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A BOOK AND A NEW NATION

ALEJANDRO A. MELCHOR *

CIRCUMSTANCES ARE SUCH THAT, IN OUR PRESENT WORLD, IT IS the academic community we look to for the writing of books: for the development of theories, for the explanation of phenomena, for the definition of the clues that give us the order and the stability we look for in our national life. It can hardly be otherwise, for not only is there already the inclination to put in writing the ideas that could well prove decisive at some future point in time; there is also the moral compulsion exerted by academic institutions themselves, so well put in the phrase "Publish or Perish."

For this reason perhaps, not too many books coming from academe can be considered socially relevant. There is a tendency, instead, to discuss too generally, often to the point of meaninglessness, to argue in relation to very little, to develop cosmological dimensions that play on words rather than on issues, events, decisions, and policies.

Having said this, it would be clearer now why Dr. Cesar Majul's book, *Muslims in the Philippines,* which we are launching this afternoon, is even more important than its very large and intrinsic merits may at first glance call for. For, first of all, this is a useful book and a timely one at that; one which has an operational focus, a specific application in the understanding of a specific problem, an approach that may well presage the changing of our own present approaches and the building of our New Society.

How, you may ask, can a book be of direct service in building a Society? A book, as we all know, is the product of intellectual effort; the output, therefore, belongs in the realm of ideas. A book's importance lies in the idea, or the collection of ideas, contained in it. In an important sense, a nation is built, a nation is founded, on an idea or a set of ideas.

Some of the ideas underlying the founding of the New Society, as President Marcos has said, lie in the awakening of the Filipino consciousness, the re-identification of self, and a rediscovery of the power and purpose of the Filipino people.

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* Speech delivered during the booklaunching of Dr. Cesar Majul's book *Muslims in the Philippines,* May 25, 1973 at the Asian Center, University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City.

I find such ideas implicit throughout this book; they are obviously back of the fervor by which it must have been written. Because the book strikes these chords, and relates them to the burning issue of national integration, and to our relations with the Asian world, no Filipino can ignore the message of this book. Dr. Majul speaks of "Islamic consciousness" as a force that binds together a conglomeration of diverse peoples, enables them to stand up to external aggression, and to relate themselves with pride and integrity to a larger international community. In the expanded and more inclusive context of a national society, Dr. Majul is telling us that some such consciousness, whose components could very well include Islam as it now includes Christianity and other faiths and creeds, may be necessary for the ultimate success of our common endeavor.

In this book, Dr. Majul has, to my mind, accomplished a number of things. It looks to me a prodigious effort of scholarship; on scholarly grounds alone I am sure it is a landmark in the rewriting of Philippine history. But here I would like to concentrate on what it does to relate to our current pre-occupation — that of building a nation anew. If you remember, our history books usually treat Philippine history as congruent with the story of Western colonialism in the Philippines; usually, they deal with our pre-European history in cavalier fashion, as if it can be glossed over. This work is among the first, if it is not the first, to correct this perspective; it links our cultural identity with the larger civilization of Southeast Asia, and it makes the Philippines an integral part of the cultural mainstream of Southeast Asian peoples. In doing so, it also brings forward the reconstruction of a neglected area of the region's past: the story of the sultanates and the datuships, in Sulu, Mindanao, and Borneo, through which our ancestors virtually lived as nation-states in themselves, in lively interaction with similar political entities throughout the Malaysian world.

This last point is important because the successor states to earlier societies now exist all around us; the New Society itself *is* emerging as an authentic successor state alongside the others. In a sense, we are resuming an interrupted process of political development in our region.

I have said earlier that the building of a nation is essentially a voyage of discovery of the collective self, in certain cases the rediscovery of self. President Marcos, in this connection, has reminded us that the establishing of the New Society is the occasion for gaining new perspective on ourselves — by reviewing and whenever necessary, revising our ways, habits, institutions and our concepts of democracy and of nationhood.

At the moment, we are trying very hard to get our people up here to develop a new outlook towards our cultural brothers, especially to the Muslims; at the same time we are trying to get the Muslim peoples to take a fresh look at themselves, at the national government, at the rest of us. The problem, as I see it, lies in the very concept of majority-minority relations, the chasm that has opened between people who fancy themselves to be closer to the seats of power, because they are the majority, and the people who think of themselves as deprived, neglected and exploited, because they are the minority. One reform that is needed is to erase the idea that the nation is made up of a majority and of minorities. We are all majorities, no one is a minority.

Reading this book will make it easier to effect such a reform in our thinking, for it will lay bare the roots of enmity between our peoples, and the sources of the gap that has grown between us. It reveals how this gap was deliberately fostered because it served the ends of an alien power. Indeed, the roots of unity and of a common identity are laid, in spite of this book's emphasis on the Islamic elements of our heritage.

From these basal origins we, both Christians and Muslims, have come a long way, but we have diverged far from each other. The divergence is a historical product; as Dr. Majul reminds us, the Spaniards, with their native allies, felt they were reenacting in these far-off isles the struggles that not so long ago they waged against the Muslim Moors on the Iberian peninsula. The question is asked, "why do we, the Malays, Muslim or Christian, why do we always have to reenact the foreign wars of foreign peoples?" Can we not live in peace with each other; can we not live side by side as Filipinos regardless of any dissimilarities among ourselves.

To me, the value of this book in the context of the present times lies in two things: first, in revealing to all Filipinos the manner and degree of their differences among themselves; and second, in bridging the gaps that have arisen as a partial result of these differences. These two may appear, to some, a paradox, but it is the function of the new concept of national integration to dissolve the paradox. From being a vice, cultural and religious differences become a virtue. When the time comes that Filipinos who are Christians take pride and glory in the achievements of the Filipino as Muslims, and conversely, when Filipinos as Muslims can take pride in the achievements of Filipinos as Christians, and when one can learn from the other — when we can do all these,

without requiring that one lose his uniqueness, then surely we are one people.

The first step toward reform in this matter is, therefore, a change in outlook and perception among Filipinos. In the days to come, the whole nation will be busy pushing forward a development plan that in sheer physical terms, may very well change the face of Mindanao and Sulu, affecting the people there in a very profound and fundamental way. But development is not just infrastructure projects or a question of how much resources we can pour into Mindanao. Development has an even more important dimension — the human dimension — of getting people to think more rationally and to act more effectively. Unless we can effect this change of outlook and perception, everything will be meaningless. This is admittedly the toughest aspect of development. But it has to be done.

It must be done, because the problem in reconstituting society is in making a modern nation out of many tribalistic communities. One of the happy effects of martial law was to begin the process of breaking down the many tribalistic enclaves into which the Filipinos had come to enfold themselves, and merging all of them as so many cooperating units into one single, unitary society. It is a process which we have come to refer to as a matter of instilling discipline. But the demand for cooperation is specific and functional, it is not totalistic. This means, in effect, that one could be a worthy member of the New Society in terms of one's contribution to the welfare of the whole, to the goals of society which in turn is reciprocated in terms of the benefits of society that the New Society can confer upon one as a result of participation. But nothing more is really demanded of anyone beyond such loyalty and commitment.

President Marcos has made it quite plain: this new nation which we are now building requires the participation of all its citizens; it will draw upon the special abilities or characteristics of every one. As you know, an ability or characteristic may derive from one's training, or from one's membership in a group, class, or association, or it may derive from one's religion, or even from one's ideology. Thus, participation in the positive sense is premised on the existence of variety; on the other hand, it does not require the absence nor the erasing of a distinction or difference. In this concept of nationhood, following Dr. Majul's example, we are building a new nation in the Philippines which is based on the necessity for variety, but which renders the existence of variety irrelevant for the purpose of creating a single nation. I regard this as the operative message of this book.

In conclusion, I would like to congratulate the Asian Center for having published this book at this time and, I think I voice the sentiments of all Filipinos and all our friends who would wish as well, when I extend our grateful thanks to Dr. Majul for having written this book at such a timely period in our country's history.

THE EROSION OF THE BI-POLAR POWER STRUCTURE IN THE 1960'S: ITS IMPACT UPON EAST ASIAN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

JOSEFA M. SANIEL

THE TALLEYRAND-METTERNICH TRADITIONAL EUROPEAN BALANCE of power, based on the world-power consensus of the "principle of legitimacy" which was maintained by the balancing role played by England, involved Asia more significantly in the second half of the nineteenth century. With certain modifications, this world power balance lasted to the end of World War II and was replaced by the bi-polar structure of international politics during the immediate post-World War II period.

Dividing the world around two power poles, the last arrangement included the so-called "Free World bloc" led by the United States of America and the "Communist bloc," by the Union of Soviet Socialist Russia (USSR)— later joined (but soon split) by the People's Republic of China (PRC). More apparent today is the new order of world politics evolving since 1960 from a series of events within the international scene, a process likewise transforming the international environment in East Asia. Such events, which have been phasing out the immediate post-war international order, seem to have opened new opportunities and presented more options to leaders of medium-and small-size countries, like the developing countries of Southeast Asia, in planning their respective nation's diplomatic and economic relations.

This paper will deal with selected developments in the decade of the sixties which can be considered as contributing to the erosion of the bi-polar power structure of the immediate post-war period. They are: the development of the European Economic Community as a power pole, the Sino-Soviet conflict resulting in a split within the "Communist bloc," as well as the loosening of dyadic ties between the United States and Japan and their impact upon East Asian International politics. These developments will be projected against the background of the collective-bilateral security systems existing in different parts of the world, including East Asia, and the emergence of *Panch Shila* in the fifties.

PANCH SHILA AND COLLECTIVE-BILATERAL SECURITY SYSTEMS

Since the turn of the 1960's, when the USSR and the PRC parted ways, certain developments in the international milieu followed with some degree of unpredictability. The bi-polarization (multipolarization?) of the hitherto monolithic Communist threat to the "Free World bloc" perhaps caused major Communist and non-Communist countries to feel less restrained or constrained in making their diplomatic moves towards the attainment of their own domestic or national goals. Even as such moves generated rapid changes in the world scenario, they contributed to the disappearance within a decade of the 'Cold War" frame of reference. Characterized by bipolar conflicts or the successive confrontations and disputes between Communists and non-Communists, the "Cold War" gradually gave way to détente among hostile powers in the late sixties, and then to rapprochément, during the opening years of the seventies.

Consequently, power realignments were evident until the two-dimensional power confrontation in world politics appears to be in the process of being replaced by what seems to be a far more complex multipolar or polycentric world. Discernible, though not yet set, is the new power equilibrium that is being worked out within the Asian and Pacific region by the United States, the USSR, the PRC (the three *super-powers*) and Japan (a *super-state* by virtue of her ranking as the third economic power in the world but with only a defense force and lacking nuclear capability). This arrangement seems to have given the impression that there is in Asia a "grand conspiracy" among the World powers. Consisting of complicated relations among powers and their respective ties with countries elsewhere, there are great possibilities that the seeming multipolarization of world politics could create "entangling alliances" partly resulting from "secret diplomacy" which characterized the politics among powers before World War I. "Secret diplomacy," still possible today, is however not easy to undertake. As Japan's Foreign Minister Ohira wrote,[1]

> ...The World has become one great information society. It is now difficult to differentiate between the domestic and foreign affairs of a country. The situation is such that information on what a specific country thinks, what is happening inside that country and what is being planned by that country is known almost instantaneously throughout the world. The area of diplomatic secrets has been markedly reduced. . .

[1] "A New Foreign Policy for Japan," *Pacific Community*, Vol. III, No. 3 (April 1972), p. 415.

This state of affairs could serve as deterrent or a means of keeping powers from entering into "secret agreements" and consequently "entangling alliances."

Today's world therefore stands on the threshold of a hoped-for innovative ordering of international politics through the broadening of channels for negotiations and dialogues and, therefore, accommodation, rather than confrontations and disputes as human beings search for peace and security. Faced with the wonders and destructive effects of man's scientific discoveries, nations are now in quest for economic viability and political survival in a less polluted world. There is no doubt that it is imperative for contemporary men and nation-states to learn how "to co-exist" if they are to avoid destroying one another in the end.

The principle of co-existence is the core of the Five Principles (*Panch Shila*) enunciated by Jawarhalal Nehru and Chou En-Lai in 1954.[2] Adopted in 1955 by the Bandung conferees, these five principles were amplified in Bandung's Peace Declaration of ten principles.[3] The four other principles of *Panch Shila* were: (1) mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, (2) non-aggression, (3) non-interference in internal affairs and (4) equality and mutual benefit.

Alongside this idea of promoting peace within the framework of the Five Principles was the concept of defensive collective and bilateral alliances which were established at about the same time by the "Free World bloc" to secure the territories of members of the bloc in Asia from the bloc's perceived threat of Communism. One of these alliances was founded in Manila in September 1954, a year before Bandung: the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO). Intended to play a peace-keeping and security-maintaining role in Asia, SEATO was to function alongside the American post-war bilateral security agreements with the Philippines, Japan, South Korea, and Australia together with New Zealand (ANZUS), as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO; 1949) and the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO; 1955) were expected to do in Europe and West Asia.

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[2] These principles are embodied in the text of the India-China Agreement on Trade and Intercourse Between Tibet Region of China and India issued in Peking on April 29, 1954 in *Foreign Policy of India. Texts of Documents* 1947-64 (New Delhi, 1966), pp. 198-206.

[3] "Final Communique of the Asian-African Conference Held at Bandung from 18th to 24th April 1955," *Asian-African Conference Bulletin, India Quarterly*, Vol. XI, No. 3 (July-September 1955), pp. 207-235.

II

THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY: A POWER POLE

Under NATO's protection, the establishment of the European Economic Community (EEC) by six of NATO's members— Belgium, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands— was a major event in the late fifties.[4] Its development in the next decade into a comparatively strong European Community (EC)[5] proved to the world how voluntary multi-national integration and cooperation for common benefits among members, imaginative planning, and diplomatic and managerial skills, could produce strong ties among countries attempting to survive and be heard within a harshly competitive world.

Part IV of the 1958 Treaty of Rome creating the EEC provided that the Community was to conclude associational agreements[6] with Mediterranean countries like Greece, Turkey, Spain, Israel, Tunisia and Morocco, the Caribbean dependencies, East Africa and eighteen African countries who later became signatories to the Yaounde Convention of July 20, 1963.[7] Being promoted today by the

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[4] The European Economic Community was established with the European Atomic Energy Community in two treaties signed in Rome in 1958 by six members of the European Coal and Steel Community founded in 1952. M. Palmer, J. Lambert, *et al, A Handbook of European Organization* (New York, 1968), p. 167.

[5] The European Community as it exists today, comprises three distinct organizations: (1) the European Coal and Steel Community; (2) the European Economic Community; and, (3) the Atomic Community (Euraton). *Ibid.*, p. 167.

[6] K. Kojima, "A Pacific Free Trade Area Proposed," *Pacific Community*, Vol. III, No. 3 (April 1972), p. 585.

[7] The Yaounde Convention was an agreement signed in 1963 between eighteen former overseas countries and territories of the EEC members, on the one hand, and the EEC, on the other. It was a renegotiation of an earlier agreement concerning the establishment of associational ties between the EEC and each of these territories who had become independent by 1960. The major change was the extension of equal status by EEC to the eighteen African countries. The main provisions of Part IV of the Treaty of Rome (1958) which provided for such associational ties were virtually retained. They are: (1) the freeing of trade between EEC and its associates, with the latter permitted to apply customs duties considered necessary for their development, and for the protection of developing industries as well as the imposition of fiscal duties needed as a source of revenue; (2) the granting of direct aid in the form of investments by the Community as a whole which, under the earlier agreement, was to be channelled through a European Development Fund; the two kinds of projects that were to receive aid from the Fund were specified as follows: (a) *Social projects*, involving the provision of hospitals, teaching or technical research establishments and institutes for vocational training; and (b) *economic projects* of general interest directly connected with a program which, in practice has meant road-building, the provision of harbor facilities, water supplies and others. The Fund is to be administered by the EEC Commission responsible for allocating the funds available.

The Yaounde Convention established a Council of Ministers responsible for taking major decisions on the policy of the association. Meeting at least once a year, its chairmanship alternates between a minister from the associated countries and the Chairman of the Council of the Community. In 1965, a Secretariat was established in Brussels with a joint African and European staff. Palmer, *et al, op. cit.*, pp. 231-233.

EEC Commission, is the forging of associational links between the EEC and the third world countries of Southeast Asia, particularly the ASEAN countries, initially through a mutually beneficial trading arrangement.

The EEC and the ASEAN

The EEC Commissioner for External Affairs, Dr. Talf Dahrendorf, contacted each of the five ASEAN partners— Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand— for trade discussion with the EEC. Starting this scheme early in 1972 by informing each of the ASEAN members about the EEC's keen interest in helping Asian regional groupings, especially ASEAN, Dahrendorf also pledged that EEC trade with the ASEAN would not diminish even after the enlargement of the Community.[8] The ASEAN five have so far agreed only on the need to negotiate as a whole in their efforts to secure better trading arrangements with Europe.

To undertake planning and discussion on the EEC-ASEAN trade ties, a standing Committee was established: one, in Bangkok for joint consultation among the five members; the other, in Brussels for talks with EEC.[9] It is not hard to imagine the effects of an associational agreement between the EEC and the ASEAN (if it materializes) upon the other world powers, especially Japan and the United States, and upon the international equilibrium in Asia. The expansion in January 1973 of the European Community into nine members, is viewed with apprehension by the world's leading countries, especially the Soviet Union. Linked with the EEC's neighboring East European countries, the USSR will have to face in Europe not only an increasing economic but also political competition from the EEC.[10]

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[8] Seah Chiang Nee, "Talks on EEC Will Put ASEAN's Collective Strength to the Test," *The Asian*, April 2-8, 1972, p. 10.

[9] *Loc. cit.*

[10] A recent report describes as follows the reasons for the Soviet leaders' irritation of the enlargement of the EEC which is referred to us as a "narrow little grouping" in the Soviet press's campaign against the expansion of the common market:

(1) It is a blow against Soviet plans of preventing any political realignment in Western Europe.

(2) The entry of Britain into the EEC will add a "new element of realism and hostility towards the Soviet Union" and will cause "the foundering and Soviet attempts to range a United Europe against reactionary, insular Britain."

(3) The entry of two Scandinavian members of NATO-Denmark and Norway (recently Norway decided against joining the EEC)— in the common market would partly undercut Soviet policy aimed at developing "neutralist" relations with all four states in the area, i.e., Britain, Ireland, Denmark and Norway (now reduced to only three states).

