

> As soon as babies learn to want an object, women tease them by alternately offering and withdrawing it, until the children burst into frustrated tears. When this happens all the women present laugh, the object is given the child and he is assured that they are only playing. (81:209)

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[3] John M. Whiting *et al., Field Guide for a Study of Socialization in Five Societies,* Cambridge: Laboratory of Human Development, Harvard University, 1953.

This book is developed through factor analysis of the material in William and Corinne Nydegger's article in *Six Cultures* on child-rearing in Tarong, an Iloko barrio (88). The guidelines used are the same as in the Domingo study,[4] but the relationships of child-rearing to adult traits are more broadly drawn. Continuing their comments on teasing, the authors write:

> The child being subjected to this "game" also learns the proper response—to howl loudly with imitative fury, then laugh when the object is restored. The proper adult response to the constant kidding of others is to grin happily throughout; the relationship is clear. The notable fact is that before he is a year old, the Tarongan child is introduced to the method of social control most prominent in the adult world. (81:209-210)

Nurge, in a short article, finds that mothers are "uncompassionately amused at their offspring's frustration" at weaning when pepper is put on the breasts (86:138).

Other findings are that "Tarong mothers are medium in their expression of warmth and are emotionally stable. They are above average in punishment for aggression." (81:209) Group care for children is common, and sociability is encouraged (81:211). To live alone is considered immoral (81:213), and kin closeness against outsiders is emphasized (81:215-216). Trouble is attributed to evil forces outside (81:216), and parents use fear of spirits to control the child. (For a detailed study of spirits in the Bicol region, see 72.)

The child's most unusual characteristic is his emotional stability and the extent to which others help him. Indeed, the stability is probably due in fact to the presence of others who help (81:220). This, the authors suggest, leads to the close mutual dependence of adults.

Responsibility is introduced early—all children over three have a chore—but self-reliance is not valued. The authors report:

> If children finally carry out tasks, even after several reminders, they are said to have obeyed. In this, as in most Tarongan socialization practices, the resultant learning pattern is directly applicable to the adult world. (81:221)

In substantial agreement Nurge writes, "The children do what they are told to do most of the time if the socializer is insistent enough. However, they do procrastinate a good deal." (87:76) This is from the most recently published of these modern, ecology-oriented child-rearing studies, Nurge's book *Life in a Leyte Village* (87). Also based on Whiting's *Guide*,[5] the field work was done during four months in 1955-56 in a rural barrio in northeastern Leyte.

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[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*

Nurge finds that "tendencies to succorance are highly and fairly consistently rewarded for the first five years of life" by anyone near the child but that work has priority and therefore "the children of poorer parents will be less quickly and less frequently nurtured." (87:73)

Descriptive of the gradualness that Domingo notes, Nurge writes, "Children are regarded as helpless and lovable innocents who gradually grow up and, somehow, in the same slow process begin to exhibit certain natural maturative abilities. The cultural ideal prescribes that performance of these abilities should not be hurried." (87:74)

Along with Domingo, Nurge finds that play is desirable but the possible result of quarrels is feared. Nurge admits, however, that her material on sociability training is not clear (87:77).

Again in general agreement with Domingo's findings, Nurge writes, "Aggression in the play group is deplored and suppressed; against elders it is intolerable." (87:79) Along with aggression and dominance, self-reliance, responsibility and achievement are not emphasized:

> The child who is careless and spills rice or who hurts himself in stacking wood will be judged, not in reference to a level of competence, but by the results of his act. He is more apt to be scolded for the consequences of his inept action than for the ineptness itself. (87:75-76)

In speaking of obedience training and in general summary, Nurge writes:

> Obedience and respect from anyone younger to anyone older is a highly valued behavior system. Disobedience and disrespect are punished most of the time once the child has reached the age of five which is considered to be an "age of reason," a time when the child can discriminate among significant others and be held more responsible for his acts. For the first five years the child is greatly indulged, but even in this period a high premium is placed on submissive, deferent, and respectful behavior to older siblings, parents, and others. (87:76)

After the discussion of child-rearing *per se,* Nurge treats dyadic relations within the family (wife-to-husband, daughter-to-father, sister-to-sister, etc.) in the areas of succorance, aggression, achievement, and so forth (87: 87-129). This is no doubt a step in the right direction but it is only a step, and Nurge's treatment here is rather skimpy, a complaint that could be leveled against the entire book.

Most of these findings are supported in Agaton P. Pal's excellent survey of a Negros barrio: children are objects of affection (93:372), discipline is based on social sanction (93:373), younger children must obey older (93:374). "I had to mind my Elder Brother like my Father," remarks one Filipino (49:265).

Another study, somewhat similar to the Domingo-*Mothers*-Nurge studies, is interested in the differences in child-rearing practices between land

and water dwellers in Sulu (35). The importance of the ecology and the basic household structure is apparent in this study.

Mary R. Hollnsteiner notes that forms of control for children are the structure of the house and the injection of malevolent spirits and that the child fears to be without others and without approval (53).

Child-rearing and socialization is a wide-open field for behavior scientists. Despite the conclusive-sounding findings in the Domingo-*Mothers*-Nurge studies, the reliability of the operations used as well as the generality of the findings may be questioned. *Mothers of Six Cultures* suffers from an inadequate description of measurement procedures and a lack of justification for samples selected. Generality beyond the boundaries of Domingo's studied barrio cannot be justified, and Nurge's search for an isolated fishing village makes justifying the generality of her findings impossible. But this is probably some of the best writing on Philippines culture-and-personality, and certainly the best on child-rearing.

Much of the writing in this area is, of course, unprofessional. Included here are journalists and authors whose main concern is with writing *per se,* not with content—which results in a mastery of form but a loss of substance, a slick superficiality and a lack of depth, indeed a lack of any real meaning. But the unaware reader is likely to mistake cleverness for wisdom, neat phrases for accuracy, and forceful wording for authority.

Typical of this school, and the only example we need bother with, is the popular columnist Carmen Guerrero Nakpil, whose forte is to deplore the "flaws" in the national character and to look for the "true" Filipino. She laments the "borrowing" in Philippine culture: "We have indulged too long in a wanton cosmopolitanism. We have been guilty of a cultural promiscuity that has reduced us to impotence and sterility. We no longer understand ourselves." (83:63) (For more of the same, see 82.)

Her specific complaints seem to be that "we are Oriental about family, Spanish about love, Chinese about business, American about our ambitions" (83:58); and as Leon Ma. Guerrero, her brother, says, "We accept Western standards at their face value." (44:202) This is the familiar three-centuries-in-a-convent-fifty-years-in-Hollywood slant popularized by foreign journalists writing from one-day stopovers in Manila. The point is that Philippine culture can not be understood in the context of Chinese, American, or Spanish culture; it has a context, a logic, and a future of its own.[6]

Unfortunately this misunderstanding also permeates some colleges. A Jesuit scholar in an Ateneo de Manila University publication plays on the same theme:

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[6] For an excellent statement on judging Filipino culture on its own terms, see F. Landa Jocano, "Rethinking Filipino Cultural Heritage," *Lipunan,* Vol. I, No. 1 (1965), pp. 53-72.

> The Filipino today suffers from a form of cultural schizophrenia. He is basically a Malay, yet he is in a state of restlessness and lack of direction brought about by the conflicting pressures of his Malay, Hispanic and American orientation. (4:235)

It is understandable that Filipinos might have difficulty judging alien traits by that alien culture's standards. No people are expected to do this. In addition, the eminent anthropologist Robert B. Fox of the National Museum writes, "The theory that the present character of Filipino culture and society has been due to 'waves of external influences' is vastly overdrawn." (40:39) In a cogent survey Fox finds that the basis for current Philippine culture artifacts and personality traits is indigenous (40).

Nakpil's concept of Philippine culture-and-personality finds its behavior science counterpart in the works of Jaime Bulatao, a psychologist at Ateneo de Manila University. His term for "cultural promiscuity" and "cultural schizophrenia" is "split-level Christianity." (17A)

Bulatao, in an article on changing social values (13), betrays his total Western orientation by calling, in essence, for an adoption of Western culture. He suggests that Philippine values have not changed enough and that Filipinos need to develop "social consciousness and individual responsibility to fill the demands of a mature democracy." (13:206) Loaded with value judgments, the article speaks of developing "liberty, responsibility, economic productivity, initiative" because such values are necessary for "national survival." (13:206-207) All these terms are understood, of course, in a Western context.

According to Bulatao, Philippine society is "unbalanced' in values and does not have a "mature" democracy. (We thought that bio-organismic sociology had gone out of style with the demise of Herbert Spencer.[7]) In conclusion Bulatao writes, "I have sufficient faith in the democratic process to believe that, given time, the democratic process itself will gradually work out a solution."

This may be a case of blaming the foot for not fitting the shoe. Perhaps Bulatao's time would be better spent examining whether Philippine social structure and personality is compatible with his idea of democracy and perhaps discerning and encouraging uniquely Filipino institutions rather than urging a wholesale overthrow of Philippine culture. (See, for example, in 103 an account of a barrio lieutenant's ineffectiveness when he is not a member of the proper prestige group.)

In his Presidential Inaugural Address to the Psychological Association of the Philippines (17), Bulatao puts forth perhaps the most unsound statement in Philippine behavior science. Lamenting that "the psychology of the

[7] For a summary and evaluation of Spencer and others of the bio-organismic school, see Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Comtemporary Sociological Theories: Through the First Quarter of the Twentieth Century,* New York: Harper & Row, 1964, pp. 194-218.

masses remains that of children," that the masses suffer from a "fixation at the . . . pre-industrial, pre-democratic" level, he asks, "What can we do to advance the cause of national maturity?" (17:3-4) Echoing Nakpil's remark that Filipinos do not understand themselves, Bulatao, incredibly enough, suggests "organizing discussion groups for self-understanding," (17:5) group therapy to introduce the masses to the wonders of industrial, democratic society.

Bulatao does not seem to realize that the democracy he speaks of is a historical development peculiar to a certain people, a certain place, and to certain conditions—namely the American middle-class as a product of several centuries of Western history.

On a scientific level Bulatao has interested himself in Philippine values. Unfortunately he uses American tests and transfers these whole and without alteration from their Western setting. Understandably their applicability in the Philippines is questionable, and their reliability has yet to be proved.

Using the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule, he comes up with several findings (15): provincial men and women are more similar than Manila men and women; the traditional element is stronger in women, and the city has a greater impact on men. The Filipino values small-group belongingness; he is social minded, prefers structured decisions to risk-taking, and is loyal to his primary group. In the obverse of this he feels the "need to maintain distance from strangers" (15:177) and has a "high-abasement, high-deference, low-affiliation drive." (15:177)

The Filipino, according to Bulatao's study, has a high achievement and nurturant need. The findings show the importance of authority and aggression, and since the culture does not allow frank verbal aggression, there are instead violent hostile acts, poison pen letters, and the like. The Filipino wants to submit to those in authority and dominate those below him; and the Filipino is sensitive to others.

Heterosexuality findings in Bulatao's study are ambiguous. All his conclusions may be questioned because of the probable cultural inappropriateness of the testing instrument and the lack of evidence for the generality of the findings. The study apparently has not been replicated, and there is no evidence for the instrument's reliability in Philippine culture or for the adequacy of Bulatao's techniques in general.

This questionableness of Western tests is illustrated by a paper using the Army General Classification Test and finding that 2 per cent of the officers in the Philippine Armed Forces are morons (30). Whatever our opinion of the military mind, we must admit this is a somewhat questionable finding no doubt traceable to the cultural inappropriateness of the instrument.

A study of occupation rankings concluded that "respondents have a plurality of value orientations." (121:397) If multi-value orientations are prevalent among Filipinos, how reliable then is an Edwards Personal Preference Schedule? Is it not better for Filipino psychologists to develop their own tools peculiar to their own culture and to their own culture's needs instead of relying ovinely on alien methods and concepts of questionable usefulness?[8]

Bulatao also has done considerable work with *hiya,* which he defines as "a painful emotion arising from a relationship with an authority figure or with society, inhibiting self-assertation in a situation which is perceived as dangerous to one's ego." (14:428) Bulatao speaks of "the unindividuated ego" and says:

> Because its security is found not within itself but within the group to which it is bound, it dares not let go of that group's approval. Furthermore, it dares not assert itself independently of the group for fear that it will fail and thus incur the group's "We told you so." (14:435)

However, these are neither operational definitions nor accounts of functional relations, but merely impressions and unsupported inferences from unqualified samples of undocumented behavior; and we are not at all certain just what *hiya* is and just how it functions.

Fox, explaining self-esteem and *hiya* (38), sheds light on those Filipino characteristics that Western-oriented observers label lack of sportsmanship, hospitality, politeness, modesty, and amok. The concept is social and operates through personal contact; the highest chances for loss of self-esteem come through contacts with non-kin (38:430). This implies fear, for if the "debtor" is shamed (by being asked for payment), violence may occur (38:433). A person with severe *walang hiya* (absense of shame) has no feeling of debt, no respect for kinship, authority, or age (38:434). An Indian observer report that *hiya* is the same word and has the same meaning in Hindu [*sic*] (112).

Writing of self-esteem among the Maranaw, investigators describe it as ideological, as an expression of the social system, as related to Maranaw society (in Manila blood enemies can be friends), and as sustained by social coercion (104).

In still another paper Bulatao sees four values reflected in newspaper society pages: social acceptance, friendship, philanthrophy, and power and authority as a "public affirmation of respect and loyalty to . . . authority figures . . . [or] to maintain the established social structure." (18:149)

In a brief profile of the Filipino, Bulatao finds him encompassing these characteristics:

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[8] See Gloria D. Feliciano, "Limits of Western Social Research Methods in Rural Philippines: The Need for Innovation," *Lipunan,* Vol. I, No. 1 (1965), pp. 114-128.

> Retiringness within the group; dependency, value for close emotional ties; fear of face-to-face relations with strangers, preference for a system of strong personal controls, authoritarianism; strong social taboos on public manifestations of sex; suppressed, hostile needs, probably resulting from prohibitions and controls; need for a highly structured, traditional environment. (14:436)

In relation to this, Charles R. Kaut, in a recent study, emphasizes the importance in Tagalog society of prescribed behavior (63).

In summary then, according to Bulatao, the Filipino protects himself

> ... against the dangers of the harsh world outside the family by great carefulness, the care not to take unnecessary risks (traditionalism); the determination to be careful of what other people say (*hiya*), not to antagonize others or create potential enemies (smooth interpersonal relations), to seek the approval and protection of important people (authoritarianism). (16:26)

But Bulatao's studies are totally vulnerable in such mundane areas as sampling, measurement reliability, response error, evidence for generality, and internal consistency; however, what is most bothersome, and what we think contributes heavily to his depressingly negative portrait of the Filipino, is his commitment to an essentially alien ideology—we can not help but suspect some implicit bias in his studies.

At least two other behavior scientists besides Bulatao have made impressive attempts to get at the Filipino's world-view. Abraham L. Felipe, a psychologist at the University of the Philippines, made an analysis of the heroes in popular, post-World War II Tagalog short stories. Already mentioned is Pal of Silliman University and his extensive socio-anthropological survey of a rural barrio in Negros (93). Felipe, in his study, concludes:

> The world of the hero is both hostile to his needs and beyond his control. Because of this, he shows toward it attitudes of passivity, resignation, conformity, and compliance. Faced with a world that is unmanageable and particularly hostile to his spontaneous impulses, the hero adjusts by inhibiting these impulses that endanger his security even when he has to suffer in so doing. He is not only able to tolerate suffering but also to be insensitive or unaware of it. The main value he shows is the need to control impulses that are evil; and . . . evil is represented [as coming] from the self—due to thoughts, heredity or simply "nature." (36:from abstract)

Felipe's conclusions come from sound scientific methodology, the use of thematic apperception technique analysis. This might be compared with a literary attempt to analyze Filipino personality through Tagalog literature. Bienvenido Lumbera comes up with some vague reference to a passive acceptance of the *status quo,* supposedly inherent in Filipino "nature" (71:168) —which, of course, tells us nothing. "Identification of love with loyalty, the need for human solidarity, and the desire for progress or prosperity" are three themes Lumbera identifies (71:167); the last, the desire for change,

clashes with the passivity—which, according to Lumbera, "alternately vexes and amuses our sociologists." (71:168)

In Pal's work (93) the Filipino sees a universe integrated with supernatural things, humans, natural resources, and man-made things. These four elements are undifferentiated; an effect on one affects another, and the Filipinos'

> . . . guide for behavior is their concept of man's place in the universe . . . . Behavior which promotes the values of the other elements enables a man to earn [grace], and behavior which devalues the other elements earns a person [curse]. (93:449-450)

Richard M. Willis's study, based on questionnaires to 101 college students, finds that "the national self-images stress good intentions instead of efficiency." (127:4) Filipinos rate themselves highly friendly, kind, and peace-loving, but not scientific, industrious, or thrifty.

Perhaps the most widely-read writer purporting to give a picture of the Filipino world-view, through an exploration of his values system and his behavior in social interaction, is Frank Lynch, director of the Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila University. Although he is trained as an anthropologist and his writings are couched in behavior science terminology, much of his work is not scientific. Based on hunches and casual observations, several of his articles are difficult to evaluate because he often gives conclusion with no supporting data, confusingly interchanges terminology (see his uses of *value, pattern, norm, postulate* in 73), and proceeds with no apparent method. Perhaps these articles should be considered as informal essays.

So far the best criticism of Lynch's work has been a paper by anthropologist F. Landa Jocano of the National Museum (61). Lynch, in his most widely circulated essay (73), had isolated what he considered important values in Filipino behavior: social acceptance, economic security, and social mobility. Concentrating on social acceptance, Lynch had advanced the SIR (smooth interpersonal relations) thesis and its corollaries of shame and self-esteem.

Writing of the great attention this thesis has received (due partly to the easy readability of Lynch's work and the efficiency of the Institute in disseminating its views), Jocano says:

> The impact of the SIR thesis on the thinking of students of Filipino society . . . is undeniably great. Indeed, it has not only generated a tremendous amount of discussion among students but it has also led many, especially foreign observers and some scholars, to accept it as *the guideline* for understanding Filipino ways of thinking and behaving, and as *the measure* of what one can socially expect from a Filipino. Because SIR is fast becoming a stereotype image of Filipino personality and culture and because its proponents continue to write about it uncritically, these

> questions are in order and need to be asked openly: How empirically valid is SIR? How legitimate is its identification as the basic theme of Filipino culture? Has it ever been tested in the field? (61:282-283)

Through questionnaires, focused interviews, and participant-observation, Jocano tested the thesis against his research in rural central Panay and in Sta. Ana, Manila; and, finding it wanting, he devastates the SIR thesis in such areas as the use of unqualified samples, gross generalizing "out of meager empirical data" (61:290), the confusion of norms for behavior, and Lynch's habit of projecting his own model on the people instead of perceiving the cultural model of the people themselves.

"Because of lack of data," Jocano continues, "we can not, as of date, speak with confidence about the basic theme of Filipino culture," much less about SIR as this theme (61:285). Indeed, Jocano finds his areas of study "fraught with internal conflicts." (61:286). Instead of the usual impression given by foreign observers of tranquility and swaying palms, inefficient laziness and smiling faces, the slick comfortableness of an SIR society, Jocano pictures groups living in fear for their safety and fighting for survival amid eternal conflict.

This seems a more accurate portrait, especially when viewed against the backround of social unrest laid out, necessarily hazily, by the social historians. Currently investigating revitalization movements[9] in the Philippines, David R. Sturtevant, with refreshing metaphors and a virile style, has written several articles that bear close study (117, 118, 119). These are preliminary statements and primarily descriptive, but they open a virgin area for culture-and-personality investigations in the Philippines as well as opportunities for those gathering vitally needed data in peasant history. How are such movements related to social interaction? to culture traits? to personality predispositions? to perceptions of leadership roles? to social stratification? to social structure? And how are they related to the alleged Filipino trait of social ingratiation?

One popular article on social acceptance claims that the Filipino's ability to get along with others springs from his recognition of the others' worth and dignity, from his regard for the feeling of others (89).

In relation to this and family unity, there is some evidence that land is more important than the goodwill of kin. In a study of how sorcery is used when government and religious controls fail, Richard W. Lieban notes the incidence of disputes in areas of kinship (69).

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[9] The term is from Antony F. C. Wallace "Revitalization Movements," *American Anthropologist,* Vol. 58, No. 2 (April 1956), p. 264-281, who proposes it to replace such terms as vitalistic movement, millenarian movement, agrarian unrest, peasant revolt, chiliastic movement, social movement, charismatic movement, cargo cult, nativistic movement, sect formation, and so forth.

At any rate, although Lynch is modeling his studies after American sociological works, he is coming to conclusions with only a fraction of the data gathered by the American sociologists before *they* ventured conclusions. Any body of data taken from a few, simple observations or operations is subject to numberless interpretations. Concepts can be arrived at only when sufficient data has been gathered by numerous operations and then subjected to examination from numerous angles. One thing seen for certain so far in this review is that there is not enough valid data on which to base any final conclusions about Philippine culture-and-personality.

Hollnsteiner, who is also from the Ateneo Institute of Philippine Culture, was one of the first investigators to deal with the Tagalog concept of *utang na loob* (a debt of gratitude). (52). A comparative study of her work and Kaut's (67) notes that "Hollnsteiner seems interested in cataloging and listing, and then in describing arbitrary situations; Kaut, in dynamic processes and selcted, representative examples." (67:169) Hollnsteiner's work in general lacks depth and professionalism.

Pointing out the importance of *utang na loob,* Kaut writes:

> Because the system operates to define the limits of socially meaningful relations among individuals and, to a large degree, determines the nature of such relations, its understanding is crucial to an understanding of bilateral social organization and some of its structural basis in the Philippines. (64:256)

Translating *utang na loob* as "a debt of primary obligation" (64:256-257), Kaut builds a picture of a rural Tagalog barrio in which all social relations are based on an ever-increasing upside-down pyramid of *utang na loob* governing each face-to-face interaction. Kaut emphasizes the social context in which *utang na loob* operates and puts its development into three stages: initiatory, unstable fluctuation, and a

> . . . culmination of a long, intimate, and active obligation association: complete reciprocity of mutual support and aid so that two individuals become complementary *utang na loob* partners. In this stage, one is never exclusively in debt to the other but, rather, they are co-equally indebted. (64:266)

Except for these two preliminary studies, published six and seven years ago, nothing has been done on this seemingly important aspect of Philippine social structure.

Hollnsteiner, interested in another study in finding channels for deviants from traditional norms who are needed for industrialization, lists two mechanisms enforcing conformity: *pakikisama* (roughly, getting along with others), and the disallowing of privacy (53).

Franklin G. Ashburn finds *pakikisama* and *utang na loob* operating in criminal gangs (6:141). In an insight into conflicting values of primary

loyalties, Ashburn notes that gang members thought that committing crimes while under the influence of alcohol relieved them of their *personal* responsibility but they did not expect the courts to find them not guilty because of it (6:140).

Another mechanism often found in the popular literature is *bahala na* (roughly, as God wills). Related to a fatalistic outlook, this characteristic appears in the numerous lists of Filipino "character flaws," such as Delfin Fl. Batacan's list (10:3-4), *wala kang paki-alam* (mind your own business), *pasikatan/palalu-an* (show-off), *bahala na/talaga ng Diyos,* fiestas, *amor propio* (self-esteem), poor sportsmanship, gossip, *ningas kugon* (short lived enthusiasm), and *masamang inggit/panunumpa* (jealous envy). But Richard L. Stone and Linda D. Nelson, through participant-observation and structured and unstructured interviews in Sulu, fail to find much of the man-subjugated-to-nature value, despite its currency in the popular literature (114). Nevertheless, a recent study of children showed fatalistic explanations of events prevalent among the subjects (37).

Bahala na is usually viewed as a predisposition to inaction, but it is perhaps more accurately seen as an explanation of a past event. Lieban, in analyzing among the Cebuanos the effects of fatalistic folk medical beliefs on behavior, says:

> These beliefs do not stifle efforts to find a cure . . . even when treatment after treatment fails. Only the death of the patient is likely to establish the view that his previous treatments were wasted attemps to change a foregone conclusion. (70:179)

Lieban then asks whether

> . . . fatalistic beliefs are cognitive factors which in themselves actually discourage, as futile, actions designed to affect the outcome of an event, or whether such actions are perceived as futile because of experienced incapacities to alter conditions or events—death itself in the Cebuano examples reviewed—incapacities which are then explained or rationalized fatalistically. (70:179)

The second interpretation applies in Lieban's paper and probably has a wider application. (For other views of *bahala na,* see 10:27, 47:116, 88:755, 91:115,118.)

Gathering other personality characteristics mentioned by investigators in various papers, we see that Hart, in his excellent study of the role of the plaza in culture change (51), notices that the more progressive the barrio, the more pretentious and ornate is the plaza. Further, the wealthy Filipinos living near the plaza have to maintain status and play the role expected of them. Hart observes:

> Most Filipino principalia, it would appear, prefer to display their wealth, to build elaborate houses, dress pretentiously, and impress visitors with their finan-

> cial resources. One need but to dine with a wealthy Filipino family to realize the tendency toward conspicuous consumption of wealth. (51:50)

LeRoy in 1905 also commented on the ostentatious display of wealth (68:77). And Rizal's portrait of Capitan Tiago (102) is an 1890 picture of the Filipino principalia.

Castillo reports that occupations with ceremonial titles ranked higher in prestige than those with income (23). And in a study of prejudices, George Weightman finds that Filipinos tend to prefer Caucasians to Orientals (126). Another study reveals that Filipinos think highly of Americans (11).

Still collecting various characteristics, we note that one investigator mentions non-interference, defining it as a behavior to avoid embarrassing the victim and to avoid putting him under obligation (*utang na loob*) (92). A study of proverbs also finds a stress on non-involvement (12). The investigator's interpretation is that the Filipino fears satiation of his emotions from too much involvement. In Pal's richly descriptive survey he notes that "adaptation to, rather the mastery of nature, is the orientation of the people's behavior." (93:454)

The only reference to what is popularly termed "legalism"—the Filipino's alleged preoccupation with form and lack of comprehension of substance—comes in a clinical study of a Filipino in California (54), who gives over-technical answers to questions on the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale. For example, in answer to the question why people born deaf are usually unable to talk, he writes, "There is an impairment in the main organs that connect the main nerve of the olfactory nerve and the nerve connecting the eye to the brain." (54:286)

Josefina D. Constantino's paper (28) concentrates on another alleged aspect of Filipino personality: "His disinterest in and inability to handle ideas profitably." (28:20) According to the investigator, the Filipino has a weak sense of the self and the other and so is non-observant. This is not supported in any understandable psychological terms, and so her thesis is unclear.