The EEC: The World's Largest Trading Unit

"Even at its original size the Community has replaced the United States as the World's largest trading unit," goes the comment of a Japanese economist, K. Kojima, who supported his remarks with hard data.[11] "The enlarged Euro-bloc," he adds, "will continue and strengthen its inward looking policies, intensifying intra-regional development and raising the degree of self-sufficiency which are the purposes of its integration."[12] Kojima pointed out, for example, that the United States and the Pacific basin countries (both advanced and developing) are greatly concerned with the opening of the European Common Market to agricultural products from non-member countries. And because the industrial goods markets in the European Community is an important outlet for exports of manufactured and semi-manufactured goods from the United States, Japan and the developing countries, Kojima suggests that there should be a joint effort among the Pacific basin countries *to obtain a bargaining power equal to the Community.* He therefore proposed a plan for the establishment of a Pacific Free Trade Area which would enable the countries in the Pacific basin to deal with the EEC from a better position because the EEC now represents "'a formidable agglomeration of economic wealth and power."[13]

The scheme, it is supposed, could place the developing Asian countries in "associational ties" with the developed countries of the region. It could however compete with the EEC Commissioner's proposal to link with the EEC the developing countries of ASEAN by means of a mutually beneficial trade agreement. This EEC plan could hasten the achievement of its goal intended to help attain (by its earlier decision to implement in July 1, 1971) the United Nations Conference on Trade Development's (UNCTAD's) System of General Preferences for developing countries provided all the major industrialized countries would take similar action.[14]

The expansion of the European Community's economic and political power has made some students of international politics refer to the Community as one of five power poles in world politics—the other four being the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., China and Japan.

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(4) The enlargement of the common market would make the creation of a joint trade policy between Moscow and its East European partners scheduled for December 3, 1973, even more crucial.
See, "Wider EEC Setback for USSR," *Manila Times*, January 24, 1972, p. 16.

11 Kojima, *op. cit.*, p. 585.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 386.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 387.

14 "Common Market, Norway Enforce Trade Preferences for Have-nots," *Manila Chronicle*, July 1, 1971, p. 6. See also, "EEC OK's Trade Aid Scheme," *Manila Times*, April 6, 1971, p. 11.

The EEC: Its Problems

Although there was an awareness at the EEC Summit in Paris (October, 1972) of the economic and political power the European Community has acquired over the past decade, and that "Europe is a reality with its own personality," the EEC is in fact beset by divisions that have handicapped it since 1958 when it was founded. The members of the Community have not yet reached a consensus nor a commitment towards the creation of a Europe that is united politically and economically.[15] In other words, a Europe that can "speak with a single voice."[16] Neither has the EEC at this Summit made further commitments beyond a study program for the following year in its aid to developing countries or the third world.[17]

But could economic expansion of the EEC continue without making the Community organization unmanageable? Could EEC face a military threat, say, from any of the Warsaw Pact countries without NATO?[18] The answers to these questions could suggest the role that EEC will play in international politics. What is certain is that the European Community has developed during the sixties into one of the centers of international power thus partly accounting for the phasing out of the bi-polar or "cold war" frame of reference of world politics and the emergence of multipolarism.

III

THE SINO-SOVIET CONFLICT: TERMINATION OF PATRON-CLIENT RELATIONS

The establishment of the EEC was almost contemporaneous with the appearance in the open in 1960 of the Sino-Soviet dispute.

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[15] *Time Magazine*, October 30, 1972, p. 6.

[16] "Euromart Nations Nearer to Unity," *Times Journal*, October 21, 1972, p. 12.

[17] "Euromart Summit Fruitful," *Times Journal*, October 23, 1972, p. 2.

[18] The "Warsaw Pact" countries (Albania, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and the U.S.S.R.) pledged among other things, on May 14, 1955, to regard an attack on one of the members as an attack on all and provided for a unified military command. The collectivity has been referred to as the Communist equivalent of NATO (the North Atlantic Treaty Organization). NATO was founded in Washington, D.C. in April 1949 by Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom. The United States, Greece, Turkey and the German Federal Republic were subsequently admitted to membership. The NATO members pledged themselves to develop their power, both individual and collective, and to resist aggression. They agreed that "an attack against one or more of them in Europe or America shall be considered an attack against them all."

For an analysis of the possible-negative effects of the expansion of EEC, see L. Gelber, "Enlargement of the European Community and Its Negative Global Effects," *Pacific Community*. Vol. III, No. 3 (April 1972), pp. 441-447.

See also "NATO Cracking; Assembly Opens," *Bulletin Today*, November 24, 1972, p. 2.

Centering on the ideological issue of the inevitability of war, this conflict also involved the principle of co-existence which the Moscow leaders interpreted (but Peking challenged) as rooted in the Leninist doctrine that states can co-exist regardless of differences in their social and political systems.[19] China's leaders charged the Russians of "modern revisionism." As a consequence, relations between the PRC (China) and the USSR were suspended and the Soviet Union's technical consultants were recalled thus suspending other forms of economic aid from the Soviet Union.

The Restoration of the China-Japan Trade

Into this situation moved Japan to supply China industrial goods, like steel and machinery, in exchange for Chinese products that Japanese businessmen could trade in Japan or elsewhere. The possibilities for expanding trade between the two countries was however limited by the "Yoshida Letter" assuring Taiwan that Japan would not extend long-term credits to China. Japan and the PRC pursued

[19] The stand of the Moscow leadership was that "wars are not fatally inevitable." It was defined by a presidium member, O.V. Kuusinin as follows: "The official doctrine of Soviet foreign policy is 'Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence' of states regardless of the difference in their social and political systems." Quoted in O. E. Clubb, "China, Russia and East Asia," *Pacific Community*, Vol. III, No. 4 (July 1972), p. 614.

S. Eto, however, states that at the Twentieth Party Congress held in February 1956, the Soviet Union changed its national objectives by "discarding" the Leninist doctrine of the inevitability of war and the necessity of violent revolution, and replacing it with the "non-revolutionary peace movement." According to Eto, this became a significant "turning point" in post-war international relations. Eto also mentions that the same Party Congress declared the validity of peaceful competition with capitalist economies. He remarks: "...never before had the Soviet Union renounced its ultimate goal of destroying the capitalist countries through political struggle. The statements made in the Twentieth Congress, however, did not call for a political struggle but an economic struggle to overwhelm capitalism. The aim of this declaration was to speed up the trend toward socialism by showing the world its superiority. This indeed marked the first step in peaceful coexistence which involved economic competition. In the seven-year plan (1959-1965) presented to the Twenty-first Congress in 1959, the Soviet Union withdrew from its previous closed socialist system, and proceeded on a path toward international division of labor and the doctrine of comparative costs." See S. Eto, "Improving Relations Between Japan and the Soviet Union," *Peace in Asia* (The Council of National Security Problems Papers; Tokyo, 1973), p. 49.

Peking, on the other hand, standing on the Maoist position which challenged Moscow's posture, held that such peaceful co-existence in foreign relations, together with the use of "capitalistic" devices (such as the profit motive and material incentives) in the domestic economy, constituted "modern revisionism," Clubb, *op. cit.*, p. 614.

For a Russian scholar's view on the prospects of coexistence in international relations, see E. S. Shershnev, "On the Prospects for the Development of International Relations of Principles of Peaceful Co-existence of States," *Peace in Asia*, pp. 9-15.

their trading transactions through Japanese "friendly firms"[20] and under the 1968 semi-official Memorandum Trade (MT),[21] the successor to the Liao-Takahashi (LT) Agreement signed in 1962,[22] for a five-year period, 1963-1967.

In 1970, the total trade of Japan was US$822.69 million of which US$253.8 million represented imports and US$568.87, exports. Upwards of 86% of the trade was done through Japanese "friendly firms." It yielded a total balance of trade in Japan's favor amounting to US$315.05 million[23] in 1970—a development which is interesting to those watching trading relations between the PRC or the Soviet Union on the one hand, and the countries of the "free world," on the other, which is generally a barter arrangement or an "absolutely balanced trade."

While Japan was trading with the PRC under the principle of "separating politics from trade" and the so-called three political principles in their relations,[24] she also had trading transactions with, and invested in, Taiwan with whose government Japan entered into a treaty normalizing relations in 1952. In 1970, Japan's total trade with Taiwan reached a high of US$951.18 million, US$250.76 million of which was Japan's imports and US$700.41 million, her exports.[25] From her trade with Taiwan in 1970, Japan realized a favorable balance totalling US$549.65 million, US$234.59 million more than her balance of trade with the PRC. But because of the PRC's large population and resource potential as well as a market for Japan's industrial goods, the PRC seems to offer much greater opportunities than Taiwan for augmenting Japan's trade and investment.

In 1970, the total investment of Japan in Taiwan was US$139 million in 151 projects. This amount declined sharply the following

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[20] Trading companies affiliated with the Japan International Trade Production Association (JITPA) which have been politically acceptable to Peking. In 1969, eighty-nine per cent of Sino-Japanese trade was undertaken through this channel. "China's Foreign Trade in 1969," *Current Scene*, Vol. VII, No. 16 (October 7, 1970), p. 12.

[21] This agreement, the only non-private link between Tokyo and Peking before Prime Minister Tanaka's recent normalization of relations between the two capitals, was signed by men of high rank but not formally on behalf of the two governments and renewed from year to year. *Loc. cit.*

The Japanese government supervised trade, under this arrangement, through a Memorandum Trade Office whose chief was in-charge of negotiating from year to year with his Chinese counterpart the total volume of bilateral trade between their two countries.

[22] See Memorandum Agreement signed by Liao and Takasaki Tatsunosuke on November 11, 1962.

[23] Japan, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Statistical Survey of Japan's Economy* 1971, 43, 47. See also "China's Foreign Trade in 1969..." *op. cit.*, p. 12; *The Daily Yomiuri* (April 20, 1970).

[24] The three political principles were: that the Japanese government was to (1) stop regarding China with hostility, (2) stop taking part in a plot to create "two Chinas," and (3) stop obstructing efforts to normalize relations between Japan and China.

[25] *Statistical Survey of Japan's Economy 1971, op. cit.*, pp. 42, 46.

year because of the alleged eagerness of Japanese businessmen to establish ties with mainland China (where the Japanese had virtually no investment), especially in the wake of President Nixon's announcement in July 1971 that he would visit Peking early the next year.[26] It can therefore be said here that Japan-PRC contacts, which China encouraged after she cut her economic and military ties with the USSR at the end of the fifties, did add to the wearing away of the immediate post-war "bi-polar" international order or the "cold war" frame of reference of world politics.

France's Recognition of China

The disintegration of the Sino-Soviet bloc and therefore the "bi-polar" world order was accelerated in 1964 by the rapprochément between France, who was a member of the "Free World" bloc's Atlantic Alliance [NATO], and China, a Communist power which considered the leader of NATO—the United States—its principal enemy.[27] Under Charles de Gaulle, who was elected first President of the Fifth Republic in the same year EEC was founded (1958), France decided to deviate from the "Free World's" position of "non-recognition" of mainland China. In doing so, France became the second major Western country to recognize the PRC, the first one being Britain (on January 6, 1951).

Understandable are de Gaulle's subsequent moves in the field of international diplomacy. He decided that France practically withdraw from SEATO established by Dulles to combat Communist subversion and aggression in Southeast Asia, particularly the activities of China.[28] From the beginning, France was not a happy member of SEATO, thus suggesting the lack of strong cohesion among its members to achieve collective defense against Communist threat in Asia. In 1956, France publicly criticized SEATO's military operations, and at the SEATO Ministerial Conference held in Bangkok in 1961, France strongly opposed a Council resolution on Laos and refused to contribute troops should SEATO decide upon military action.[29] In 1967, France decided to evict the NATO headquarters from French soil, though she remained an unenthusiastic member of NATO.[30]

Therefore, in the face of the Sino-Soviet conflict and a possible escalation of the Vietnam war, the decision of France to recognize China in 1964 as well as the subsequent action she took as member

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[26] "Investments of Japan Firms in Taiwan Decline," *Manila Daily Bulletin*, March 12, 1972, p. 18.

[27] F. Fejito, "France and China. The Intersection of Two Grand Designs," in A. M. Halpern (ed.), *Policies Toward China* (New York, 1965), pp. 42-53.

[28] "Will the SEATO be able to Survive French Recognition of Red China?" *Manila Daily Bulletin*, January 27, 1964, p. 3.

[29] G. A. Modelski, *SEATO; Six Studies* (Canada, 1962), pp. 4-5.

[30] G. D. Stoddard (ed.), *Living History of the World*, (New York, 1957), p. 272.

of SEATO and NATO, affected the bi-polar world power arrangement. They contributed to the liquidation of the strong anti-Communist position of the "Free World" bloc and can be taken as among the factors that paved the way for the emergence of a modified international order in the seventies.

China's Acquisition of Nuclear Capability

Also taking place in the 1960's was the PRC's successful detonation of her first nuclear device thus gaining for China one of the attributes of a "super power": a nuclear capability. This event took place in October 1964, at about the time Nikita Khrushchev was removed from both the positions of First Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party and Premier of the Soviet Union, and when the USSR faced domestic economic and political problems. China's nuclear explosion also approximately coincided with the eighteenth Olympiad held in Tokyo, a symbol of Japan's dramatic recovery during the post-war period.

The acquisition of nuclear capability by China revealed how far China had progressed in her nuclear weapons and military techniques as well as her determination to stockpile nuclear armament since 1958 (when China was facing the "ill fated" Great Leap Forward [1958-1959]). For it was in 1958 when Khrushchev refused the PRC's request of clear-cut assurance of nuclear protection in the event the United States would use nuclear weapon (as the U.S.A. did hint on September 28, 1958),[31] if the PRC forces would not stop their artillery attack on Quemoy and Matsu.

Khrushchev's decision was perhaps based in part on the fact that since 1949, the PRC refused to sign a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union. Instead, China demanded for the return of Outer Mongolia. China also refused to consider a proposal of the Soviet Union for a joint Soviet-China fleet and for Soviet air bases in China, at a time the USSR desired to maintain her leadership of the world Communist movement.

Turned down by Khrushchev in 1958, the PRC leaders decided the following year to abrogate the country's defense technology agreement with the USSR and concentrate all her resources into the development of her own nuclear arms.[32] By then, China had achieved not only a thermo-nuclear weapon (hydrogen bomb) test but had also tested her nuclear war heads and a trigger device for a miniaturized hydrogen bomb or an Intercontinental Ballistic Missile

[31] H. Sekino, "China's Nuclear Armament and Its Effects on Pacific-Asia," *Pacific Community*, Vol. III, No. 4 (July 1972), p. 637.
[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 638-639.

(ICBM).[33] But the development of her delivery system appears to have lagged behind her nuclear development and facilities.[34]

At present, it seems that the primary aim of China's nuclear armament would be to achieve a minimum deterrent or second-strike capabilities, under certain limited conditions. Her major concern seems to be the attainment of a capability to survive a preemptive first strike or maintaining the invulnerability of her own launching sites. There are great possibilities in the 1970's for China to develop and possess practical nuclear weapons which could become effective invulnerable attack capability *against adjacent areas.* In other words,

> . . . the development of an offensive capability against adjacent areas through a conventional submarine missile force, and a theater nuclear retaliatory power through tactical nuclear weapons will effectively deter nuclear attacks against China by the United States and the Soviet Union and would have the effect of increasing the effectiveness of China's non-nuclear military forces.[35]

Moreover, in view of the United States-Soviet Union's Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) Agreement of May 26, 1972, there exists between the United States and the Soviet Union a mutual deterrent from using nuclear weapons thus restraining either country from launching a first strike in retaliation, should China launch a non-nuclear attack upon an adjacent country.[36]

Confronted by China's growing nuclear capability, which she developed after the USSR refused to meet the PRC's request for nuclear protection in 1958, the second half of the sixties witnessed the countries leading the two opposing power blocs immediately following the war—the United States and the Soviet Union—move towards a détente with the PRC even as the USSR took steps in encircling mainland China who interpreted these moves as intended to isolate her from the rest of Asia.

The Sino-Soviet Border Conflict

The traditional expansionist tendencies of the Soviet Union and China, in addition to the ideological difference dividing them in 1960, created the recent clashes along the 4,500-mile frontier (for three centuries the scene of Chinese-Russian territorial disputes) and resulted in the Ussuri river exchange fire early in 1969. Dating back to 1960, when friendly relations between the two countries came to an end, these border skirmishes have been part of China's campaign to "correct" her so-called "friendship boundary," the name

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 639.
[34] *Ibid.*, p. 641.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 648.
[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 649-650.

given the border after the Chinese Communists successfully gained control of mainland China in 1949. It has also been part of a general Chinese expansionist program which, in 1962, resulted in an attack on India and included claims against other neighbors.

The official *People's Daily* of Peking reported in 1963 that "when the time is ripe" China would liberate approximately a million square miles of territory held by the Soviet Union in Asia.[37] China claimed and the Soviet Union denied that the Russians acknowledged in 1964 that the barren island of Demensky or Chempao was Chinese territory.[38] In 1968, Peking charged the Soviet Union of "social imperialism" when the Warsaw Pact powers intervened in Czechoslovakia. Thus, when the border clashes took place in 1969, the Chinese perceived the USSR as an enemy competing with the United States—the "capitalist imperialist"—for the status of number one enemy, therefore wedging into the immediate post-war bi-polar structure of world politics.

The United States Plan In Asia: The Late Sixties

Two other important events relevant to a discussion of the Sino-Soviet conflict took place in 1969. The first one was the enunciation of the Nixon Doctrine in July stating that the United States was in the process of disengaging her ground troops from Vietnam through "Vietnamization" (which would leave the burden of fighting upon Vietnamese) and that there would not be any future commitment of American ground troops in any war in Asia. At the same time, aware of her being a West Pacific power, the United States stressed her intention of remaining in East Asia.

The second event took place in November 1969, on the occasion of Japanese Premier E. Sato's visit with President Nixon in Washington. The Joint Communique issued at the end of the visit stated that "The United States and Japan should cooperate in contributing to the peace and prosperity of the region... that the two Governments should maintain close contact with each other on matters affecting the peace and security of the Far East including Japan..."[39] By this statement, the United States implied the acceptance of Japan as a *partner* in keeping the peace of Asia and revealed part of the American response to the changing conditions in Asia's international environment, including the Soviet Union's creeping encirclement of China as Britain phased out her military forces from East of the

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[37] M. Harrelson "Russia-Red China Clash Over Friendship Border," *Manila Times*, April 4, 1969, p. 7A.

[38] *Loc. cit.*

[39] Quoted in O. E. Clubb, "China, Russia and East Asia," *Pacific Community*, Vol. III, No. 4 (July 1972), p. 615.

Suez and as the United States planned to withdraw her ground forces from Asia.

The Russian Thrust Into Asia

The Soviet Union was then gaining leverage in East Asia. Sometime between early 1965 and mid-1966, around the time the Indonesian Army virtually routed the Peking-oriented *Partai Kommunis Indonesia,* planners in Moscow decided a major policy: the need for the Soviet Union to support the interest of indigenous races in national struggles throughout Southeast Asia. Having chosen this course, Moscow projected the Sino-Soviet struggle into Southeast Asia where Russians pointed to the "overseas Chinese" as Peking's Fifth Columns.[40] Russian Communist diplomacy made its inroads into Malaysia and Singapore through a series of cultural cooperation programs and trade missions energetically pushing commercial projects.

By 1966, Russia established a Russian trade office in Singapore and in February 1968, she sent an Ambassador to Malaysia and another one to Singapore, a few months later. In 1969, the Soviet Union launched an all-out diplomatic offensive in East Asia aimed at winning allies or, at least, securing neutrality in the Area. To Mongolia, North Korea, India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Malaysia, Singapore and the Philippines, went Soviet leaders to confer with each of the leaders of these Asian countries. And in North Vietnam, the Russians exerted every effort to under-bid China with supplies of arms and promises of sweeping aid after the war.[41]

Besides the border clashes, the Soviet Union's naval activities in the Indian Ocean, which started sometime in 1968, have added to a significant display of power politics. They constituted components of Soviet strategy in her conflict with China. Reports have it that Indian "facilities" for Soviet ships have been exchanged for Russian arms and submarines.[42] Though Soviet merchant ships have requested for facilities in the Singapore dockyard, the Soviet naval authorities have not yet requested for similar services.[43] Singapore is perhaps of greater strategic significance to the Soviet Union than it is for the United States. If freedom of passage via Singapore is secured, it would allow the Russians to link up their Black Sea naval forces with her Pacific Fleet based on Vladivostock, after the Suez Canal is reopened.

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[40] Ian Ward, "The Soviet Union's Growing Interest in Southeast Asia," *Mirror,* July 28, 1969, pp. 5-6.

[41] *Loc. cit.*

[42] K. C. Thaler, "Russia Prepares to Fill Asia's Strategic Vacuum," *Manila Chronicle,* June 24, 1969, p. 2.

[43] Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

A Soviet naval arc linking the Black Sea to the Indian Ocean and the Western Pacific could contribute to the Soviet Union's nuclear strategy against China, especially after the conclusion of the new Soviet-Iraq treaty. It could also help outflank the Southern front of NATO and exercise considerable leverage on Western Europe as it could post a threat to the latter's oil supply. The treaty with India, aid to Bangladesh, and cultural as well as commercial push to Southeast Asia could have completed the encirclement of mainland China by the Soviet Union if Japan and Taiwan were added to the chain.[44]

Therefore, in January 1972, Mr. Gromyko visited Tokyo and suggested that his country and Japan start discussing a peace treaty. Dangling before Japan trade and investment possibilities in Siberia, Gromyko also half hinted that the territorial issues concerning the four Kuriles islands occupied by Soviet forces since 1945 could perhaps be negotiated. Soviet threat to, and a Soviet presence on, Japan's trade lanes anywhere in the Indian Ocean or the Western Pacific, including the waters south of Japan and east of Taiwan, could have been used as bargaining points with Japan.

The USSR's naval thrust into Asia is part of the position she has taken *vis a vis* her conflict with China which has contributed to the phasing out of the bi-polar world. And so has the Soviet Union's call for an Asian Collective Security Pact.

The Russian Call for Asian Collective Security

In the midst of all the international planning and bargaining among the powers of East Asia, the Soviet Party leader, Leonid Brezhnev, announced at the Moscow World Communist Summit early in 1969 that "the course of events is putting on the agenda the task of creating an Asian Collective Security."[45] Intended to differ from the existing "military and political blocs of imperialism"[46] in Asia, this proposal of creating an "Asian Collective Security" was defended by the Soviet Union as aiming at the establishment of good neighbor relations among Asian countries, including the People's Republic of China. In 1972, following the USSR's successful push into Asia, her alignment with India in the Indo-Pakistan war and her conclusion of a long-term treaty of friendship and assistance with India, the

[44] Yuan-Li Wu, "Planning Security for a Small Nation; Lessons from Singapore," *Pacific Community*, Vol. III, No. 4 (July 1972), pp. 672-673.

[45] Quoted in Thaler, *op. cit.*, p. 2. For the Russian view of the Asian Collective Security System, see G. V. Astafiev, "The Situation in the East Asia and the Collective Security," *Peace in Asia, op. cit.*, pp. 37-43. See also H. Kotani, "Asian Security and the Soviet Plan for a Regional Security," *ibid.*, pp. 27-35. Kotani dates the Russian concept of an Asian security system to as early as 1954.

[46] "Russia Defends Collective Security Plan for Asia," *Manila Chronicle*, July 10, 1969, p. 4. See also Astafiev, *op. cit.*

Soviet Union renewed her call for collective Asian Security Pact, after the idea initially found little response among Asian countries. While India was prepared to go along with the Plan, Pakistan rejected it categorically mainly because it was directed against China with whom she had friendly relations.[47]

In addition to her proposal for a Collective Asian Security Pact, the USSR took steps to secure her territory in the West, in the event of a Sino-Soviet crisis, through the enunciation of the Brezhnev Doctrine.

The Brezhnev Doctrine

Formulated by Leonid I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, the "Brezhnev doctrine" first appeared in September 1968 in *Pravda,* the official party newspaper. The "doctrine" justified the invasion the previous month of Czechoslovakia by the Warsaw Pact nations. Briefly, it states that Communist nations had the right to take action — even military action — whenever the Communist System in one of its allies is threatened. For example, "liberalism" in Czechoslovakia was considered as such a threat.

Brezhnev reiterated the "doctrine" at the Twenty-Fourth Party Congress held in 1971 when he proposed for a disarmament conference of the world's nuclear powers. According to Brezhnev, the Soviet Union was ready to work closely with other nations in such fields as pollution, disease control, development of resources, communications and transportation in outer space and oceans — all these, now included in what is referred to as the "Brezhnev doctrine." The latter proposals are among those that are to be considered at the European Security and Cooperation Conference in Helsinki. They can be taken as the Soviet Union's hope for bringing the European continent to a new era of prosperity and peace *guaranteed by a system of collective security.* But they can also be viewed as the USSR's attempts at achieving the consolidation of Europe in the West because of her desire to secure her rear in case any conflict with China should take place in the East.[48]

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[47] According to Mustafa, "...Unable to wean Pakistan away from China, the Soviet Union shifted her strategy from accommodating both India and Pakistan to more forthright support to New Delhi. In such a situation as the crisis in East Pakistan created, the Russians opted for India. The Treaty of Friendship was not only a formalization of the close ties India and the Soviet Union has had in the process of forging for a decade but also signified Russia's determination to uphold her position on the Asian land mass in competition with other powers and her decision to discard the policy of spreading commitments in favor of concentration on selected areas. The treaty was in reality Moscow's answer to the links Washington and Peking are now developing." Z. Mustafa, "The 1971 Crisis in Pakistan, India, the Soviet Union," *Pacific Community,* Vol. III, No. 3 April 1972), pp. 513-514.

[48] This was Brezhnev's response to the earlier move of the United States and her allies in NATO when, in 1968, it was proposed that the NATO and the

All the foregoing moves of the Soviet Union have been considered by some observers of world politics as part of the Soviet Union's endeavor to fill the "power vacuum" being created from Afghanistan to Korea as a result of British withdrawal and American disengagement from Asia. But these moves can also be interpreted (and they have been interpreted by China) as directed towards the containment of the People's Republic of China on the Asian mainland. It appears that the key to the Soviet Union's Asia strategy is the growing fear of mainland China as a result of the PRC's progress in the nuclear weapons field. The Soviet leaders seem apprehensive of the danger of growing Chinese pressures against Soviet Far Eastern territories, including the empty spaces of Siberia. Thus, Russia's invitation for the cooperation of Japan and the United States in the development of Siberia's natural resources, including oil and other extractive minerals.

As the Soviet Union maneuvered for a strategically strong position in dealing with the People's Republic of China, the latter attacked the efforts of the former in Asia as part of what seems to be a deliberate move to isolate China in the region and accused the United States (later, Japan) for entering into collusion with the Soviet Union. On the other hand, the Russians feared a possible accommodation between Peking and Washington in order to isolate the USSR. The 1972 Nixon visits to Peking and Moscow tend to belie both China's and the Soviet Union's fears that the United States would assist the enemy of one against the other.

The Nixon Visit to Peking

The Nixon visit to China in February 1972 appears, in part, a consequence of two factors. The first one was the United States' intention of disengaging her ground forces from Asia which was mentioned earlier; the second, China's realization at the turn of this decade that she was friendless and "encircled" by three powers — the Soviet Union, the United States and Japan — all guided by ideologies opposing Maoism. And so early in 1970, Mao Tse-tung intimated to the American writer, Edgar Snow, that he was ready to welcome a visit from the American president. This was after the

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Warsaw Pact countries conduct discussions on mutual and belated reductions of their respective military forces. The Warsaw Pact, in its first partial response suggested in June 1970 a limited discussion. See M. H. Koenig, "U.S. Giving Brezhnev Speech Closer Study," *Manila Chronicle*, April 3, 1971, p. 2. See also "Soviet Chief Spells Out Key Policies of Russia," *Daily Mirror*, March 31, 1971, p. 2.

For a background of the "Brezhnev doctrine" see the following articles contributed by two Russian scholars to *Peace in Asia, op. cit.*, V.V. Zhurkin, "Realities of International Situation and Ways of Strengthening Peace," pp. 617-622 and A.A. Iskenderov, "Prospects for Creating a New International System," pp. 23-36.

United States openly supported by military force Lon Nol's leadership in Cambodia, and the Soviet Union assisted North Vietnam and North Korea individually but not China. Meanwhile, the Asian revolutionary united front faced the United States and her allies in Northeast, East and Southeast Asia, thus opening the possibilities of a Sino-American confrontation, with the Soviet Union standing aside.

Confronted by the realities of the times, China suddenly dropped the "revolutionary foreign policy" she pursued from 1962 through the Great Proletarian Revolution (from 1966 to mid-1969), and did a 180 degree turn to return to the Five Principles (*Panch Shila*) as enunciated in 1954 by Nehru and Chou En-lai. It should be recalled here that after China accepted these principles at Bandung, the Soviet Union's emphasis of co-existence, provoked China to charge the USSR with "modern revisionism" therefore ending the friendly relations between the two countries at the turn of the 1960's.

The Sino-Soviet Détente

On September 11, 1969, however, Chou En-lai and Alexei N. Kosygin met at the Peking airport. Before Kosygin flew out of the Chinese capital, a joint communique [49] was agreed upon which, among other things, transferred the border issue to the diplomatic table. The border clashes suddenly ceased and the following year, the two countries exchanged ambassadors. In November of the same year, a trade agreement was signed — the first one between the two countries since the suspension of trade relations in 1967.[50] But there appears to be no significant warming of Sino-Soviet relations. According to a report, "China's approach to the Soviet Union was an example of Peking's pragmatic diplomatic methods designed to further Chinese aims without making any compromises with Maoist principles."[51]

It was by reason of hard necessity, not ideology, that China moved into a détente with the Soviet Union late in 1969 when she must have been convinced by the military build-up of Russia along the borders that it would be dangerous to continue direct confronta-

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[49] The joint communique provided for a five-point peace plan:
(1) The two countries should agree to reopen border talks;
(2) They should withdraw their troops from the border;
(3) Troops on each side of the border should be instructed to avoid opening fire on each other;
(4) Both countries should end attacks on each other in the press and on the radio;
(5) They should agree to work towards the restoration of trade and other economic ties.

See *Keesing's Contemporary Archives...* Vol. XXVII (London, 1969-1970), p. 23645.

[50] Lee Lescaze, "Despite Trade Agreement Sino-Soviet Relations Remain Cold," *Manila Chronicle*, December 31, 1972, p. 13.

[51] *Loc. cit.*

tion. She could also have observed that the United States, through the "Nixon Doctrine," meant to maintain a military presence in the West Pacific by shifting from reliance upon her ground forces to one upon aid and naval power with employment of "friendly Asians" for any ground action.

The leaders of the People's Republic of China were aware of the economic power of Japan, her next door neighbor. They had observed the increasing defense forces of Japan under the first three Defense Build-up Plan and then were apprehensive about the plans that were being prepared for the country's Fourth Defense Build-up Plan (1972-1976). Moreover, the PRC had hoped she could gain admission as a member of the United Nations which she did on October 25, 1971, when the United Nations General Assembly voted 76-31 (with 17 abstentions) for the admission of the People's Republic of China and the expulsion of Taiwan. Within this international forum, China can now confront the USSR, the United States, and other countries she desires to challenge.

Today, the bilateral border negotiations are continuing between the Soviet Union and China amidst sharp propaganda charges and mutual accusations.[52] It is evident that both sides would like to maintain the channel of communications between them as a sounding board and a forum where some accord might be reached, "if Peking thinks the time is ripe and Russia feels the price is right."[53] Meanwhile, China has been very busy restoring diplomatic and trade ties with other countries, including the United States, Britain, West Germany, Canada, and other countries in the West while relations with the Soviet Union remain strained. Russia, on the other hand, has launched a new pressure campaign for a collective security pact in Asia under Moscow's leadership to curve China's influence in East Asia.[54]

China's Deputy Foreign Minister, Chiao Kuan-hua, at the United Nations, attacked the Russian moves within the international sphere.[55] As mentioned earlier, China suspects the Soviet Union's interest in pushing a European Security conference as "a ruse to consolidate and expand her influence in Europe" in order to gain a free hand against Asia and China in particular. Russia retorted that Peking has been moving towards the attainment of leadership of the Third World in an attempt to undermine anew the Moscow-led Communist camp.[56] The Sino-Soviet conflict has moved into a new high gear,

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[52] "Sino-Soviet Relations. Border Talks Resume in Peking," *Philippines Evening Express*, October 19, 1972, p. 7.

[53] *Loc. cit.*

[54] "Russia Presses on Asia Security Pact," *Philippines Daily Express*, October 21, 1972, p. 7.

[55] "As Vietnam War Nears End, Russia, China Maneuver for 'sphere of influence,'" *Times Journal*, November 17, 1972, p. 2.

[56] *Loc. cit.*

reminiscent of the height of the "explosive conflict" a few years ago, with Russia and China maneuvering for rival power positions in Asia following the end of the Vietnam war.[57]

In sum, the Sino-Soviet conflict in the 1960's and other related developments which were discussed earlier, have caused changes in the international order and power alignments, particularly in Asia, hitherto gravitating around two power poles immediately after World War II.

IV

THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN: LOOSENING OF DYADIC TIES

Unlike the abrupt termination in 1960 of the post-war dyadic (patron-client) relations between the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union, similar ties between Japan and the United States have been phasing into a "partnership" more apparently taking shape in the late sixties. Making some observers of the international scene identify Japan as a power pole in a "quadrilateral" balance of power within the Asian region in the 1970's, the present "partnership" has been the result of a series of decisions made by American decision-makers since 1949, when mainland China became Communist. Faced with a *fait accompli* on the mainland and torn between it and the crises in other parts of the world (contingent to her role of leader of the "Free World" bloc, and her increasing economic problems at home), the United States realized the imperative of making peace with Japan. The American policy-makers recognized the need of strengthening Japan's economy by removing the proposed punitive provisions of the peace treaty and of rehabilitating her industries, if Japan was to serve as a major factor in the "Free World bloc's" defense against Communism in Asia.

The three-year period of the Korean war boosted Japan's economy and enabled her to rehabilitate from the ravages of war. Procurement for the United Nations military forces in Korea stimulated Japan's industrial production which increased and improved as American financial and technical aid were extended to equip new Japanese industries or modernize pre-existing ones. Constituting the foundations of her industrial recovery in the second half of the fifties — Japan's "Second Industrial Revolution" — it also made possible the Japanese government's deliberate policy of global trade expansion which catapulted the country to the world's third economic power before the end of the sixties — Japan's "economic miracle."

[57] *Loc. cit.*

The United States has contributed to this "economic miracle" by assuming the cost for the defense of Japan whose no-war constitution does not allow her to build up her armed forces and a nuclear capability. Within a decade from 1955, when Japan formulated her first economic plan (at a time she experienced for the first time in her history the largest rice crop and a $500 million balance of payments surplus),[58] to 1965, Japan had gone through a series of booms and recessions. Before the end of the period, Japan had rebuilt her industrial sector and accumulated a surplus of $2,000 million in 1964.[59]

Japan's Economic Rehabilitation
And Expansion of Trade With Asia

From the mid-fifties to mid-sixties, America urged Japan to re-establish ties with the Southeast Asian countries which, in Dulles' view, could re-orient Japanese economy towards this region and away from mainland China, Japan's traditional trading partner.[60] Marking the decade (1955-1965) were Japan's negotiations and settlement of her reparations payments with the countries she occupied during the last war and her conclusion of other bilateral agreements with them. Japanese foreign aid to Southeast Asia during this decade was largely channeled to the agricultural sector and given from commercial motives without much self-conscious relation to broader political objectives in Asia.[61]

> Aid was given grudgingly, on stringent terms with one eye on the balance of payments. Nobody wanted to throw away his hard-earned money on the undeserving poor of Asia. Most people with money to invest was beguiled by the chances of bigger profits at home.[62]

Japan's continuing economic growth since 1955 led her to deviate after 1958 from Dulles' earlier plan, *i.e.*, the plan of preventing Japan to deal with the PRC, when the USSR terminated her economic and security assistance to China. It will be recalled that trading relations with mainland China were undertaken under the principle of "separate economics from politics" and through "friendly firms."

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[58] L. Olson, *Japan in Post War Asia* (New York, 1970), pp. 21-22.

[59] Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Foreign Investment in Japan* (Tokyo, 1968), p. 4.

[60] Address of J. Foster Dulles delivered on March 1, 1951 entitled "Laying the Foundation for a Pacific Peace," *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. XXIV, No. 610 (Washington, D.C., 1951), p. 403.

[61] Olson, *op. cit.*, p. 138. The Overseas Technical Cooperation Agency records that in 1955-1967, Japan sent mainly under the Colombo Plan arrangements, 488 technical specialists in all fields to Southeast Asia, including 120 in agriculture, the largest single category. Within the same period, Japan received 3,935 trainees in all fields from Southeast Asia, 794 of them in agriculture, again the largest category, *Ibid.*, p. 153.

[62] *Ibid.*, p. 138.

This was supplemented by a Japanese-government-supervised trade initiated in 1962 under the Liao-Takasaki Agreement (LT), and in 1968, under the Memorandum Trade Agreement (MT). In effect, Japan was beginning to extricate herself from a close dyadic attachment to the United States (a feature of the post-war bi-polar world order) towards a more independent foreign policy posture which became increasingly so in the second half of the 1960's.