But "a weak sense of the self" suggests group identity, and here, for once, the literature is quite clear. Hollnsteiner, along with others, notes that privacy is disallowed and that the child fears to be alone (53). Non-membership in a group leads to alienation, according to one study (46); another also upholds the thesis of strong in-group loyalties against outsiders (126).

In a description of a religious sect, we see graphically illustrated the resistance of an in-group to outsiders. Discipline here is also controlled by social sanctions, the threat of alienation (107; for an expanded treatment, see 106).

The importance of peer influence and social setting is emphasized in a paper on ritual mourning (26). The investigator shows that there is a cultural set for stimuli, triggering responses in certain settings.

In a cross-cultural study of Filipino, American, and German youth, Stoodley finds

> ...that Filipino youth place higher emphasis on authority obedience than American youth, that they attribute less power and prerogative on the one hand and less submission on the other to structured relations of authority and obedience than German youth, that they see the individual as closely identified with the group and, as a result, make less distinction between group rights and individual rights than either German or American youth. (115:560-561)

Buenaventura M. Villanueva, investigating whether barrio people can govern themselves, reports that unilateral decisions are almost completely absent and that group consultations are the means of obtaining decisions (124:17). He further reports that the people tend to rely on outside help instead of self-help for barrio projects (124:21).

Along similar lines, employing samples from two Iloilo towns a study of attitudes towards the community school movement finds, "People are so dependent on their leader that they can not make outright decisions regarding their own walfare." (20:18) The investigator, however, neglected to mention who decided what "their own welfare" was.

The current emphasis in behavior science on the processes of change [10] is reflected in Philippine literature in works other than those concerned with implementing grass-roots self-government.

In a study of crime (31), John F. Doherty places the blame on rapid social change for the seeming widespread disregard of institutional agencies. In traditional Philippine society controls are informal, and in the emerging nation-state, formal controls are resented, he explains.

Related to change, an analysis of 421 dreams of a sea people reveals that areas of cultural stress revolve around food, spirits, animals (but not sea animals), illness, and death. Fear of the unfamiliar and strange is emphasized (84). A study of Silliman students' attitude toward marriage finds, "Students themselves do not crave change." (99:226)

Supposedly a primary vehicle for change, as well as a means of forming personality and promulgating nation-wide attitudes, is education, especially education in government-supervised schools.

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[10] In anthropology, for example, Laura Thompson peaks of the shift in focus from culture contact to culture change in "Is Applied Anthropology Helping to Develop a Science of Man?" *Human Organization,* Vol. 24, No. 4 (Winter 1965), pp. 277-287; in social psychology, see any recent issue of *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* for the emphasis on attitude change; and in sociology we have the focus on social change.

One of the themes in the autobiography collected by Hart is the high evaluation of formal education (50); Lumbera mentions "the constant stress on the value of an education" found in Tagalog literature (71:168). Another investigator, however, reports, "The notion that common sense and experience will prove superior to book learning in the end appears repeatedly in Filipino songs (105-129). Possibly, through historical experience, Filipinos have come to value education primarily as a means for avoiding distasteful labor and for gaining social prestige, but not for the sake of acquiring knowledge *per se*. More probably there is simply widespread knowledge that education is power.

Although Hart says the teacher has replaced the priest as a model for behaviour in the rural barrios, he doubts whether the school has done much for the life of the lowest peasant (51:21-26). Camilo Osias, in an earlier work, also stressed the importance of the teacher as a model (90:101). Writing a short and useful political survey of rural barrios, John H. Romani says that the big landlord and the manager of the sugar or rice mill are the leaders. And "the local school teacher and barrio priest are also leaders in certain areas of barrio life." (103:229) But we are not certain whether to equate "leader" with "model for behavior."

At any rate the alleged "magic" of education, one of the themes of middle-class America,[11] seems to have failed to change the Philippines. Two astute investigators observe:

> In historical perspective, it is clear that the shift from a Spanish to an American orientation had more impact on the organization and curricular aspects of the schools than on basic attitudes toward educational procedures. (55:133)

Another says that the school "for the most part is still highly authoritarian and insistent on rote learning." (17:6) And Stone and Nelson's recent study of missionary schools in Sulu finds "no clear indications that education changes value orientations at secondary and higher levels." (114-17)

Much of the difficulty in inducing culture change through education has been traced to the language problem. Formal education is in English, and having new ideas expressed in a foreign language does not hasten their acceptance. According to Alfredo V. Lagmay, "Even for the elite, the vernacular has a power over attitudes and feelings hardly possible of approximation by means of the English language." (66: 42) Collateral with the enforcement of English is the relative undevelopment of the vernacular for reflecting the world outside the home and barrio. Constantino comments, "Thinking in Tagalog and expressing oneself in English not only

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[11] Leslie A. White, *The Science of Culture*, New York: Farrar, Straus and Co., 1949, pp. 344-347; Cora Du Bois, "The Dominant Value Profile of American Culture," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 57, No. 1 (Dec. 1955), p. 1237.

leads to a lack of power in expression, but even to imprecision, and necessarily to lack of self-confidence." (28:24)

This emphasis on democracy and formal education has resulted in a number of rather strange writings on Philippine philosophy, character education, nation-building, and so forth. One representative writer of this type is Osias, who has been an important figure in Philippine education and politics for several decades. In a rather extraordinary reading of personal pronouns in Philippine languages, he stresses, in a textbook for teachers, the interdependence of men and advances what he calls the "tayo concept" as a unifying philosophy for Filipinos (91); this is based on Philippine pronouns: *ako* (I), *kita* (we-two), *kami* (we exclusive), *tayo* (we inclusive).

From this sort of work to the early anthropologists is a long jump, but a happy one. For some time anthropology was the only social discipline interested in the Philippines, and at the apex of early anthropology is A. L. Kroeber's *Peoples of the Philippines* (65), which first discusses the physical characteristics of the people, their speech, the material artifacts, religion, and art. His discussion of society, however, is based on early Spanish and American misconceptions about ruling classes, plebians, and slaves. Kroeber's book also contains a discussion of the Ifugaos' well-developed law system and their lack of the nation-state concept. An excellent study at the time of its publication, it is, however, based on investigations from the 1910s; much of the material needs updating.[12]

Among the most famous works by the pre-World War II anthropologists is Roy F. Barton's autobiographies of three Ifugaos (8). Interestingly there is a test at the end of the book to quiz the reader on how well he understands Ifugao culture.

The first book by a modern Filipino anthropologist is Marcelo Tangco's *The Christian Peoples of the Philippines* (120). This book is most useful as a collection of regional stereotypes, which take up about one half of the book: "The Bisayan is the most carefree" (120:53); "Northern Tagalogs are good-natured, faithfully patient, easy to satisfy, humble and modest, very hospitable, honest, kindhearted, and lovers of peace" (120:60); "As a subordinate, [the Ilocano] has scarcely an equal as to loyalty and obedience to his superior" (120:66); etc.; etc.

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[12] Roy F. Barton, *Ifugao Law,* Berkeley: University of California, 1919; Laura W. Benedict, "A Study of Bagobo Ceremonial, Magic, and Myth," *Annals,* New York Academy of Sciences, Vol. 25, 1916; Fay C. Cole, *Traditions of the Tinguian,* Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1915; H. Otley Beyer, *Population of the Philippine Islands in 1916,* Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1917.

These selections are justly placed among the classics of Philippine research, but concepts have changed and new findings have been made, and much of this data is now inaccurate.

Also these titles, along with Kroeber's book, are ethnographic in the strictest sense and are not concerned with personality.

The book also contains many general cliches, such as, the Filipino is "easy going and apathetic to hard work" and other such gems as "The Filipino is very conservative" (120:33); "By nature the Filipino is not critical" (120:37); "He is well known for his peace-loving disposition" (120:41); and so on for almost every page.

Although published in 1951, most of the data seems to come from the Beyer collection of pre-World War II materials. The bibliography lists only nine titles dated after 1913 (and five of these are pre-1930)—perhaps indicative of the letdown among American anthropologists after the first blush of enthusiasm over having a colonial laboratory and also of the lack of trained Filipino investigators.

Likewise, very little has been done in the area of personality-and-culture and social stratification. Nurge writes, "Very little investigation [has] been made of social class in the Philippines." (87:40) What few studies there are have been confused by the writings on pre-Spanish accounts in describing a well-stratified feudal society for the Philippines—complete with nobility, freemen, serfs, and slaves.[13] This erroneous history has been thoroughly disseminated to schoolchildren through the textbooks of the most consistent and influential offenders, Eufronio Alip (1:61-63) and Gregorio F. Zaide (128:2).

Except for a tendency toward hearsay scholarship and a desire to support politically exploitable myths, scholars should have corrected this error soon after the Spaniards left. For one of the earliest exposés, see Charles K. Warriner's article published in 1960 (125). However, the error still appears, for example, in Lynch's article in 1965 (75). Fox is doing the most impressive work in this area so far (see 40 and recent studies soon to be published). The resultant rewriting of pre-Spanish history will considerably influence future thinking on culture-and-personality.

In contemporary studies, Lynch, through the reputational approach to social stratification, finds that class in a Bicol town is based on wealth and that the people know who has the money and that everyone is divided into the "big people" and the "little people." (74) What he is investig-

[13] In addition to describing Philippine social structure in the only terms they knew the Spaniards probably wanted to impress on their contemporaries that they had conquered a highly organized and politically respectable people.

The rewriting of history by conquerors is as old as history itself. H. G. Creel, in explaining the difficulties in untangling ancient Chinese history, writes (*Chinese Thought from Confucius to Mao Tse-tung*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953, p. 15), "The justification of conquest has always been an embarrassing business. It usually calls for a certain amount of mythology, washed down the throats of the people by means of propoganda. Recently this mythology has often taken the form of a doctrine of 'manifest destiny'; the Chou rulers called their doctrine that of 'the decree of Heaven.'"

And there is little doubt that the early Americans had their own reasons for emphasizing that the Filipinos had always been an appendage of some empire. History by conquerors can rarely be trusted.

ating, of course, are stereotypes. According to his analysis, the lower class, who learn to expect some help from the upper class, are content with their lot because deprivation is relative and they feel they have no right to riches. Like much of Lynch's writings this is probably a bit too simple and pat. It fails to take cognizance of the explosive consumer revolution noted in other papers (see 54, 51, 66) in which the poor are made conscious of their deprivation through movies, advertising, transistor radios, the marketplace. But then this dynamic inflow of information and outflow of desires, discontent, drives, wishes, dissents, aspirations (see Sturtevant's articles 117, 118, 119) hardly fits Lynch's concept of a rather static, conservative, interdependent, SIR society. Nurge, seemingly more sensitive to the nuances of Philippine society, finds it difficult to divide her Leyte village into two classes (87:42).

Chester L. Hunt, in a Philippine college-level introductory sociology textbook (56), portrays a nation-wide division of social classes by income and associated behavior patterns. But much of the material is impressionistic and some of it seems inconsistent and at variance with other, more respected studies.

In a study of the social origins and career histories of Filipino entrepreneurs in manufacturing, John J. Carroll finds that individuals from the upper strata are "tremendously overrepresented." (21:110) There is apparently a low rate of socio-economic mobility.

A profile of sugar mill workers finds their society very stratified (34). Social class is important in obtaining employment (34:5) and has a hold on the person even after economic mobility (34:6-7). The investigator feels that most of the gambling and drinking found here is an attempted relief from what the worker views as stifling class strictures and discrimination in a highly regulated community (34:12).

In relation to this, a study of the development of awareness of social class among small children discovers that first-grade children are already conscious of class (80; see also 113).[14]

The schools and the marketplace are centers of class awareness, and the church also helps develop class consciousness. Hart writes:

> An informant said that one Sunday she was sitting on the family bench when an old woman from a distant barrio entered the church. There were no empty seats. My informant offered the old lady, wearied by the walk, a place on the family bench; the courtesy was shyly refused. Later my informant's aunt criticized her for this action, saying she had belittled herself and her family. (51)

[14] An American classic of this type (Gary A. Stendler, *Children of Brasstown,* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1949) finds little appreciable class awareness until the fourth grade.

(For further study of Philippine religion and its role in social interaction, see 48.) This is an historical function of the church as noted by Rizal (102) and LeRoy, who wrote, "The principalia exercised jealously the privilege of occupying seats of honour at the centre of the church." (68:50)

Indeed, a striking characteristic cropping up in the literature is the consistency of Philippine culture-and-personality through the centuries and in different situations.

In a paper that emphasizes the combining of the old and the new, the writer investigated two villages of the "New Christians" in La Union (9). These "New Christians" are Igorots who have abandoned their mountains to become lowlanders. The author's objective was to investigate how ancient customs have withstood the impact of modernization. Unfortunately the study is seriously marred by two flaws: We learn only of norms and not of actual behavior, and the author, obviously not a trained behavior scientist, speaks continually of "the superiority of modern civilization," (9:190) biasing her viewpoint so that she is unable to properly answer the question of her study.

But the consistency through time is evident: The "New Christians" still observe old religious customs (9); stereotyping is indigenous, not a carry-over from Spanish or American attitudes (11); concepts in education remain the same (55); folk medical practices persist (60); local speech patterns persist (66); family life remains much the same (96); religious beliefs are retained (59).

And also evident is the consistency through varied situations. Ashburn reports: "The conflict gang, whose members have few or no solid family ties has, in fact assumed the functions of the ritual kinship similar to the compadrazgo functions in 'legitimate' society." (6:154)

In a description of pre-Spanish times that could well do for today, Fox writes that small and scattered communities existed near the coast and rivers (settlement nucleation came with the Spaniards); the communities had a weak political structure and were socially divided by kin groups and united by fluid alliances. Leadership and authority was vested in older persons, and decisions were arrived at through consensus. The society was structured by generations in a bilateral extended family (40).

Striking similarities can be found in Rizal's novels in the late 1800s, LeRoy's observations (68), and Pal's (93) and Hart's (51) contemporary descriptions of Philippine life, of the gossipping, the gambling, the cockfighting, the marketplace, the church, and the school. LeRoy wrote:

> There exists no such line of distinction between village and farm as may be found in countries which have reached some degree of industrial development. . . . The Filipino town comprises both town and country in the ordinary sense of these words. Under one government unit, the old pueblo of Spanish phraseology, are

> included the main centre of population, which may range anywhere from a cluster of two hundred houses to a thriving rural city with perhaps a cathedral church, with secondary school and even a printing press, and the outlying rural districts, sometimes spreading over an area of forty or even more square miles, in which are various subordinate little centers of population, with from ten to several hundred houses in each, commonly called barrios. (68:41-42)

So, having gone from the barrios of the 1900 and earlier to the rural barrios and the cities of the 1960s and then back again through 128 selections, we feel we should know something about Philippine culture-and-personality but—we do not. This is logically the place for a summary and synthesis, a grand review of Philippine culture-and-personality as reflected in our 128 writings, but significantly we lack all confidence for doing so because of the very nature of the writings themselves. Instead we will review the general character of these selections and the state of current behavior science in the Philippines.

The quality of most of the writings is poor: the non-scientific ones are not good literature and the scientific ones lose our confidence through inadequate methodology, unreliable operations, and unjustifiable conclusions. The most outstanding features of contemporary research on Philippine culture-and-personality are the lack of professionalism, the uncritical use of Western tools, the abundance of premature conclusions, the lack of intrascholastic criticism, and the implicit commitment to democratic ideology.

Philippine behavior science is of course young, and perhaps professionalism will come with age, but seemingly the best professional behavior scientists produce very little, while the poorer amateurish ones produce a great deal. The professional organizations must reopen the question of membership standards and the Philippine journals must reexamine their publication standards.

A question that should be answered soon concerns the universality of American behavior science and the universal application of its methods. Are statistics reliable in the Philippines? What adaptations will have to be made? Are there such things as cultural sociology and cultural psychology? What significant studies can be made of the sociology of science in the Philippines? In other words, are Western behavior science principles universal[15] or are they assumptions based on samples inadequate and unrepresentative in time, space, and culture, and evolved by methods peculiar to a few relatively isolated Western societies?[16]

Another set of questions concerns the general condition, quality and quantity, of Philippine culture-and-personality data. Are broad conclusions

[15] For the sake of simplicity we are assuming here a homogeneity in Western behavior science that does not exist.

[16] See Charles K. Warriner, "The Prospects for a Philippine Sociology," *Philippine Sociological Review,* Vol. IX, Nos. 1-2 (Jan.-April 1961), pp. 12-18.

justified now from the data available? Is there, indeed, any such creature as the "lowland Filipino"? Our feelings on this point are obvious throughout this paper. We believe that groups studied must be specified and that for some time still any paper purporting to speak of the "lowland Filipino" should be considered invalid.

Until the May 1966 Philippine Sociological Convention, the absence of criticism in the behavior sciences was striking. At that convention Jocano criticized Lynch (61) and Milton Barnett criticized Bulatao (7). But Lynch's rather obviously questionable SIR thesis had first come out in 1960 and had since then been reprinted several times and never seriously revised or challenged. Bulatao has been turning out papers just as long. Criticism is healthy and indeed necessary for the life of a science; and we look forward to more criticism, criticism that should advance professionalism, modify Western tools and introduce novel Philippine ones, and criticism to make those conclusion-prone writers think twice before they jump.

Ideological commitment of scientists usually refers to the intradisciplinary schools of thought. But behavior science in the Philippines is yet too undeveloped for this. In anthropology, for example, the Philippines is merely an outpost of the University of Chicago and the structure approach of Radcliffe-Brown *et al.* However, we can also speak of scientific commitments to political ideology or to a particular ideoculture. It is widely accepted, for example, that there is a distinctly communist psychology in the Soviet Union; [17] and we need look further than Seymour Martin Lipset, a "brand name" sociologist, to find a distinctly American sociology, committed to white, protestant, middle-class, democratic values.[18] The Philippine scientist's commitment must be to neither of these, and if the ideal of a politically uncommitted social science is impossible, then the Philippine commitment must be to a distinctly Philippine ideology, a Filipino ideoculture.

[17] For a specific example, see Herbert L. Pick, "Perception in Soviet Psychology," *Psychological Bulletin,* Vol. 62, No. 1 (July 1964), pp. 21-35; for a general survey, see K. V. Ostrovitjapov *et al.* (eds.), *Social Sciences in the USSR,* Paris: Mouton & Co., 1965, esp. pp. ix-x, 79-137.

[18] See Dusky Lee Smith, "Seymour Martin Lipset: Sociologist of Happiness," *Liberation,* Vol. XI, No. 4 (July 1966), pp. 25-33; for the nationalistic biases of American behavior scientists in general, see Francis L. K. Hsu, "American Core Value and National Character," in *Psychological Anthropology,* Francis L. K. Hsu (ed). Homewood, Ill.: The Dorsey Press, Inc., 1961, pp. 209-230.

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FISHING ECONOMY OF THE ITBAYAT, BATANES, PHILIPPINES WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ITS VOCABULARY

YUKIHIRO YAMADA

1. Introduction

1.1. Preparation of the paper

THIS PAPER IS BASED UPON DATA GATHERED IN MY STUDY of the language of the Itbayat people.[1]

[1] I made two trips to Batanes—one in June 1965; the other in, May 1966. I stayed there for a total of one month. I also gathered information in Manila from informants since 1964. In undertaking this work, I have been assisted by so many people that I can hardly mention all of them here. My gratitude goes to every one of them. However, I would like to acknowledge here the help of Mr. Angelito P. Castro in Basco and in Manila; Mr. Federico R. Robillos, and Mr. Sandalo Salengua, who happened to be in Manila this year, for additional information I got from them especially about the present topic; Mrs. Victoria Gutierrez Castillo (who also helped me a lot last year), her daughter, the late Mrs. Josefina Castillo (I would like to express my deep condolence

In vocabulary and daily activities of life, it appears that there are similarities between the Itbayat and the Yami as well as the Ivatan. Of the three groups of people, fishing economy seems to be of greater importance among the Yami than among those of Batan and Itbayat Islands, especially in the latter. But, living in a small island surrounded with waters, the sea is of great significance to the Itbayat.

The present paper is an attempt to describe the fishing-navigation life of the Itbayat by means of the vocabulary used by them, which will be arranged according to topics or categories.[2] This will include stories and beliefs pertinent to the topics.

1.2. Itbayat Island and the People

Location: Itbayat Island is the northernmost inhabited island in the Philippines, being the largest of the three major islands of Batanes Province. It is located approximately 280 kilometers north of Aparri in Luzon Island, and 150 kilometers south of Yami Island, within the Chinese boundary.[3] Itbayat Island faces the Pacific Ocean in the east and South China Sea in the west. This geographical setting is suggestive of cultural elements which

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over her early demise which happened a few days after I left Basco last summer), her granddaughter Miss Norma Castillo, Mr. Bernardino de Sagon, and Mrs. Paulina Balanoba, for their understanding, patience, and the valuable information they furnished me about the life of the Itbayat people.

The information about the life of the people of Batan Island was also of great value and help, since there are many similarities in various phases of the lives of the peoples of these two islands. In this connection, I would like to thank Mrs. Rucela B. Acacio, Principal of Batanes High School, for introducing me to the right people and for furnishing me with her article "The Vanishing Customs of the Ivatans"; Mr. Leonardo Caronilla, retired teacher, Mr. Segundino Daniel, fisherman, Mr. Filemon Balles, fisherman, and Mr. Vicente Cantero, retired fisherman, for their information on fishing on Batan Island.

I would also like to acknowledge my gratitude to Dr. Mario D. Zamora, Chairman of the Department of Anthropology, University of the Philippines, for his advice from the anthropological point of view; to Prof. P. V. Conlu, ichthyologist, Prof. Melchor M. Lijauco, College of Fisheries, University of the Philippines, for their help in identifying some fishes; to the Philippine Fisheries Commission, for supplying me a copy of *English and Local Common Names of Philippine Fishes,* by Albert W. Herre and Agustin F. Umali, Circular 14, U.S. Department of the Interior (Washington, D.C., 1948); to the Library of the University of Santos Tomas for allowing me to use their copy of the *Diccionario español-ibatan,* por varios PP. Dominicos misioneros de las Islas Batanes, Tipografia de Sto. Tomas (Manila, 1914); and to the Institute of Asian Studies, University of the Philippines, for its partial financial aid to my research in the field last summer which finally enabled me to write the present paper.

[2] Shiro Hattori, *Kiso Goi Chooshyoo* [Questionnaire of Basic Vocabulary] (Tokyo, 1957); Takeshiro Kuraishi, "Imi ni yoru Sakuin" [Index by Meaning], *Iwanami Chuugokugo Jiten* [Iwanami Chinese Language Dictionary] (Tokyo, 1963). These were helpul in arranging the vocabulary in this paper.

[3] This island has been given various names, such as Tabaco Xima, Botrol, Bottol, Botel Tobago, Pongso-no-Tau, Koo-too-sho, Lan-yu, *et cetera.* For more information, see Eirin Asai, *A Study of Yami Language, an Indonesian Language Spoken on Botel Tobago Island* (Leiden, 1936), pp. 1-2; see also Figure 1, Map of Batanes Islands, p. 140 *infra.*

can be found in the island and which are common to those in the Formosan group of islands and in the Philippine archipelago.

The depths of the waters around the island are the following: the Bashi Channel with a minimum depth of 1,009 fathoms; the Balintang Channel: 95 fathoms without bottom; 40 kilometers west of the island: 2,053; 55 kilometers west-southwest of the island: 1,784.[4] (See Figure I)

The Island: The total area of Itbayat Island is 92.8 square kilometers which makes it larger than Batan and Sabtang islands. Because of the strong sea currents and frequent typhoons as well as the steep, precipitous, and rocky cliffs surrounding the island, Itbayat Island is inaccessible to contact with the outside world. We observed the difference in fishing methods, in the structure of boats, and the like, from those of the Yami, and the Ivatan. Itbayat is a municipality. There are two mountains: *Karuvuban* in the north, and *Ripused* in the south. The cliffs are of lime stones,[5] and there are countless subterranean caves and tunnels crisscrossing the island.[6] There are only brooks and no lakes.

Population: Itbayat Island has a total population of 2,365, according to the 1960 *Census of the Philippines.* The previous records of its population are: 1,468 in 1799, according to the Archives of the Province of the Most Holy Rosary;[7] 1,560 in 1829, as recorded in the archives of the Spanish Dominican Missionaries[8] and 1,956, according to the 1948 *Census of the Philippines.*

This shows that the population of Itbayat Island has been gradually increasing during the last one-hundred and sixty-seven years. It is interesting to note that the population of the island—one of the three inhabited islands of Batanes Province—increased by about 400 persons during a period of twleve years (1948-1960), while the total population of the province decreased by about 400 persons during the same period: 10,705 in 1948 and 10,309 in 1960, due to an increase of the number of emigrants from the province.

History: The pre-Spanish history of Batanes is not known. To my knowledge, the first record about the island is that of William Dampier who visited "the five Islands" between August 6, 1687 and October 3, 1687 when

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[4] Henry G. Ferguson, "Contributions to the Physiography of the Philippine Islands: II. The Batanes Islands," *Philippine Journal of Science,* Bureau of Science (at present, National Institute of Science and Technology), Vol. III. A, No. 1 (Manila, 1908), pp. 2, 3 and 13.

[5] *Ibid.,* p. 5, Ferguson mentions that the coral limestone group consists of "Desquey, Ibujos and most probably Isbayat [Itbayat]."

[6] Marcos P. Malupa, "The Wonders of Itbayat," *Philippine Georgraphical Journal,* Vol. IV, Nos. 2-3 (Manila, 1956), p. 79.

[7] Julio Gonzalez Alonso, O.P., "The Batanes Islands," *Acta Manilana,* University of Santo Tomas Research Center, No. 2 (Manila, June 1966), p. 52, fn. 29.

[8] Malupa, *op. cit.,* p. 78.