Already discernible in the polemics of the Japanese intellectuals and politicians since the 1960's, has been the reviving nationalism expressed in the desire for detachment from American ties and Japan's involvement in international activities apart from the United States. Articulated in the Japanese views of their country's new political roles *vis a vis* the "super powers" which they have termed as the "East-West problem," this awakened nationalism has also touched on Japan's economic role in the "North-South problem" involving her relations with the developing countries south of Japan.[63]

Japan's Economic Growth And Economic Aid to Asia

Since 1965, Japan's foreign policy has shifted from "Low Posture" to a "Forward Looking" policy, her response to a series of international developments taking place during the period. Among them were: the American escalation of the Vietnam war, which took place a year after China's nuclear explosion in 1964; the Chinese Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution; the US-USSR moves toward a power balance based on the concept of a "balance of terror in arms"; the critical domestic problems confronting the United States and the Soviet Union; the trend towards regionalism in Southeast Asia which Japan viewed as threatening to isolate her, as well as Japan's increasing concern for the security of the Malacca strait through which a large part of her oil supply and her trade are ferried by Japanese ships.

Premier Sato, who was confronted at the end of the sixties by a rapidly expanding economy generated by Premier Ikeda's economic plan of "Income Doubling," led his country into deeper involvement in Asia's regional organization.[64] Sato's government was also responsible in expanding trade with, and investment in, Taiwan and South Korea with whom Japan successfully negotiated a normalization agreement in 1965. Economically assisting the develop-

[63] The Japanese ideas expressed in various literary sources and official documents are summarized by Olson. *Ibid.*, pp. 118-158.

[64] For instance, Japan joined the Asian Parliamentarian's Union (APU), the Asian and Pacific Council (ASPAC) and the Asian Development Bank all of which included some or all members of such sub-regional organizations like ASEAN established in 1967 by Malaysia, Thailand, the Philippines, Singapore and Indonesia.

ing countries of Southeast Asia[65] so they can attain political stability and economic viability, was a concern of Japan who was aware that her economic prosperity and security depended on the peace and security of the rest of Asia. All this coincided with American hopes that Japan would increasingly share the responsibility of aiding developing countries and contributing to the peace and security of Asia.

The gradual detachment of Japan's dyadic ties with the United States in the late sixties was also a function of America's restoration of Japanese integral territories occupied since the end of the war. And it was a consequence of the resolve of the United States and Britain — traditional partners and war-time allies — to partially or completely withdraw their military forces from Asia.

Presaged in the agreements of the Summit Conferences held in Manila on October 24-25, 1966, was America's plan in Asia which was spelled out in July 1969, in the "Nixon Doctrine." The chiefs of state of the Philippines, the Republic of Vietnam, the Republic of Korea, Thailand, the United States, Australia and New Zealand indorsed a plan at Manila for troop withdrawal from Vietnam in their six-point plan for Vietnam stated in the final communique.[66] This was supplemented by the four "Goals of Freedom for Asia" and a "Declaration of Peace and Progress in Asia and the Pacific" which elaborated the four goals namely, (1) to be free from aggression; (2) to conquer hunger, illiteracy and disease; (3) to build a region of security, order and progress; and (4) to seek reconciliation and peace throughout Asia and the Pacific.[67]

The British Withdrawal From East of the Suez

Not included in the Summit, Britain unexpectedly responded to what she perhaps viewed as the forthcoming changes in the Asian scene, by announcing in July 1967, her plans of massive military withdrawals from the "Far East" and a total pull out from her strategic bases in Singapore and Malaysia by mid-1970's. This move reflected the vital political and economic problems that the British Labor Party faced at home. It underscored Britain's growing emphasis on her cooperation with Europe, particularly with the EEC which she was intending to join.

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[65] Japan, for example, organized the Japanese Overseas Cooperation Volunteers (JOCV) or the "Peace Corps" who extended technical assistance to the recipient developing countries of Asia. She also called the Ministerial Conference for the Economic Development of Southeast Asia in April 1966 which has been meeting annually since then.

[66] F. Pascual, "Allies Offer Troop Pullout— 6-point Peace Plan Indorsed," *Manila Times*, October 26, 1966, p. 1.

[67] *Loc. cit.*

On the assumption that by 1975 the Vietnam war would be long over, the British defense planners held that Britain's military withdrawal from east of the Suez would not affect American position in Southeast Asia, despite American request for Britain to remain.[68] Moreover, the British leaders could have decided on the plan after having been convinced that, through regional cooperation extended by various international agencies (in some of which, like ECAFE, Britain was a member), the developing countries of Asia could be assisted in their endeavors to achieve economic development and security.

Britain's abdication from her ambitious and traditional role of global peacekeeper as well as her withdrawal from Asia as a major military power, took place in October 1971, without much fanfare and earlier than projected by her defense planners.[69]. But not before she signed earlier, in April, a Consultative Pact with her four overseas Commonwealth partners of the region—Australia, New Zealand, Malaysia and Singapore — an arrangement referred to as the "Little (British) Commonwealth SEATO" by the Philippines' Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Carlos P. Romulo.[70] Romulo also questioned whether the defense alliance was intended "to be part of the British, Australian and New Zealand contribution to SEATO or whether they will constitute an independent or even rival regional command."[71]

Japan's Demands For The Restoration Of Integral Territories

In November 1967, the year Britain announced her proposed withdrawal from the Far East and following Sato's eleven-nation tour of Southeast Asia and the Southwest Pacific, Prime Minister Sato met with President Johnson in Washington. The Prime Minister reported the desire for peace among Southeast Asian leaders and their fear of Communist China.[72]

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[68] This was a plan included in the Labor Government's White Paper of 1967 projecting Britain's overall strategy in the seventies. It provided for phased withdrawals from the the Far East despite American requests for continued British military presence East of the Suez. See "U.K. to Withdraw Troops from Asia," *Manila Chronicle*, July 19, 1967, p. 2. See also "Far East Forces Delay in U.K. Pullout Seen," *Manila Chronicle*, July 20, 1967, p. 3; "Sun Sets—Britain Announces Pullout from Asia," *Manila Daily Bulletin*, January 18, 1968, p. 1.

[69] "U.K. Leaves Singapore," *Manila Chronicle*, October 31, 1971, p. 2.

[70] C.P. Romulo, "Why the 'Little (British) Commonwealth SEATO,' in Treaty Area" (Statement on matters affecting the treaty area during the 16th SEATO Ministerial Council Meeting in London, April 27, 1971, 1), *Philippines Herald*, May 2, 1972. See also Gerber, *op. cit.*, p. 437.

[71] "RP Questions Little Commonwealth SEATO," *Philippines Herald*, April 29, 1971, p. 1.

[72] "Sato Cites SEA Nation's Concern for Security," *Manila Times*, November 16, 1967, p. 13-A.

In the Joint Communique issued at the end of the meeting, Johnson and Sato agreed on immediate consultations concerning the return of Japan's full sovereignty over the Bonin Islands. Sato expressed the intention of the Japanese government "gradually to assume much of the responsibility for the defense of the area."[73] The agreement on the transfer of the Bonin and the Volcano Islands to Japan was signed on April 5, 1968. It provided that the United States would continue using the Loran navigational stations on Iwo Jima and Chichi Jima in accordance with the "Status of Forces Agreement between Japan and the United States." However, all other installations and sites were to be transferred to Japan.[74]

After the return of the Bonin Islands to Japan, Premier Sato said that Japan could not consider her independence restored until she regained sovereignty over Okinawa and the islands of the South Kuriles, especially the larger islands of Kunashiri, Etorufu, Habomai, and Shikotan, which were integral parts of pre-war Japan. However, the Russians occupied them by agreement at the Yalta Conference and under the terms of the San Francisco Peace Treaty.[75] As Russia never signed the Peace Treaty, Japan is now using it as an argument to hasten negotiations for a Soviet Union-Japan peace treaty which hopefully would settle in her favor her claims to the south Kurile islands.

The Kuriles area is the center of a fishing ground of Japan's vital fishing industry. Therefore, the islands claimed by Japan are important to the safety of Japanese fishermen who at present find themselves in Soviet territorial waters almost instantly after leaving Hokkaido. In fact, since 1945, the Russians have seized over one thousand fishing boats and arrested more than 10,000 Japanese fishermen.[76] But the Soviet Union has remained unwilling to negotiate with Japan on the Kuriles, although she seems to have recently relaxed her hitherto rigid position because of the continuing Sino-Soviet conflict and therefore the need for Russia to court Japan's goodwill if only to prevent a Sino-Japanese alliance that could threaten the Soviet Union's Asian territory. Under this circumstance,

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[73] "Japan-United States; Mr. Sato's Visit to Washington, Discussions with President Nixon, Agreement on the return of Okinawa to Japan by 1972," *Keesing's Contemproray Archives*, Vol. XVII (London, 1969-1970), pp. 23698-23699. "Japan to Get Bonins Again," *Manila Times*, November 17, 1967, p. 2-A.

[74] "U.S. Agrees to Return Bonin," *Sunday Chronicle*, April 7, 1968, p. 3. See also "Costliest Real Estate. Japan Gets Back Iwo Jima from U.S.A.," *Manila Chronicle*, June 24, 1968, p. 2.

[75] P. Newsom, "Land Claims. Japan Seeks Return of Kuriles which Russia Got in Yalta Meet," *Manila Chronicle*, January 29, 1969, p. 5. See also "The Kurile—A Major Impediment to Closer Soviet-Japanese Relations," *Asia Research Bulletin, Systematized Data Abstracts, Statistics, Analyses, Comment*, Vol. I, No. 5, (October 1971), pp. 323-324.

[76] Newsom, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

it appears that Japan will deal with this territorial issue in her own way and time.

As to the restoration of Okinawa to Japan, the Johnson-Sato Communique of November 1967, established an Advisory Committee to the U.S. High Commissioner of the Ryukyus Islands including Okinawan, Japanese and American government representatives. The Committee was to recommend ways of removing the economic and social barriers between the Ryukyus and Japan proper.[77] The November 1969 Joint Communique issued at the end of the meeting in Washington by President Nixon and Prime Minister Sato, included an agreement that the administrative rights over Okinawa would return to Japan in 1972.[78] On this occasion, Premier Sato said, "I find the shape of a new Pacific Age when a new order will be created by Japan and the United States, two countries tied together by common ideals."[79] Sato's statement suggests a "partnership" was formed between the United States and Japan; the relationship between the two countries was now veering further away from a patron-client or dyadic relationship.

Okinawa was finally restored to Japan on May 15, 1972, after the following legal steps were taken: the signing of the Japan-U.S. Agreement on June 17, 1971 stating the reversion to Japan of the Ryukyu and the Daito Islands as well as the exchange of the Instruments of Ratification of this agreement on March 5, 1972.[80]

Related to the restoration of the Ryukyus is another Japanese territorial issue. It is concerned with Japan's claim of the Senkaku or the Tiao Yu Tai Islands which have been contested by the Republic of Korea and Taiwan since a 1967 ECAFE survey indicated that there might be valuable deposits of oil under the East China Sea.[81] Japan has had historical claims to the Senkakus which were discovered by a Japanese sailor in 1844 and annexed by the Japanese government in 1896.[82] The stand of Taiwan is based on the Continental Shelf Convention which would clearly give the Senkakus to her. Taiwan believes that Japan lost her right to the islands when she gave up her overseas territory in the San Francisco Peace Treaty. On the other hand, Japan pointed out that the Chinese claim was

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[77] "Japan to Get Bonins Again," *op. cit.*, p. 2-A.

[78] "Reversion of Okinawa Hailed," *Manila Daily Bulletin*, June 21, 1972, p. 2. The date for the return of the Ryukyus was set on May 15, 1972 by Nixon and Sato at the San Clemente Summit on January 6-7, 1972. See A.E. Kaff, "After 27-year U.S. Rule: Japan Gets Okinawa," *Manila Chronicle*, November 23, 1969, p. 5.

[79] "Sato Sees New Age of Ties in Pacific," *Manila Chronicle*, November 23, 1969, p. 5.

[80] "Reversion of Okinawa..." *op. cit.*, p. 2. See also Kaff, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

[81] "Japan May Suspend Senkaku Oil Projects," *Manila Times*, March 5, 1971, p. 16.

[82] F. H. Marks, "Japan, Taiwan, Korea Assert Claim to China Oil Reserves," *Manila Daily Bulletin*, October 19, 1972, p. 9.

illegal and the Senkakus were to be returned to Japan along with Okinawa. Together with the Ryukyus and the Daito Islands, the Senkaku Islands were reverted to Japan by the United States in May 1972. Since then, Japan's 11th Regional Maritime Safety Headquarters announced in December of that year, that a total of 169 Taiwanese fishing boats had intruded into Japanese territorial waters around Senkaku Islands.[83]

The U.S.-Japan Agreement on Okinawa allowed American military bases to remain in Okinawa under arrangements of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty. But these bases have been the targets of demonstrations, work stoppages and slow-downs as a result of the Okinawan resentment to continued American presence on the island. An American official who acts as a buffer between the island's prefectual government and the American military establishment is reported to have said: "There can be no doubt that the emotional aspects of the issue of American presence here far outweigh practical considerations such as jobs."[84]

At the end of 1972, Japan was faced, on the one hand, with an option to retain the American protecting nuclear umbrella; on the other hand, with the political outcry against the American role in Vietnam. The Japanese government could give up American protection by ending the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty which was renewed in 1970 with the proviso that it can be abrogated within a year's notice. This could indeed cut off the last significant dyadic link between Japan and the United States. But could this be accommodated within the American plan of the security of East and Southeast Asia in the 1970's first outlined in the "Nixon Doctrine?"

The "Nixon Doctrine"

The "Nixon Doctrine," mentioned earlier, coincided with and helped to generate a restructuring of the regional power balance in East Asia. Portending lessened American political activities in this region and reduced commitment to the defense of Asian countries, the "Nixon Doctrine" provided for the retention of American naval and air power within the area and the honoring of existing agreements with Asian nations.[85] It was a response to tendencies already developing and apparent in East Asia even before Nixon became President of the United States.

At the time the doctrine was enunciated, the United States was confronted by domestic burdens and increasing opposition against the Vietnam war as well as the cost of supporting America's role

[83] *Japan Times*, December 9, 1972, p. 2.
[84] "Accepts Chou Invitation; Talks Bared," *Daily Mirror*, July 16, 1971, p. 1.
[85] *U.S. Foreign Policy for the 1970's. Building for Peace. A Report to the Congress* by R. Nixon, February 25, 1971, pp. 4-8.

of global *gendarme* she assumed since the Pacific war's end, a role she now was convinced she could not continue performing everywhere. It was quite clear in July 1969 that the United States' intervention in Vietnam had failed to bring peace. And the power balance in East Asia was in the process of radical change. Not only was there a diminishing British military presence east of the Suez but the Soviet Union, locked in ideological struggle with Peking, was asserting a naval presence in the Indian Ocean, improving relations with the countries of Southeast Asia, and had even proposed a Moscow-led collective Asian Security Pact China interpreted as intending to isolate her in Asia. On the other hand, China continued to pursue her nuclear role and showed renewed interest in international affairs, following the dislocation and confusion of the Cultural Revolution. Japan had not only risen to the world's third industrial power but was also favoring an active Japanese political role in insuring the growth, stability and security of the Asian region.

After announcing that in the future American willingness to move to the defense of other nations would be limited, Nixon moved to scale down American military commitment in Vietnam and sought a meeting of minds with leaders of the People's Republic of China. As a consequence, the assumption from which American-established-post-World-War-II policy flowed were questioned, and Nixon's moves had unsettling effects upon the official attitudes of Asian and Pacific countries.

For example, in mid-1960's, Japan who was then seeking to create a new balance between reliance on the United States' strategic protection, on the one hand, and increased political independence on the other, had misgivings about the "Nixon Doctrine." But these were soon offset by America's readiness in November 1969 to return Okinawa to Japanese control.

The Nixon "Shokku"

Depending on United States military protection and a high-profile American presence in Asia as guarantees of stability, the Nixon moves awakened Japan to the reality that she now had to be prepared to formulate and pursue her own policies which had to be flexible. Japan, for instance, could be more free to pursue her own policies *vis a vis* China and Taiwan. Yet Japan was caught unprepared to face the Nixon "shokku" which took place a month apart of each other: on July 15, 1971 and August 15, 1971.

On the first date, President Nixon announced his plan of visiting mainland China before May 1972 at the invitation of Premier Chou En-lai. An unpredicted move of the United States, it took place fourteen days after the National Liberation Front's Seven-Point Plan

was presented to the Americans at the Paris Peace talks. This plan included the idea that the United States and the Peoples of Indo-China settle the war between themselves without the PRC's interference. The plan also provided a prescription for South Vietnam's future foreign policy following the end of the Vietnam war which was to be one of peace and neutrality. In other words, South Vietnam was to establish relations with all countries, regardless of their political and social regime, in accordance with the five principles of co-existence (*Panch Shila*).[86] The Vietcongs' stand on *Panch Shila* appears to have coincided with Russia's support of these principles and the PRC's return in 1969 to the same principles she had previously advocated in 1955 at Bandung but repudiated in 1960 when she charged Russia of "modern revisionism" because of Russia's firm stand on co-existence.

All this suggests that by 1971, despite continuing cleavages among nations rallying around power poles, there existed certain principles that could be used as starting points for negotiation or dialogue among the Communists in the Asian region, if not between them and the non-Communists. The principles of co-existence and neutrality could have also influenced the five ASEAN countries meeting in November 1971 (a month after the PRC's entry into the United Nations) to express their desire for the neutralization of Southeast Asia and turn it into a "zone of peace, freedom, and neutrality" guaranteed by the big powers, but insulated from their great-power competition.

On the second date — August 15 — exactly one month after President Nixon made known to the world his intention of going to Peking, Nixon imposed an immediate ninety-day-freeze of all wages, prices and rents and an immediate ten percent surcharge (in effect, a duty) on about one-half of all the goods imported into the country to stop the dollar flow out of the United States. President Nixon also suspended the convertibility of the dollar thus allowing the value of the U.S. dollar to float in its relation to other currencies.[87]

The economic decision announced by President Nixon developed from the dollar crisis which was partly attributed to America's Vietnam war spending that had piled up dollars abroad. Moreover, the oversupply overseas of U.S. dollars, especially in Europe (Eurodollars), developed from payments for a rising volume of American imports due to higher prices of American goods caused by the long inflation within the United States, and the deliberate spending of dollars outside the country to obtain higher interest earnings avail-

[86] "Indo-China War Peace Talks," *Keesing's Contemporary Archives* (London, February 5-12, 1972), p. 25077. See also Clubb, *op. cit.*, p. 620.

[87] "Nixon Freezes Wages, Prices; Dollar to Float," *Manila Times*, August 17, 1971, p. 1.

able in some European countries and elsewhere.[88] Because approximately one-third of Japan's total trade was with the United States and irritations had increased in the two countries' trading relations owing to the highly competitive Japanese products like textile, cars, electric equipment, and the like, newspaper reports have it that Japan felt she was the target of Nixon's "new economic policy."

Both the July 15 and the August 15 announcements shocked ("shokku") not only the Japanese political and economic decision-makers who were not forewarned but also Japanese society, in general. Japan suffered a diplomatic blow to which she was unable to respond immediately and from which she has been recovering.

All this contributed to the slowly deteriorating mutual trust between the United States and Japan. As Emerson puts it,

> The diminution in Japanese-American trust in 1971 grew not only from the irritation of the textile controversy, but more fundamentally from American embroilment in the Vietnam war, pre-occupation with China, American anxiety over trade and payments deficits and Japanese economic competition... the "China shock" resulted not so much from what we [i.e., the Americans] did as from how we did it...[89]

The two Nixon "shokku" had a global effect. Not only was their impact felt by Japan who realized the urgency of taking a more independent posture in her political and economic relations with other countries of the world, but also in western European states as well as the Third World nations. Later that year, the United States warned Western Europe that the Americans meant to "defend vigorously" her trade interests which were to be jeopardized by special arrangements being negotiated between the European Community and the six countries of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA).[90]

Japan viewed Nixon's "new economic policy" as indicative of a trend towards "protectionism" at a time she was facing a similar development emerging within the Eurobloc. Yet, on October 25, 1971, at the United Nations General Assembly, Japan supported the United States stand on "two China," to the subsequent embarrassment of the Sato administration. The PRC's entry into the United Nations and the expulsion of the Republic of China, caused Japan to completely re-examine and re-study her China policy.

Perhaps as a gesture of appreciation for Japan's support of the United States' stand on the China issue at the United Nations and of making up for the lack of notice to Japan before Nixon's

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[88] "The Dollar Crisis. What and Whys," *Manila Times*, May 7, 1971, p. 16.
[89] J. K. Emerson, "The United States and Japan: Uneasy Partner," *Pacific Community*, Vol. III, No. 4 (July 1972), p. 627.
[90] "U.S. Assails EEC, EFTA Trade Ties," *Daily Mirror*, November 1, 1971, p. 10.

announcement of his China visit and his "new economic policy," the American President invited Premier Sato to a summit conference at San Clemente, a month before his trip to Peking in February 1972. For Japan's consent to opening wider her market to American exporters, Sato was briefed on Nixon's intentions toward China and secured an agreement for an earlier reversion of Okinawa to Japanese control as well as the creation of a Tokyo-Washington "hot line,"[91] which can be taken as a symbol of Japan's changing status within the Asian if not within the world scene.

While these developments can be interpreted as moving Japan further away from her immediate post-war dyadic relations with the United States, it simultaneously reinforced the recently established position of Japan as an American "partner" in maintaining the international order within the Asian and Pacific region. This leaves Japan's security ties with the United States as the remaining significant factor of Japan's post-war dyadic relations with the United States. Briefly, Japan today is not yet a partner of the United States on an "equal" basis.

Certainly, at the beginning of 1972, Japan had moved a long way from a "client" state of her "patron" — the United States — the leading power among the Allied Powers in the Pacific, to whom Japan surrendered at the end of the war. Japan started to loosen her dyadic ties with the United States following her rehabilitation in the mid-fifties. As she proceeded in an unprecedented expansion of her economic growth in the 1960's, a feat which gave her late in the decade the economic capability of a "super power," and as the United States returned to Japan the areas she occupied after the war which were Japan's pre-war integral territories, the dyadic ties phased into a "partnership," though Japan is not yet an equal "partner." Japan's request for the return of her northern islands remains unheeded by the Soviet Union who has been unwilling to negotiate with Japan on the southern Kurile islands. The givens of the present Asian international environment, however, might change the Soviet Union's present stand in a manner favorable to Japan. Achieving the position of a creditor country owing to the economic power she acquired, Japan has become an economic-assistance-dispensing-country to the developing states of the world, especially to those of the East and Southeast Asian regions.

Developments during 1972, have proven that Japan can make and implement decisions within the international spheres independently of the United States. It is not inconceivable that the *Panch Shila's* five principles of co-existence as guidelines for the pursuance

[91] "More Yen for Nixon, a Hotline for Sato," *Manila Chronicle*, January 8, 1972, p. 3. See also "Nixon-Sato Confab Ends," *Manila Times*, January 9, 1972, p. 7.

and the promotion of world peace as well as the realities of international politics within the Asian and Pacific region at the turn of this decade, directed Japan's resolve to initiate moves in the international scene independently of the United States. For example, her normalization of her ties with China in late September 1972.

Japan's acceptance as an American "partner" in Asia and her normalization of relations with China are evidence of the eroded post-war bi-polar world power order. They have paved the way for the emergence of a new world power structure, the form of which is neither clear nor set in the early seventies.

V

THE EMERGING WORLD POWER STRUCTURE IN THE EARLY SEVENTIES AND EAST ASIAN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

The emergence of the European Economic Community as an economic power pole, the conflict between the USSR and China terminating in the late fifties their patron-client relations, as well as the changing American Asian policy that contributed to the loosening of dyadic relations betwen the United States and Japan in the sixties, were the results of, or causes of other developments in the world. They contributed to the phasing out of the immediate post-war bi-polar world order and the appearance in the early seventies of a new world order.

In the first instance, the European Economic Community (EEC), the world's largest trading unit today, continues to depend on NATO for its security as it expands its associational relations to countries like those belonging to ASEAN. The voice of EEC can now be heard (perhaps not yet as one united voice) in international security and economic cooperation conferences led by the United States and the USSR, who have remained as the leading "superpowers." For example, at the current meetings of the European Security and Cooperation Conference at Helsinki and the negotiations on Mutual Balance of Forces Reduction (MBFR) involving the NATO and the Warsaw Pact countries. The increased economic power of the EEC has caused apprehensions not only to the USSR but also to Japan who has introduced, among others, the idea of a joint effort among the Pacific basin countries to obtain a bargaining power equal to the EEC. The EEC is now sometimes considered as one of five power poles in world politics — the other four being the U.S.A., the USSR, China and Japan.

Rooted in ideological and other differences between the Soviet Union and China in the late fifties, the Sino-Soviet conflict ended the

patron-client relations between the two countries in the 1960's. The conflict and developments relevant to it, like the restoration of the China-Japan trade relations after the war, France's recognition of China, China's acquisition of nuclear capability, the Sino-Soviet border conflict, the changes in the United States plan in Asia, the Russian thrust into Asia and the call for Asian collective security by the Soviet Union, the Brezhnev doctrine, the Nixon visit to Peking and the Sino-Soviet détente late in the sixties, resulted in what has been described as the "triangle diplomacy" in East Asia during the opening years of the seventies.

Involving the United States, the Soviet Union and China, the "triangle diplomacy" can be viewed as stemming off from developments in Asia, including Japan's rise to the rank of the third economic power in the world though remaining a non-nuclear state. Japan's economic rehabilitation and expansion of trade with Asia and the rest of the world (especially with the United States) in the fifties, brought rapid economic growth (an "economic miracle") to Japan and Japanese economic assistance to Asia in the sixties.

All these developments took place during the last decade when Asia witnessed the British withdrawal from east of the Suez and the announcement by President Nixon of America's decision to withdraw her ground troops from Asia, though retaining her naval and air power, even as he assured the Asian countries with which the United States had existing agreements that such agreements would be honored. These series of events along with the return to Japan of her integral territories temporarily held by the United States since the war's end, transformed the dyadic relations between Japan and the United States into one of partnership (though not yet an "equal partnership") by the turn of the seventies. In 1972, a year after the two Nixon "shokku," Japan took a course of action independent of the United States when she normalized her relations with China in September, 1972. However, Japan continues to depend on her security agreement with the United States because of her "no-war" constitution restricting Japan from building herself up into a nuclear power.

At the end of 1972, it was quite clear that the bi-polar world order had eroded, a development which had influenced international politics in East Asia. Nevertheless, the leaders of the immediate post-war power blocs — the "Free World bloc" and the "Communist bloc"—continue to be the first and second ranking economic powers reckoned in GNP. These two "superpowers" also possessed "nuclear parity" which has served to stabilize mutual deterrence that appears to have reached a stage of being institutionalized by inter-government agreements in the early seventies. The United States and the Soviet Union concluded in May 1972 the first agreement, following the first

round of Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT), and resumed the second round in November.[92] The "super-powers," as they are called, have also been the only countries possessing conventional forces equipped with global mobility.[93]

The full text of the Joint Accord between the United States and the USSR signed on May 29, 1972 after the first round of SALT, opened with an agreement that the two countries would conduct their relations on the basis of co-existence for "in the nuclear age there is no alternative to conducting their mutual relations." It continues with a statement that "Differences in ideology and in the social systems of the USA and the USSR are not obstacles to the bilateral development of normal relations based on the principles of sovereignty, equality, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual advantage."[94] These principles, which echo those of the *Panch Shila*, are also incorporated in the "US-China Communique" or the "Shanghai Communique" signed on February 28, 1972.[95]

The Shanghai Communique provides that while both parties recognize the existence of differences in their social systems and foreign policies, "the two sides agreed that countries, regardless of their social systems, should conduct their relations on the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states, non-aggression against other states, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence. International disputes should be settled on this basis, without resorting to the use or threat of force..."[96]

With the two agreements in view, it can be said that the United States and the Soviet Union as well as the United States and China agreed to be governed by the principles of co-existence or the principles of *Panch Shila* enunciated in the mid-fifties. Can it also be assumed that the countries involved in the "triangle diplomacy" in

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[92] "U.S., Russ Start SALT-2 Talks," *Bulletin Today*, November 22, 1972, p. 4. According to this report, the first SALT round which lasted two and a half years resulted in the restriction of anti-ballistic missiles (ABM's) to two sites for each side, each side comprising not more than 100 rockets. It also temporarily suspended for five years any increase of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM's). In the second SALT round, the United States and the USSR hope to make the suspension of five years a permanent arrangement and, if possible, reduce the number of missiles. But it seems difficult to limit not only missiles but also the nuclear warheads with which they are tipped. Under the existing agreements, both sides are free to deploy increasingly destructive and subtle warheads, especially the independently guided warheads known as MIRV's of which as much as ten can be launched by just one rocket. Both countries will however face the problem of how to stop further underground nuclear testing by which these modern warheads are developed for small blasts could be held without anyone being able to tell the difference.

[93] O. Miyoshi, "Prospects for the New International System," *Peace in Asia*, p. 1.

[94] "Full Text of Joint Accord Betwen US, Soviet Russia," *Manila Times*, February 28, 1972, p. 8.

[95] "US-China Communique," *Manila Times*, February 28, 1972, p. 8.

[96] *Loc. cit.*

East Asia — the United States, the Soviet Union and China — would work among themselves within the framework of the principles of co-existence?

By the end of 1972, while the international situation was highly fluid, the outline of an emerging power structure was discernible. It was, as H. Kissinger described it, bi-polar militarily and multi-polar politically [97] and economically.

[97] Quoted in Miyoshi, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

NATIONAL IDENTITY AND THE PHILIPPINE UNIVERSITY*

CESAR ADIB MAJUL

THE TASK OF NATION FORMING AND THE SEARCH FOR THOSE elements to identify a nation or national community is a constructive, thrilling, and exhilarating experience to all participants. It is a task which is a challenge to people either as individuals or groups as they attempt to integrate themselves into a wider community. The problem of national identity is, in effect, the search for those elements which will serve to define their integration into a national community for human and social purposes. It is important to point out that although the Philippines is internationally recognized as an independent state, its citizens are actually still in a process of integrating themselves further into a national community. For if this was not the case, then why all of this talk for the search of national identity? What has just been said might appear as a contradiction; but it is not so in fact. However, it cannot be denied that belonging to a state under the authority of a particular government can provide for an element of national identity. But national identity is much more than this.

You all know that when the Spaniards arrived in the Philippines, what mainly existed in the Archipelago were a group of widely scattered *barangays;* and the facts show that not all of them were maintaining friendly relations with one another. It was only in the sultanates of Sulu, Maguindanao, and Buayan that scores of *barangays* (*banuas*) and even different islands were subjected to a central authority. The Spaniards, in an important sense, were able to integrate the inhabitants of the archipelago and give them an identification of sorts. But it must be emphasized that the natives were identified either as colonial subjects of the Spanish King or ecclesiastical wards of the Church. Admittedly, these two identifying factors in some way transcended that of loyalty to a particular chief, family, barangay, or even linguistic or regional group. But the Spanish integration was effected not so much for the well-being of the natives *per se,* but rather for the interests of Spanish colonial and ecclesiastical superiors; interests that were often diametrically opposed to those of the natives. For then, how would you explain

[1] A talk before English majors. Oct. 13, 1969.

the numerous revolts against the colonial oppressors? Against this background of colonial exploitation and intellectual, educational, and social stagnation among the natives, some members of the relatively more educated segment of the native population realized that within the colonial and ecclesiastical framework into which they had been thrust, it was difficult if not impossible to attain individual progress and freedom and what they conceived as constituting the social good. Actually they even charged the colonial authorities with having obstructed the attainment of such aspirations. Thus these native leaders were led to conceive of the necessity of forming an alternative community which in effect became the national community. In brief, if the natives of the Philippines were to attain the individual and social good at all, it would have to be done in terms of an identification radically different from those which the Spaniards had originally imposed upon them.

You will all recall that up to the end of the last century, the natives of the Filipinas colony were not called "Filipinos" but "Indios." The Filipinos at that time were the Spanish born in the Philippines. Therefore, it can be used, in an important sense, that Filipinas belonged to the Filipinos but not to the Indios who were born here. The Propaganda Movement and the Philippine Revolution were interrelated movements attempting to transform the Indios into Filipinos such that Filipinos would end up belonging to the native inhabitants of the Philippines. Filipinas was to belong to the natives who were asserted to be the real Filipinos because they were born in it and the land was the land of their ancestors before the coming of the Spaniards. So we can now see that as Filipinos we are a new nation or rather, to be consistent with my thesis, a people still trying to become Filipinos and to make the Philippines really belong to us. The question now is: What is it that makes a Filipino? Is it enough to be a native of the Philippines to be a Filipino or does it require certain specific commitments? What are these commitments? The answer to the above questions is at bottom the same as the answer to the question of what constitutes our national identity.

First of all, we must not assume that the search for national identity ceases the moment a people feel themselves to have constituted a national community. Actually, a dynamic national community keeps on evaluating its elements of identity — eliminating some while adding others in accordance with new needs and expectations in its process of development. A national community that does not evaluate some of its fundamental values has become static and unresponsive to inner needs as well as to external influences. Thus, we should not prescribe that the moment we have enough iden-

tifying elements to consider ourselves a nation that the matter ends there.

The problem at hand is to discover those elements already existing among us and serving to identify us further as Filipinos, as well as those values which we ought to and can adopt in order to make the nation more cohesive. Thus, with your kind indulgence we have to go into a digression that is partially theoretical. I take it that there are at least three principles needed for the analysis of the beginnings and the growth of a national community. The first principle is the consciousness of belonging to a wider group. This consciousness is a matter of degree. It can be vague or highly sophisticated. New or growing nations can be distinguished from older nations by using the above first principle as a criterion. A sense of history here is involved. We can now appreciate better why Rizal worked hard at the British Museum to learn about our past before the coming of the Spaniards in order to search for what he calls "our ancient nationality," which was subsequently lost. Admittedly, some mythology enters into the picture when people write about their ancient days; but then who can deny that a great deal of mythology and fiction is involved in our lives and relations with one another as long as they serve some pragmatic purposes?

The second principle is a commitment to a definite ideology or at least to a basic agreement as to the procedure or technique to arrive at such an ideology. What is happening now in the Philippines is that many groups with particular sectarian ideologies are competing with one another to have elements belonging to their particular ideology be accommodated in that of the national community. Which of these competing ideologies will succeed is left for the future to decide. In a generally democratic society, it is expected that such competition ought to be done by discussion and persuasion. Clearly, discussions, if they are not to reflect bitter economic dissensions but signify differences on how to arrive at the good of all, must be carried on among people among whom there are no gross economic inequalities. Incidentally, adherence to democratic procedure by all competing groups in a society, in an important manner, provides for an element of identity among a group of people.

Related to the second principle is the third one which is the general belief that the formation or existence of a national community brings about the enjoyment of what is conceived to constitute the individual and social good. This principle involves the nature of commitment either to the idea of having a national community or to the fact of a nation; for why should people work to bring about or work for something if they will not get anything out of it. Indeed, it is when people feel that some of their deeply felt aspirations will be satisfied in a community that they will effectively participate in

its formation and be willing to undergo sacrifices for it. This third principle is important for it was precisely because it was felt by the generality of the natives of the Philippines that they were not getting much out of the Spanish or enough of the American colonial system that they began to think of another system. However, as Rizal pointed out, if the new system would be just like the old one, then nothing much in terms of human development and the social good would be attainable.

My conclusion from all the above is that as a starting point in the development of our national community we already have some prescriptive elements, and the nature of these has to do with the thinking of our revolutionary fathers. Their messages are still cogent. We need a system where the freedom of the individual as well as his intrinsic value is asserted and where the social conditions for the development of his talents are provided for. Moreover, in this social condition, there is supposed to be a complete absence of exploitation, of any form of humiliation, of overwhelming self-esteem, and of tyranny. All work for the benefit of all, in the spirit of consideration, love, discipline, and sacrifice. The member of the community has learned to emancipate himself from his personal and even family interests for those of the whole society. Our revolutionary fathers believed that the existence of a national community they were fighting to bring about was to constitute essentially a system of moral relations.

At this point, another question can be raised: Why then did our revolutionary fathers not immediately conceive of a universal community based on the individual's sense of humanity instead of one that was national in character? Why did they have to speak initially of a nation? The answer is due to the historical stage in which our revolutionary fathers found themselves; nations were fighting one another or exploiting each other or competing with each other to have more colonies. Classes were fighting each other for social supremacy and dynasties tyrannized the bulk of the population. Our revolutionary fathers therefore deemed it necessary that the natives should belong to a nation different from other nations and that theirs should be strong enough to resist the exploitative tendencies of other nations. They must be Filipinos first before they could fight for their rights *qua* human beings. After all, the other nations *vis-a-vis* each other were not thinking of the human condition or moral considerations; they were strengthening themselves as nations in order to take advantage of others. In brief, if other nations were to think in terms of moral relations they would not have come as colonizers or exploiters. This does not mean that our revolutionary fathers did not anticipate that the march of mankind was eventually towards a greater sense of humanity and that nationalism would ultimately

become a thing of the past. The message here is clear: nationalism is, at best, a tool for human and social ends. It is not an end in itself.