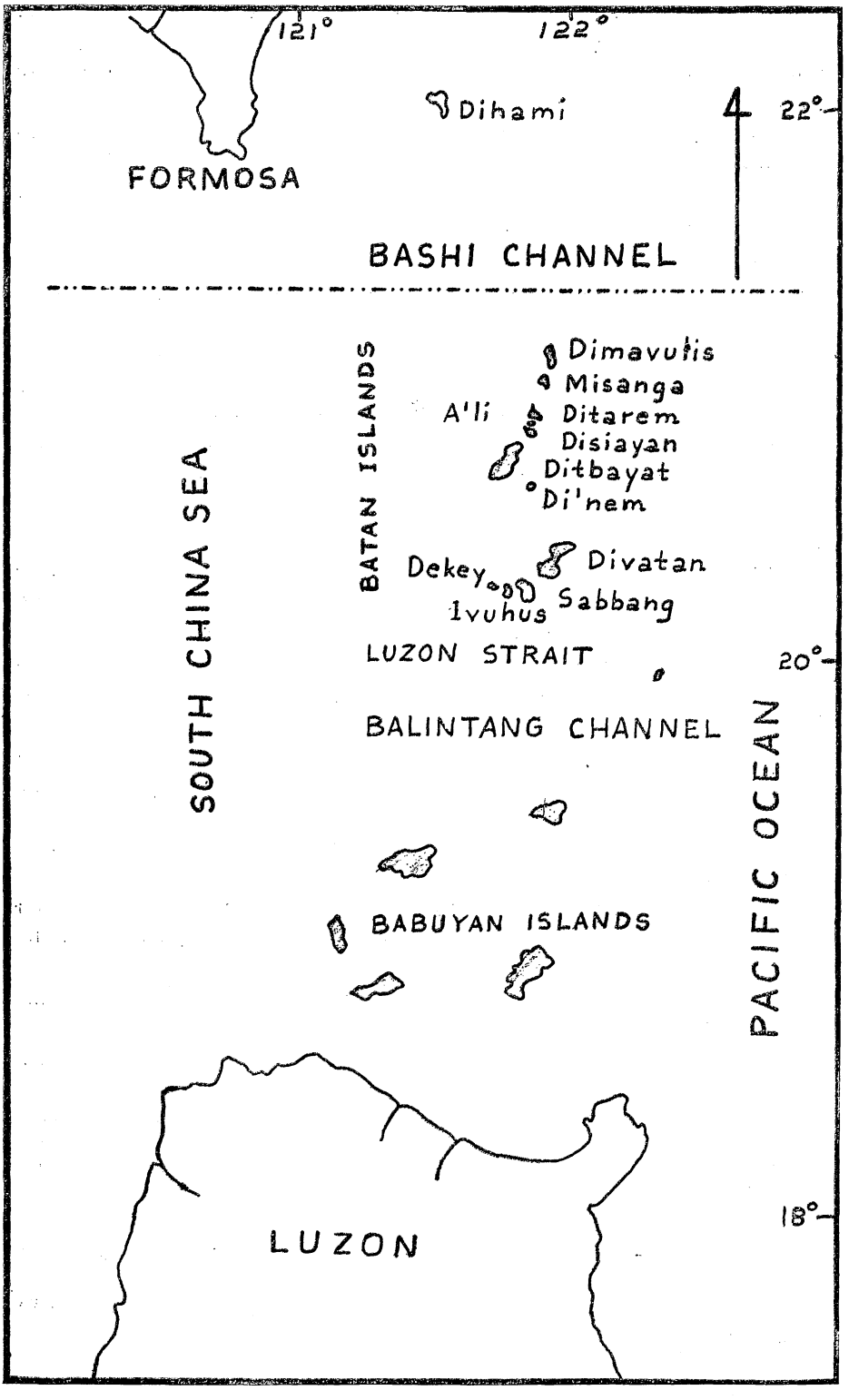

Figure 1. *Map of Batanes Islands*

he proceeded to Mindanao.[9] The Dutch crews called the island "the Prince of *Orange's* Island" in honor of their Prince. "*Orange* Island" according to Dampier's account, "which is the biggest of them all [*i. e.,* islands of the Batanes], is not Inhabited. It is high Land, flat and even on the top, with steep Cliffs against the Sea; for which Reason we could not go ashore there, ... "[10]

Although the Batanes Islands were incorporated into the Philippines in 1783, during the incumbency of D. Jose Basco,[11] Itbayat Island was so inaccessible that it was only in 1799 when Fr. Francisco de Paula, a missionary, succeeded in visiting the island for the first time.[12] This was 113 years after the first Spanish missionary, Fr. Mateo Gonzalez, accompanied by Fr. Piñero, was assigned to Batanes in 1686.

American control was extended over the Batanes islands in 1900 when the American naval ship (?) the *Princeton* reached there[13] and was suspended with the sudden extension of Japanese military rule over the islands of the Batanes at dawn on December 8, 1941. At the time, the people of Batanes found their islands surrounded by a number of Japanese warships.[14]

Climate: Like the Yami and the Ivatan, the people of Itbayat recognize three different seasons.[15] During the rainy season, typhoons, accompanied by torrential rains and winds, visit the island. The climate in December and January is often bitingly cold.

Industry: According to the 1960 *Census of the Philippines,* about 16 per cent of 92.89 square kilometers which is the total land area of Itbayat, is cultivated. Of this cultivated area, a little less than 50 per cent is planted to root crops, more than 25 per cent is used to raise livestock, and more than 4 per cent is planted to corn. Today, *rawut* (millet) is no longer considered by the people of Itbayat as a valuable staple as it was in the past, while it has been considered to be holy by the Yami.[16] Root crops like *uvi* (yam) *wakay* (camote), *suli* (taro) have been their main food-stuffs. Moreover the people consider invaluable the following products: *niyuy or ñuy* (coconut), *tabaaku* (cigar), *vinivex* (banana), *unas* (sugar-cane). And they plant a small amount of *paray* (rice).

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[9] Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson, eds., *The Philippine Islands* 1493-1898, Vol. XXXIX (Cleveland, 1903-1909), pp. 93-115.

[10] *Ibid.,* pp. 97-98. It is interesting to note that he thought the island was not inhabited.

[11] Alonso, *op. cit.,* p. 3.

[12] *Ibid.,* pp. 49-52.

[13] *Ibid.,* p. 74

[14] *Ibid.,* p. 77. This was also told to me by Fr. Florentino Castañon of Sto. Domingo de Basco in May 1966.

[15] See 3.7 Meteorology, pp. 162-168, *infra.*

[16] Tadao Kano, *Toonan Ajia Minzokugaku Senshigaku Kenkyuu* [Studies in the Ethnology and Prehistory of Southeast Asia], Vol. I (Tokyo, 1946), pp. 380-397.

Among the Itbayat, *kadiñ* (goat) and *kuyis* (pig) are considered as delicacies. Some of them ate *titu* (dog). Recently, cow-raising is becoming popular and important to the people's economic life as sea-transportation facilities are increased.

The Itbayat flora have been kept almost intact. Among the trees, *chawi, natu, arius, et cetera* are of great economic importance.[17] There are many trees and plants which bear fruits, but *chawi* seems to be the most important. The people eat not only fruits but also leaves of some trees. They also eat many kinds of weeds. Timber from Itbayat are sometimes shipped to Manila.

Earthenwares are used by the people of Itbayat. Eight kinds of earthenware are collected. According to the people, four are native to the island: *palapalay* (which they say their ancesters made), *vanga, vaxanga, dalikan* or *kalan.* The other four are said to have been imported: *angang, mavaeng, taru,* and *tagaw.* The season during which the Itbayat fire their earthenware differs from that of the Yami; the Itbayat differ from the Ivatan in the way of firing them.[18]

The people produce *unas* (sugar-cane) which is used to make *parek* (wine) and *assuukar* (sugar). *Parek* is drunk in various ceremonies, rituals, and merry-makings, and, if kept for about one year, it is used as *silam* (vinegar).

People: The Itbayat speak an Indonesian language. In 1800, one year after Fr. de Paula visited the island, there were "four-hundred Christians and a great number of catechumens."[19] Now, practically all the island's inhabitants are Christians.

Marriage: Kapmaysa (marriage system) is one of the island's interesting social events. There are two kinds of gifts: *hakxad* and *gaala* under *turid* (contribution). *Hakxad* consisting of things given by the townmates is divided into two parts: one-half goes to the couple and the other to the parents of both the bride and the groom. *Gaala* consists of money given to the couple by their parents and visitors while they dance.

Childbirth: Kapmahunged (pregnancy and childbirth) also attracts our attention. This is the time when *mamihay* [a woman "medicine man," or sibyl (?)] plays an important role. The treatment of the *pused* (umbilical cord) and its significance are worth mentioning. The *mamihay* serves the mother until the seventh day after the delivery. Today, she can be paid 5 pesos (the payment is optional) for the service. In this connection, *tuyiñ*

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[17] See 4.35. Material-plants for the parts, pp. 176-178, *infra.*

[18] Tadao Kano, *Toonan Ajia Minzokugaku Senshigaku Kenkyuu* [Studies in the Ethnology and Prehistory of Southeast Asia], Vol. II (Tokyo, 1952), pp. 73-74.

[19] Alonso, *op. cit.,* p. 52. Compare this number with Malupa's report that "there were 313 Christians and 1,247 pagans . . . ." Malupa, *op. cit.,* p. 78.

is interesting.[20] *Kapamuvun* (funeral) is another interesting topic worth studying.

Social groups: There are social groups which help the people when they are in need. They are: the *pi'u'xuan,* the *pundu,* the *panavatan,* and the *yaaru.* The leader of the first three is called *kabasiilya,* and that of the last is *mangaruh.* The *pi'u'xuan* is a group made up of 10 to 20 members who work for one recipient for 7 to 8 hours every day or every other day. The work done consists, among others, of the clearing of the field, the cutting of small trees, the repair of a house, the planting of rice, yam, etc. The *pundu* is a work group which is paid for services rendered. It usually consists of 10 to 20 members doing the same kind of work as in the *pi'u'xuan.* The *panavatan* is a group composed of about 20 persons; the members of the group collect the necessary material needed by a recipient. The leader assigns each member to collect the needed items for one week. Such items may be stones, sand, cogon leaves, or other materials needed to build a house for instance. The leader checks whether the assignment is satisfactorily carried out or not. If not, the leader whips the erring person with *sisiprut* which is the branch of the *tiblas* tree. The *yaaru* is a community self-help working system for the benefit of the entire village or town. Under this system today, the people undertake road construction or repair, the building of school houses and health clinics, the opening of public markets, *et cetera.*

Gold culture: The Itbayat value very highly *vuxawan* (gold). They store gold in *urung* (horn of goat) and gold articles in *virivud* (rattan-made small basket). There are a number of varieties of *xuvay* (gold ear-ring) *uxay* (beads), and other ornamental gold things. There are many stories about dreams of gold-excavation which I collected. I was shown on Batan Island a *vasiñan* (turtle-shell balance) with which gold was weighed. Mrs. Victoria G. Castillo, a seventy-four-year old Itbayat, told me that she used to own a *vasiñan.* According to Tadao Kano, the *vasiñan* is also found in Yami.[21]

Megalithic (?) culture: It is not known whether the Itbayat had a megalithic culture. What is certain is that they built some *vaxay* (house), *atuy* (stone-walls), and *axurud* (stone-mound tomb), by means of piling on stone one after the other. A legend explaining language-diversity tells of the ancient Itbayat making *turi* or *galagala makarang* (high wall), piling stones so high that the person on the top of the wall could hardly understand what was said by a person at the foot of the wall.[22]

Tapa-culture: The people of Itbayat had a *tapa*-culture, that is, the people used the bark of a tree (after a simple process of beating it) to clothe them-

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[20] For the meaning of the term, see 6.16. Medicinal fish, pp. 197-198, *infra.*

[21] Kano, I (1946), *op. cit.,* pp. 71-72. See also 4.1. Kinds of boat, pp. 170-171, *infra.*

[22] Tadao Kano, "Koo-too-sho Yami-zoku to Tobiuo" [The Yami on Kotosho and Flying Fish], *Taiheiyoo-ken—Minzoku to Bunka* [The Pacific Sphere—Peoples and Cultures], Vol. I (Tokyo, 1944), p. 508.

selves. The Itbayat used the bark of trees belonging to the *Moraceae* family: more specifically, the *avutag* and *valiti* and one or two more species of inferior quality. In Itbayat island, there is a tree called *tapah* of the same family, the bark of which was not used for clothing. Although it is said that during the Japanese occupation the Itbayat partially turned back to the use of bark of trees for their clothing, nowadays the people are wearing woven cloth.

Weapons: I collected a story about tribal wars which took place in the remote past on Itbayat Island. But the people appeared to me as peace-loving and they seem not to have had any fight in the more recent past. The *papalu* or *papaxpax* is a club. The action of hitting with a club is described as *papaluen* or *paxpaxen.* A laundry club is called *apaalu* and the action of hitting a person fatally is referred to as *mapuuru.*[23] There is the *intap* which is used to kill wild pigs today, but it is said that, in the past, it could have been used to kill persons. The *gayang* is a spear which is used in fishing. The data I have collected do not give any indication of the practice of head-hunting which existed in the areas north and south of Itbayat, that is, in Formosa and Luzon.

Taro-cultivation: The Itbayat plant a certain amount of *suli* (taro). The cultivation of this type of tuber is characteristic of Melanesian and Polynesian cultures.[24]

Yami people: Some stories were told to me by the Itbayat which refer to the people who had gone to *Dihami* (Yami). It seems that the Yami had had frequent contacts with the Batanes Islands. But about 300 years ago, this communication ceased as a result of strifes which were carried on between the Yami and the Ivatan.[25]

Absence of 'dato": So far, in the data already collected, there is no information regarding the existence of a ruling head, like a "dato", or slaves among the Itbayat.

Jar-burial: Among the Itbayat, during the "ancient time"[26] *palapalay* (Yami *paraparay,* Basco Ivatanen *padapaday,* Imnajbo Ivatanen *pilun*) was

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[23] Kano, I (1946), *op. cit.,* pp. 162-165. Inez de Beauclair, "Fightings and Weapons of the Yami of Botel Tobago," *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology,* Academia Sinica, No. 5 (Taipei, Spring 1958), pp. 87-111.

[24] Kano, (1944), *op. cit.,* p. 507.

[25] Kano, I (1946), *op. cit.,* pp. 35-55. Naoyoshi Ogawa and Eirin Asai, *Taiwan Takasago-zoku Densetsushuu* [The Myths and Traditions of the Formosan Native Tribes], Institute of Linguistics, Taihoku Imperial University, (Taihoku, 1935), pp. 742-783. Otto Scheerer, "Batan Texts with Notes," *Philippine Journal of Science,* Vol. XXXI, No. 3 (November 1926), pp. 301-341. Ferguson, *op. cit.,* p. 5 fn., referred to J. W. Davidson, *Formosa, Past and Present* (1903) which mentions "Bashe" Islands as being shipwrecked on Formosa and the Batanes people are now living on Botel Tobago.

[26] Although there is a term for the jar, the Itbayat whom I have asked about it say that they have not seen the actual jar. But Mr. S. Salengua said that he had seen broken parts of it in Itbayat. Mrs. Eustacia Cano Horlina (born in 1893) told

used as a receptacle for the dead before they were buried. On the other hand, according to the people, there are many caves in which human bones have been found, and it was a common practice for the people to make *axurud* (mound made by piling stones) under which they buried their dead.

Language: Itbayaten[27] is an Indonesian language spoken in the Island of Itbayat. Eirin Asai maintains that the "Batan Group" can be divided into two: Batan Proper and Yami, and that the former has three dialects: Basco, Isamurang, and Itbayat.[28] What H. Otley Beyer showed to T. Kano[29] and what Marcelo Tangco showed in his chart[30] differ from that of Asai in that the subclassification made by Beyer and Tangco does not include *Isaamurung*. The last two did not mention the language of the Yami which is outside of the Philippine boundary. Among other sounds *Itbayaten* has, is a voiced velar fricative [γ] as in Yami, while Ivatanen has [h] for that position in most cases. This is one of the interesting features in the comparative study of these three languages. Subclassification of these is, therefore, worth studying.

1.3. Fishing and Navigation

The sea plays a crucial part in the life of the Itbayat—a people living in a small island: it is the sea from which part of their food is obtained, and through which the Itbayat have managed to keep in contact with the nearby islands, even if steep cliffs around the island, strong cross-currents, and typhoons make it extremely difficult for the Itbayat to fish and navigate.

There is no question, therefore, that agricultural products, especially root crops, have been barely sustaining their life, because they do not have enough to last them through the year. Therefore, products from the sea are indispensable.

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me a story which she heard from an old man when she was young. This old man was told by another old man that the latter had found one *palapalay* at *Lised* in Itbayat, but it did not contain any gold. This was sometime in the middle of the 19th century. In the National Museum of the Philippines, however, Dr. Fox and Mr. Legaspi showed me a burial jar which they excavated on the island of Itbayat. Cf. Kano, I (1946), *op. cit.*, pp. 82-112. Wilhelm G. Solheim II, "Jar Burial in the Babuyan and Batanes Islands and in Central Philippines, and its Relationship to Jar Burial Elsewhere in the Far East" *Philippine Journal of Science,* Vol. LXXXIX, No. 1 (March 1960), p. 130. H. Otley Beyer. "Outline Review of Philippine Archaeology by Islands and Provinces," *Philippine Journal of Science,* Vol. LXXVII, Nos. 3-4 (July-August 1947), pp. 210-212.

[27] See Appendices I, Orthography, p. 201-202, *infra.*

[28] Asai, (1936), *op. cit.,* pp. 1-11 *Isamurang* is different from what I recorded, that is, *Isaamurung* which is from the root *murung* (the other end).

[29] Kano, I (1946), *op. cit.,* pp. 332-343.

[30] Marcelo Tangco, "The Christian Peoples of the Philippines," *Natural and Applied Science Bulletin,* University of the Philippines, Vol. XI, No. 1 (January-March 1951), pp. 105-109.

It is likely that the fishing culture in the Batanes and Yami was derived from a single proto-type in the past, for there is a great number of similarities among their methods of fishing, boat-building, ceremonies, and other things, as well as in the vocabulary concerning fishing and navigation found in Yami and the different islands of the Batanes. It seems, however, that it is in Yami where one can observe those cultural characteristics in its most traditional way—both in quantity and quality; they are less traditional in Batan and it is in Itbayat where they are least traditional.

The fishing culture among the Itbayat underwent a great change from the proto-type due to the topographical obstacles already mentioned, as compared with Batan and Yami, and due to the introduction of Christianity, as compared also with Yami.

2. Marine Topography

2.1. Sea and coastal regions

2.11. On the sea

rakkapihawan, rakkapihawan nu hawa:	ocean.
hawa:	sea.
pendan nu matta:	horizon.
ilawud:	offing, off-sea.
tahaw:	sea water, salt water. cf. *ranum:* water; *mavihay a ranum:* running water.
paxung:	sea waves.
abkas:	sea waves.
ries, riiyes:	sea current.
muyug:	flow, flood.
kasamurung:	other end.
hiraxem:	"bottom."
haraxem:	depth (implying "distance").
kahiraxem:	deepness.
kaharaxem:	depth.
hiraxem nu hawa:	bottom of the sea.
ayuy:	canal-like depth at sea.
pungsu, isla:	island, land (in contrast with the sea).

2.12. Near the seashore

vanua:	seaport.
suxek:	gulf, bay.
xa'xan:	coral (?).

karawangan: shallow part of the sea which is removed of the sea water during the low tide; to be removed of the sea water during the low tide.

karrawangan: where there are many terrestrial cavities (which can be seen).

rawang: deep subterranean cave (where there are sometimes snakes to be found); terrestrial cavity.

2.13. On the seashore

vuvung: coastal region, seashore.

iraya: seashore (in relation to being at sea).

Humavuvung aku an mian aku ru tana', piru makayraya aku an mian aku ru hawa (I go to the *seashore* when I am on land, but I go to the *seashore* when I am on the sea).

kawah: cliff.

wangwang, ngarab nu kawah du hawa: edege of sea cliff.

vaxa: headland, cape.

kavvatuan: rocky place, stony place.

kattalugutugan: rocky place.

tangbad: a kind of hard rock (ordinarily black).

vatu: stone.

talugutug: rock.

ka'nayan: sandy ground.

a'nay: sand.

xuta: soil, ground, earth (as material).

tana: soil, ground, earth (as planet) (wider term than *xuta*). cf. *mundu:* globe, earth.

kattachimusan: vertical or leaning part of the cliff (which is the habitat of *tachimus*).

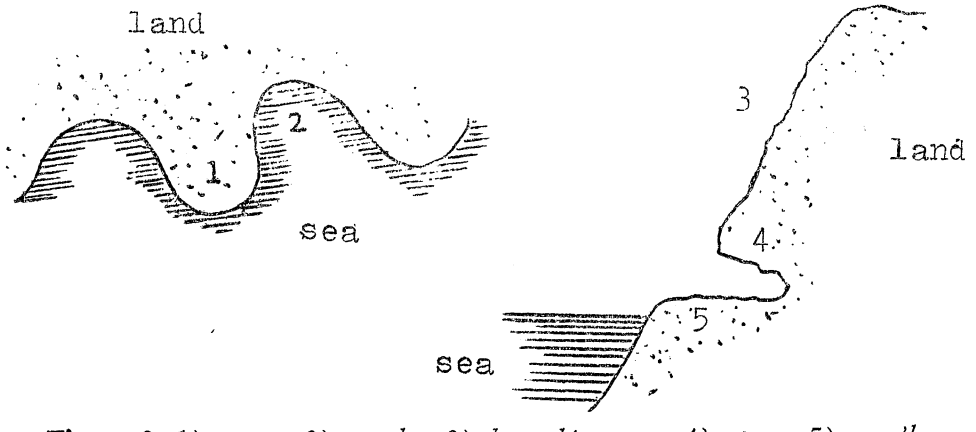

Figure 2. 1) *vaxa,* 2) *suxek,* 3) *kattachimusan,* 4) *atep,* 5) *vaya'ba*

atep: ceiling part of cave made at the foot of the cliff.
vaya'ba: rock plateau at the beach, floor part of cave which faces the sea.

2.2. Islands around Itbayat

Dibami: island of the Yami which is located near Formosa.
Dimavulis: Y'Ami, an island north of Itbayat.
Misanga: North Island north of Itbayat.
Ditarem: Mabudis, island north of Itbayat.
A'li: island north of Itbayat.
Disiayan: Siayan,[31] island north of Itbayat.
Ditbayat, Dichbayat, Itbayat: island commonly called Itbayat which is the northernmost inhabited island and the largest among the islands of Batanes.
Di'nem: island southeast of Itbayat.
Divatan: Batan Island southeast of Itbayat, the second largest island which has a provincial capital *Divasay* (Basco).
Sabtang: island south of Itbayat and southwest of Batan.
Ivuhus: island west of *Sabtang*.
Dekey: island west of *Ivuhus*.

2.3. Ports in Itbayat (from north to west, south, and east; the number refers to that of Figure 3)

1 *Vanuanmulung:* port at the northern tip.
2 *Pagganaman:* at the west side (being practically used).
3 *Manuyuk:* at the west side (coastal area called *suxek*) where the people throw witches.
4 *Ri'yang:* at the west side (coastal region).
5 *Sayay:* at the west side (coastal region). where there are caves for the dead.
6 *Ñapuliran, Chñapuliran:* at the west side (being practically used).
7 *Vanua:* at the west side, a very old port.
8 *Vanua'durayli:* at the west side.
9 *Alpasayaw:* at the west side.
10 *Mawyen:* at the southern side (being practically used, and landing is possible while launching is not).
11 *Rudluken:* at the eastern side, an old port which is not used any more.
12 *Turungan:* at the eastern side.

[31] Ferguson, *op. cit.*, p. 11, mentions "the islands lying north of Isbayat [Itbayat] are locally grouped together as the *Siayanes*, a word said to mean 'good fishing grounds'."

13 Kaysaysakan: at the eastern side.

14 Axtak: at the eastern side.

cf. *Divasay:* Basco, which is a port and town in Batan; *Pangavangan:* Manila or Luzon where people went by *avang* or go presently by any means.

cf. Near Mt. *Ripused* (15) which is at the eastern side of the southern part of Itbayat and which faces the Pacific Ocean, there is a certain place in the sea where there is *alisuxed nu hawa* (whirl-pool of the sea) people try to keep away from.

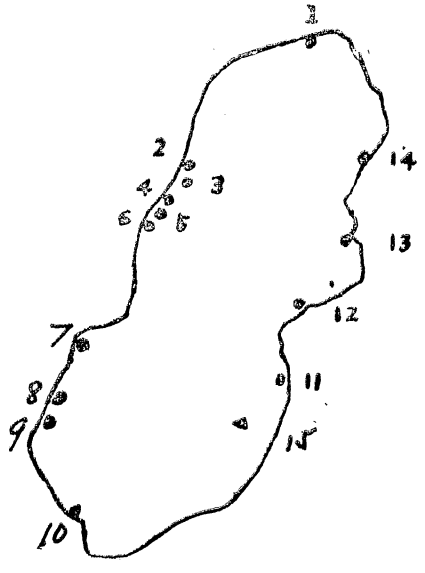

Figure 3. *Ports of Itbayat Island*

2.4. Beliefs and legends

Siriina: There is a *kavvaatahen* (legend, that which is told repeatedly) about this. In *Sayay,* there appears a woman-like spirit called *siriina* (sea-nymph), the upper part of whom is of woman, and the lower half of the body is of fish. She appears in front of a man, but the man should not speak to or about her. One time in the past, a person nicknamed *Apkaavijan* was tremendously *ñavalaakan* (surprised and overcome: < *kavalaakan:* to be overcome by overpowering surprise) by her presence.

An island that submerges and emerges: Some of the people of Itbayat believe that there is an island called *manha'mu a tana* (frightening land,

island that makes one frightened) north-west of Itbayat Island. They say that it is observable in June during the short period of time from 5 o'clock until sunset when the weather is calm and fine.