Historically speaking, individuals and groups have played their part in delineating principles to guide the national community. Such individuals are those with great vision and statesmanship. They are usually called the fathers of a nation. Groups, reflecting the vague aspirations of the people but able to articulate them better, have also played their part in adding to the elements of national identity. But more than this; individuals, like groups, can be creative by pointing out new directions to a national community. The University of the Philippines not only as a state university but as a community of scholars can play a similar creative role. By means of academic excellence, intellectual leadership, the will to work for a common good, as well as with the parallel development of a more effective communication between its academicians (both faculty and students) with the masses of people, universities can play a dramatic and creative role. By virtue of its advantages in the development of skills as well as a grasp of the subject matter of the different divisions of human thought, an academic community can be more sensitive to the nature of increasing government needs and social demands and be in a better position to set forth certain directions that will make the national community more cohesive, more responsive to the demands of modernization and technical progress, and a culturally richer one. Scholars, too, are in the best position to study the different cultural elements among our diverse peoples to discover principles worth adopting by all—thus letting our sub-cultures play an important role in nation-building. By means of persuasion in an atmosphere of freedom, an academic community can not but generate expectations among the people, even along constructive ideological lines. In any case, any professor or student by developing himself along lines of academic excellence tends to increase the educational level of society. Therefore he helps society to determine what aims it ought to pursue as well as to discover the means for attaining them. That is why academic freedom and free speech must be cherished possessions in all academic communities. If this were not the case, then society would lose an opportunity to profit from its potentially more brilliant segment. We should not fear discussions, criticisms, and more ideas, whatever may be the manner in which they may appear; for it is out of conflicting opinions that the best ones might prevail for the benefit of all. However, all ideas, if they are not to bring about contrary or negative results, must be accepted on a voluntary basis. Allow me to say that I do not believe that there is an idea that is so eminently good that it ought to be imposed.

On account of our history, geographical situation, and international relations, it is suggested that the further search for elements

for our national identity might consider, among others, the following principles: a deeper study of the work of our revolutionary fathers and the agrarian basis of the popular support of the Philippine Revolution; the need for an accelerated integration of our different cultural groups, both the majority and minority groups, by an emphasis on a common cultural matrix as well as a selection of the best values from our sub-cultures to be adopted by all within the context of a pluralistic society; the elimination of all vestiges of colonialism and imperialism in our social life and the development of new attitudes among the people regarding other nations; the recapture of cultural ties with our Asian neighbors from which we had been separated from by means of a deliberate colonial policy; the search for a more equitable economic system that will avoid any form of exploitation between groups in our society; more scientific development and the adoption of the techniques for modernization as well as the strengthening of our economic base not only to raise the standard of living but also to prevent other nations from exploiting our country; the development of our national language to further our sense of unity and experiments in having new thought forms to bring about more knowledge; the development of literature and the arts to enable our emerging culture to become a truly creative one and make our lives more adventuresome in the world of ideas and feeling; and the search of moral principles to moderate conflicts among ourselves, enabling us to develop the virtues of discipline and work for the good of all. It is not naive to assume this early that in a future world culture, elements of a new and vigorous Filipino culture will be incorporated. This was a hope of some of our revolutionary fathers. This is a responsibility you are all expected to bear. THANK YOU.

ART IN IFUGAO SOCIETY *

AURORA ROXAS-LIM

Background on the Field Data:

THE STUDY IS BASED PARTLY ON THE DATA GATHERED IN THE municipality of Banaue, Ifugao, Mountain Province in May, June, July and December of 1966 and January of 1967. The field work was undertaken as a preliminary survey of Ifugao art in order to record and appraise the types of arts and crafts that are still being practiced. Prior to the field trip, I had studied earlier accounts of Ifugao culture from various sources, primarily Barton, Vanoverbergh and Lambrecht.[1] In addition to the readings, I had the opportunity to study the National Museum collection in Manila and the University of the Philippines Ethnographic Museum. I am also familiar with the collection of Philippine ethnographic art of the Natural History Museum of Chicago, Illinois. These collections consist mostly of items collected before the second world war.

The field data consist of verbatim reports of interviews conducted with Ifugao artists-craftsmen and other informants including translators and guides, as well as description of craft procedures and techniques. I have also relied on information supplied by officials and leaders in the municipality of Banaue especially the municipal treasurer, councilor and other government officers.

These observations are restricted not only in time but in space.[2] They apply to the municipality of Banaue especially to the sitios of Hapao (Sapao in earlier texts and maps), Dalican, Dukligan, Kambulo and Batad and their surrounding barrios. Many of these barrios and sitios are within one to eight kilometers in radius from the municipality of Banaue. Some sitios such as Kambulo and Batad are

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[1] See bibliography for the works consulted.

[2] I realize that much of the data in this paper must have been rendered obsolete since I was in the area in 1966-67. Nevertheless, I am publishing this paper in the hope that it can serve as a basis for comparison to subsequent research and to stimulate discussion on symbolic behavior as a fruitful field of social studies.

accessible from Banaue only by hiking and climbing over mountain terraces. These places were selected because they were reputed to be the most actively engaged in the arts. Short excursions to sitios further away such as Kababuyan, Kawayan and to the capital of Ifugao sub-province, Lagawe and then to Kiangan showed that there was less activity going on in these two areas although they have a much larger population and have more public facilities.

Banaue municipality has a population of about 20,000 dispersed in an area approximately 306 square kilometers. It is famous for its mountain terraces the most extensive of which are located in the barrio of Hapao about eight kilometers from the municipality itself. Banaue attracts tourists during the dry season when travel in the area is safest. Anthropologists and missionaries working in the Ifugao region make Banaue their base of operation since it is relatively more conveniently located than the other barrios.

There is no electricity, no running water and mail comes once every two weeks and must be fetched from the municipal post office. One daily bus trip is made by the Dangwa Bus Company, the only bus company operating in the region which starts its 24-hour-drive from Baguio City ending up in Kiangan about 200 kilometers away. The Dangwa Bus driver, usually an Ifugao, considers himself the master of the road. He stops and goes at no one's behest; decides who goes on or who is to be left behind by his bus. On the narrow dirt road between Baguio City-Banaue-Lagawe and Kiangan which winds precipitously around the mountain edges, the driver considers nothing insurmountable. The regular daily bus trip is the major link between the people of Banaue and the outside world. It can be said that the working day in the municipality is marked by the arrival and departure of the Dangwa bus.

There are public schools up to Grade IV in all the barrios visited but it is only at Banaue where complete elementary schooling is provided. It is also at Banaue where there is instruction up to High School offered by the Saint Mary's Academy run by the Roman Catholic Belgian missionaries of the Sacred Heart of Mary. The same religious order operates a small textile shop called St. Joseph's Textiles which employs about thirty girls mostly from the Bontoc-Lepanto region and some from the Ilocos. There are about 23 pedal looms in the shop. The only place where there is a generator and private transportation is the Baptist Mission which runs a hospital and clinic. It serves mostly other missionaries and the American residents in the area and occasionally the government officials and other leading citizens. There is a small inn and curio shop which caters to tourists where the handicrafts are bought already made. These articles only receive polishing and burnishing in the shop.

The inaccessibility and remoteness of the area is aggravated by weather conditions. Rains averaging 300 cm. annually often damage the narrow dirt roads and may sometimes wash away roads and bridges. Landslides are a common occurrence even during the dry season due to the land formation. Generally, rainy season is the time when Ifugaos devote their main efforts to the crafts and is therefore the most appropriate period to undertake this study. However, it proved difficult to reach many places since bridges and mountain paths were almost always impassable. Moreover, when I arrived, many of the craftsmen have gone elsewhere either to Bontoc or Baguio City where they work for the tourist trade. It is also during the rainy season that Ifugaos get hired as casual laborers of the Department of Public Works. Their job is to clear rocks and dirt portions of the road which bulldozers cannot reach. Employment in the city and road jobs such as those provided by the Public Works augment the livelihood of many of the Ifugaos for by this time of the year their rice supply has long been depleted. Since the Ifugaos do not grow sufficient rice for an entire year's supply, they are forced to import this cereal from the lowlands. It is mainly for this reason that they seek employment elsewhere. Some Ifugaos find jobs as far as Baguio City and Manila where they work as guards, houseboys, laborers or just beg. Greater numbers go down as seasonal laborers in the vegetable farms and lumber mills in Nueva Vizcaya and Isabela. Almost all of the men return home to their respective barrios during the planting and harvesting seasons. A number of Ifugaos in Banaue receive U.S. Veteran pensions for their services to the U.S. army during World War II. The municipal treasurer estimates that among the elderly Ifugaos 3 out of 10 are recipients of such pensions.

So far in the discussion I have stressed the remoteness and inaccessibility of Ifugao territory from large urban areas. Despite their isolation however, the Ifugaos are being subjected to changes which are perhaps more inescapable than those that had affected them before World War II. Christian missionaries, government officials, anthropologists, peace corps volunteers and lowlanders have come in ever bigger numbers. Some stay long enough and learn the language and live with the Ifugaos. The Christian missionaries in establishing their missions encroach on Ifugao territory by purchasing tracts of land. There are other forces of change that have undoubtedly stronger effect on Ifugao life. Large scale innoculations especially of infants and malaria control are some of the measures that have contributed to lowering infant mortality and in lengthening the lifespan of the Ifugaos. These in turn lead to the increase in population far beyond the ability of the region to provide sufficient food in the form of rice. Mining explorations have displaced families and sometimes whole villages. The building of the Ambuklao Dam has also

led to the relocation of villages and together with this is the necessity of posting permanently government guards on the watersheds. These watersheds are located on territories traditionally considered rightfully belonging to the Bontoc and Ifugao peoples. There are other examples of change: the rise of public schools help increase literacy and expose them to outside cultures. The collection of taxes, holding of national and local elections, the presence of municipal and provincial officials, public health officers, have led Ifugaos to participate with more periodic consistency in national life. But the most obvious innovation is the ascendancy of money economy as more and more Ifugaos become wage earners and as trade in that region increases. Products from the lowland are sold by Ilocanos, Chinese and the ubiquitous travelling salesman of a bottling company. These motorized peddlers make more frequent trips than the Dangwa bus. The products of the bottling company have penetrated every sitio and barrio that I had occasion to visit and have come to replace more often than not Ifugao-brewed beverages. I have observed that Ifugao children have learned to ask for money to buy these bottled drinks. All of these factors point to the direction of drastic changes in Ifugao life. But then this is not altogether the entire picture.

To all these changes, the Ifugaos have responded in a way that does not necessarily entail the erosion of Ifugao ethos. It could in fact be argued that the basic values have not been altered: the core of this value system, the sustenance of family and kin remains intact. Ifugaos may have widened their experience and increased contacts with the outside world and we could even say that they have adjusted to encroachments without visible opposition. But these external influences have been kept subordinate to Ifugao values. The widespread activity in the traditional Ifugao arts is one important evidence of the vitality of Ifugao society.[3] Their activity in the arts cannot be explained only by the necessity of augmenting the food supply, but tells a great deal more about the nature of that society and how and by what means traditional values are maintained.

All around Banaue, men and women and some children are busy carving, weaving, blacksmithing. A large corps of craftsmen are

[3] There were 183 "craftsmen-artists" interviewed at length, more than half the total number were met twice in group conversations. Based on age and sex distribution, roughly 60% were male with the average age of about 30. My classification "craftsmen-artists" included only those who were proficient in a wide range of Ifugao arts which include: carving, carpentry, basketry, weaving, embroidery, blacksmithing, jewelry making, ability to make musical instruments with abilities in the performing arts taken into consideration. An arbitrary number of 5 craft skills with minimum practice of 5 years were used as criteria to make an Ifugao qualify as "craftsmen-artist." These artists turn out to possess other artistic abilities as well, such as recitation of myths and legends, or at least portions of them, ability to play music, sing and dance. During the entire period of the field work, I met over 300 Ifugaos engaged in the arts, many of them amateurs.

so engaged in a scale which to my estimation far exceeds the economic gains that could be derived from them. Certainly, the growing tourist trade generated all the way from Baguio and Manila together with the instruction in native handicrafts in the public schools plus the efforts of the National Agency for Cottage Industries, have contributed in some way to encourage handicrafts. But these external factors cannot wholly account for the intensity and the large number of artists engaged in the practice of the crafts and in the other arts such as music and dance. Such phenomenon cannot draw its inspiration from external sources alone. Their sources must be traced somewhere in Ifugao society itself where art and all such activities have more profound meanings than simply efforts directed for economic gains.

Far from being submerged by the changes in their environment, Ifugao society seems to have asserted its identity. By a happy turn of events, one of the factors of change, the presence of anthropologists and other students of culture and the tourist trade have made Ifugao art and culture attractive to the outside world. This could only have the effect of increasing their confidence. Indeed it has reinforced the Ifugao's basic attitude of respect towards his tradition and his art. The increased interest in Ifugao art shown by foreign and Filipino visitors has provided the Ifugaos a certain measure of certainty against all the onslaughts brought upon them by the outside world. Moreover, the Ifugaos, unlike some Bontoc Lepanto communities which were obliterated and replaced by copper and gold mining towns, have been fortunate in that the changes that affect them are such that they are enabled to consolidate themselves. The Ifugaos have seized upon these changes themselves as an opportunity to retrieve whatever values they have left languishing and strengthen those that they still uphold. Roads, schools, public health, tourism, agencies of the national government, etc. are pressed into the service of Ifugao survival. It is a conclusion that is thrust upon the observer by Ifugao activity in the arts — that the arts function to sustain values amidst full scale changes. Agents of the national government are welcome for they provide them health needs, give them jobs in repairing the roads and bridges. The travelling salesmen of a bottling corporation are accepted because they sell cheap gin, a passable substitute for Ifugao rice-wine which is an indispensable ritual drink and if locally produced, it is done by a laborious and expensive process. Chinese and Ilocano peddlers import much needed commodities: salt, tinned meat, dried lowland fish, raw cotton and yarns, and steel and iron implements. The exception to the ready acceptance of trade goods are those salesmen who deal with soap and other cleansing agents which have made little headway in the Ifugao market.

Some qualifications must be made at this point of the discussion. Undoubtedly, the fact that I concentrated my interviews on the Ifugaos who are craftsmen and artists and those who have direct interest in the arts might have precluded contrary threads of interpretation. Nonetheless, I tried not to rely completely on the testimony of the more "artistic" and "conventional" Ifugaos. Many hours were spent with Ifugaos who no longer claim to support Ifugao values, many of them converted Christians and quite hostile to their fellow Ifugaos. As an outsider, I found them very interesting personalities, and they were the ones most articulate and eager to supply information on the whereabouts of craftsmen and other useful information about the arts. They proved to be as knowledgeable as their fellow Ifugaos about their own traditions.[4]

From my observations I cannot help but be impressed by the way Ifugaos adopt to the money economy. A great number of Ifugaos who work for wages outside send regular remittances home. These remittances together with whatever surplus they have earned are invested according to the following priorities: buying of riceland, building houses and granaries, performing rites and rituals (and most important for this study which is focused on the arts), and in purchasing Chinese gongs and imported ceramics. When unable to obtain these objects since the supply of these prized heirlooms are dwindling, the Ifugaos engage in the manufacture of or commission traditional crafts. A returning Ifugao who has achieved some economic success proceeds to lay claim to his higher status by having the *pahang* (welfare)[5] rites performed. In these rites, an assortment of Ifugao arts and crafts are assembled from the most potent form, the *bulol,* to utensils, baskets, textiles, weapons and musical instruments and a lot of rice, rice-wine and meat. It is these circumstances

[4] As a convenient term I use the word "deviant" to apply to those Ifugaos who had openly expressed their disagreement or disbelief with Ifugao social practices. I did not include Ifugaos who remained silent although there were indications that they did not practice some Ifugao beliefs. For example, one of my guides who was a Christian and worked as a clerk-janitor for the Roman Catholic missionaries never spoke a word contrary to Ifugao beliefs.

I interviewed 16 "deviant" Ifugaos, 14 males and 2 females. Only 3 of the 16 were not converts to Christianity. All of them however could identify and describe crafts and technical procedures of Ifugao arts.

[5] *Pahang* is a term applied to a large number of rituals whose main purpose is to seek the petitioner's welfare. It is performed during wedding preparations for the benefit of the couple and their respective families. It is also performed for the purpose of obtaining the blessings of the deities when one undertakes unusual endeavours such as a long journey. The general pattern of the rites include the invocation of the deities, recitation of *abuwag* tales followed by a feast. Ifugao handicrafts form part of the ritual paraphernalia of *pahang.*

See also: Francis Lambrecht, *The Mayawyaw Ritual: Marriage Customs,* Publication of the Catholic Anthropological Conference, Vol. IV, No. 2, (Dec. 1932), pp. 211-254, 51-52.

that led me to seek out other reasons to account for the intense artistic activity of the Ifugaos.

Discussion of the Different Art Forms: Attitude Towards Art and Artists, and the Ifugao "Aesthetic."

What I designate as Ifugao arts and crafts consist of a wide variety of objects, many of which are for daily use. Woodcarving, textile weaving, basketry, carpentry and blacksmithing are the most widely-practiced of the arts. The weaving of tree bark,[6] jewelry making, the making of betel nut and tobacco accessories survive only among the older craftsmen who live in the remoter barrios. The other crafts such as tattooing, pottery making, and the making of weapons have virtually disappeared. Of the later craft, the making of spears is popular and is now intended for the tourist trade. Among the Ifugao crafts which are being practiced, there exists a vital and lively interest as evidenced by their continued use in Ifugao daily life. Craft items are sold or exchanged in the Banaue market on Saturdays. On these market days, craftsmen display their wares with great pride and considerable interest is shown in the best crafts on display. Besides those crafts sold for local consumption, a large amount of handicrafts are sold directly or commissioned by dealers from Baguio and Manila.

A wide range of implements and ritual objects issue from the carver's hands. It is the most predominant craft of the Banaue Ifugaos while carpentry, blacksmithing and basketry are secondary crafts. The Ifugao word for a statue is *ukit* which literally means a carving and any ornament is generally called *ukit* even though it is not carved but woven in textiles and baskets. *Ukit* also means a bird-like motif carved in intaglio on the underside of the floors of houses and granaries. Carving is a man's craft and is considered by Ifugaos, both by men and women, as more important and sacred than the other crafts. The style is relatively more representational in the sense that they carve forms which have direct correspondence to nature: human figures, fauna and flora, in contradistinction to the more geometric ornamental forms of women's crafts. Utensils, wooden vessels, priests' boxes, mortar and pestle which are ornamented with animal figures, are carved for ritual use. Musical instruments of the percussion type, *pattong* or *bangibang* [7] and drums

[6] The sources of bark cloth were *kelalih* (*Boehmeria multiflora*), *kaliat* (*Gnetaceae gnetum sp.*), and *Basbasot* (*Malavaceae* fam., gen. *Sida Acuta Burm.*). These grew mostly in wild form. It was only in Kambulo and Batad that I found weaving from bark cloth still in practice and where several puny plants were desultorily cultivated, that of *Boehmeria multiflora.*

[7] Ifugao musical instruments were widely distributed in Ifugao. Most barrios visited had at least a pair of Chinese gongs but these were outnumbered by home-made instruments, the predominant ones were the *pattong* or *bang-*

are manufactured along with wind instruments such as jew's harp, nose and mouth flute. When animal figures are carved they form mostly the decorative relief of houses and granaries or form part of utensils and food vessels. Rarely are human and animal forms carved as free-standing figures. New forms have cropped up due to the demands of the tourist trade. Free-standing figures form the major part, with the carabao as the favorite animal represented. So far as I could tell, none of the forms made for tourist trade have come to play any significant role in Ifugao usage. Such items as book ends, ash trays, paper weights, wall reliefs are only a few samples of the variety of forms introduced via the tourist trade.

By far the most significant carving is the *bulol,* the representation of the Ifugao deity *par excellence.* The importance of the *bulol* as art form and as a symbol of Ifugao values will be the subject of subsequent discussion. Suffice it is to say at this point that the *bulol* occupies the apex in the hierarchy of Ifugao art forms, making the craft of carving a ritual act in itself.

Other carved figures that suggest human form is the *tatattgu* (sometimes called *bihang*) carved out of softer materials, from the trunk of tree fern (*Cyothea Platecerium*). The eyes and teeth are inlaid with animal bones and teeth and occasionally with broken opercula shells. *The bulol* on the other hand is carved from hardwood.[8] The *tatattgu* was originally carved in connection with head-hunting rites which are no longer practiced. The samples of *tatattgu* I saw were carved for the tourist market. The *hipag* is another figure which suggests a human or animal-like form suggesting either a dog or a monkey and is usually placed in relation to another structure called the *pili* shrine. The *pili* is shaped like an arch and made of the branches of bamboo with sugar cane stalks, runo reeds and leaves or the plant itself of the *cordyline terminalis.* The *hipag*

ibang. Made of two lengths of polished hardwood, these were struck against each other to make the sounds.

The *pattong* or *bangibang* were earlier associated with head-hunting rituals when they were played together with gongs and drums before and after the expeditions. Today, I was informed that they were played on almost all ritual occasions which were not necessarily connected with death. Curing rites were the occasions when the *pattong* was played most often. I witnessed the performance of a *pahang* rite for a family planning the marriage of their son. In this occasion three pairs of *pattong* were played, accompanied by drums and gongs.

At Kambulo I saw several elderly men, young men and tots barely steady on their feet play music, sing and dance in the afternoons for no obvious ritual purpose. Using gongs, drums and *pattong* this music-making was a much-awaited event for the barrio people. Mostly males and children gathered in the shady portion of the square just before each of the performances. It was the most spontaneous artistic event involving a group that I had ever witnessed during my field work.

[8] Similar types of hardwood were used for carving the *bulol* and the *pattong,* among those identified for me were: *Ficus moracea, Pterocarpus indicus Willd. Leguminoce* and *Curculigo recurvata* Dry. *Amaryllidaceae.*

figure is placed before the *pili* arch or shrine and together they mark the precincts prohibited to enemies, thieves and strangers. They are also used to designate rice fields specially when the grain is ripening. Entrances to granaries are also thus marked and particularly those areas of cultivated land, forest areas, and a grove of trees whose ownership are under dispute. The ones I saw were built mainly to mark property and keep off strangers from the village. Those examples I saw were in such advanced state of decay that I could not judge their original appearance.

Textile weaving is the women's craft.[9] Ifugaos weave the basic garments which are worn from the ages of seven or eight: G-strings for boys, skirt for the girls and for both sexes, blankets, shirts and handbags. Women's craft is considered ancillary to men's craft; one of the reasons given is that because it is the men who make the looms. However weaving is not devoid of ritual importance for death blankets are considered mandatory for proper burial. Besides, Ifugao textiles and garments are preferred over the less costly ready-made and second-hand clothing imported from the lowlands. In spite of the suitability of these imported garments to Ifugao climate, they still prefer their home-made clothes. Women used to make their own pottery but this has virtually disappeared while cooking utensils are now imported from the lowlands. Women's crafts are limited to weaving and embroidery although they occasionally aid the men in sanding, polishing and burnishing carved objects for the tourist market. The Ifugaos are quite unique in that it is the man who weaves baskets and not the woman, as is generally the case in other lowland peoples and tribal groups. Men do not only engage in a wider variety of crafts but as was pointed out earlier, it is the man's crafts that have greater ritual importance.

Ifugaos make no special category for art as a general term. They make no clear distinctions between tools, sacramental objects or ornaments. Distinctions are not only blurred—they place art as part of the continuous chain of daily experience. Although they recognize the differences between excellent artists, mediocre and poor workers, they hardly do so outside interview conditions. They seem unconcerned about the level of their artistic achievement in relation to others. This apparent undiscerning attitude towards quality of the arts might be the result of the fact that most adults participate in varying degrees of competence in the whole range of activities in their society. Even children, although they are not pressured to learn specific crafts at a designated time and place, achieve some amount of artistic proficiency by the time they are about 7 or 8 by merely

[9] For a detailed study of the technique of weaving see:
Francis Lambrecht, "Ifugaw Weaving," *Folklore Studies*, Vol. 17, 1958, pp. 1 — 53.

imitating and assisting adults whenever the children are so inclined. The adults, on their part, have a tolerant and indulgent attitude towards the children and would not coerce them to work or study the crafts.

However, clear distinctions are made between legitimate Ifugao art which they themselves use and those objects made specifically for the tourist trade. All products that they fabricate are called *bakkutna* which literally means products not derived from agriculture. Anything that is manufactured is *bakkutna.* The term also applies to things one makes during one's leisure, and leisure is when one is not engaged in agriculture. Objects imported from China such as ceramics and gongs, and other ancient beads are also designated as *bakkutna.* They also use the word *yamada* which means something man-made as opposed to something found in nature. Man as maker and creator is *yama,* from the word for father, *ama.* Man, because he is a creator, is *yama* and it is this quality that makes him a man and differentiates him from beasts. The term most widely used for the arts and crafts is *ginako* or *ginakona* meaning belongings or property. Besides craft objects, *ginakona* includes land, houses, granaries, fruit trees, Chinese gongs and pottery, ancient imported beads, jewelry and metal accessories. These items are highly valued since they are considered kinship property and together they are called *boltan,* inheritance. The phrase "this can be inherited," is the usual reply when Ifugaos explain why they value anything. Hence those works of art that are durable because they can be passed on to their progeny are the ones most esteemed. Durability in the literal physical sense is always brought up as the main criterion of art. Art objects that are well-built and made of lasting materials are *maphod. Maphod* also means something appealing, attractive and in its noun form denotes moral quality such as goodness. The word is also applied to one's feeling of satisfaction after a good meal or to one's sense of achievement after the performance of *pahang* (welfare) rites. On the other hand, objects which are ugly are *nalawa* or *napate.* The latter word is used moreover in the sense of the viewer's reaction to the object, literally "that which gives me pain," or "that which causes me to fall ill." *Nalawa* on the other hand means useless or senseless and is often used to characterize some of the objects made for the tourist trade.

I have so far given only a rough indication of Ifugao preferences and taste. There is obviously much more than I could elicit from the artists and craftsmen. I found that whenever I tried to question them further on the subject, many were quick to demonstrate their boredom and even impatience. The reaction of quite a number of artists was one of amusement at my endless note-taking and they made a

joke of my persistence. The Ifugaos who took my questions seriously were those who were non-practitioners of art, the ones who have expressed their disaffection with traditional Ifugao life. They were more loquacious although somewhat critical of their fellow Ifugaos. Their comments prove invaluable as a comparative basis to conventional Ifugao answers. In addition to comparing the statements made by the different types of Ifugaos, I took another line of approach. I found out that the artists and craftsmen were interested in other art objects and it was by showing reproductions of these that I was able to draw out something more about their views on artistic principles. I showed various reproductions of art objects unfamiliar to them such as: medieval gargoyles, a Mogdiliani portrait, calendar reproductions of Amorsolo landscapes, pictures of Tolentino's Bonifacio monument and the oblation, an abstract sculpture of Abueva and paintings of Arturo Luz and Carlos Francisco. Invariably regardless of whatever art reproduction was shown, the Ifugaos considered all of them *maphod.* Their reaction varied from indifference to curiosity, to indulgent attentiveness, but many were manifestly interested and asked me questions about the subject, the techniques, who the artists were and so on and what my opinions were. Besides reproductions of works of art, I also showed them pictures of Ifugaos engaged in various activities, and of the rice terraces. These evidently fascinated them more than the art reproductions. Random scribblings, blotches and splashes of ink, black and white pictures showing textures of stone walls and wood were considered *nalawa.* Rorschah cards engrossed them but not as much as drawings of isolated ornamental designs showing the Greek fret, spirals, dart and bead motif, zigzags and all kinds of design variations. The weavers showed greater interest in the designs. But what impressed them most were wood carvings I brought with me: life-like statues of the Madonna, Madonna and Child, horse, deer, a Chinese-made *Kwan-yin* (also a product for tourists) and other bric-a-brac made of wood, ivory, and plastic. From our conversations I could gather that they were well aware of the elements of form and principles of organization — symmetry and balance were the ones most often brought out. They asked a great deal about techniques of manufacture, tools, procedures, and artist's remuneration.

When questioned about the sources of Ifugao art forms, the subject matter and techniques, their ready answer was to trace them to tradition. "That is how I learned it from my father and mother and they, in turn, from my grandparents, etc." They consistently appraised their work according to how closely it followed prescribed methods particularly on the part of carvers of ritual objects. Originality in the sense of ability to deviate from the norms was of little value to them. On the other hand, this attitude did not apply to objects

for the tourist market. Regarding these objects, they could readily trace the sources to specific woodcarvers and could date them more precisely. So and so who went to Baguio returned after such a time and taught me how to carve the carabao in this way, indicated how far they could go to specific details when it involved non-traditional art. They were shrewd enough to understand that in the tourist market "they are always looking for something different." Almost all of the Ifugaos interviewed agreed that they themselves would not use objects made for the tourist trade. By the same token, they found it exceedingly funny that the Americans for example, use Ifugao death blankets as decorative wall hangings. The *tatattgu* and *bulol* statues displayed in the houses of non-Ifugaos amused them considerably. However, I did not detect any sign of moral outrage over the misuse of Ifugao sacred objects; their strongest reaction was to laugh the whole thing off and called it "silly." The Ifugaos who felt insulted were the "deviants" I mentioned earlier, some of whom being Christians, maintained that they would be insulted if Christian sacred objects were appropriated by the Ifugaos.

A short digression is needed at this point of our discussion on Ifugao artistic principles for this gives an indicaton to what lengths Ifugaos go to assert their social norms. In many instances where at least one "deviant" is present during interviews conducted with an individual or a group of artists and craftsmen, the existence of an underlying tension among Ifugaos is brought out into light. Arguments, sometimes quite heated, occur between what I would term as "traditional" Ifugaos and the "deviants." What often precipitated the arguments was the usual reply of the artist when asked about his preference among the various samples of art styles shown to them. Most Ifugao artists, even those who have had experience with more complex tools, insisted that their own traditions were "the right way of doing things." To such a reply, the "deviants" expressed strong disagreement and in at least two cases, mutual recriminations were made: the "traditional" Ifugaos were called "ignorant," "hard-headed"; they in turn called the other "useless idler." These encounters only dramatize what we have noted earlier: the tenacity of Ifugao beliefs. What all these illustrate is that to those who hold such beliefs, these are self-evident truths requiring neither proof nor explanation and certainly never apology. Moreover, this fact has further ramifications on the psychology of the Ifugao artists. Even among those whom I considered quite amateurish and who produced undistinguished works, they were by and large confident to the point of self-satisfied smugness although we could be charitable and assume that their attitude reflected their strong sense of personal worth not for reasons of artistic skill but because *they were Ifugaos.*

Art as Symbol. Theoretical Assumption on the Nature and Function of Art in General. The Function of Art in Ifugao Society.

In order to understand more fully the role of art in Ifugao society, it is necessary to indicate here our theoretical assumptions regarding the nature and function of art in society. Art belongs to the wider scheme of symbolic representations which are crucial to the continued existence of human society. Symbols in general are patterns of thought which serve as a framework for understanding experience. They are conceptual tools that enable man to interpret, analyze, formulate and transmit experience of and about the world.[10] Symbols and the way they are manipulated define the extent of the society's intellectual horizons and at the same time limit its environment. Art is a symbolic system that constitutes the visual, haptic and aural tradition of society. In the same manner that socio-political symbols mold society, so artistic symbols affect the individuals in that society. Notions such as beauty, form, order, grace, arise and are made conceivable mainly by artistic forms. Art then is "a way of seeing" or "a way of feeling about the world."[11] And yet, art forms like all other symbols have concrete and independent structure outside the physical process of perception. As such they can outlive the flux and fleeting sensations, experiences, phenomena and events that they may represent and may even exist independently of any referent. It is this quality of possessing an independent structure that enables art to distill the relevant, the essential and the significant out of the formlessness of experience, giving them so to speak, "a habitation and a name." Clearly designed art genres such as a painting whose area of significance is delimited by its frame, a three-part lullabye, a specific sequence of dance steps have each precisely defined structures that set them apart in time and space. Notwithstanding the independent structure of artistic forms, art still partakes of the society and culture that brought it about. Art forms are saturated with past and present experiences, with associations and contrasts and with a whole complex of symbols and other art. These associative qualities of art make it highly evocative as opposed to the relatively disembodied and abstract symbols of mathematics and algebra. It is this same quality that makes art akin to religious symbols in that it is able to give credence to beliefs, norms, practices and ideals. Given the right combination of circumstances, art is even able to induce opposition to social beliefs to a greater effect. In this way art creates the essential condition for generating emotional reaction and in

[10] Suzanne Langer, *Philosophy in a New Key*, (New York: Mentor Books, 1954), pp. 20-29, 30-40 & 108.

[11] Ernst Cassirer, *Language and Myth*, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946), pp. 37-38 & 73.

certain cases, it is the catalyst to action itself.[12] In Ifugao art, it provides more than a climate for affective communication. Day-to-day existence in their society appears monotonously uneventful, filled as it is with unrelieved drudgery. Not until we look at the arts do we discover the inverse of this plodding existence. Here is the arena of social and intellectual dynamics.

Ifugao society lacks a political organization and machinery, a written language, a code of laws and law enforcement institutions. Ifugao society relies more heavily on its religious rituals, customs, oral literature and I submit, on art as a means of regulating behavior. The strategic role of art within Ifugao society is far-reaching. It fulfills a variety of functions from the most frivolous in the Veblenian sense of "conspicuous consumption" to the most profound role of sustaining fundamental Ifugao values. Under interview conditions Ifugaos would posit only the economic and material motives for creating art, these being the most discernible of the approved values of society. An artist and an art object are always placed in the service of the family's well-being. The art object is drawn into the perpetual cycle of transmittable property, to the sustenance of progeny whose duty is to invoke the deities and the ancestors who in turn assure them the perpetuity of the lineage. Similarly, when asked to appraise artists, they favor those whose economic, social and religious status is considered very high. The most highly esteemed craftsmen in the Banaue area are not always those who as an outsider, I would evaluate as the best artists. For to the Ifugaos, what is worthy of admiration is the total achievement of a man as an Ifugao and not merely his ability as an artist or craftsman. Those who have earned large wages in Baguio City as skilled carvers are known to few Ifugaos. Little is said of their skills but a great deal is said about what he does for his family,relatives, and friends. In spite of the many instances when I could tell that "sheer sensuous delight" seem to override the importance they place on the religious and economic intent of art, they nevertheless argued on the basis of socially approved reasons. The following instances are revealing: A man had himself tattooed with elaborate multicolored designs on his chest, arms and hands. His reason was that by having done so, he had increased his family's opportunity to make a profitable marriage alliance for him. He further explained that in the first place, he possessed the personal qualities that merited tattooing. A woman wove a colorful fringed skirt in imitation of Bontoc fashion. She sported her skirt in the barrio and as she walked, the fringed skirt gave her a graceful and alluring gait. She certainly succeeded in

[12] Clifford Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System," in *Reader in Comparative Religion: An Anthropological Approach*, Lessa and Vogot, editors, New York: Harper & Row, 1965), pp. 204-215.

attracting considerable admiration from the males. As far as I could tell, none of the elders reproached her behaviour. When I question her why she had this beautiful skirt, she said that it was a very sound investment against the day when she might be forced to sell the garment for future family needs.

In interviews the Ifugaos struck me as a people to whom "self-expression" or any conscious attempt at originality was considered an embarrassment. They were quite willing to inhibit themselves or modify their behavior to fit within the context of social relations. However, there were many situations which, from my observation, contradicted what they claimed. For quite apart from finding release from the tedium of daily living, such wide-ranging artistic activities could not be explained only by the need for material security. The examples mentioned above proved at least to me that Ifugaos were most susceptible to indulge in personal vanity and frivolity. There were equally many occasions when individual self-expression and personal talent were displayed. Women invariably introduced variations in the patterns and textures of the articles they wove although they required additional effort and capital. Men always selected and carefully shaped the materials for their musical instruments. So precisely and meticulously did they work that they produced clear sharp tones of the pentatonic scale without the use of any measuring tools. Among the best craftsmen and artists, especially the wood-carvers, they showed that they enjoyed the exercise of technical competence. This was particularly applicable to musical performances and the recitation of myths where it was easy to discern the display of virtuosity that could not be masked by the alleged prescriptions of ritual.

Their attitude towards the creative process however, showed that they did not hedge it with any sense of mystery or ritual prohibitions. They worked, they say, whenever they were "in the mood." But from all appearances no one seemed to agonize over it. They worked in a matter-of-fact way. There was nothing portentous or solemn about art making. The only exception to this general practice was the carving of the *bulol* which was attended with rituals and prohibitions. Even then, it appeared to me that they demanded no concentrated attention to the ritual on hand. People were allowed to move about freely or do something else while the ritual and recitations were going on. But underlying their casual attitude to art and the process of art making is something more profound, a significance that could be brought into relief if we do not rely only on what they say about art. The clue lies in seeing art and the process of art making within the context and contingencies of Ifugao life.

Art objects make up the milieu of their social symbols. They comprise the paraphernelia for the enactment of ritual and social

intercourse. At every turn they are surrounded by their own handiwork: jewelry, baskets, textiles, all kinds of implements, tools, carvings and various craft objects in various stages of completion and deterioration scattered almost willy-nilly in all households. No event is so trivial that it does not necessitate the use of some Ifugao handicrafts. For example, Ifugao etiquette demands that betel nut be exchanged before conversations. Even a casual visit is marked by a betel chew. The shape and condition of the betel nut container is one of the indications of the host's own status and his estimation of the visitor. A newly-woven skirt of rich color and texture announces to all and sundry that the weaver is at last nubile. The whispered dialogue on the jew's harp is the melody of courtship.