3. Navigation

3.1. General matters

pihinuyuyan: destination of one's maiden voyage.
mihinuyuy: to make one's maiden voyage.
ipangavang: to take along to Luzon or to Manila.
mi'avang: to go by *avang.*
mitataya: to go by *tataya.*
mibapur: to go by ship.
mañihami (past f.: *nañihami*): to go to *Dihami.*
mamulis (past f.: *namulis*): to go to *Dimavulis.*
maniay (past f.: *naniay*): to go to *Disiayan.*
mangbayat (past f.: *nangbayat*): to go to *Ditbayat.*
mañi'nem (past f.: *nañi'nem*): to go to *Di'nem.*
mamatan (past f.: *namatan*): to go to *Divaten.*
manayabtang (past f.: *nanayabtang*): to go to *Sabtang.*
mañisabtang (past f.: *nañisabtang*): to go to *Sabtang.*
mamtang (past f.: *namtang*): to go to *Sabtang,* to cross.
mangavang (past f.: *nangavang*): to go to *Pangavangan* (Manila, Luzon, or thereabouts); to sail by *avang.*
abtang: idea of getting across by water.
kapamtang: act of going across, act of getting across.
du kahabtang: on the other side, on the opposite side.
cf. *du kaspu na aya:* on the other valley.
mabtang: to be able to cross.
nibtang: crossed.
mivetang: to cross. cf. *Apbeetang:* nickname of the grandfather of Mr. Alfredo de Guzman (who usually crisscrossed the channel between Itbayat and Batan in the past).

cf. *kasamurung* (*murung*): it refers to the "other end" (b) in relation to a certain point (a) indifferent to the topographical features of the place between (a) and (b); *kahabtang* (*abtang*) refers to a corresponding higher region or elevated place (e) with respect to a lower region or valley (or space of water) (d) in-between; *kaspu* (*aspu*) refers to a corresponding lower region or valley (f) with respect to an elevated place (e) in-between. See *Figure 4.*

The terms *vetang* and *tekaw* refer to the "activity" of crossing with respect to two points, while *murung, abtang,* and *aspu* refer to the "static" relation between the two points or extremes. The term *vetang* refers to crossing or traversing on water between the points, while *tekaw,* to the same action on land, that is, idea of walking through (forest, village, and the like) and reaching the other end beyond the boundary (on land).

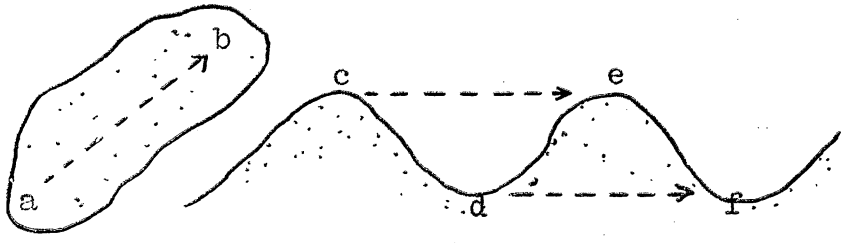

Figure 4. *Examples of topographical relativity*

haxawud: idea of offing.
du ilawud: in the offing.
mahaxawud: far in the offing.
mipahaxawud: to be farther in the offing.
Mipahaxawud kamu ah kan nawi (Don't be farther into the offing than that).
mippahaxawud: to go farther into the offing; to go toward the offing.
makahaxawud: to go "very" far in the offing.
pahaxawden, pahaxawren: to cause to be farther in the offing.
ilawud offing, off-sea.
mipahilawud: to be farther in the offing.
Mipahilawud na pa' kan nawi u nihaayan namen (Our past going was farther in the offing than that).
mippahilawud: to go farther into the offing.
maylawud: to be far in the offing, far-off in the offing, of being far in the offing.
pahilawden: to cause to go or move into the offing.
mipaylawud: to go or move into the offing.
harawi: far, distant.
maharawi: far, distant.
paharawi: imp. f.; cause to be apart or far from.
Paharawi'i: imp. sent. Cause (it) to be far from (another).

saamurung: idea of being the other end.
kasamurung: other end.
Isaamurung: inhabitants of other side or region; Batan Southerners with respect to Basco.

3.2. Preparation for leaving (arranged according to its process)

3.21. People concerned

maniped: steersman, pilot, captain, decision-maker in a boat occupying a seat at *mawdi.*
kapitan: captain.
piluuti: pilot.
arrays: chief crew (next to *maniped*) in a boat occupying a seat at *murung.*
mangahud, bugadur: rowers
gurmiiti: sailors
pasahiiru: passengers

3.22. Launching

kakedkeran: place where boats usually stay (on water).
kammaariñ: place where boats usually stay (on land).
ijapen: to make (the path) even or level (for boat launching).
mayjap: level or even (of ground, way).
umhavuvung, humavuvung: to go shoreward by land, to go to *vuvung.*
Havuvu'ung: imp. sent. Go towards the coastal region by land.
xaviten: to carry with one's hands (in general).
haraya: idea of dragging boat toward shore (from shipyard or from fishing).
kapharaya: act of dragging boat; launching.
miharaya: to drag along boat (by land or water).
harayaen: to drag along boat (by land or water).
maharaya: to be able to drag along boat (by land or water); (fr. *iraya:* shore) to be near the shore, of close distance to the shore, of being near the shore (on water).
ipharaya: dragging material (*e. g.* rope) which is used when one drags a boat from the sea or towards the sea.

3.23. Loading

pantalan:	wharf.
andaami, andaamiu (?):	gangplank, wooden board bridged between the wharf and the boat.
ayyeeran:	gangplank, temporary bridge.
pasahi:	fare (in general).
xuran:	load, cargo. cf. *rarah:* person's load.
mixuran:	to load.
xuranan, mangxuran:	to load (on the boat, sled).
xuranen:	to load (the object, cargo).
paxuranen:	to load in addition to (other cargoes).
sakay:	idea of riding.
pasakayen:	to accommodate (things, persons) in carrier.

3.24. Leaving the shore

tulaken:	to push with a pole and the like against a more stable object.
itulak:	pole used for pushing against a more stable object.
panuynuyen:	to push (in general).
panusnusen:	to push (with more force than in the case of *panuynuyen*).
umlinaw:	to be sent off (as boat).
palinawen:	to send off (boat), to push off *tataya,* to put a boat asea, to make sea-borne.
mapalinaw:	to send off (somebody).
mapavusbus:	to send off (somebody), to have (somebody, something) going.
nunuy:	idea of dragging; imp. f.
Nunu'uy:	imp. sent. Drag along.
nununnuy:	one that is used for dragging boats in water; pilot boat which guides a bigger ship in a port.
nunuyen:	to drag along in water (boat).
kapannunuy:	act of dragging along (something) in water.
miataataya:	to go boating, to toy up with play-boats.

Medicine for sea-sickness: This medicine is called *tuvatuva' du kaxangu.* You cut off the leaves of *valinu* and tie the vines around your belly as a preventive from sea-sickness. The vine for this purpose is called *abtek nu maxangu* (belt of sea-sickness).

3.3. On the voyage (arranged according to its process)

kapbiaahi: act of having a voyage or trip.

3.31. Measuring the depth

mahavavaw: shallow.

mahiraxem, maharaxem: deep.

hiraxem: bottom and/or depth.

haraxem: depth.

pahiraxman, paharaxman: to deepen.

kahirahiraxem, kaharaharaxem: depth (in comparison with another object).

mahirahiraxem, maharaharaxem. deeper.

adpa, hadpa: idea of stretched-arms length, idea of fathom.

hadpaen: to measure by fathoms.

hadpadpaen: to measure by fathoms (pl. sense).

manhadpa (past f.: *nihadpa*): to fathom.

a'sadpa: one fathom, about 1.8 meters.

kahadpa: act of measuring by fathoms.

mahadpa: can measure with one stretch of arms.

3.32. Peaceful movement

mangahud: to paddle, to row.

kahuren, kahuden: to paddle, to row.

agguusanan (past f.: *ni'agguusanan*): to rudder-manage.

mangagguusan (past f.: *nangagguusan*): to rudder-manage.

viladan, vilaran: to put the sails on, to provide the sails of (boat).

mamilad: to put sails on.

madalusdus: moving easily or smoothly (usually on water, as a boat and skate, sled as well).

makaxunus: moving easily or smoothly (usually on water, as a boat and the like which are self-moving beings); to be able to crawl easily and fast (as to self-moving beings). cf. *umxunus:* to crawl, to slithe (of snake).

sinari, sinayaksak: wake (of boat); cf. *saksaken:* to pierce.

raxan: trace of boat-passing on the water; cf. *nakaraxan:* passed; *paraxanen:* to cause to pass through; *raraxan:* road.

asbuh, subuh: foam, bubble, suds. cf. *xutab:* suds (of soap); *maxutab:* sudsy.
masbuh: full of foams or suds.
um'asbuh: to form foams or suds.
pisubuhen: to cause foams or suds.

3.33. Opposite current and changing direction

sudsud: idea of going to an opposite direction, idea of going against (current, and the like).
Sudsu'ud: imp. sent. Go against (it).
machsudsud: to move or go against (something).
Machsudsuđ u riiyes [The current goes against (the seacraft)].
sudsuren, sudsuden: to go against (current, and the like not in the sense of disobeying).
tichu: change of direction; imp. f.
umtichu, tumichu: to veer or swerve.
katichu: act of veering or swerving
matichu: having many curves or bends.
mitichutichu: tortuous.
pitichuen: to cause to veer.
umtichutichu: to go in zigzag direction (as boat, and the like).

3.34. Being current-carried and encouraged

ummuyug: to flow (by liquid, current).
ivuyug, iliud: to be carried away by current (of boat).
nivuyug: was carried by current.
ixawud: to be carried away by waves.
xawud: idea of being into the offing by current.
mahaxawud: to be carried into the offing by current.
xasapen: to splash with sea-waves (due to the boat velocity).
xasapen nu' abkas, xasapen nu tahaw: to splash with sea-waves.
Nixasap nu' abkas i bapur aya (This boat was splashed with sea-waves).
cf. *kapsiitan:* to be splashed with water accidentally.
karusan:
folksong related with seamanship which is sung while plying from one island to another (for encouraging the people on board when they have difficulties). cf. *raji:* folksongs other than *karusan.*

3.35. Rocking and getting seasick

umbahbaw: to move up and down (of boat, etc.). cf. *umhaha'tu:* to go or move up and down (as pointer of thermometer, price of things).
kalijalijan: to "bend" sidewise repeatedly.
lijan: idea of "bending" sidewise; imp. f. of *lijanen.*
lijanen, umlijan: to "bend" sidewise
matukatukas: to be rocked up and down, to sway repeatedly (as boat, rocking chair).
xangu: idea of sea-sickness (or ride-sickness).
maxangu: to be or become sea-sick.
kaxangu: condition or state of being sea-sick.
mangxangu: causing sea-sickness; to become sea-sick.
ichaxangu: cause of sea-sickness.
uta: vomitus.
umuta: to vomit.
pawtaen: to cause to vomit.
kawta: state or condition of vomiting.
i'uta: to vomit out.

3.36. Goring and scooping out water

kurkur: idea of goring.
kurkuren: to gore (that which has a horn-shaped part gores).
mangurkur: to gore.
umkurkur: to hit, to bump (accidentally). cf. *Niñchurkur i lamiisa aya* [This table bumped (accidentally against something)].
katuliangan: to incur a hole.
tavu: scooping out (liquid)
tavuen, manavu: to scoop out (liquid).
ipanavu: that which is used for scooping out.
panavuan: to use (something) for scooping out (liquid); to do scooping out for someone.
patavuen: to scoop out (out of container).
sapsapen: to scoop out water from.

3.37. Capsizing and sinking

kadlu nu sakayan: capsizing of carrier (as boat).
ahned: idea of sinking.
um'ahned, humned: to sink.

nin'ahned: sank (past f. of *um'ahned*).
pahneden, pahneren: to make sink.
mihehned: to let oneself sink.
kahned: act of sinking.
nipahned: was sunk.
askad: idea of reaching the bottom (of the sea, and the like); imp. f.
askaden: to get at the bottom of; to get at the "root" of the matter.
maskad: to be reached (to the bottom).
kaskad: act of reaching the bottom.

cf. *askaskaden, askaskaren:* to investigate; to interrogate; *mapaskaskad:* to have another investigated; *misekasekad:* to delve into one another's contention or allegation.

3.38. Swimming, being rescued, and getting drowned

daakit: small raft or piece of wood with which one swims.
awat: idea of swimming.
miawat: to swim.
ipiawat: to convey or transport by means of swimming.
ipi'awat: mode or way of swimming.
miawaawat: to swim for a considerably long time.
kapiawat: swimming.
awaten: to traverse by swimming.
piawaten: to cause to swim.
piawatan: place for swimming.
limurtien: to save, to rescue; to give relief to.
manlibri: to free, to save (as in Christianity).
mangkuyuyut: to draw (one) by means of current.
axmes: idea of drowning.
man'axmes: drown-causing; to cause drowning.
maxmes (past f.: *naxmes*): to be drowned.
kaxmes: state or condition of drowning.
axmesen to cause to drown.

3.4. Landing (arranged according to its process)

makaraya: to go to the shore (from open-sea, by water), to go towards the shore (by water), to approach the land by sea.

see 3.22. for words which follow: *haraya; maharaya; miharaya; harayaen; kapharaya; ipharaya; nunuyen; nununnuy.*

suxu: torch which is used for guiding a boat at night (also used for other purposes).

rahpit: idea of reaching.

makarahpit: to be able to reach.

marahpit: to reach.

ma'parahpit: to be able to make something reach across.

cf. *parahpiten:* to deliver; *kapakarahpit:* act of reaching the destination by oneself; *matu'dax:* to reach for something (as fruit hanging); to realize, to achieve; *tu'dax:* reaching.

mangedked: to drop anchor, to take mooring.

pakedkeren: to tie (the other end of rope which is connected with boat) to a post or rock on the shore.

pakedkeran: that around which tying material is engaged; to engage the end of tying material to another.

cf. *vaxuren, vaxuden:* to tie (pig, crab, and the like).

see 3.22, for *kakedkeran; kammaariñ;* and 3.23, for *andaami.*

makaragpit: to set foot or alight on the shore from seacraft.

gumtin: to go down, to get off, to dismount (more general term than *makaragpit*).

mamanua: to land (of boat), to head towards a seaport (*vanua*).

machtachip: to dock.

kapachtachip: state of being docked.

cf. *tachipen, mantachip:* to store yam, camote, and the like.

xumuxumutan: to have moss-like growths (algae) on the outer part of the bottom of a boat which is seaborne.

3.5. Condition of the sea

3.51. Current

ries, riiyes: sea current.

karies: period of having strong current.

maries: having strong current.

amteng: a kind of sea current.

pamrien: cross-current.

isak: southward (?) sea current.

mituvang: moving against each other (of current).

machtuvang: moving or going against something (of current).

Mituvang u ries sa awi (The currents are moving against each other). *Mituvang u riiyes* [The currents are moving against each other (more emphatic of the opposition of the currents than the

former sentence)]. *Machtuvang u ries aya* [This current is going against something (boat, and the like)].

3.52. High tide

axnep: idea of the rising tide.
kaxnep: period of high tide (including spring tide, too).
maxnep: to have high tide.
kapangxenep: process of coming to high tide.
mipaxnep: to become high tide
tunep: idea of being almost fully immersed in the body of water or liquid.
matunep: to be almost fully immersed in the body of water, to be submerged to its brim (due to high tide, and the like).
tunpen: to cause to be almost fully immersed in the body of water.
katunep: state of being almost fully immersed in the body of water.
uyug: idea of flowing (of liquid).
umuyug: to flow (by liquid or current).
muyug: flood.
mimmuyug: to have flood.
Uyugan: a town in Batan Island.

3.53. Low tide

rawang: terrestrial cavity; deep subterranean cave.
manrawang: to have the falling or low tide, to come to neap tide (*rawang* "cavities" become visible).
marawang: having neap tide, having many *rawang*s.
karawang: period of neap tide.
karrawangen: period of having the lowest ebb of tide.
mipparawang: to gradually come to neap tide.
karrawangan: place where there are many terrestrial cavities.
ya'ti: idea of becoming dry (of water container).
maya'ti: to be dried out due to evaporation (as water in the sea-water pools); to vanish through evaporation and/or seepage.
kaya'tian: to be devoid of content through evaporation.

3.54. Lull sea

miaxaan: to have a lull in current-movement (wind-movement, and the like), to have a short-lived calmness during a typhoon.

axaan: weakest current-movement; interval between the incidences of strong current-movement; *palta' nu riiyes; kattanuyen nu hawa; ka'buen nu riieyes.*

cf. *palta:* lull, stoppage, absence (of current); *tanuy:* "temperate" period of the sea or of current movement; *matanuy:* to be good-tempered; *mattanuy:* to be best-tempered; *ka'buen:* period during which current movement is practically lacking, period completely devoid of.

linak: idea of calm sea.
malinak: calm (of the sea).
mipalinak: to be calm (of the sea).
mippalinak: to become calm (of the sea).

3.55. Rough sea

abkas, paxung: sea-waves.
mabkas: wavy.
nabkas: had rough seas.
marnun: wavy, of rough seas.
mapilung: of rough seas.
alisuxed nu hawa: whirl-pool of the sea.

3.56. Sea color

asul: blue; the color of the sea when raining with clouds (marine blue); the color of the sea when having white clouds in the sky (light blue); the color of the sea when the sky is clear (sky blue).
mavaeng: black; the color of the sea when having non-moonlight nights

3.6. Nautical astronomy

3.61. Celestial bodies

xañit: heaven; sky.
karemdeman: sky.
araw: sun.
vuxan: moon.
vituen: star. cf. *aleket a vituen:* small star.

3.62. Moon

samurang: new moon; idea of appearance.

parang du katuvu: first quarter moon, half moon before the full moon.

tuxud: full moon.

parang du ka'pus: last quarter moon, half moon after the full moon.

pia vuxaan, mapia vuxan: good moon.

cf. *umsamurang:* to dawn; *ma'samurang:* to appear suddenly and unexpectedly (moon, and the like); to dawn upon (the mind) suddenly and unexpectedly, to appear (in mind).

3.63. Stars

tayaaru: seven-star formation (like triangle).

narachid: (?)Great Dipper or Little Dipper.

trismariiya: three-star formation.

nasayriñ: stars like hook with garb near *narachid.*

tinankukurus a' aleket: Southern Cross.

tinankukurus a rakux: Southern Cross.

ka'aaraw: morning star.

pasdepen nu sumuxu: evening star.

kumiita: comet.

3.64. Compass directions

pahasduxan: somewhere in the north, thereabouts or vicinity of true north, northern part.

pahavarugan: somewhere in the east, thereabouts or vicinity of true east, eastern part.

pahasayran: somewhere in the south, thereabouts or vicinity of true south, southern part.

pahakadpilan: somewhere in the west, thereabouts or vicinity of true west, western part.

kahilawran: direction of origin of north wind.

kasumran: direction of origin of south wind.

asduxan: north, northern side (covering two of the four quadrants); upstream; upper region.

varugan: east, eastern side; Orient.

sayran: south, southern side; lower region.

kadpilan: west, western side; Occident.

3.7. Meteorology

3.71. Seasons and calendar[32]

hawan: year.
kavuxan: month.
hamian: winter (?), period from October to March (Gregorian calendar).
raywen: summer (?), period from April to August.
aleket a raywen, alekey a raywen: autumn (?), September.
kattiatimuy: rainy season, period from July to August.
kahavahavayat: period having frequent west wind (from July to September).

In *hamian,* it is cold, and in December and January it drizzles continuously but quantity of rainfall is much less than in July and August. Voyage during *hamian* is perilous, although it is now possible because of the advent of motor boats specially if the weather is calm and fine. Formerly, sea-voyage was plied only during *raywen* and *alekey a raywen.* The people fish mostly during *raywen. Aleket a raywen* is a short time when the weather is good and dry after the typhoon season and before winter.

season	Itbayat	Gregorian
hamian	*ka'saan*	*10 Uktubri*
	kaduhaan	*11 Nuvimri*
	katluan	*12 Disimri*
	ka'patan	*1 Iniiru*
	kalimaan	*2 Fibriiru, Pibriiru*
	ka'neman	*3 Marsu*
raywen	*kapituan*	*4 Abril*
	kawaxuan	*5 Maayu*
	kasiaman	*6 Huuñu*
kattiatimuy	*ka'sapuxuan*	*7 Huuliu*
	ka'sascharua	*8 Agustu*
aleket a raywen	*kaduhascharua*	*9 Siptimri*

Figure 5. *Seasons*

[32] For the Yami season and calendar, see Kano, (1944), *op. cit.,* pp. 512-515, and Hen-li Lin, "The Intercalation of the Yami Calendar" (in Chinese), *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology,* No. 12 (Autumn 1961), pp. 41-74.

3.72. Temperature (arranged from coldness to hotness)

mavahaw:	to be or become cold (changing from hot to cold).
umkuxat:	to heat up (changing from cold to hot).
vahawen:	to cause to be cold.
rukmex:	idea of unusual or intense coldness.
marukmex:	cold (more of objects, with the idea of *rukmex*).
parukmexen:	to make cold, to "freeze".
umrukmex:	to become cold by itself.
umrakamax:	to be insensate due to extreme coldness, to have a frostbite.
xaneb:	idea of coldness (more general than *rukmex*).
maxanebneb:	cold.
kaxanebneban:	cold place.
kaxanexanebneb:	coldness.
kaxanebneb:	coldness.
xanebneb:	cold (as a noun).
mipaxanebneb:	to become cold or cool.
umxanebneb:	to cool off.
paxanebneben:	to make cold or cool.
mahxen:	to feel cold.
man'ahxen:	cold-producing; to cause coldness.
pegpeg:	idea of chill due to sickness.
mamegpeg:	to chill, to have chills.
kapamegpeg:	state of having chills.
akdiaher:	idea of lukewarmness.
um'akdiaher:	to be heated up to lukewarm temperature.
pakdiaheren:	to boil water to lukewarm temperature.
kuxat:	heat, warmth.
makuxat:	hot.
kakuxatan:	warm region or atmosphere; to be exposed to heat.
mahinannget:	to feel uncomfortable or irritated due to heat.
asnit:	idea of feeling prickly heat.
masnit:	feeling prickly heat.
michasnisnit:	to have prickly-heat feeling severally (on the body).

3.73. Clouds

chinahud:	cotton-like long and high clouds.
michalaalaaru a	*laaru*-like clouds. cf. *laaru:* edible residue after

remdem: boiling the coconut-meat juice to extract its oil.

inawung: cloud formation which looks like *raamus.* cf. *raamus:* coconut-leaves, and the like, to be used as decoration on Palm Sunday.

chñunem, chinunem: clouds which are *mattaripis a mahyet a humayam* (thin and fast-moving).

remdem: cloud.

maremdem: cloudy, overcast.

mirremdem: to become cloudy.

singaw: moisture, vapor.

kaxepkep: fog, mist.

michaxepkep: to fog, to become foggy.

kunem: idea of being dim or gloomy.

kakunem: state or condition of dimness.

makunem (past f.: *nakunem*): gloomy.

michchuunem: to become overcast.

amnaw: idea of clearing up of clouds.

mamnaw (past f.: *namnaw*): to clear up (as to clouds).

kapamnaw (past f.: *nakapamnaw*): condition or period of the clearing up of clouds.

3.74. Rain

timuy: rain.

matimuy: to rain.

katimuy: period or state of raining.

ichatimuy: cause of rains.

Akuh paruh u' ichatimuy na aya? (What could be the cause of this rain?).

miatiitimuy: to expose oneself to rain drops; to bathe in the rain.

katimuyan: to be wet by rain, to be caught by rain.

matiitimuyen: having frequent incidence of rains.

kattiatimuy: rainy season, period from July to August.

tarinisin: drizzle.

mittarinisin: to drizzle.

kaptarinisin: period or condition or state of drizzling.

mañisu: to rain continuously for sometime.

3.75. Wind

sarawsaw: windy.

masarawsaw: wind.

missarawsaw: to be windy, to have winds.
kapsarawsaw: state of being windy.
makaxa sarawsaw: weak wind.
miaxaan: period during which the winds subside momentarily and then suddenly followed by violent winds.
axteng: idea of having gentle winds or atmosphere.
maxteng (past f.: *naxteng*): calm (of wind).
kaxteng: period or state of being calm, period or state of having gentle winds.
mangxeteng (past f.: *nangxeteng*): to calm down (of winds).
kaxtengan, kahbengan: sheltered side (with reference to wind). cf. *riveng* shield; lee, wind break (like mountain, trees, etc.); *ahbeng:* lee, sort of protecting covering against something.
ruvat: gale.
miruvat: to have gale.
mahyet: strong (of wind, and other things).
alipugpug: wind whirl, tornado.
mi'alipugpug: to have wind whirl.
mini'alipugpug: past f. of *mi'alipugpug.*
hañin: typhoon.
mahañin: having typhoon; to have a storm.
mihaañin: to have typhoon-like winds.
aasaas, rayarayay nu hañin, rerrer nu hañin: attending effects of typhoon. cf. *rayarayay, rerrer:* companions; accompanying effects.
kablis nu sarawsaw: change of wind direction.

3.76. Wind-directions

hilawud: north wind.
hayukayam: north-east wind.
palahañitan: east-north-east wind.
pangalitan: east wind.
kuvih: south-east wind.
sumra: south wind.
itaw: south-west wind.
mahaxawud a havayat: west-south-west wind.
havayat: west wind, *ina' nu havayat* (mother of west wind); loosely speaking the wind which comes from any direction between south-west and north-west.

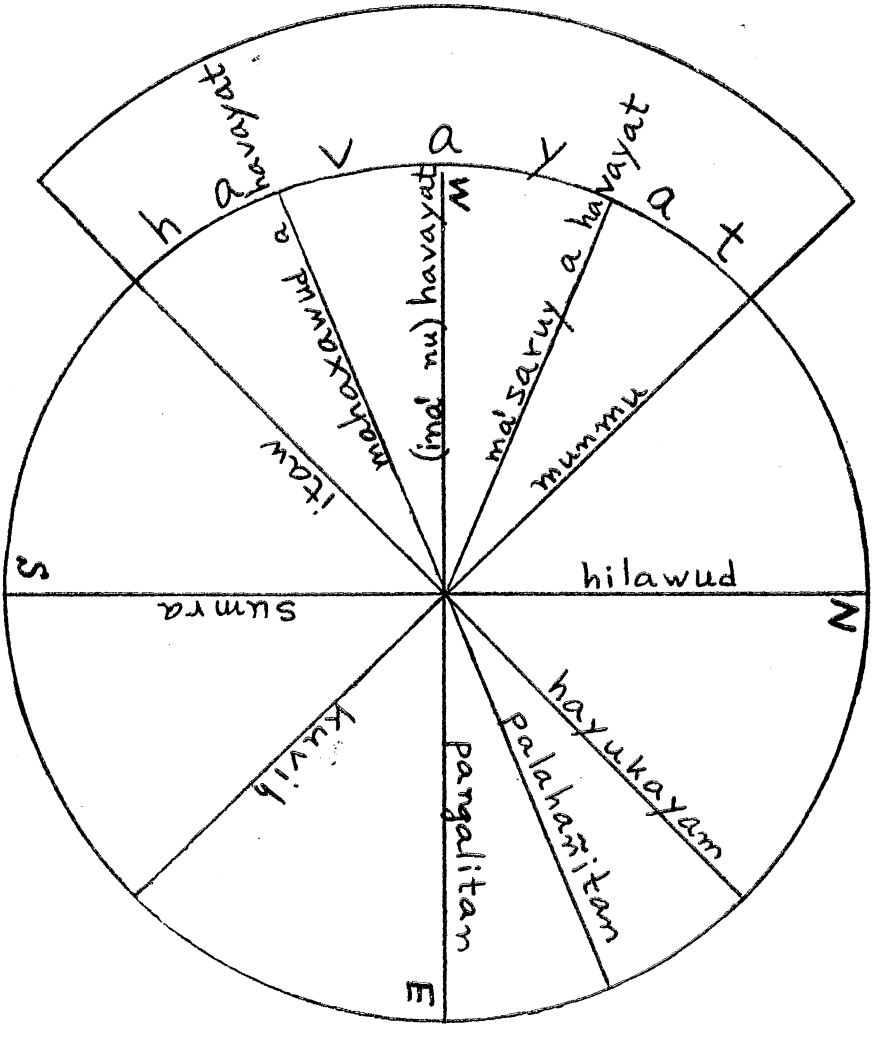

Figure 6. *Wind-directions*

ma'saruy a havayat:	west-north-west wind.
munmu:	north-west wind.
mihilawud:	to have *hilawud.*
mihayukayam:	to have *hayukayam.*
mipangalitan:	to have *pangalitan.*
michuvih:	to have *kuvih.*
misumra:	to have *sumra.*
mi'itaw(?):	to have *itaw.*
mihavayat:	to have *havayat.*
mimunmu:	to have *munmu.*

When the north wind blows, the Itbayat seldom go fishing, for it is very risky. But it is possible to go fishing at the sea near *Mawyen,* because it is *kaxtengan* (sheltered side).

When *hayukayam* blows in the season of *hamian,* the weather is not favorable for fishing, because the wind is strong and the sea is naturally rough. Moreover it is chilly at night for fishing. It is, however, possible to fish near *Mawyen* since it is *kaxtengan.*

When *hayukayam, pangalitan,* or *kuvih* blows, fishing is possible at the seas of the western side of Itbayat Island. When it is *sumra,* it favorable for fishing.

When *pangalitan* or *habayat* blows, and the sea is calm, it is possible to "sail" the sea toward Basco of Batan Islands, or from Basco to Itbayat. One can leave any port on the island for Basco. The people call this kind of wind *iptuplis a sarawsaw* (wind for intercrossing).

The wind *habayat* especially during the period from the end of July to September is strong and the sea is consequently rough. *Havayat* of this period abounds with rain.

3.77. **Light** (arranged from darkness to brightness)

sarih:	darkness.
kasarihan:	to be caught by darkness.
kassarihan:	dark (as a noun, like "in the dark").
havung:	shade.
misarisarih:	to have twilight time (in the evening).
masarih:	dark, dim.
kapsarisarih:	period or condition of having twilight.
pasarihen:	to darken, to cause to be dark.
mipasarih:	to become dark.
ichasarih:	cause of darkness.
michasarisarih:	to have blurred or dim vision.

yusarih: non-moonlight nights.
sexdang: light.
kasexdangan: to be lighted upon.
kassexdangan: place where there is light.
mipasexdang: to become bright, to brighten.
kapsexsexdang: period of dawn or dawning.
misexsexdang: to approach dawn and day.
mapasexdang: of producing bright surroundings.
ichasexdang: cause of brightness.
pasexdangen: to make bright.
rial: sun-ray, beam (of light).
marial: shiny, shining.
umrial: to be emitting rays.
karial: act or state of emitting rays.
parialen: to emit rays.
rihmay: artificial light.
marihmay: bright, luminous (of source of light).
rihmayen: lamp.
parihmayan: to make brighter.
rengang: bright.
marengang: bright (of surroundings).
suxuen: to project the light on; object which is lighted upon.
raagurug: thunder.
mirraagurug: to thunder.
minirraagurug: thundered.
ninirraagurug: thundered.
chilat: lightning.
umchilachilat: twinkle brightly, to flash bright light repeatedly
chihmat: idea of flashing.
umchihmat: to flash.
umchichihmat: to twinkle (in general).
atier: glare.
matier: to be dazzled.
atieren: to dazzle.
manier: dazzling.
axued: idea of being dizzy.
maxued: (past f.: *naxued*): to be dizzy, to become dizzy.
kaxued: state or period of being dizzy.
raañirang: rainbow.
mirraañirang: to have rainbow.

3.8. Beliefs and legends

Beliefs about *kahawan* (weather) will be first listed and those about accidents, voyage, and the like will follow next. There are *raxagdag* (sign-clouds), winds, and other things which do weather-forecasting; *michaychahawanen:* to do weather-forecasting; *mirraxagdag:* to report weather-forecast.

When *vaxahu* (a species of ant which is brown) or even *hamuruk* (mosquito) appear in quantities, the calm weather will change to bad, or the bad, to calm weather.

When there is a rosy sunset, there will be a sunny day.

If *gaganam* fish is seen while plying on the sea, there will be good weather soon.

An mahilak a' inawung am sarawsaw (If *inawung* is white, wind will come). *Inawung* is a type of cloud-formation.

Nu ma'uunung awi a raxagdag a sinuyat nu xañit 'am humanam u sarawsaw (Those uniformly sized sign-clouds which are streaks in the heaven mean that the winds are approaching).

Harit na an michasichasichah u remdem (The same [the coming of the wind] is true in the case of spreading clouds).

An michalaalaaru a remdem—'an maxaya'ga am humanam a michuvih (If the clouds are *laaru*-like and coarse, *kuvih*-wind is approaching).

An michalaalaaru a remdem—'an maxu'mek am humanam u havayat (If the clouds are *laaru*-like and fine or gossamery, *havayat*-wind is approaching).

An mavayangbang a' inawung am hañin (If *inawung* is black, typhoon is approaching).

An mahilak a' inawung am abkas (If *inawung* is white, the sea waves will be rough).

If *manuk* (chicken) cries unusually, the rain is nearing.

When *tektek* cries at a certain place of a house, the rain will come. The people call the lizard *tektek nu timuy* (lizard of rain).

An masanib u kapichachimichimit da' kanu' an allekey am humanam a matimuy (If they [stars] have frequent twinkling and if they appear small, the rain is approaching).

When you have yellowish clouds during sunset, the rain is approaching.

An mavaeng a' inawung am timuy (If *inawung* is black, the rain is coming).

If one *tumichjul* or *tumichdul* (trips over a stone and get hurt) before a journey, he must stop his ship-journey to avoid accidents at sea.

When launching *tataya,* animals especially *kuyis* (pig) are slaughtered. If a white substance is seen on the surface of the liver of the animal, it means that one will have perilous voyages on the high seas.

4. Boat-building

4.1. Kinds of boat

tataya
- karrakuxan
  - avang
  - palua, falua
  - chñudkeran
- kaalektan, kaalekyan
  - pañi'neman
  - suxuan

They are all so-called plank-built boats. A *tataya* is built by laying planks which are chipped into the necessary shape, by means of a ship carpenter's adze, out of a tree trunk. Therefore, there is no process of bending planks. The structure and the geographical distribution of this type of boat are very significant in the study of cultures covering Southeast Asia and Southwest Pacific areas.

Avang: It is the biggest among all, and moves by sail mainly and oar when needed. It accommodates about 30 crews (15 to each side) and about 30 passengers. It is used for a long trip. *Pangngavangan* is a boat which is used in going to *Pangavangan* (Luzon, Manila). Although it is not used nor found in Itbayat any more, the word *avang* remained in use, and the form of the boat closely resembles that of a balance called *vasiñan* which was once used for weighing gold. This artistic and beautiful boat is still used among the Yami.[33]

Palua, falua: The term *palua* is more commonly used among old persons. It is one of the types under *karrakuxan* (*rakux:* big), still in use, and moves by sail and oar. It accomodates about 12 crews (6 to each side) and about 20 to 30 passengers. It is used for transportation between the islands.

Chñedkeran: It is also under the category of *karrakuxan.* It moves by sail and oar, and accommodates about 6 to 10 crews (3 to 5 to each side) and about 10 passengers. It is also used for transportation between the islands.

Pañi'neman: It belongs to *kaalekyan* (*alekey:* small). It moves by oar mainly and sail if necessary. It accommodates 6 crews (3 to each side) and no passengers. It is mainly used for going to *Di'nem.*

Suxuan: It is also under the category of *kaalekyan.* It moves only by oar. It accommodates only 2 or 3 crews sitting in the middle one after another and no passenger at all. It is used exclusively for going fishing.

[33] See *Gold Culture* in section 1.2. Itbayat Island and the people, p. 138, *supra.* For pictures of the actual Yami *tatara* (boat), see Kano, I (1946), *op. cit.,* Illustrations 1 to 6, and Hwei-lin Wei and Pin-hsiung Liu, "Social Structure of the Yami Botel Tobago" (in Chinese), *Monographs* No. 1, Academia Sinica (1962), plates XIII and XIV.

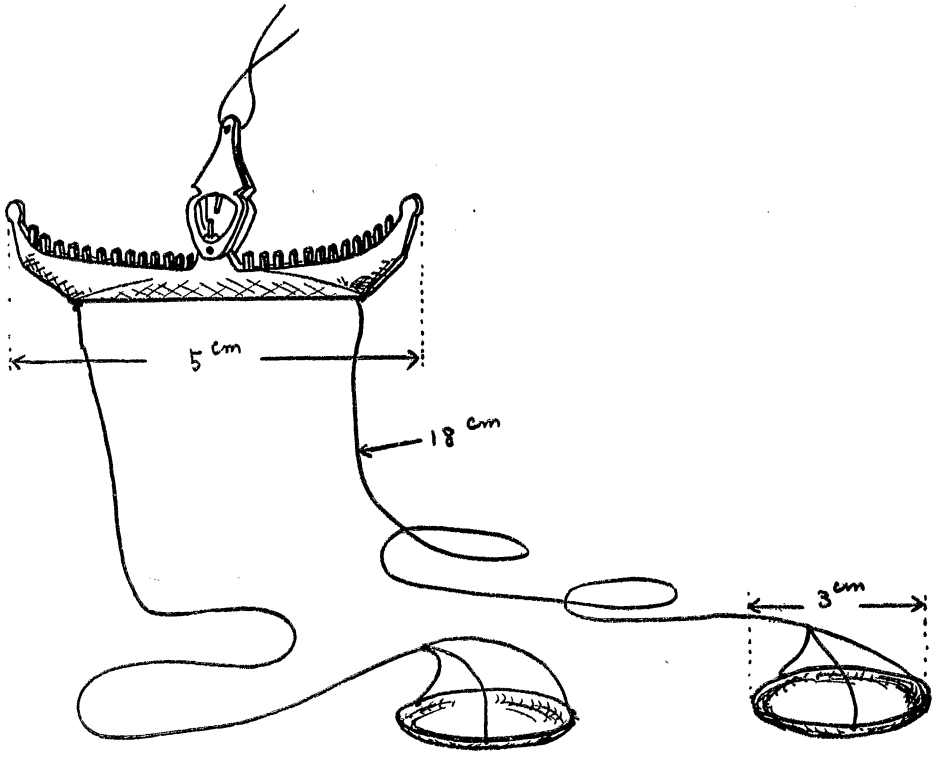

Figure 7. *vasiñan*-balance

The name *suxuan* means a boat used for fishing by means of torch. A general name for a fishing boat is *pangngamungan* meaning that which is used for catching *amung* (fish).

There are other names for boats. *Nivilaran a tataya* is a sail boat; *nununnuy,* boat that is used for dragging boat in water, pilot boat which guides a bigger ship; *bapur,* ship which has a motor; *lañcha,* barge, ferry boat; *buuti,* small boat loaded on a big ship; *pipasahiiruan a bapur,* passenger-ship with motor; *kumirsianti a bapur,* merchant ship; and *ataataya,* toy-boat.

4.2. Structure of boat

4.21. Parts of boat (the number refers to that of **Figure 8**)

1 *murung:* bow.
2 *mawdi:* stern.
3 *rachid:* keels at stern and bow.
4 *ñungkungan, chñungkungan:* keel between two *rachids*.
5 *tapi:* wooden side planks.
6 *manpil, unayen:* first plank attached to *ñungkungan*.

7 *ichaduha, manpil:* second plank.
8 *ichatlu, chatlu:* third plank.
9 *icha'pat, kahilakan:* fourth plank.
10 *pamaatijan, pamasitanan, pangahudan, pangahuran:* fifth plank, topmost plank.
11 *pahumavaken:* middle plank among the three in each of the three layers, that is, *ichaduha, ichatlu,* and *icha'pat.*
12 *pasitan:* thole, stick to be put in the holes called *pamekpekan.*
13 *pamekpekan:* big boat such as *palua* needs it which is placed upon the part where *pasitan*s are inserted for protecting *pangahudan* against being worn out due to rowing for a long period; hole in which *pasitan*s are driven; that part of the boat where to row.
14 *pangahudan:* that part of the topmost plank where to paddle.
15 *paatij:* pole attached outside of the boat for the purpose of protecting the body of the boat against rocks and for holding upon it in towing. It is not known to the Ivatan.
16 *pamaatijan:* that part which connects *paatij* to the topmost plank of the boat.
17 *lanuutuk:* pointed part of the boat at the bow.
18 *yaheb:* transverse frame which starts at the topmost plank but does not reach the keel inside the boat.
19 *ladkaw:* transverse frame which starts at the fourth plank, crosses the keel, and reaches the same point of the fourth plank of the other side of the boat.
20 *tangeb:* board at bow and stern as the seats for *arrays* (chief crew) and for *maniped* (steersman).
21 *kagalangan:* thwart as the support for the mast which only big *tataya* has.
22 *ra'lagan:* thwart as the seat for the rower.
23 *sintas:* long pole inside the boat attached to *kahilakan* or *chatlu* of the both sides of the body so that *kulili* can be tied to the pole.
24 *altivyung:* hole made at *ñungkungan* obliquely from inside coming out at the side of the keel so that

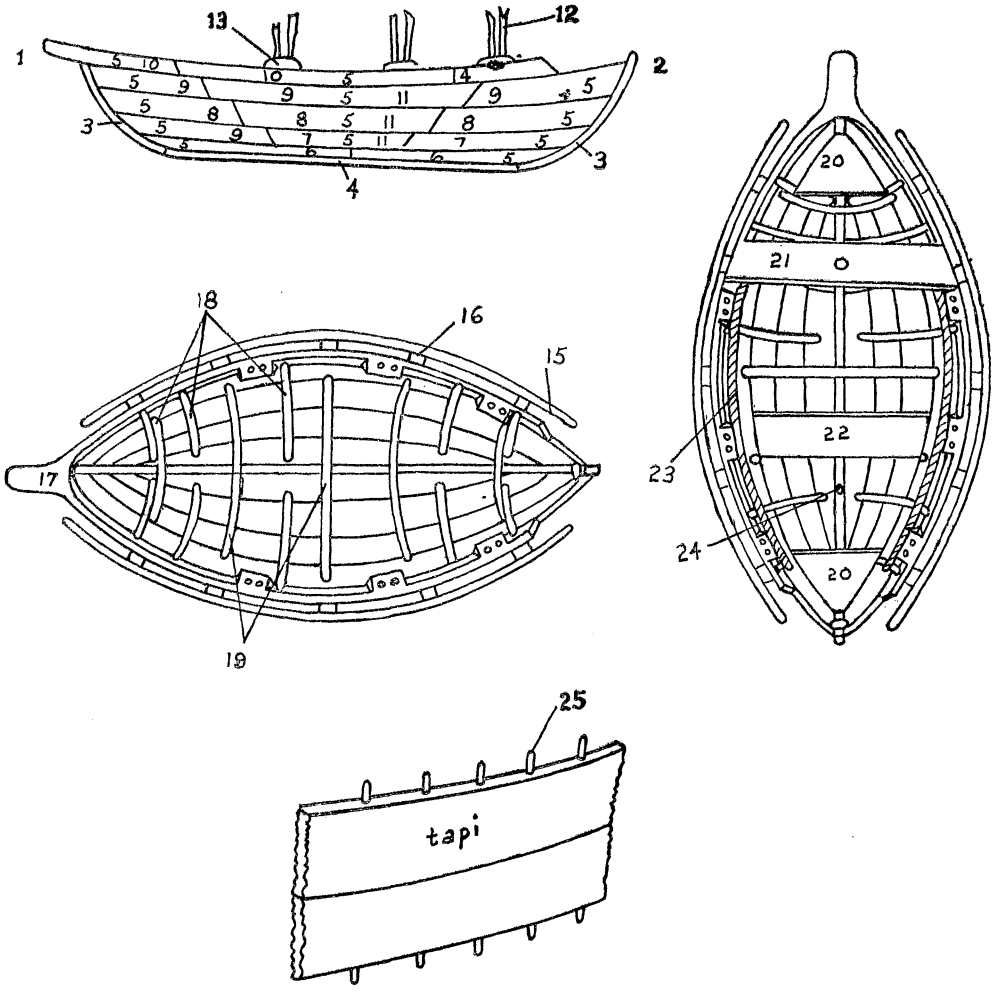

Figure 8. *Parts of boat*

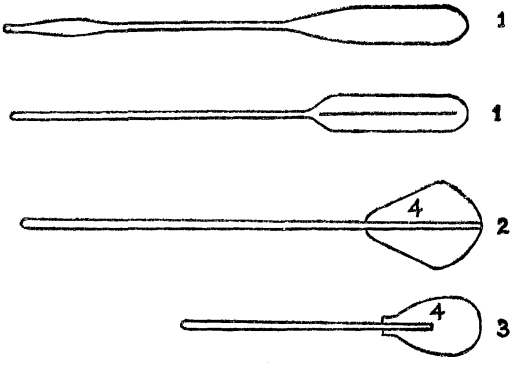

Figure 9. *Oars*

it will not be damaged while being dragged on land. This hole is made for emptying the leak.

25 *ipasken:* dowel to be used for abutting planks.

sengseng, ipansengseng: plug made of *vunut* (coconut husk) and put in the hole *altivyung;* blocking device for an opening.

ablit: collarbone; line at the topmost part of the boat (also of basket).

4.22. Other equipment (the number refers to that of **Figure 9**)

avat: oar (in general).

kahud: oar (in general, but *avat* is more general); oar other than *siped* (?).

1 *nivalitakan:* oar, sweep for a big boat which is ordinarily equipped with a sail so that rowers' labor can be minimized.

2, 3 *niyutapan:* oar which has *yutap* attached at the end of the handle, scull for a small boat which does not have a sail.

3 *siped:* oar, scull with a shorter handle.

4 *yutap:* broad-bladed part of *niyutapan.*

agguusan: rudder.

tektek: tiller, rudder handle.

annayasan: mast.

vilad: sail (mat made of *uxangu* (pandan) leaves was used, but now *laaji* (cotton) named *kacha* is used).

ipantulak: boatman's pole, something that is used for pushing against a more stable object, *kahud* when used for this purpose.

kulili: rope made of hide or rattan for tying a paddle to the two tholes.

istruubu: cable or rope used in stevedoring or at *pasitan.*

4.3. Construction of boat

4.31. General matters

kapittataya: *tataya*-building, *tataya*-making.

pittatayaan: place where a boat is made.

pibbapuran: shipyard, place where a ship is made.

mittataya: to build a boat.

mibbapur: to build a ship.

mittaataya:	of *tataya*-like form.
mibbaapur:	of *bapur*-like form.
varuk:	fibrous non-decaying and water-repellent fungi (?) growing from the live roots of a tree.
varukan:	to put *varuk* in-between the planks of a boat.
manvavaruk:	to hunt for *varuk.*
sengsengen:	to put a blocking device through an opening, to put the plug of.
masengseng:	to be blocked with a plug and the like.
tuliangan:	to make a hole.
annayasanan:	to put or provide mast.
viladen, vilaren:	to make into a sail; to afford the use of sail.
mivilad:	to be equipped with sails.
mivviilad:	of sail-like form.
vii:	idea of lateral imbalance (of boat, and the like).
mavii:	to have lateral imbalance.

4.32. Tools

kawar:	ship carpenter's adze.
pagad:	carabao hide used for fastening up *wasay* at the body of *kawar.*
wasay:	hatchet; blade.
paet:	hole-boring tool which was used long time ago.
ruska:	auger bit, gimlet.
murduura:	small plane with a handle, a kind of drawknife, spokeshave.
garagad, siruuchu:	saw.

4.33. Boat-painting

pinta:	idea of painting.
maminta:	to paint.
pintaan:	to paint (something).
kapaminta:	painting (as act).
kapintaan:	to be stained with paint.
ipanneb:	dyes.
atneben, atneven:	to dye, to soak something.
ipan'atneb:	that which is used for soaking something.

vurilaw: It is red clay (cf. *apxa:* clay; *hanpa:* white clay). It is used for painting *tataya,* walls, and the like for decorative purposes. *Ñungkungan, rachid, unayen, ichaduha,* and *ichatlu* are painted with it. The color is red.

They say that if *vurilaw* is used it is easier to row than the commercial red paint, and it is still used.

a'med: It is lime, and used for painting *tataya,* walls, and the like. *Kahilakan* and *icha'pat* are painted with it. The color is *mahilak* (white).

uriñ: It is charcoal. The fifth plank *pamaatijan* is painted with it. But recently commercial paint is taking its place. The color is *mavaeng* (black).

4.34. Boat-owner

tantataya:	*tataya*-owner.
tanbapur:	ship-owner. cf. *tandira:* possessor, owner.
mitataya:	to provide oneself with *tataya.*
mibapur:	to provide oneself with ship.

4.35. Material-plants for the parts

parts of boat	*plants*
rachid:	uvuy, vayakbak
ñungkungan:	chawi.
unayen:	arius, natu.
ichaduha:	arius, natu.
ichatlu:	arius, natu.
icha'pat:	arius, natu.
pamasitanan:	arius, varayvayan.
pamaatijan:	arius, varayvayan.
pangahudan:	arius, varayvayan.
pasitan:	vuxus, unakayuh, ariwi.
pamekpekan:	arius, vayakbak, aliñbasayaw.
paatij:	nunuk, aliñbasayaw.
yaheb:	arius, savilug, varayvayan, uvuy.
ladkaw:	arius, savilug, varayvayan, uvuy.
tangeb:	chawi (*palang nu chawi:* flat root part).
kagalangan:	chawi, uvuy, vayakbak.
ra'lagan:	natu, arius, vayakbak.
sintas:	aliñbasayaw, arius.
ipasken:	tañud (common), vuxus, ariwi.
sengseng, ipansengseng:	niyuy (*vunut nu niyuy:* coconut husk).
nivalitakan:	nunuk
kahud:	vuner.
siped:	vuner.
yutap:	natu, arius, vayuy.
agguusan:	uvuy, vayakbak, chawi.
tektek:	arius, vuxus.

annayasan:	kamaya, riwas (seldom).
vilad:	uxangu.
ipantulak:	kawayan.
kulili:	avaka, atipuxu, avutag.
istruubu:	tiblas, ahway, uris, nirahi.
varuk:	varuk.

Itbayaten	*Common name*	*Scientific name*[34] *or description*
ahway	rattan	*Flagellariaceae Flagellaria indica* L.
aliñbasayaw		tree having structural features like those of *bataaraw.*
arius		hardwood tree having oblong-shaped leaves.
ariwi		hardwood tree.
atipuxu	small-leaf salago	*Thymelaceae Wikstroemia indica* C. A. Mey.
	breadfruit	*Moraceae Artocarpus communis* Forster.
avaka	abaca	*Musaceae Musa textilis* Née.
avutag	kalulot	*Moraceae Artocarpus rubrovenia* Warb.
chawi		*Sapindaceae Pometia pinnata* Forster.
kamaya	mabolo	*Ebenaceae Diospyros discolor* Willd.
kawayan	bamboo	
natu		*Sapotaceae Palaquium formosanum* Hayata.
nirahi		
niyuy	coconut	
nunuk		*Moraceae Ficus tinctoria* Forst.
riwas		hardwood tree.
savilug	talisay	*Combretaceae Terminalia catappa* L.
tañud	mulberry	*Moraceae Morus alba* L.
tiblas		
unakayuh		
uris	kamangsa	*Connaraceae Rourea volubilis* Merrill.
uvuy		
uxangu	beach pandan	*Pandanaceae Pandanus tectorius* Solier.

[34] In deciding on the scientific names of flora, I depended upon Kano's work (1946) on flora on Batan (in which he acknowledged his gratitude to Dr. E. Quisumbing), William H. Brown's *Useful Plants of the Philippines,* Department of Agriculture and Commerce, Technical Bulletin, Manila, Vol. I (1941); Vol. II (1954); Vol. III (1958), and the explanations made by the natives of Itbayat. Further study by the specialists is greatly needed.

varayvayan	
varuk	*Rutaceae Zanthoxylum integrifolium* Merrill.
vayakbak	
vayuy	*Sterculiaceae Pterospermum niveum* Vidal.
vuner	similar to *aytap,* but grows straight.
vuxus	hardwood tree.

4.4. Beliefs and legends

Shout for dragging a boat: *Hesah, 'ulaysah, 'ulaysah!*

An mataynep u kapharaya' su tataya am mian u masngen a ripus mu a maliman (If one dreams of boat-launching, there will be death befalling a near relative).

Hichay nu' A'sa Kamutdex (Hurt-Feeling of a Child): *Mian angkakuuhay u mutdex a nahakey a may du hayara am pinya' dah nu' iññapuan na. Ah a'u' ichaduha' na kaaraw am nangxap su pakey nu' uxangu ah kahay na umgurugurugud sia' du niraxanan awi' nu tataya. Kavatah na awi' siiya' u "Uulah, tataya' kuan da angkakuyab di Ri'yang aya"kuan na.*

na. Ah kaliman na. Naliman ta ninichahichay. (Long time ago, there was a child who wanted to go to a boat-launching. His parents did not let him go. So on the next day, he took a piece of pandan stalk and went to drag it along the path of the boat which was launched. Doing this, he played back what he heard during the boat-launching and sang out his heavy feelings: *"Uulah, tataya,* they said yesterday at the place *Ri'yang,"* he died in the act. He died because he had hurt feelings.)

5. Fishing

5.1. Fishing tools

suxuan:	boat (smallest *tataya* for 2 or 3 fishermen).
a'pan:	bait. cf. *ippakan:* animal feed; *ipakan:* bait (for catching animals).
a'si nu tatus:	meat of coconut crab.
umang:	hermit crab.
hipun:	shrimp.
a'si' nu' amung:	meat of fish.
liibang:	flying fish.
saypet:	leaves of tree and other plants scattered in the part of the water so that shrimps and water eels can be attracted by the shade.
biniinu:	poison.

ipamaxatich:	fishing rod used in *kapamaxatich.*
panaruyan (?):	fishing rod.
sayriñ:	fish-hook. cf. *sajit:* fish hook-like thing.
ipanu'nang:	that which sticks in the throat or mouth (it does not prick nor harm), hook device for catching flying fish.
yuyus:	wooden hook with needle for catching flying fish (the term is more common among the *Ivatan*).
xuvid:	fishing line, string.
pnuspus:	rope.
tuyungan:	fish-hook line or rope.
pahichtan:	spool.
pila:	sinker.
pataw:	float, buoy.
xatawan:	float or buoy (ca. 15 centimeter high) made of *tavayay.*
kedked:	short string connecting *xuvid* and *xatawan.*
gayang:	spear.
i'iiraw:	hook device for catching octupus.
ipangnguyta, kukuyta:	anything used for catching *kuyta.*
pana:	spear-gun.
nanahaw:	gimlet-like tool for getting *nahaw.*
sagap:	net (in general), seine.
sasagap:	net device for catching water animals.
sisilu, silu:	a type of net.
kakayang:	a type of net for catching sea crabs.
saxakeb:	a type of net with fine holes (for catching small shrimps).
susuyuk:	a type of net for scooping fish with.
sawud:	idea of netting (?). cf. *sawden:* to make nets; *sasawud:* wooden needle for making nets; *adpan:* bamboo-ruler for making nets; *adpaan:* to measure with *adpan.*
karay:	a netting for placing catch (fishes, and the like)
vaxunan:	a shrimp-keeping net.
suxu:	torch (made of *viahu:* reeds).

5.2. **Fishing activities** (arranged according to its process)

mangngamung:	fisherman.
misuxu:	to provide oneself with torch (or recently lamp).

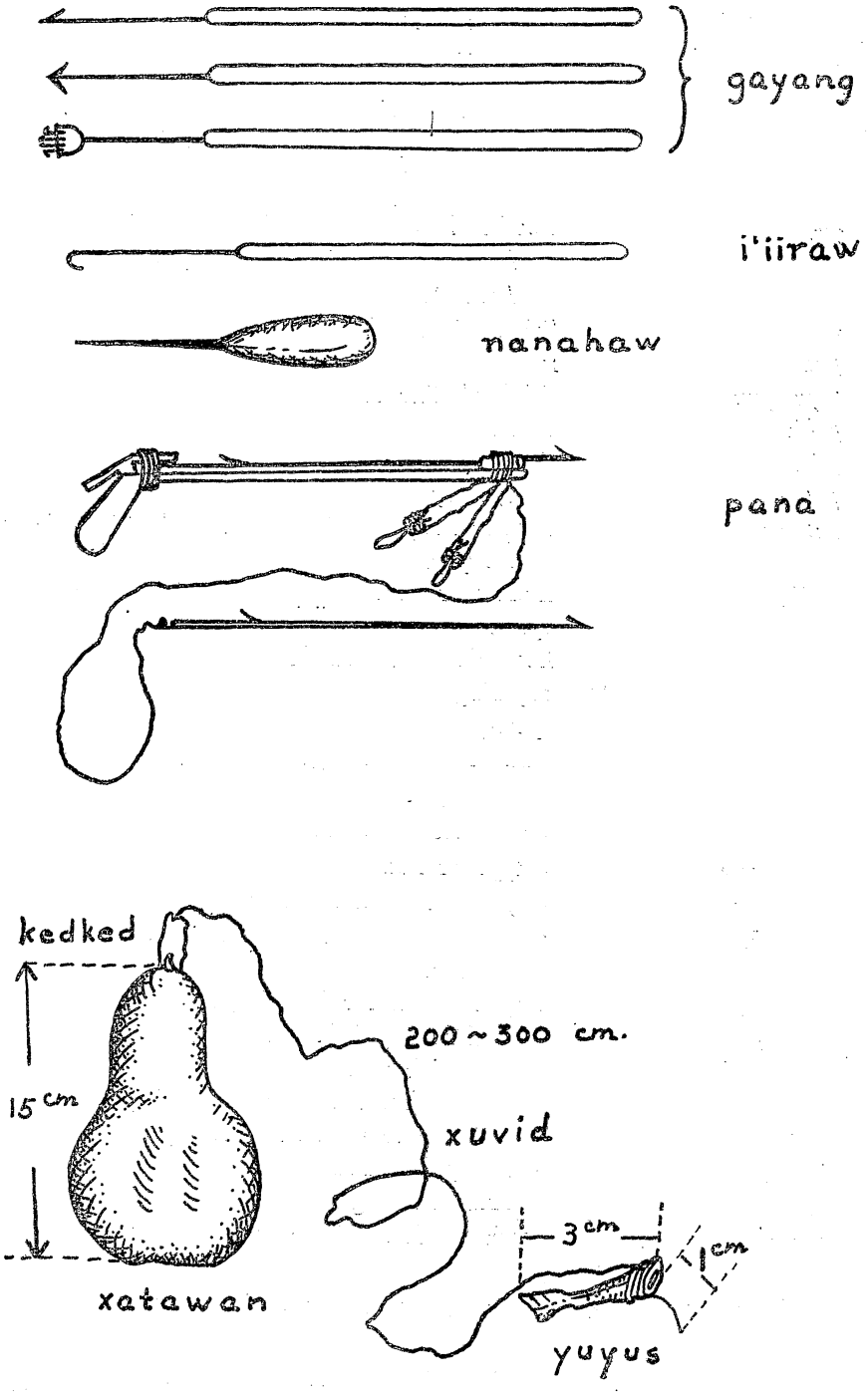

Figure 10. *Fishing tools*

sagut: breechcloth, G-string (no longer used).
managut: to wear breechcloth.
misagut: to wear breechcloth.
kapixataxataw: act of going to fish by boat.
mixataxataw: to go fishing on and off by boat.
miavaavang: to go fishing by boat.

May ta ru kamahimahilakan (We go to the place where there are white things) is the expression the fishermen say when they go far into the offing for fishing. The "place" is usually 1,500 to 2,500 meters off from the shore and it is more than 122 fathoms deep. The fish they catch there mostly appear *mahilak* (white) and are big, such as *vaxuyu, arayu, laañid, vated, ina' nu marayna, et cetera,* and sometimes they can catch *laguvi, tinaruy, mayasang,* and the like.

amung: fish.
a'sa ka'amung: one of a class of fish.
pissuxuen: the season for going to fish or hunt by means of torch (or lamp recently).
kapangngamung: act of fishing.
mangngamung: to fish.
man'a'amung: to fish.
makaamung (past f.: *nakaamung*): to be able to catch fish.

see 5.3. for other terms for "act of fishing" in connection to the methods of fishing.

mahiraw: to be attracted (as to fish swarming the area of fishing).

cf. *man'ahkat:* to invite (in general); *di makahkat:* to be not able to allure or invite (in general); *kapaamung* (verb f.: *mapaamung*): (metaphorical use referring to a certain behavior of woman) act of alluring or attracting the other sex in such a manner that the woman is making the "fisherman" easily catch her. *Nguh ka' mapaamung* (You are one who acts like a fish, How you resemble a gullible fish!).

sawyen: to prey upon.
manawi: to prey upon; a species of bird (kind of hawk).
kapanawi: act of preying upon.
unus: idea of dragging along. cf. *ne'neten:* to pull (in general, as to boat, and the like); *vutbuten:* to pull out (teeth, plants, etc.).
mangunus: to drag along hook-and-line in fishing.
unusan: to drag along.
mansuyuk, manuyuk: to scoop (fish) with net.

mansilu:	to scoop with net.
akna:	idea of pulling up; imp. f.
aknaen:	to pull up (fish, flag, and the like).
Akna'a:	imp. sent. Pull it!
makkavuraw:	to get loose (fish, animal). cf. *vuraw:* wild animal.
snavat:	brought-home catch (harvested crops).
ma'aamung:	of fish-smelling; of fish-tasting.
maamung:	of plenty of fish.
sagar:	idea of mascot or luck-producing.
masagar:	lucky in catching or hunting.
kasagar:	state of being lucky in catching.
kapaalak:	state of being lucky.
makasagar:	to be in best catch, to be in best luck.
ichasagar:	cause of having lucky catch; mascot.
saxavay:	idea of incurring poor catch or bad catch.
masaxavay:	to be cursed with poor catch.
saxavayen:	to cause to have poor catch.
umsaxavay:	to cause to have poor catch.
ichasaxavay:	cause of having poor catch.
manaxavay:	poor in catching; bringer of poor catch; jinx.
mansaxavay:	*manaxavay;* to cause to have poor catch.

5.3. Methods of fishing

The following are the various fishing methods arranged according to the kind of catch. Three terms are given to each method: first, noun form; second, verb form; and third, root form.

5.301. *kasuxu, sumuxu, suxu* (torch): *Liibang* (flying fish) is caught at night from March up to June on the open sea. The *suxuan* boat is used. The flying fish, when it flies being attracted by the light of *suxu,* is caught by *sisilu* (net) or *susuyuk* (net).

5.302. *kapanliliibang, manliliibang, liibang* (flying fish): *Liibang* is caught in the daytime from March up to June in the open sea. *A'pan* (bait) is usually *a' si' nu tatus* (meat of coconut crab) and sometimes shrimps. On a small *tataya* the fisherman goes with 2 or 3 companions. The bait is attached only on the wooden part of *yuyus* or *ipanu'nang* (hook-device) and not on the needle. The hook is connected to *xatawan* (*tavayay*-made buoy) by the 50 or 60 centimeter *xuvid* (line). Several *xatawans* are placed on the water at each side of the boat with an interval of about 5 meters. The fishermen stay away from the area, and watch the buoys. The moment *liibang* jumps out of the water, they immediately row to the buoy as fast

as possible, so that they can catch *liibang* before it is preyed upon by *arayu.* They remove the *yuyus* without harming the mouth of *liibang* and to keep it alive, so that it can be used as a bait for *arayu*-catching. *Arayu* devours only live fishes, among which *liibang* is the *arayu*'s most favorite fish.

5.303. *kapangngarayu* or *kapan'a'arayu, mangngarayu* or *man'a'arayu, arayu* (dorado): *Arayu* is caught in the daytime from March up to June in the open sea. The live *liibang* is the bait. *Sayriñ* (7 to 8 centimeter-long hook) is placed at the foot of its pectoral fin and a line is tied around its body so that the hook will not be loosened while it swims. It is allowed to swim releasing *tuyungan* (3 millimeter-thick line) about 40 to 50 fathoms long from bamboo or wooden *pahichtan* (spool). The *arayu* pursues, and swallows it. The fish-line is now hauled in.

5.304. *kapanagap* or *kapansagap, managap* or *mansagap, sagap* (net, seine); cf. also *masagap:* to be net-caught; *sagapen:* to net; *misasagap:* to provide oneself with or use *sagap; missaagap:* seine-like. *Yuyunu* is caught in the daytime from July to September near the seashore. No bait is needed. One end of *sagap* (25 x 8 meters) is attached to the vertical surface of the rock at the shore and the other end is open waiting for the coming of the fish being cornered by a group of about 10 persons who do every effort to lead the fish by means of swimming and diving. Then after a while, the open end of the net will be closed by connecting it to the shore and gradually make the water space surrounded by the net smaller and smaller, and finally pull the whole net in a scooping manner.

5.305 *kapanayriñ, manayriñ, sayriñ* (fish-hook): cf. also *sayriñen:* to catch (fish) by hook. Different kinds of fish are caught in the daytime, at anytime of the year in the deep open sea. Baits are *tatus, umang* (hermit crab), *hipun* (shrimps), *or a'si' nu' amung* (meat of fish). By *tataya* the fishermen go out holding hook-and-line with rod which is ordinarily *kawuy* (small slender bamboo), or sapling of trees.

5.306. *kapiavaavang, miavaavang, avang* (boat): cf. also *inavaavangan:* did fishing by going to fish using boat. Different kinds of fish are caught at night during *raywen* season in the deep open sea. The bait is the meat of *liibang.* By *tataya* (*suxuan*) the fishermen go out with hook-and-line, but light it not used.

5.307. *kapamasil, mamasil, pasil* (idea of hook-and-line with rod): cf. also *papasil:* hook-and-line with rod. Different kinds of fish are caught, such as *ivay, sungu, tuvutuvu,* and the like in the daytime, anytime of the year, near the shore (standing on rock, or in a shallow sea). Baits are *tatus, umang, hipun,* or *a'si' nu' amung.* Hook-and-line with *kawuy*-rod is used.

5.308. *kapamaxatich, mamaxatich, vaxatich* (?): cf. also *vaxatichen:* to do fishing in this method (?). Different kinds of fish are caught at night, at anytime of the year, near the shore by standing on an elevated rock, down

below where the water is deep. The fishes are bigger, and the water deeper than in the case of *kapamasil* method. Baits are *tatus, umang, hipun,* or *asi' nu' amung.* Hook-and-line with *kawuy*-rod is used.

5.309. *kapabxes, mapabxebxes, abxes* (idea of dropping or laying down) cf. also *mapabxes:* to drop, to lay down; *Abxesa'an:* imp. sent. Lay (it) down!; *Abxe'es:* imp. sent. Stop (what you are doing)! Different kinds of fish are caught such as *tinaruy, laañid, laguvi, vated, haymang,* and the like, in the daytime, anytime of the year, at the water a little bit away from the shore. Baits are *tatus, umang, hipun,* or *a'si' nu' amung.* Hook-and-line is used. The bait will be carried by the fishermen swimming, as far as the line can reach, and the other end of the line is connected with the shore. The fisherman waits for the catch on the seashore.

5.310. *kapannunuy, mannunuy, nunuy* (idea of dragging along hook-and-line attached to the boat which is moving): cf. also *nunuyen:* to drag along hook-and-line attached to the boat moving. Different kinds of fish are caught, in the daytime, at anytime of the year, at the water away from the shore. Baits are *tatus, umang, hipun, a'si' nu' amung,* or artificial one. Fishing is done while dragging the line with the moving boat.

5.311. *kapamana, mamana, pana* (spear-gun for fishing): cf. also *panaan:* to shoot at (the prey) with spear-gun; *papanaen:* to discharge the spear-gun. Different kinds of fish are caught in the daytime (recently also at night by the help of a flash light), at anytime of the year, anywhere in the sea but usually near the seashore. No bait is needed. The "game" is shot while swimming or diving in the water.

5.312. *kahapa, humapa, hapa* (?): Different kinds of fish, seashells, and seaweeds are hunted in the daytime, at anytime of the year, at the sea near the shore or on the shore. No bait is needed. Various tools are used, such as *i'iiraw, nanahaw, gayang,* and the like. The term *kahapa* has an additional meaning of "hunting" girls at night.

5.313. *kapanggayang, manggayang, gayang* (spear): Different kinds of fish are caught, in the daytime, at anytime of the year, anywhere along the shore, in the water while swimming, or from the *tataya* (boat). No bait is needed.

5.314. *kapan'asgaw, man'asgaw, asgaw* (that which suffocates): Different kinds of fish are caught, in the daytime, at anytime of the year, in lagoons along the seashore. Fish is caught by means of poisons and the like in a pool. *Biniinu* is poison and *manbiniinu,* poisonous. *Viru' nu tabaaku* (nicotin of sigar), *a'si' nu galutajit* (pingpong-ball-like fruit of a species of *vaxusa* that is an egg-plant), stem of *tuva* (*Derris elliptica* (Benth), and sometimes *kasiiri* (red pepper) are used.

5.315. *kapangnguyta* or *kapangkukuyta, mangnguyta* or *mangkukuyta, kuyta* (octopus): Octopous is caught in the daytime, at anytime of the year,

in the holes of rocks or in the sea water when it is swimming. No bait is needed. *I'iiraw* is used when the octopus is in a hole, and *pana* when swimming in the water. In this method, *i'iiraw* is also called *ipangnguyta* (that which is used for catching *kuyta*).

5.316. *kapanuxusuxu* or *kapansuxusuxu, manuxusuxu* or *mansuxusuxu, suxu* (torch): Sea crabs, *kuyta* are caught at night, on the seashore (such places as lagoons). No bait is needed. They are caught by the use of *nanahaw, kukuyta* with the help of torch-light.

5.317. *kapanuxu, manuxu, suxu* (torch): The term *kapanuxu* is used in a more general sense than *kapanuxusuxu*. Sea crabs, *kuyta, tatus, marila* (snails) are caught at night, in the lagoons and other places on the seashore. *Tatus* and *marila* are caught especially during the period from November to February. No bait is needed. Torch is used in this method of fishing or hunting, but recently lamp is being used.

5.318. *kapangngayang* or *kapangkakayang, mangngayang* or *mangkakayang, kayang* (crab): *Kayang* is caught in the daytime, anytime of the year at the seashore. No bait is needed. A net called *kakayang* is used for this purpose.

5.319. *kapanilusilu* or *kapansilusilu, manilusilu* or *mansilusilu, silu* (idea of netting; a certain type of net): cf. also *makasilu:* to be able to net, to be able to catch with net; *pasilusilu:* to dip the net many times; *sisilu:* the usual instrument for netting; *mansilu:* to scoop with net once, to net; *siluen:* to fish with net, to dip the net; *Silu'u:* imp. sent. Catch (it) with net! Small fishes, *laysich* (shrimps) are caught in the daytime, at anytime of the year, in the sea near the shore. No bait is needed. A net called *saxakeb* is used for scooping.

5.320. *kapantutuna, mantutuna, tuna* (eel): You catch *tuna* in the daytime and at night, in fresh waters. No bait is needed. In the daytime, a net *sisilu* is used, while at night a spear *gayang* is used. The eyes of *tuna* gleam in the dark and you can identify it.

5.321. *kapansaypet, mansaypet, saypet* (leaves put in the water on purpose): Eels and shrimps are caught in the river in the daytime, anytime of the year. First *saypet* (leaves of trees and other plants scattered) are put in the part of water which is suspected of having many eels or shrimps, so that they can be attracted by the shade of *saypet,* then make *apnet* (block made of clay in the brook for the purpose of surrounding fishes) around the area of *saypet* without blocking the stream of the river, and do *sapsapan* (to scoop out the content of) so that only the fish will be left to be caught.

5.322. *kapannatus, mannatus, tatus* (coconut crab): This is a hunting of coconut crabs, and not fishing any more. It is worth attention in connection with the present topic. *Tatus* is one of the delicacies in Itbayat and people go hunting for it reaching as far as *Dimavulis,* an island about 30 or 40 kilo-

meters north of Itbayat Island, although *tatus* can be found in almost all the islands of the Province of Batanes. It is quite frequently used as bait for fishing as mentioned above. Five ways of hunting are known to me: 1) *kapangpan, mangpan, a'pan* (bait): It is hunted at night especially when raining, at any time of the year, along the seashore or in the forest. Coconut meat is the bait, which differs from *kapanuxu.* The coconut meat is still with husk so that it can be easily tied to a tree trunk or a stone where *tatus* eats the bait. 2) *kapangateb, mangateb, kateb* (trap): In this method a trap invented by *Amankintin* and improved by *Aman'andu* [Tiburcio Castro] grandfather of Mr. A. P. Castro is used Cf. the terms: *mantiraw, maniraw, or tirawen:* to go and see whether the catching device has a catch. 3) *kapchurukud, michchurukud, kurukud* (idea of digging out the habitat of the *tatus*): The place where the crab hides itself is dug by means of hammer, hand itself, or by digging out, knocking, *et cetera* along the seashore, rocky or stony places. 4) *kapangxub, mangxub, a'xub* (smoke): The crab is choked with the smoke so that it comes out of his hole for fresh air. 5) *kapavilivili' su titu, mapavilivili' su titu, vilivilis* (rounding out, pacing back and forth, traversing the area), *vili* (idea of returning or restoring), *tiitu* (dog): *Tatus* is caught by letting a dog go round the area and find *tatus,* while the dog is followed with a lamp.

5.4. Beliefs and legends

5.401. *Mivanvanua* is a boat-launching ceremony. The gaps along the way and on the seashore are filled up and improved, so that *tataya* can be easily dragged without being harmed. The fishermen get together, butcher *kuyis* (pig) accompanied by incantation and *parek* drinking, and place on the shore a wrapping of its liver, lungs, blood, and lard. There are beliefs about the cuts and other things found on *atay* (liver) and about *apdu* (bile).

When there are some cuts on the *atay* which are not fresh and that had been made by *anitu* before slaughtering, one of the relatives of the slaughterer (naturally a fisherman) will die in the near future. When the cuts are found near *uxu' nu' atay* (head of liver, the term "head" is given to the part facing the central point of the body of the animal), the case is still more serious.

If a fresh cut were find on its liver, one of the boat owners or crew members will die, and if the cut is located near the center, the chief of the members will die.

An rawngan nu' uxu' nu tawur u taga awi' am may du adngedngeyen da awi (If the head of the heart overlooks the cut, death goes to their chief). *Ah 'an maharawi awi' am nu kayvan na rana awi sira* (And if far, it goes to other companions).

When *apdu* is little or none in the *atay,* there will be a danger that the boat will encounter, that is, the boat will drift to an unknown destina-

tion (*mahaxawud*). This event is called *kahuwawan* (*mahuwaw:* thirsty), for the fishermen on the boat will naturally get thirsty during the period of being carried into the offing and to a far away place. On the other hand, when *atay* is full of *apdu,* there will be no such danger. *Ah 'an rakux u mimian nu' apdu awi' am mahwaw sa alih* (And if the bile is big, they will not be thirsty). *Ah 'an may sa mangngamung 'am makaaru' sira* (And if they go fishing, they will catch plenty of fishes).

5.402. Praying ceremony for making a good haul: Fishermen imitate fish-catching on the seashore. This is what people call *kapia'a'amung.* They use rope instead of *tuyungan* (a line which is used for the actual fishing on the sea). They put a piece of pork at the end of the rope and throw it over board. Then a certain fisherman runs to the pork which is the bait, clings to rope, and tries to eat it. The fishermen (ordinarily three of them in the boat) pull the rope.

Nu pangngamungan am matuyiñ a pakaaxapan da su' amung. Ah mi-tuytuplis sa u daduha awi a' umtuyiñ siiya. Kanen da u mian awi a' ipakan du hiraxem·nu tataya awi (The fishing boat can be magically or spiritually induced so as to be their object-agent for plentiful fish catch. So the two persons take turns in giving mascot to it [through imitative magic]. They eat what is used as bait under the boat).

Nu mahakey sa machchanitu am mangxap sa' su parek kanu mayes a matimek, ah kahay da ña pahngayen du panay 'anmana ruyuy 'ah ka-hay da ña' du kavvatuan a yanan nu' axurud—du vatah da awi du Pañi-numan dum pahivava' nu Ditbayat. Ihay da u mayes awi' chanu parek awi' dawi' tapian makaamung sira' kanu makatatus sira. Nawi u pariñen da nu machchanitu' sa awi. Mijasar sah antayi u machchanitu' sa awi. Makaaxap sira' su aru a tatus, 'aru a' amung, tamna pa'te'teken da sa u' anitu sa awi (Those who desire to commune with ghosts procure wine and spotted ear of corn; then they go to place it [the combination of wine and corn?] in a place or coconut shell, then they put it where it is stony and [at the same time] a spot with stone-grove—in what is called by them as *Pañinuman* somewhere at the lower region of *Ditbayat.* They bring the ear of corn and wine there so that they will catch plenty of fish and coconut crabs. That is what is done by those who commune with ghosts. They probably do not pray. They are enabled to get many coconut crabs, many fishes because they coaxed the ghosts).

5.403. Sometimes a *mangngamung* (fisherman) has a certain person who brings lucky catch. He is the mascot and called *ichasagar.* Whenever the fisherman sees the particular person by chance on the way to fishing, he catches plenty of fish. Through the experience of the same effect, it is decided who is his *ichasagar.*

5.404. Sometimes a fisherman has a jinx who brings bad luck or a poor catch to him. He is the jinx and called *manaxavay* or *mansaxavay.* When-

ever the fisherman sees the particular person by chance on the way to fishing, he catches no fish. It is known to him who is his *mansaxavay* through a series of the same experiences.

5.405. It is a belief that a fisherman should or had better stop fishing when he happens to hear voices of singing or certain sounds of *lalaxay* (invisible spirit or goddess) and he has not been able to catch a single fish yet, but he may continue fishing on such an occasion if he has already caught some, because a fisherman with his catch is immune to *lalaxay*. cf. *anitu:* ghost, devil, spirit of the dead; *paxad:* soul, religious spirit.

5.406. *kaplak nu marayna* (act of splashing down of *marayna* into the body of water): cf. also *kapaplak su marayna:* act of causing *marayna* to splash down into the body of water; *maplak:* to fall with a *plak* sound. The fisherman should be cautious enough and be very certain that *marayna* fish is really hooked when he wants to pull it up, so as not to lose it while pulling it. If he drops it, there will be no *marayna*-catch not only at the place where he dropped it, but also around the island, for more than one year.

5.407. There are occasions when *liibang* (flying fish) gets tired with flying around the torch, and finally falls afloat on the sea water near the fishing boat. The fisherman should not get hold of it by means of bare hand, but he should catch it by the use of *sisilu* (net for catching *liibang* in this method of catching).

5.408. When a fisherman does not have any catch for a long time, his *tataya* should be cleansed of bad-lack in fishing by *parek* wine. *Vasbasan* means that one cleanses of bad-luck in this way, and that one blesses (something or somebody) with holy water.

5.409. There is *raji* (folksong) about *Tumayil*'s Father who died of poison of a fish they caught. His wife sang the following *raji*:

Amantumayil

Ayah katayug mu Bulinika kaviiyay
ta' utah a sapsapan 'u hawa' du Di'nem.
Maaxaw ku sawun 'u kapanganiyaw
nu' atlu a rudpunan 'a vulay du Samux.
Ara' ku na' pangxutuwan 'u suli' du Vanga'
a naratay du Samux ni Amantumayil.
Ayah mu katayug mu Bulinika kaviiyay
ta' utah a sapsapan 'u hawa' du' Di'nem
ta sapan ta siiya' u sima' nu sayriñ
ni Amantumayil ta makatatakeb sawun su vaxay.

(*Tumayil's* Father

Let's go, you Brother-in-law, you *Bulinika* the resuscitator
because we'll go and scoop out the sea at *Di'nem*

Well, I have guessed right, that of being a premonition
the three mounds of snakes in *Samux*.
How I wish now to cook the taro at *Vanga*
which was the former plain of *Samux* of *Tumayil*'s Father.
Let's go, you Brother-in-law, you *Bulinika* the resuscitator
because we'll go and scoop out the sea at *Di'nem*
in order to look for it—the barb of the hook
of *Tumayil's* Father, because (it) dwarfs indeed the house).

5.410. There is a ceremony in relation to *tatus*-hunting. It is called *manavak*. Before starting *tatus*-hunting, in the late afternoon at around 4 to 5 o'clock, you go to the place where you will hunt. You pour *parek* (wine) into *tatawuy* (coconut-shell cup), drink first, and pour the rest of the wine moderately on a rock nearby with incantation and a song praying for a good catch at night. A big pouring of wine on the rock would make the *anitu* drunk, and the *anitu* would not then be able to help the hunter bring a good catch.

6. Marine products

6.1. Fauna[35]

6.11. Kinds of fish (edible)

aglawa:	a species of fish, which is multicolored (green, blue, and the like), and which is carried to the shallow part of the sea along the shore by the tide and left behind in the pools when the tide withdraws. The size is 30 to 50 centimeters.
aluvungen:	species of flying fish, having blue wings.
anak:	a species of flying fish, the smallest in the flying fish family.
anawil:	*Tylosurus philippinus* Herre, snake-like fish The size is about 40 centimeters including its bill.
a'ñid:	*Epinephelus* sp.

[35] In deciding on the scientific names of fauna, I depended upon Kano's work (1946) on fauna on Batan (in which he acknowledged his gratitude to Dr. H. Roxas), and partly, upon the help of the College of Fisheries, University of the Philippines, as well as upon the descriptions by the natives of Itbayat. Further study by the specialists is also greatly needed. In this connection, Albert W. Herre in his book, *Check List of Philippine Fishes,* Research Report 20, U.S. Department of the Interior (1953), pp. 4-5, describes Batanes Province as one of the six regions of the Philippines from which fishes have not yet been collected. According to him, "a rich harvest awaits the one who collects intensively and extensively in those places. Among the more promising are the islands comprising Batanes Province, north of Luzon; the shore of Luzon, . . ."

aramayen: a species of flying fish, having white wings. The size is about 40 centimeters.

arawa: *Callyodon pulchellus* Rüppel. It is dotted with black, white, reddish color.

arayu: *Coryphaena hippurus* Linnaeus. It is called dorado, or more commonly but erroneously dolphin. The female *arayu* is called *hayran.* It "wears a livery of brilliant blue or green above, shading into silvery-white or bright yellow, with purple and golden reflections everywhere, and with a series of bright blue and greenish spots on head and back."[36] It lives in the seas of tropical and temperate regions[37] pursuing and devouring the flying-fishes especially. It undergoes great changes with age, in both color and form. The size of *arayu* which I observed was 130 to 140 centimeters. The body is long and tapering, compressed with extenstive dorsal fin. The scales are small.

asled: *Holocentrus* sp. It is similar to a fresh water fish called *tilaapia.*

ditun: *Hemigymnus fasciatus* Bloch. It is a small fish dotted black on the white or brown body.

gaganam: a species of fish of the shark family (?). It has a man-eating habit. It is big and usually jumps. cf. *ganam:* idea of stumping; *mijanam:* to produce stumping noise.

getgetan: *Siganus* sp. It is the same fish as *manayri,* but smaller.

hayran: It is a female *arayu.*

hilek: *Kyphosus cinerascens* Forskal. It is blackish, or smoke-colored.

inaey: a species of flying fish. It is a big kind.

ina' nu marayna: a species of fish ("mother of *marayna*").

ivay: *Pempheris* sp. It is blackish and small.

kurapu: *Cirrhites sp.* It is reddish, with brown spots.

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[36] J. Douglas Ogilby, *The Commercial Fishes and Fisheries of Queensland,* Fisheries Branch Department of Harbours and Marine, Brisbane, Queensland, Revised and Illustrated by Tom C. Marshall (1954), p. 36.

[37] Francis Day, *The Fishes of India: being a Natural History of the Fishes known to inhabit the Seas and Fresh Waters of India, Burma, and Ceylon,* Vol. I: Text (London, 1958), p. 248.

kusichusi: *Safole taeniura* Cuvier et Valenciennes. It is about 20 centimeters long, and looks like sardine.

kuvaxan: *Hepatus triostegus* L.

laañid: shark.

laguvi: It is a matured *tumutuvu.*

lalaxu: a species of fish living in holes at the rocks somewhere between *atep* and *vaya'ba* and when the waves reach there, they sometimes go into the sea water, being carried by the returning waves, but later they come back to their holes. It has no scales.

liibang: *Cypselurus* sp. Fying fish in general.

madavit: a species of flying fish with brownish dots on the wing. It is about 20 centimeters long.

malakay: a species of sawed-fish. It is a big kind.

mamin: a species of fish.

manayri: a species of fish, with white dots on the blackish skin. It is about 80 centimeters long.

maravunut: a species of fish, and similar to *anawil* but stouter and longer than that.

marayna: a species of fish.

maxang: *Epinephelus* sp. It has big eyes.

maxavung a sūngu: a species of fish. This is white spotted *sungu.*

mayasang: a species of fish. It is a "nice" fish with reddish pink color.

natagarit: a species of fish. cf. *tagarit:* king fisher.

natarukuk: a species of fish, with black head and brownish body. It has wings but does not fly. cf. *tarukuk:* a species of bird.

navuvuyas: a species of fish. cf. *vuvuyas:* broom.

paniratirawan: a species of fish.

patawen: a species of fish.

punayu: a species of fish, commonly called globe-fish. It has no spines and is similar to *vutiti,* but not poisonous.

rapaw: a species of fish. It is big and brownish in color.

savawan: *Caranx* sp.

serer: *Caesio* sp. It is small and white.

sirel: a species of fish, which has a blue back and a white belly.

sungu: *Balistes* sp. There are many kinds: dotted white, brown, or brownish.

suxwen: a species of flying fish. cf. *suxu.*

taniji: a species of fish. It is big.

taper: *Chaetodontidae.* It is flat and yellow, with brown stripes.

tayaan: a species of fish.

taysiw: a species of fish.

tinaruy: a species of fish.

tumutuvu: a species of fish. It is a young *laguvi.*

va'baan: a species of fish.

vated: a species of fish.

vatuan: a species of fish.

vaxavaxa: a species of fish.

vaxuknung: a species of fish.

vaxuyu: *Thunnus* sp. It is tuna. It is said to be tasty.

vulung: a species of fish, similar to *anawil* but it is bigger with shorter bill, and spear-shaped.

vutiti: *Lethrinus* sp. It is poisonous, with no spines, and similar to *punayu* in form. cf. Tag. *butete:* a species of globe-like fish *Tetrodon lunaris* Bl.

xangsa: a species of fish.

xawyan a sungu: a species of fish, which has a long curving upper caudal fin called *xawi,* at the foot of which there is a vary short caudal fin downward.

xa'xay: *Ablennes hians* Cuvier et Valenciennes. It is a kind of sawed-fish.

yuyunu: a species of fish, which is very small and usually called anchovy. cf. Tag. *dilis:* a species of long-jawed anchovy *Stolephorus commersonii* Lacepede.

6.12 Other sea animals (edible)

ruyung: whale.

kanañis: big cuttlefish. cf. *tañis:* crying.

anus: medium-sized cuttlefish, squid.

pusit: small cuttlefish, squid.

xatuk: jellyfish.

kuyta:	big octopus.
taxunung:	small octopus.
haymang:	sea eel which stays in holes under the sea.
huxax:	snake-like sea eel.
payi:	lobster.
ammaana:	sea urchin, with very sharp spines which may remain in the human skin when pricked, and it is dangerous and painful.
a'put:	sea urchin, with needle-shaped spines.
unut:	sea urchin, with tooth-like spines.
kaviñaviña:	sea-shell animal.
pururan:	sea-shell animal in the shallow sea which sometimes looks like seaweeds.
tachimus:	sea-shell animal, with pinkish color. They are found at *kattachimusan.*
nahaw:	sea-shell animal cone-shaped. It is found at *atep.* It is usually embedded in stones or rocks.
baliaarum:	sea-shall animal cone-shaped. Shell is used as a horn.
kuyad:	sea-shell animal. It gets the color of the rocks; brownish, maroon, and the like. They are found at *vaya'ba.*
yayang:	sea-shell animal, which has a shutter or lid. It is more spherical than *baliaarum.*
ninih:	sea-shell animal.
kunu:	sea-shell animal, commonly called giant clam *Tridacna gigas.* The shell is thick and white.
turem:	sea-shell animals, called oyster, to be found at *vaya'ba* or below that. cf. Tag. *talabá.*
marila' du hawa:	cowrie.
kayang:	sea crab, with checkered blackish color.
rarasan:	sea crab, with greenish color.
suxaw:	sea crab, with white color, usually found at the upper part of *kattachimusan* or sometimes even in the forest. cf. *masuxaw:* pale (in color).
chinem:	sea crab, with brown color.
irang:	turtle.

There are fresh water fishes and animals, and others in the following only for reference.

dalag: a species of fish called mudfish.
tilaapia: a species of fish (introduced recently).
tuna: *Anguilla mauritiana* Bennett. It is a big eel. cf. *katuna:* one sample of *tuna*-class; certain kind or type of water eel.
laysich: very small shrimp; young shrimp.
taxavag: medium-sized shrimp.
hipun: shrimp.
piiret: a species of shell (amphibian).
katang: a species of crab.
cf. *pipiñet:* snail (on land).
marila: snail (on land).
tatus: coconut crab (on land).
umang: hermit crab (on land). This is used as bait.

6.13. Anatomy of fish

6.131. Other part of the fish-body

xawi: upper caudal fin which is quite longer than the lower one. This term is also applicable to that of rooster.
is'isen, is'is: scales. cf. *is'isan:* to remove scales.
ipus: tain fin, caudal fin; tail (in general).
isiit: dorsal fin; ventral fin.
panid: pectoral fin.
parulapid: outer part of the face which flaps.
siit: fish spines on the body. cf. *mansiit:* fish having pricking spines; *masiit:* action of pricking by spines.
uxu: head (in general).
kulit: skin (in general).
mata: eye (in general).
vivih: mouth (in general).
ñipen: tooth (in general).
sañi: jaw (in general).
lalanguy: face (of fish, pig, but not of man).
vulek: belly (in general).
lichud: back (in general).
lawus: anus (in general).
tachi: excreta (in general).

6.132. Inside part of the fish-body

vukut:	spine, backbone.
harang:	gills.
unewned:	guts, viscera. cf. *vituka:* guts, viscera (esp. of ruminants).
tinayi:	intestines.
apdu:	bile.
atay:	liver.
piah, piiyah:	eggs of fish (also of shrimps, lobsters), spawn, roe. cf. *mapiah, mapiyah:* having fish- (crab-, shrimp-) eggs.
a'si:	meat (in general).
raya:	blood (in general).
tu'xang:	bone (in general).
tawur:	heart (in general).
texnan:	throat (in general).
innuuñit:	pincers of crabs.
illayaawad:	pincers of shrimps.

6.14. Preservation of fish

6.141. *kurayen*

kurayen:	to dry (food).
kuray:	anything that is dried (of food).
nakuray:	dried (ones).
nikuray:	made dry.

cf. *rakay:* anything that is under the sun to dry; *taapa:* dried meat, jerk.

process:

1) *is'isan:* to remove *is'isen.*
2) *vakaen:* to cut the stomach open for taking out guts.
3) *uyasan:* washing.
4) *asinen:* to put salt.
5) *rakayan:* to dry under the sun (fish, rice, dress, etc.).
   asalan: to dry over the fire and naturally smoked (fish which is salted, meat which is marinated, etc.).
   panrarawan: place where something (fish, meat, etc.) is placed for drying.

fishes to be dried:

1) *arayu.*
2) *liibang.*
3) *yuyunu* (commonly called *diilis* when dried).

6.142. *bagunen*

bagunen, manbagun, mibbagun: to make *bagun,* to preserve (fish, etc.) with salt, vinegar, and the like; to salt raw fish to be kept in bottle.

bagun: preserve (as a noun), salted raw fish kept in a bottle.

process:

1) *is'isan;* 2) *vakaen;* 3) *uyasan;*
4) *pakaruen nu' uxu:* to cut off the head.
5) *aktekteben:* to slice the meat.
6) *asinen:* to put salt.
7) *pahngayen du jilaw:* to put the salted slices into a bottle.
8) *tuxungen:* to cover the bottle with a lid and the like.
9) then place in the kitchen.

fishes to be used:

1) *yuyunu* (the commonest among all).
2) *mayasang.*
3) *vaxuyu.*

6.143. Processing of *arayu*

It is interesting to know how the people process *arayu* which is economically significant especially for the people who have favorable ports for fishing. I observed the Itbayat people process this fish at Basco last summer. The fish at that time cost 7 to 10 pesos when fresh, and 1 or 2 more pesos for a dried one.

It was processed outside on a wooden stand. The tail fin is cut off first, gills and other things in the mouth are taken out, and then the belly is opened and the guts taken out. The bait *arayu* which has been swallowed can be found, and it is called *na'a'pan* (former or used *a'pan*). 1) Then the lower half (*i.e.* the side of its belly) above the spine from head toward the tail part having spine below the knife, and also 2) cut open the upper half (*i. e.* the side of its back) above the spine from head toward the tail part having the spine below the knife.

Now the whole body of the fish is turned over and the same process as in 1), and 2 is repeated. After that the whole part above the spine is separated from the other half below the spine by running the knife on the spine from the tail part towards its head while gradually raising the flat part being cut apart. Turning over the fish again, the same process is repeated.

By this time, two flat lengthwise meat parts are seen (each of them is called *a'sa kapiñpiñ nu' arayu,* or simply *a'sa piñpiñ,* or *piñpiñ*) and one long spine with a little meat around.

To dry it, *xatxaten* has to be done, that is, to push the *piñpiñ* from both ends by the hands, so that it will swell in the middle and its surface part easily cut off. That part which was thus cut off is called *xatxat* with thickness of 1.5 to 2 centimeters.

Now what is left is the part with the skin which is flat and about 2 to 3 centimeters thick. The following step is *mansinlang,* that is, to cut off lengthwise the middle line of the left part with skin. First two lengthwise cuts in the middle up to the skin which is facing the wooden board below is made having a 3 centimeter-witdth between the two cuts, and then the long square pillar-like part from the skin is torn off. This 3 centimeter wide and body-long sliver is called *sinlang.* Both *xatxat* and *sinlang* are for immediate use.

Then the *xagayen* is done, that is, to make notches or cuts crosswise about every 15 centimeters on the part which is left after *mansinlang* for for facilitating quick drying. Salt it put on it and hung for about 5 days under the sun and above the stove in the kitchen. It is stored on *inggarnil* (storing shelf) which is made above the stove.

6.15. Cooking of fish

1) *manratab, manatab:* When one wishes to cook immediately, he *aktekteben* or *aktekteven* (cuts up) the *piñpiñ* into pieces. The people love to eat *arayu* raw. *Xatxat* and/or *sinlang* is used for this purpose. It is chopped into pieces, washed in the hot water one moment, and eaten by adding salt, *kasiiri* (pepper), onion, and vinegar. To eat something raw is *rataben.* c. *ratab:* idea of eating something raw; *manratab*en*:* to eat while raw; *kapanatab:* act of eating something raw; *rarataben* or *rarataven:* things eaten raw.
2) *nisled:* boiled fish (ordinarily with vegetables).
3) *nipiriitu:* sautéed fish, cf. *mamiriitu:* to sauté.
4) *nipasu a' amung:* roasted fish. cf. *tiivek:* camote broiled in the embers.

6.16. Medicinal fish

punayu: The skin of *punayu* is dried then soaked in water, and water applied on the stomach or belly. This is good for *kahiñen nu vulek* or *mahiñen su vulek* (abdominal pain).

a'put: It is soaked in water and the water applied on the part in pain. This is good for *kahiñen nu' uxu* or *mahiñen su' uxu* (headache).

vaxavaxa: The skin of *vaxavaxa* fish is dried then soaked in the water, and the water applied on the stomach. This is good for *kahiñen nu vulek or mahiñen su vulek* (abdominal pain).

sungu: Use *maxavung a sungu* (white spotted *sungu*) among fishes of *sungu* kind. First the skin (not the scale) of the fish is dried then soaked in the water, and the water applied on the part with white spots on the human body, usually on the face by means of washing method. This is good for *xavung* (a skin disease of the *tinea* type, as *tinea versicolor, tinea flava*).

hipun: *Hipun* (shrimp) is dried soaked or put it in the water, and the water applied on the body of a person who is allergic to *hilawud* (north wind). This is called *hilawren a hipun. Hilawren* is the name of the allergy.

mavaxavaxa' amung: This is a certain type of fish, which is dried, soaked in the water, and the water applied on the body of a baby (who is *nituyiñ nu' anitu*) as massage lotion. This is good for a certain *katuyiñ*.[38] *Mangaptus* (masseuse or masseur) treats the baby.

6.2. Flora

gayugayung: It is the longest seaweed. It is about 60 centimeters long and the leaf is about 1 centimeter wide. The color is reddish. It grows in the fairly deep sea. It is edible while raw; it may be eaten right away.

[38] What is called *katuyiñ* is a kind of parapsychological phenomenon in connection with prenatal care, and state of being *matuyiñ,* that is to say, to be modeled after something as a consequence of mental phenomena such as craving, spirit, and the like. The term *tinuyiñ* or *nituyiñ* means "was caused to be conceived (by spirit) after a certain object which the pregnant mother had craved for, but had not been supplied with.

What is to be done when you have a *nituyiñ*-baby is to ask *mangaptus* to make several atempts at imitating something such as *mavaxavaxa' amung, lichud nu tatus* (back of coconut crab), *xuvid* (string), or any other things which might have caused the baby to be *tinuyiñ,* so that *katuyiñ* can be cured. Finally *mangaptus* decides what has caused *katuyiñ.* The object she prescribes is considered to be medicine for the baby.

malaway: It is the second longest seaweed. The color is green, brown, or sometimes pinky. Its juice is delicious, and you can eat it raw as well.

kavut: It is a greenish seaweed, and edible. It may be eaten raw by seasoning with the juice of *varatinuk, kalamansi, galaaya,* etc.

viiya: It is a dark brown seaweed and is edible.

kaññungu: It is a seaweed. It is like a short brownish tree without leaves. Sometimes it is white, and green. It may be eaten raw by seasoning with the juice of *varatinuk, kalamansi,* or *galaaya.*

vera: It is a green seaweed having many small stems with water inside. It may be eaten raw by seasoning with the juice of *varatinuk, kalamansi,* or *galaaya.*

rumahay: It is a greenish or violet seaweed. It may be eaten raw. There are clusters of brittle stem, and when chewed, it breaks in the mouth and gives a *magaremgem*-feeling (feeling of pop-corn eating). This weed is similar to *kaññungu.*

gamed: It is a brownish slippery seaweed. It is also edible, and it grows only in the water of the northern side of the island. It is preserved by means of drying, and when eaten, it is soaked in water and it soon swells very much. It may be boiled or cooked with cabbage, Chinese cabbage, and the like.

vayah nu titu: It is a red, brown, or orange-colored seaweed. It may be eaten by seasoning with *kalamansi, varatinuk, galaaya,* and the like.

tavia: It is an edible seaweed. cf. *mantatavia:* to get *tatavia.*

kasusuxad: It is a sea coastal plant. The petiole is edible and sour. It is a species of *Colocasia* family.

kahhehpaw: It is a sea coastal vine-type tree, but short. It grows at *kattachimusan.* Leaves are cream-colored and beautiful.

6.3. Salt

Kapangasin: salt-making. It is not possible to have salt field along the coast in Itbayat. The people fetch the sea water, boil it in *kaawa* (vat used for containing sea water for salt-making), and let it evaporate. *Mangasin* is to make salt.

asin:	salt (solid), table salt.
papayit:	salt (solid); salt (liquid), salt water as used for condiment. cf. *tahaw:* sea water as material of the sea or ocean.
ma'asin:	salty.
mapayit:	salty.
paytan:	to put salt into, to add salt to.
muxbut	to fetch sea water for use in preparing food; to go out.
nixbet:	salt water drawn from the sea for food-ingredient purposes.
pachmapaytan:	to consider (something) salty.
machmapayit:	to say that (something) is salty.
mattaxbab:	*midiu a mapayit* or *miju a mapayit,* to be somewhat salty (of subterranean water near the sea).
umtagumaasim:	to be salt-stained (pertaining to the color of cloth when dried up after getting wet with sea water or sweat).
um'asi'asin:	to appear like salt (of salt at a certain place where it is not ordinarily supposed to be, such as on the skin of the body when dried after swimming in the sea or when due to sweat).

6.4. Drifts

yavat:	taken *linlin,* anything that was found and taken home from the shore after having been carried by the current and finally washed ashore.
linlin:	drift on the seashore (wood, clothes, and the like), anything that was carried by current and finally washed ashore.

mahalinlin:	to be drifted; to be carried by current and finally washed ashore.
pahalinlin:	imp. f. push aside.
pahalinlinen:	to push aside.
paslinen:	to push aside.

6.5. Beliefs and legends

ruyung (whale): *Umiyakan ta na an mian u rumukduk a ruyung* (we will have something as viand, when there is a whale that bumps). This is a proverbial excuse for not having viand at the table.

tayaan (a species of fish): When one has a person whom he hates or dislikes, he catches *tayaan* and takes out its *siit* (spine on the body of the fish), and lets *tayaan* go back to the water. Then he either tries to hurt or harm the person directly by the spine, or he places it where the person frequents hoping that the person will step on it and get hurt. Once the person is pricked on a part of his body, he will soon meet his death, calamity, or any other fatal events.

tayaan: If one uses *siit nu tayaan* and pricks *vulek nu tatumuk* (the abdomen of one bedbug) together with incantation, all other bedbugs will disappear. The incantation goes: *Nguya' su tuvatuva' miiyu' nettem kamu na umavaavat jamen* (Here is something to kill you and never molest us again).

anawil (snake-like fish): *Innuktuk* (tip, bill) of the fish is used magically so that a witch can kill a person without overt action.

APPENDICES

I. Orthography[39]

Itbayaten has 22 consonants including *f*, 4 vowels, and length distinction either in consonant or vowel.

The *ch, j,* are used for their corresponding English sounds, as in *chawi* (a species of tree), and *jamen* (our). The ' is for a glottal stop, though not spelled in word-initial and word-final positions, as in *a'nay* (sand), the *x* is for a voiced velar fricative as in *vaxay* (house), the *ñ* is similar to its corresponding Spanish sound, as in *ñipen* (tooth), the *ng* as in *nguh* (there is) is used as one sound all the time as *ng* in English *king*.

The vowel *e* is a mid or high central unrounded sound, as in *perak* (silver).

[39] For more explanation, see my article "Phonology of Itbayaten," *Philippine Journal of Science,* Vol. XCIV, No. 3 (September 1965), and my *A Preliminary Itbayaten Vocabulary,* Institute of Asian Studies, University of the Philippines, mimeographed (February 1966), pp. vii, 122.

The long consonant is spelled with two identical consonants as in *matta* (to see), while there is *mata* (eye). The long vowel is spelled with two identical vowels as in *niini* (name of a personified doll), while there is *nini* (sap of tree). There is no caesura between the two identical vowels as it is found in Tagalog orthography. Take *aa* as in *paatij* (pole attached outside of a boat) for example. It is pronounced twice as long as a single *a* without any cut in-between.

There are some words which have a word-initial consonant cluster in actual pronunciation. They are spelled as pronounced in this paper. Here are some examples: *bnahay* (tisted gold-string for neck), *chñungkungan* (keel of a boat), *pnuspus* (rope), *snasah* (reeds cut for use), and *tnarem* (sharpened).

II. Word List

The following list is an attempt to rearrange the vocabulary according to the word-root.

A. All the *Itbayaten* words in this paper (except particles and pronouns) are included in the list.

B. A word, the root of which is not educed, is listed as it is.

C. An asterisk (*) is put before a root, when it is a bound form.

D. All the numbers placed after a word refer to those of the sections in which the word is used.

E. The following abbreviations are used:

ApI.	Appendix I	Mar.	Marriage
Chi.	Childbirth	Meg.	Megalithic culture
fn.	footnote	Soc.	Social groups
Gol.	Gold culture	Tap.	Tapa-culture
Ind.	Industry	Tar.	Taro cultivation
Isl.	The Island	Wea.	Weapons
Jar.	Jar-burial	Yam.	Yami people
Lan.	Language		

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aasaas 3.75
abkas 2.11, 3.34, 3.55, 3.8
  mabkas 3.55
  nabkas 3.55
ablis
  kabils 3.75
ablit 4.21
Abril 3.71
*abtang 3.1 cf. *vetang*
kahabtang 3.1
kapamtang 3.1
mabtang 3.1
mamtang 3.1
manayabtang 3.1
mañisabtang 3.1
namtang 3.1
nanayabtang 3.1
nañisabtang 3.1

ANTI-SINICISM IN THE PHILIPPINES

GEORGE H. WEIGHTMAN

> The Filipino people are in a manner of speaking of the Occident. They dislike being taken for Oriental Chinese and Japanese for whom they have little feeling of brotherhood.[1]
>
> . . . probably every mature person carries some generalized hostility toward the milieu, hostility which cannot find a legitimate object on which it may be vented. It is suggested that when society does indicate an object like the Negro [in America] whom one may detest with a good conscience, much of this irrational effect is drained off.[2]

Prologue

Sino-Filipino interaction in the past has been characterized by massacres, communal rioting, severe legal restrictions, expulsions, and legally imposed ghettos. At present the Philippine government is engaged in an extensive but not consistent campaign to bar "aliens" (i.e., Chinese) from a considerable portion of the economic life of the country. Yet, while anti-Chinese feeling has always been marked, there has always been widespread intermarriage among Chinese *men* and Philippine *women.* A large proportion of the Filipino population is of Sino-Filipino ancestry. Estimates of "ethnic Chinese" range from 300,000 to 700,000 in a total Philippine population of more than 31,000,000.

Nature of Anti-Sinicism

This paper attempts to describe the specific content which Sino-phobia tends to manifest in the Philippines. Historically it should be recalled that the seemingly anti-Chinese legislation of the Spanish Colonial government was intended to Christianize the Chinese, to amalgamate them into Philippine society, and to encourage them to be farmers. The chief "problems" of the Chinese to the Spaniards were that the Chinese were viewed as posing a constant political, economic, and socio-religious threat to the small Spanish colonial population whose control of the Philippines was often quite tenuous. The compounding of religious disdain and evangelical zeal, of political fear, and economic dependency contributed to the Spanish ambivalent attitude toward the resident Chinese.

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[1] George A. Malcolm, *American Colonial Careerist,* p. 166.
[2] John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town,* p. 443.

In the early centuries of Spanish rule, the Filipinos were still overwhelmingly bound to their local ruler (*datus*) in a feudal-like system. Hence, they did not actively participate in the formulation of colonial policy toward the Chinese. But early in the seventeenth century, certain Filipinos had already taken part in the incidents leading up to and involving the massacres of 1603 and 1639. The initial area of Sino-Filipino conflict (to be distinguished from Hispano-Chinese rivalry over trade and commerce) was the economic threat of the Chinese in Philippine agriculture.

While the Spanish colonial government always sought in its somewhat erratic fashion to encourage Chinese development of agriculture, the native Filipinos vigorously resisted. As early as the mid-seventeenth century, Chinese agricultural penetration was encouraging violent opposition in the southern Tagalog areas. They were forcefully barred from certain areas of Batangas. Sanciano could write in 1881 of a long established practice:

> There are towns in the province of Batangas, for example Taal, where the natives rose up and slew most of the Chinese: until this date there are no Chinese in that area (Taal region).[3]

Even today the Taal area of Batangas is "famed" for having no Chinese. Other parts of Batangas have Chinese shopkeepers who, to gather from Filipino informants, lead a somewhat unenviable life.[4]

> (1) ...the most hated are the Chinese. Retail stores, hotels, hardware, restaurants, bakeries, rice mills—all of these controlled by the Chinese... We stone them, spit on them, cheat them, insult them, but still they cling to the town people like lice sucking blood—the life of the town.
>
> (2) I can still remember what my mother told me once. She narrated that there was once a Chinese man who attempted to establish a small store in Bauan (Batangas). But because the people, especially the children, hated Chinese during that time, they thought of some possible ways of driving the Chinese out of their place. So, the following nights, the Chinese was surprised to see that his cooking place was full of human waste and his kitchen tools were scattered around the place. Poor Chinese! ! A time when he can [*sic*] no longer stand such sufferings. He at once packed and went back to his former place where Chinese men were allowed to build stores... At present there are still no Chinese people living in Bauan, Batangas.

The old Philippine fears of agricultural competition from the Chinese found expression in the exclusion of aliens from agriculture in the Commonwealth Constitution in 1935. Nevertheless, with the possible exception of Batangas, the agricultural, village-oriented, self-sufficient Filipinos were long indifferent to the commercial activities of the Chinese.

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[3] Gregorio Sanciano y Goson, *El Progreso de Filipinas*, pp. 120-121.

[4] From students' essays at the University of the Philippines.

The rapid economic development which followed the opening of the Suez Canal (1869) led to a rapid influx of Chinese, at the same time that the Filipinos (natives, *mestizos,* and *criollos*), began to play a more important role in commerce. Both Spaniards and Filipinos took alarm at the growing size and wealth of the Chinese community. Jordana, who viewed the Chinese as "social parasites," decried their tendency to return to China after five to eight years with "capital created in the Philippines."[5] The Spanish colonial press for two decades argued of "el grave peligro" (of the great risk). *El Comercio* was said to be the only Chinese champion while *El Boletin de Avios, El Diario de Manila* and *La Oceania Española* urged more vigorous restrictions.[6] The rapid growth of the alien community caused alarm. Toda wrote in 1887 that "every three or four days a ship leaves Amoy for Manila with two or three hundred Chinese."[7] The Spaniards grew apprehensive about the greater difficulty of absorbing both the Chinese and their *mestizo* offspring into Philippine society. Schneidnagel, a Spanish military officer, described the Chinese *mestizos* as "the group least sympathetic to our rule" in the colony and felt that they and the Chinese constituted a "bad moral example to the native."[8] He saw the conversion of the Chinese as without merit since they viewed Christianity as a mere trapping to be abandoned along with their Filipino wives upon their return to China.[9] Recur echoed Schneidnagel in viewing the Chinese as a greater enemy to Catholicism than Philippine Islam and decried the tendency of the Chinese to form a "state within a state."[10] Recur, as with many Spanish writers, joined the criticism against the lucrative but corrupt "opium farming" system in the Philippines.[11]

Yet, these were still Spaniards voicing century-old fears and antipathies. By the 1880's, a group of Filipino intellectuals (mainly Spanish and Chinese *mestizos*) who had been trained in Europe began to agitate for the expulsion of both the Spaniards and the Chinese. More clearly than any Spanish writer did they perceive that Spanish colonial rule depended upon an uneasy alliance of the friars and the Chinese money-lenders and traders. Both anti-Chinese as well as anti-Spanish friar sentiments are found in the two famous novels of Jose Rizal, *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo.* Now a new dimension was added to the ethnic animosity. The Chinese were not only to be viewed with suspicion because they were traders (traditionally disdained), infidels,

[5] Ramon Jordana y Morena, *La Inmigracion China en Filipinas* (Writer's translation) p. 42.
[6] *Ibid.,* p. 1.
[7] Eduardo Toda y Guell, *La Vida en el Celeste Imperio,* p. 275.
[8] Manuel Schneidnagel, *Las Colonias Españoles de Asia; Islas Filipinas,* pp. 198-199 and p. 70.
[9] *Ibid.,* pp. 70-71.
[10] Carlos Recur y Corazo, *Filipinas: Estudios Administrativos y Comerciales,* p. 12.
[11] *Ibid.,* pp. 17-19.

and a possible agrarian rival, but also because they were not politically loyal and were opposed to the politico-economic advancement of the Filipinos.

Rizal's *Noli Me Tangere*,[12] his earlier and less embittered novel with its more gentle satire about the foibles of the Chinese and the Filipinos, provides some insights into the amused disdain of educated Filipinos toward the Chinese:

(the dirty Chinese)

> ...the Pasig which is known to some as the Binondo River and which like all the streams in Manila, plays the varied role of both sewer, laundry, fishery, means of transportation and communication, and even drinking water if the Chinese water carrier finds it convenient. (p. 2)

(the crafty, dishonest Chinese)

> From it [town] sugar, rice, coffee, and fruits are either exported or sold for a small part of their value to the Chinese, who exploit the simplicity and vices of the native farmers. (p. 72)

(degradation of contact with Chinese)

> "Don't be angry sir," stammered the pale and trembling gravedigger. "I didn't bury him among the Chinamen. Better be drowned than among the Chinamen, I said myself, so I threw the body [of an accused heretic] into the lake." (p. 89)

(religious opportunism of the Chinese)

> They had purchased a greater number of tapers wherefore the Chinese dealers had reaped a harvest and in gratitude were thinking of being baptized, although some remarked that this was not so much an account of their faith in Catholicism as from a desire to get a wife. (p. 225)

(Christmas bribery)

> "No, it was nothing of the kind," answered the man who had asked the first question. "It was the Chinaman who had rebelled." With this he shut his window. "The Chinaman!" echoed all in great astonishment. "That's why not one of them is to be seen!" "What a pity;!" exclaimed Sister Ruja. "To get killed just before Christmas when they bring around their presents! They should have waited until New Years." p. 427

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[12] The quotations are drawn from the translation of Charles E. Derbyshire entitled *The Social Cancer*. It is a truism to say that any literature loses something in translation. This is particularly true in the novels of Rizal where the inability of *mestizos, provincianos,* and *chinos* to speak correctly Spanish and Tagalog constitutes a good share of the humor and local color. Accents, puns, and play-on words even today constitute a large part of Philippine humor.

By the time Rizal had written *El Filibusterismo,* he had grown more bitter and was convinced that his hopes for a peaceful, gradual development of the Philippines as an integral province of Spain with full equality for Filipinos and Spaniards would be blocked by the friars and their Chinese allies.[13] (Let it be recalled that Rizal's ire was directed specifically against the Dominicans, the spiritual mentors and champions of the Chinese.) The industrious, socially maladept, slightly amusing but somewhat less than human Chinese who had provided some of the local color of the social background of the *Noli Me Tangere* figured more prominently and negatively in *El Filibusterismo.*

(contempt for the Chinese)

> "No, gentlemen," observed Pecson with his clownish grin, "to celebrate the event there's nothing like a banquet in *panciteria,* served by the Chinamen without *camisas,* I insist without *camisas!* "The sarcasm and grotesqueness of this idea won it ready acceptance. (p. 224)

(Chinese opposed to Filipino aspirations)

> "There were even high officials (besides the friars) who were opposed to our project, the Head Secretary, the Civil Governor, Quiroga the Chinaman—' 'Quiroga the Chinaman! The pimp of the—" (p. 136)

(Project involved attempt to spread Castillian among the natives.)

(Chinese fears of a native revolt)

> Truly the news that seditious *pasquinades* had been found on the doors of the University not only took away the appetite from many and disturbed the digestion of the others, but it even rendered the phlegmatic Chinese uneasy, so that they no longer dared to sit in their shops with one leg drawn up as usual, from fear of losing time in extending it in order to put themselves into flight. (p. 273)

Probably nowhere else in Philippine literature is there a more pithy and accurate description of the normative behavior between Filipino customers and Chinese peddlers than in *El Filibusterismo*:

> ... their blows generally falling sidewise upon the shoulders of the Chinese peddler who was there selling his outlandish mixtures and indigestible pastries. Crowds of boys surrounded him, pulled at his already disordered queue, snatched pies from him, haggled over the prices, and committed a thousand deviltries. The Chinese yelled, swore, forswore, in all the languages he could jabber, not omitting his own; he whispered, laughed, pleaded, put on a smiling face when an ugly one would not serve, or the reverse.
>
> He cursed them as devils, savages, *no kilistanos,* but that mattered nothing. A whack would bring his face around smiling, and if the blow fell only upon

[13] The quotations are drawn from the translation of Charles E. Derbyshire entitled *The Reign of Greed.*

> his shoulders, he would calmly continue his business transactions, contenting himself with crying out to them that he was not in the game, but if he struck the flat basket on which were placed his wares, then he would swear never to come again, as he poured out to them all the implications and anathemas imaginable. Then the boys would redouble their efforts to make him rage the more, and when at last his vocabulary was exhausted and they were satiated with his fearful mixtures, they paid him religiously, and sent him away happy, winking, chuckling to himself, and receiving as caresses the light blows from their canes that the students gave him as tokens of farewell. (pp. 127-128)

The *Noli* and the *Fili* (as they have been so nicknamed) are important in understanding the nature of Philippine Sinophobia not only because through content analysis they provide some insights into Sino-Filipino interaction in the last decades of Spanish rule, but also because of the position they now occupy in Philippine intellectual life. By a Congressional Act in 1956 they were made required reading for all college students. They are ideally to be taught not as mere novels or even as social history but as a "bible of the race" (to quote a Batangas senator). Admittedly, the act was inspired by a wave of nationalism and by a desire among certain politicians to embarrass President Magsaysay and to curb the alleged power of the Catholic Church. However, as more and more poorly equipped college students are taught this "bible of the race," one cannot but expect Sino-Philippine relations to be affected.

The agitation of Rizal and other "propagandists" laid the foundation for the insurrection of 1896 and 1898. During the upheaval, the Chinese suffered physically and economically. The restoration of peace and authority by the Americans brought the greatest era of economic prosperity and social development that the Philippine Chinese community had ever known. Little was done, however, to dissipate the growing ethnic tensions. Indeed, the process of assimilation was, during the American period, dramatically slowed or perhaps even reversed. Since the time of the Commonwealth (1935), the Chinese have been increasingly subject to legislation and administrative decrees designed to curtail their socio-economic life.

That Filipino anti-Sinicism has many parallels with the Western anti-Semitism has been noted by many social scientists. And a comparative consideration of these parallels offers many possibilities of understanding both the specific Philippine situation and the general dynamics of intergroup relations. However, there are three *crucial* differences between Western anti-Semitism and Filipino anti-Sinicism that must be noted and remembered: (1) the unique religious and historic role of the Jews in Western civilization, (2) the differentiated nature of prejudice in the Philippines, and (3) the homeland of the Jews, long non-existent, numbers less than two million while that of the Philippine Chinese numbers over 900 million. Keeping the implications of these differences in mind, one may now turn to a study of the nature of Filipino anti-Sinicism.

The physical appearance of the Chinese and Filipinos are often very similar since they are both subgroups of the Mongoloid race and since many Filipinos, in addition, are of relatively recent Chinese ancestry. This, of course, is comparable to the position of the Jews in Western countries, who are not distinguishable from the majority in a racial sense. Nevertheless, one can—given practice and keen observation—be remarkably accurate in distinguishing Chinese, Chinese *mestizos,* and Filipinos. These "clues" to observe are naturally cultural rather than physical: gestures, movement, dress, and accent. Yet even the cultural differences are not as numerous as some might imagine, although both Chinese and Filipinos regard their own cultures as superior and distinct. The amount of cultural diffusion (in both directions) is impressive. As a utilitarian device in commerce, most Chinese soon learn at least one Philippine dialect. The Filipino styles of clothing and house design are readily adopted. In turn, Filipino agricultural methods, family systems,[13a] foods, handicrafts, and fishing techniques all show Chinese influences.

Yet, despite all this ethnic amalgamation and cultural borrowing, "even the wealthy Chinese are stigmatized as socially undesirable and third generation *mestizo* descendants are often themselves the most bitter Sinophobes. From the standpoint of ethnic origin, Filipinos regard the Chinese as Mongolians and themselves as part of the 'Malay' race."[14] How then to explain why two peoples so alike and so dependent upon one another harbor such mutual animosity?

The jealous particularism of both communities supplies part of the explanation. To the extent that the Chinese are marginal, they regroup themselves into national minorities which accentuate the cleavage, or try to establish a greater number of contacts with the Filipinos. This greater "familiarity," coupled with Chinese subordinate politico-social position, explains the ambivalent character of the Filipino reaction to them—rather close contact which often does not exclude contempt. This contempt born of familiarity embodies itself in the Filipino disdain for the oriental and preferences for the occidental. There are many Filipinos who are severe critics of the Philippine way of life and pride themselves on their ability to speak Spanish or English, to eat nothing but imported Western foodstuffs, to wear the latest Western fashions, to use American slang expressions, and to try to associate with Westerners. As Hunt has noted, "The result of three hundred years

[13a] Both the patrilineal Chinese system and the Filipino bilateral systems are characterized by a traditional emphasis upon the ascribed status conferred by birth order. Deference to older siblings—both male and female—is found in all these systems. Of great interest is the fact that the Tagalog language like the various Chinese languages has terms for the entire birth order sequence. Indeed, Tagalog uses the terminology borrowed from Hokkien (Fukienese).

[14] Chester L. Hunt, "The Americanization Process in the Philippines," *India Quarterly,* VII (April-June 1956), p. 126.

of Spanish rule and somewhat less than half a century of American political and cultural domination has been to produce a Filipino attitude which is oriented away from the culture with which it is in territorial propinquity and towards the standards of the West."[15] Perhaps as a form of "group self-hatred," the Chinese are rejected as a symbol of the Oriental elements in the Filipino culture and physique. Instead of a direct form of self-hatred, this emotion is displaced to a convenient minority which is similar in culture and physical type, yet definitely Oriental. On this point, some comments of informants may prove pertinent.

(1) "As far as I can remember, even if we were not taught to dislike the Chinese, we were expected to do so."

(2) "I have always heard them being called *beho* and whenever I was dirty, I was called *beho,* so that it had been impressed in my mind that they are dirty. . . . . (as a child) in their stores I heard people scolding the Chinese and I thought that they must be bad for I saw this happen quite often. My mother would scold me only if I had done something wrong."

(3) "We were told that a Chinese is dirty, stingy, or *kuriput,* and one who has no future . . . . To us, the Spanish, Americans, Swiss, etc., are very much better than the Chinese in all respects.'

(4) (European and American) *mestizos* have higher prestige than we do because of their lighter color.

(5) These foreigner (Western) groups are far more respected by the native groups than the Chinese.

(6) The personal opinions of my parents about the undesirability of Chinese have influenced me very much. My attitude towards the Chinese is one of hostility and sometimes hatred. This might be due to the different culture possessed by the Chinese. Their physical make-up also appears undesirable. And then their unintelligent language. Hearing it makes me feel sick.

(7) The Chinese are very well known for their business acumen but wherever they go—they are constantly exposed to ridicule. Their inability to keep their surroundings clean, their funny language, and their peculiar customs have not failed to evoke remarks from the masses.[16]

Filipinos, traditionally a rural people, have a suspicion coupled with admiration for the urban life. Often when they come to Manila, they encounter bitter disillusionment: slums, unemployment, vice, crime, and a way of life in sharp contrast with that of the *damay* society (*Gemeinschaft*) they left back in the barrio. For these abuses, the Chinese—politically weak, typically urban—are blamed.[17] As a symbol of urban capitalism, the Chinese draw additional hostility from special groups. Coller has written,

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[15] *Ibid.,* p. 127.

[16] From students' essays at the University of the Philippines.

[17] In 1899, 58 per cent of the Chinese lived in Manila. This declined to 39 per cent in 1939, but then rose to 63 per cent in 1948. (But such registration figures have always been largely imaginative. Still, far more than half of the Philippine Chinese must be in the Manila area.)

> There is a new rising Filipino middle class which regards the Chinese as direct rivals. They make no secret of the fact that they want to occupy the positions of the Chinese. For representatives of the old Spanish-type landed aristocracy, the Chinese symbolize the hated new capitalism and industrialization which will reduce their purchasing power and, worst of all, their social status . . . . For the urban proletariat the Chinese becomes the convenient person to blame for the great difficulty in upward social mobility or even in securing a decent level of living. The middle class Chinese becomes a target of envy and hate generated by the relatively rigid social stratification of Philippine society.[18]

Recent research studies reveal that these tendencies are still only potentials, but they do seem to loom high on the social horizon.[19] Of these growing stresses and strains in the economic development, Hunt has commented:

> Foreigners are apt to explain lags in Filipino activity as due to a culture which di ected ambition towards agriculture and the professions while placing little prestige on business success. Filipinos invariably diagnose the situation as due to a Chinese monopoly which discourages local businessmen.[20]

Appropriate for such sentiments was the float of the Filipino National Patriotic League in the Independence Parade of 1952 which proclaimed, "The Filipino misery can be solved by the mass deportation of the Chinese."

The old idea of the Chinese as "licentious infidels" and "sodomists" is still quite current in the Philippines. The "double standard of morality" still holds sway in the Philippines. Women are held to be chaste, while men are expected to demonstrate masculinity in prestigeful lovemaking and sexual exploits. This results in a paradox common to any such system where each male tries to seduce all non-kin females while jealously guarding his own female relatives. To preserve social order, this must be cloaked in the appropriate forms. Thus, it is not the Filipino but that sly old infidel, the *intsik baboy* (literally "Chinese pig"), who threatens the purity of Filipino womanhood. Given the marked inbalance of the Philippine-Chinese sex ratio and effective control of vice by certain Chinese, there is enough substance in the charge to insure a long continuation of this stereotypical image.

Coupled with the image of the sexual licentiousness of the Chinese is the image that in his business and political dealings the Chinese is dangerous and unethical. As previously noted, the business activities of the alien Chinese are so severely restricted by law and administrative rulings that it be-

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[18] Richard W. Coller, "Social-Psychological Perspective on the Chinese as a Minority group in the Philippines." *Philippine Sociological Review,* Vol. 8, Nos. 1-2, 1960, p. 54. Dr. Coller gave me full and unconditional access to the notes used in preparing this paper as well as the rough draft of it. Our close collaboration has necessarily produced some overlap and parallelisms, so that due acknowledgment is hereby made of this fact.

[19] See G. H. Weightman, "A Study of Prejudice in a Personalistic Society," *Asian Studies,* Vol. II, No. 1 (April 1964), pp. 87-101.

[20] Chester Hunt, *op. cit.,* p. 126.

comes mandatory for him to practice bribery, and engage in "sharp" trade practices. The Filipinos can then point to such evasions and cite them as evidence that the Chinese are unscrupulous and unethical. Officials often go one step further and ask the Chinese for a bribe so that his illegal activities will go unreported, and then later, after receiving the bribe, denounce the Chinese again for corrupting officials. On their part, the Chinese tend to classify Philippine officials into: (1) "honest"—the ones who stay bought and who accept bribes only to permit illegal activities; and (2) "dishonest" —those who won't stay bought or who demand bribes or gifts even for legal activities.

As the most obvious representative of the economic system and as a politically weak minority besides, the Chinese became a convenient scapegoat to blame for all the ills of the country. The practice of haggling over every purchase is a classic example of "antagonistic-cooperation." The stereotyped identities of buyer and seller are continually being validated and reenforced by this commercial interaction. It also is productive of a situation in which all Sino-Filipino contacts are expected to produce haggling behavior. An arrest of a Chinese often becomes a "business deal" with the two parties bargaining over the amount of a bribe or *regalo* (literally, "gift") necessary for the police to forget the offense. It is popularly believed that legislators will dicker with leaders of the Chinese community over the "price" necessary for tabling restrictive legislation. Filipinos often state a preference for shopping at a Chinese store because they like to haggle with them but would be "ashamed" to do so with another Filipino:

> (1) In Manila, the Filipino servants of a friend with whom I was visiting told me that they preferred to go half a block to a Chinese store rather than to a Filipino store close by. When I asked why, they said that while the prices were the same, "the Chinese don't get angry when you insult them."[21]
>
> (2) Chinese are very patient and have a very good understanding . . . . Sometimes their customers will shout just to buy a very small thing on credit, and they serve the customer calmly. Sometimes when they are engaged in a fight with a customer, you will find out later that the Chinese is the one to ask an apology even though it is the customer's fault. Sometimes the *canto-boys* (street corner delinquents) in our town will raid the Chinese stores and ask for anything, and the Chinese will give them without a single word. But in spite of all these things, still the Chinese are the targets of robbery and murder.[22]

It would appear that the Sino-Filipino interaction displays the common human desire to dominate others. John Dollard has noted "extorting deference from other human beings is probably one of the things the human being will do if he gets a chance, unless his culture is so built as to make such an

[21] John Scott, *Asian Journey*, p. 112.
[22] From a student essay at the University of the Philippines.

extortion impossible.[23] In a culture where "teasing" is a prime mechanism of socialization,[24] where aggression against one's superiors and kin is vigorously suppressed, and where the Western and *mestizo* elite occupy an unassailable position of socio-economic power, the Chinese storekeeper becomes a crucial channel for the release of socially sanctioned aggression. In such a light one may detect the unconscious irony in the following remarks:

> (1) They are closely associated with the people that half of their sales a day are on credit.
>
> (2) (The town people prefer to patronize the Chinese stores) 'this holds true because the Chinese remain dumb whatever is said to them.'
>
> (3) They are very friendly though they are the subjects of jokes and ridicule. . . . But they are very friendly and cooperative especially if our community will sponsor a charity drive. They are the ones who give the biggest contributions.[25]

Increasingly have Filipinos come to resent the success of the Chinese in business. Filipinos often concluded that Chinese shopkeepers are easier to deal with—because of "trickery." Rather than admiring the success of the Chinese in a hostile environment, Filipinos take their continual success as an affront to Philippine society. While intermarriage is still widely contracted, there is growing verbalized disapproval of such a practice among the more nationalistic and "modern" Filipinos. "Sanglaya" and "hopia" (a Chinese cake) are popular terms of derision for any Filipino married to a Chinese. When a Tagalog girl marries a Chinese, it is often said that she and her family have only done this for money involved. It is becoming more common to use the same terms of opprobrium for the Chinese *mestizos* as for the Chinese. As a Filipino with marked anti-Sinic sentiments expressed it:

> We despise Filipinos intermarry with Chinese for frequently it was the shine of gold that attracted her to him and led her to oppose society—us.

If such sentiments continue to spread as the Chinese sex ratio approaches a more normal balance, one can predict a decline in the number of intermarriages that will take place. Already most of the politico-economic advantages resulting from such an alliance have been lost.

Another element operating in the Philippine anti-Sinicism, is the concept of the Chinese as a dangerous enclave—Red Trojan horse. While the individual Chinese is viewed as less than dirt, the collective group is perceived as a vanguard of atheistic communism. Deep in the background, perhaps,

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[23] John Dollard, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

[24] Cf. William F. Nydegger, *Tarong: A Philippine Barrio.*

[25] From students' essays at the University of the Philippines.

lurk vague apprehensions about the heirs of Lim Ah-hong and Koxinga.[26] Both the American and Philippine governmental apparata have promoted this potential hysteria. Even during the dark days of Bataan in 1942, Quezon is reported to have said, "My great fear is the Chinese. With their increasing militarism and aggressive tendencies, they are the great Asiatic menace." But Quezon was a Spanish *mestizo,* and there are other Filipino leaders who envision some rapprochement. However, a student noted the hysterical attitude of the barrio folk when he wrote,

> Often people disgustingly say that if and when the communists take over this country, all the Chinese will side with them and even help the Commies massacre the Filipino people, as what we saw with the Japanese during the war.[27]

In conclusion, one might note that the Chinese is disdained and resented for being "Asiatic" and for approving of such a pattern. While serving as an outlet for the frustrations of the masses, he is further resented for his facility in making so successful an adaptation. Although individually counted as nothing, his collective group is increasingly feared. Increasingly there is a tendency to identify socially the Chinese *mestizos* as Chinese; this is in line with parallel political and economic development. Among the Filipinos there is a growing reluctance to contract intermarriage with the Chinese.

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[26] Lim Ah-hong was a semi-legendary Chinese adventurer-pirate who led a daring attack upon Manila in the early period of Spanish rule. Koxinga (Chen Ch'eng kung), a Ming supporter based in Taiwan, threatened the Spanish Philippines with invasion unless the restrictions on Chinese were curtailed.

[27] *Ibid.*

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