Art forms, therefore, are used to mark the junctions in the routine of village life. During rice-planting, harvests, and the clearing of forests, music provides the ostinato to the work in progress. It also accentuates the intensity and high pitch of communal labor. In weddings, funerals, welfare rites, and ceremonies celebrating the exhumation of ancestral bones, objects of art are indispensable items of ritual. When such objects are used outside the ritual situation, they still remain to the Ifugaos as the visible sign of the rites. For henceforth these objects are no longer simply food vessels, baskets, or garments — they bear the marks of the experiences associated with them. No matter how old these objects might be, they are not discarded but are continuously repaired and are used until they virtually disintegrate. Thus these objects lend to their most mundane chores a sense of occasion. They take on color and a wider dimension. As the environment is filled with such ritual objects, it allows the imagination to extend experience, to grasp the unity of all things and one's own relation to other members of the Ifugao society. Ifugao handiwork along with the arts of literature, music and dance, focus and direct the individual's thoughts to the larger experience of Ifugao life.[13]

The *bulol* is singularly the most crucial art form for it embodies to the Ifugaos their most sacred traditional values. Moreover, as we

[13] What a woman from Poitan said about her baskets exemplified the attitude of many Ifugaos towards their handiwork. In this example, the woman spoke about two baskets, large, wide but shallow and tightly-woven containers for cooked rice. One is called *huup*, a wide, flat basket used as a container for cooked rice. The second is called *ulbung* which is similar to the first type but with a finer mesh and used as a container for pounded rice, the main ingredient in making rice-wine.

"These baskets are *adangianan* (wealth). They belonged to my mother who received them as *haliyu* (a kind of payment for some debt) from a family from Nuntanangan, Bocos. These baskets were used in many harvest feasts and many *baki* (ritual or sacrifice) were performed with these baskets. My parents gave them to me when I got married. These baskets were *adangianan* to my parents, to my husband and to me and to my children."

Note that in this sense she used *adangianan* to mean a lucky charm or propitious articles.

have mentioned earlier, it is the one art form that is attended by elaborate ceremonies and ritual prohibitions. *Bulol* generally means deity, specifically a granary idol. It is also considered as an effigy of deceased ancestors. All other art forms are considered subsidiary to the *bulol*. It might even be considered that the food vessels, textiles, baskets, and other items used for the rituals are sacrifices to the *bulol*.[14] So dominant is this symbol that the Ifugaos point to the *bulol* as the representation of any deity. And the Ifugao belief in the abiding presence of spirits or a life force in nature becomes somehow associated with this figure.

The *bulol* is carved from hardwood. In most cases, it is installed inside a rice granary where it is believed to protect the rice from pests, thieves and simply from being consumed too quickly. Furthermore, the installation of a *bulol* is believed to increase the store of rice. The *bulol* usually comes in pairs, male and female and occasionally, they are provided with children. They are dressed in Ifugao clothes and regaled with real jewels for special ceremonies or when they are kept in the granary, they are provided with earrings, bracelets and anklets made from rice grains, rice stalks, sugar cane leaves and leaves of the *cordyline terminalis,* a plant sacred to the Ifugaos. The *bulol* when installed is believed to insure not only its owners' welfare but its beneficence is believed to extend to the entire village as well. On special occasions the *bulol* is brought down from the granary to the ground floor of the house during the ceremonies celebrating the exhumation of ancestral bones. At welfare rites and curing ceremonies the *bulol* may also be present.

I did not observe any ceremony for the carving of the *bulol* but I interviewed several priests who have carved *bulol* themselves and whose families own at least one example. The accounts of the four priests agree on many points with only minor disagreements as to the number of sacrificial animals and sequences in the ritual. The first requisite is that only families known to have owned a *bulol* which has been properly installed can have a new one carved. Since Ifugaos have large families and can trace their kins as far back as eight generations, it is not too difficult to overcome this prohibition. Secondly, the family that installs a *bulol* must observe the rituals, give offerings and sacrifices in the form of chickens, pigs, carabaos, rice, rice-wine for at least three successive days. There should be at least four officiating priests who will recite myths and invocations which confer prosperity and welfare to all concerned. The priests receive

[14] Lambrecht and Burton both think that the Ifugaos believe their ancestors and deities are incorporated in the effigy so that they could partake of the food sacrificed to them by smelling the aroma.
Francis Lambrecht, "Religion of the Ifugao," *Philippine Sociological Review*, Vol. 10, Nos. 1-2, pp. 33-40.

payment in kind such as rice, rice-wine, some textiles, baskets, as well as portions of the food and rice-wine which they bring home to their respective families. All the priests emphasize that there should be plentiful supply of animals, rice and rice-wine as proof of the householder's generosity. The carving itself is a simple matter done by the craftsman who finishes it in a matter of hours. But it is the "activation" or the installation of the *bulol* that requires elaborate rituals and feasts.

The reasons for carving a *bulol* are: building of a new rice granary, to avert and cure illness in the family, the exhumation and re-interment of the bones of deceased relatives,[14] and the building of new houses for the married children. The newly-carved *bulol* are considered the children of the older *bulol.* The figure must be activated within a few days or at least within two weeks otherwise they are not considered sacred. *Bulol* carved for the tourist market are not considered sacred and these can be freely sold. But the *bulol* which has been ceremoniously activated is never sold. It is kept in the family until it literally crumbles or is eaten up by insects.

Ritual and social associations seem to overshadow all other considerations about the nature of the *bulol* and almost all other forms associated with it. This appears to be the way Ifugaos view art — to put it crudely, they are no more than symptoms of something other than themselves. In another level of discourse, they are no more than symbolic representation of social relationships, of interdependence, and of values in their society. If such an interpretation is taken, this would negate the very necessity of making art objects in the first place. It does not explain why art objects are still needed if all the ideas, values and social relationships are already defined in the Ifugao society. My suspicion is that these notions, values, and social relationships and what-have-you may be present in the Ifugao society but they need to be articulated in many other forms, a process in which art plays a major role.

The Ifugaos fabricate a variety of distinct art forms. They are not only various types according to techniques of manufacture, materials and use, but also distinctive shapes or forms within each type as well as a whole range of ornamental designs. The repertory may be limited compared to Filipino artists schooled in the West, but the fact remains that the nature of forms themselves are seen as effective vehicles of their social and religious values. The expressiveness of

[15] According to the information they gave me, the bones of the deceased were exhumed after the fleshy parts had disintegrated, usually after a year or two. Whereupon, the bones were re-interred inside a small niche carved into the side of the mountain or hill wrapped in a new death blanket. In earlier times, they recalled, bones were re-interred inside large jars but today since large jars were no longer available, the bones were merely wrapped in a blanket and interred inside a niche or kept under the house.

forms, of structure and organization of art must be one of the considerations when artists go about making a specific type of art. This explains to a great extent why Ifugaos are not content with simple enactment of social activities or the performance of rituals alone. Art, music and dance are symbolic representations and as such it is their capacity to embody the social and religious dimension that makes them a primary concern in Ifugao society. Their ability to make concrete what is vague sentiment and to give it lasting shape explains the sustained interest in artistic activity within this society. The *bulol* best illustrates the efficacy of expressive form. This is particularly true when we have the fortuitous combination of a highly competent artist when the *bulol* could be an awesome work of art even for those who may not share Ifugao beliefs.

The form of the *bulol* almost always follows the same conventional techniques. The human figure is complete but treated in a generalized fashion with total disregard for any anatomical details or transition from one part of the anatomy to another. The carving is such that the figure hardly emerges from the original block. The masses and volumes can be described as effecting in its frontality, rigid and inert massiveness. The rigidity is enhanced by the bulky and squat proportions. By maintaining large, broad surface planes which are kept rough, often showing the marks of the adze, the textural effect contributes further to its rigidity and massiveness regardless of its relatively small size. No sexual distinctions are delineated except to suggest the breasts or the penis. Similarly, there is no attempt to indicate facial expression or a psychological mood. Neither is there any deviation from the rigid frontal pose. In rare cases where the figure is made to bend at the elbows and knees, the stance only exaggerates frontality and the stiffness of the figure. The static pose and its solid masses rule out any relation with the viewer's space, suggesting that the *bulol* exists in its own self-contained space.

The best-made *bulol* gives the impression of direct simplicity, of impassive immutable power. The very fact that the forms of the human anatomy are left unarticulated renders the figure as emblematic of some archetype, perhaps of Bugan and Wigan, the Ifugao ancestors who are the main protagonists in their legends and myths. The *bulol* is the focus of spiritual forces not quite human but not too far removed from man. Its brooding, immobile countenance presides over the most significant occasions of Ifugao life. Thus it can be said to be the symbol of Ifugao society itself. To an outsider it is as inscrutable and indifferent as the powers of nature herself. And yet it has none of the protective, benign compassion of the Madonna which Christian carvers love to depict. On the other hand, it cannot be said

that the *bulol* suggests the totality of evil, the terrible vindictiveness and destructive forces that we can see depicted in many representations of Satan. Instead, what we have in the figure of *bulol* suggests mute power, unmoving and omnipresent, shorn of the violence that power so often implies.

The *bulol* then is the most potent symbol of Ifugao society. Deities and ancestors who protect and succor the living are believed to incorporate themselves into this effigy at times of ritual investiture. All other art forms therefore become the manifestation of the favor bestowed by the *bulol.* Textiles, food vessels, jewelry, etc., are just so many of the endowments conferred upon those who have faithfully fulfilled their ritual duties and obligations to the *bulol.* Furthermore, the artistic style of the *bulol* is precisely what makes it the most appropriate form upon which the stream of social interaction and mutual dependence could center upon: a form suggestive enough of human form but representing no specific personality nor any definite psychological mood. It is a style that begs to be interpreted in terms of the totality of social contexts. This art style allows us to draw a closer analogy between it and the relatively undifferentiated Ifugao social structure wherein the artist is at once priest, patron, farmer, etc., and whose personality is always defined in terms of his relationships to others in society. The diffusion of social roles and the inhibitory effects of social contingencies affect artistic goals and artistic procedure, for the Ifugao artist is not supposed to be motivated by "self-expression" nor by "sheer pleasure and delight" although as we said earlier that exists to some minor degree. But the artist's manifest concern is in providing the visible expression of beliefs and to create the aura of the emotionally-charged environment in which such beliefs become believable. Since in Ifugao, art discloses their highest beliefs, by the same token, the practice of art is the individual's commitment to these beliefs.

However, the stern impassiveness of the *bulol* style does not necessarily exclude other possibilities within certain limits. Intrusive cultural materials have not only been adopted such as ancient beads, Chinese pottery and gongs, but through the years they have become invested with ritual sanctions as well as status symbols. Besides the use of imported items, there are other indications of artistic flexibility and a willingness towards experimentation and change as long as these do not endanger Ifugao solidarity. Personal adornments such as tattooing, textiles and jewelry make use of many motifs and richer textures including a tendency for naturalism in the decoration of houses and food vessels. Indeed we have seen that allowances are made even for personal whimsies and in all likelihood, even for individual fantasies. Nonetheless, such lapses

are readily brought back into line by rationalization. They insist that personal adornments and such similar indulgences are, after all, for the material and social security of the family.

There is still another intrusive factor which remains to be discussed, and this is the tourist trade. Intensive participation of a great many Ifugaos in the tourist trade is again explained for the economic benefit of the family. What is more significant as far as this study is concerned is that tourist trade provides more opportunity for the Ifugao artist to experiment and widen his technical skills and extend his perception of the world at a much faster rate than if he were to keep within the traditional norms. The fact that more and more Ifugaos leave home to work outside, oftentimes in workshops that cater to the tourist trade, will evidently have far-reaching socio-cultural consequences. Surely the increase in the number of tourists and outsiders visiting and living in Ifugao territory will also effect many changes. It is a subject far beyond the intentions of this study except to say that Ifugao art and society will be transformed by such an encounter. Be that as it may, Ifugao art is still one of the most profound measures of the vitality of Ifugao traditions. It could very well be that this vitality will not be of long duration. Should such an event ever occur, it remains to be seen whether the Ifugaos will be its willing instruments.

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Appendix 1

General Background on the Ifugao Tribe:

The Ifugao numbering to about 130,000 in the Mountain Province and in the province of Nueva Vizcaya form together with the Apayao, Kalinga, Bontoc, Kankanai, the ethnic tribes who have been least acculturated among the present day Filipinos of Northern Luzon. The Ifugaos are the most numerous single ethnic group in Northern Luzon in terms of land area with a population density of 85 persons per square mile. They inhabit the eastern side of the Cordillera Central occupying the spine of Luzon island extending westward to the Ilocos and Southwest to Isabela and Nueva Vizcaya. They subsist on rice grown on mountain terraces and irrigated extensively by water drawn by means of gravity to the lower terraces. Occasionally, water is carried across mountains to other terraces by means of bamboo sluices. To the Ifugaos are ascribed the highest development of irrigated rice terraces in this part of the world.[16]

[16] Roy Franklin Barton, *Ifugao Economy,* Univ. of Calif. Publications in American Anthropology, Archeology and Ethnology, Vol. 15, pp. 386-448.

Historical accounts in the 16th century already record the existence of these mountain terraces, of loosely-organized villages and trade with the Ilocos, Isabela and Nueva Vizcaya provinces. It was a trade based mainly on such items as pottery, gongs (without bosses) imported from China, beads usually made of agate and carnelian, some traceable to Indian ports as far as Bombay. These trade items still form to a large degree, Ifugao standards of wealth and status. In exchange for these imported goods, the Ifugaos bartered gold, beeswax and forest products such as rattan, runo, lumber and resins. Barter trade on these items was stopped by the Spanish government about the middle of the 17th century which apparently increased the value of these imported items when these became in time irreplaceable heirlooms. However, trade on other items such as cloth, foodstuffs and iron tools continued with the lowland peoples. While Ifugaos maintained contacts with the lowlands, they have resisted Christianity and continued their pattern of life through the centuries of two colonial rules.[17]

Ifugao social, economic and religious life have been studied by Barton, Vanoverbergh, Lambrecht and Conklin so that it is not necessary to discuss these aspects in any great detail except to reiterate briefly the general features of Ifugao society which have direct bearing on our discussion on art.

The family and kinship group forms the nucleus for social, economic and political activity and is the sole institution that regulates and enforces Ifugao norms. The family is bilateral with matrilocal tendencies. Affiliations are strongest within the nuclear family, decreasing in importance vertically further up or horizontally from the immediate family. Husband and wife share equal rights as to property and authority within the family. However, in case of conflicts involving each one's respective families, husband or wife may often take the side of his or her own kin. But compromises are often found and rarely is a marriage broken up due to misunderstanding among in-laws. A council of elders composed mostly of the wealthier families may preside or arbitrate over certain matters involving the interest of the whole village. Generally however, families resolve conflicts by means of mediators (*monkulnon*) and would first exhaust every help they can obtain from their kin before asking for a mediator or the elders of the village to intervene. Besides, the council of elders does not actually exist as a separate entity that convenes regularly like a court. They are more or less the elder members of the community who by custom give and are sought out for advice. A sufficiently strong kinship group or family can success-

[17] Felix M. Keesing, *The Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962), pp. 269-270, 318-319, 338-339 & 312-314.

fully challenge the decisions of the majority of the village elders, although this is very rare.[18]

As political structure is almost nil, so is the social structure. Social differentiation exists based primarily on wealth from which prestige and status all accrue. The wealthy are called *Kadangyan.* They own large areas of rice lands and have large quantities of stored rice, Chinese gongs, pottery, and a whole array of Ifugao handicrafts. To legitimize one's status as a *kadangyan* he must first and henceforth periodically give communal feasts called *uyauwe* to which all his co-villagers are invited including friends and relatives from other villages. He provides plentiful supply of animals, rice, rice-wine and pays for the services of at least four priests. The *uyauwe* ceremony is performed on the occasion of a person's ascendance to the *kadangyan* class. For this ceremony, craftsmen are employed to carve a long wooden bench on which the person celebrating the rite will be ceremoniously seated. A *bulol* and other ritual objects may be commissioned for the ceremony. The *kadangyan* have no special powers of influence except in terms of prestige and from their ability to give or deny material aid to the other villagers. Nevertheless in case of disputes, a *kadangyan's* word carries more weight than that of a poor man's. The *kadangyan* must periodically give communal feasts similar to the *uyauwe* rite called *pahang.* The *pahang* rite is very similar to the *uyauwe* with the important exception that the bench is not carved for the former rite.[19]

Next to the *kadangyan* is the *natumók,* a kind of middle class who owns land but does not have sufficient rice to last the entire year. Below the scale is the *nowatwat* who are landless. They are employed by the richer Ifugaos either in the rice fields or as servants.[20]

Ifugao society appears fluid and flexible since there is no privileged, hereditary class capable of indefinite self-perpetuation. But it also happens that a family that reaches *kadangyan* status tends to perpetuate their economic advantage by acquiring more land and property. They also happen to be the families that own the *bulol* figures.

Ifugao economy is based on rice. The crop however does not last the entire year so that *camote* (sweet potato) makes up 50% of the diet of the poorer families. Over 50% of the rice of Banaue is imported from the lowlands. Some vegetables are grown but not enough for each family's consumption. Protein is derived mainly

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[18] Barton, *op. cit.,* pp. 386-430.

[19] *Ibid.*

The Religion of the Ifugaos, American Anthropologist Association Memoir series, No. 65, *passim.*

[20] *Ibid.,* p. 436.

from tiny quantities of shells and fish gathered from streams and flooded rice fields. But in the dry season protein supplies from these sources dry up. Pigs, chickens, ducks are raised by many families and a few rich families own carabaos. These animals are consumed primarily for rituals. Nature has been parsimonius in Ifugao for at elevations of 3,000 — 4,000 feet, banana and bamboo, which are the most versatile food and material resources of the lowlands, do not grow to full maturity.

Barton and Lambrecht have collected a large corpus of texts of myths and rituals. These myths still have to be analyzed in greater depths and from various angles since texts are now made available by recent anthropological studies. On the subject of religion, one has to depend on previous works such as those by Barton and Lambrecht. Barton characterized Ifugao religion as polytheistic. Among the thousands of Ifugao deities are those that represent natural phenomena and features of the environment, man's physical and psychological states, heroes and ancestors, social relations and practices, economic activities, technology which includes the arts, agriculture and myth-making itself. No area of Ifugao life is left without a deity formulated for that specific purpose. Barton believes that there is no unifying principle that relates these deities together and that these "anthropomorphic" deities are only loosely linked together in the myths where they occupy, if rather loosely, a certain role in the narrative. Deities are considered by Barton as capricious beings whose will and acts can neither be fathomed nor controlled by human effort. They are placated, cajoled, praised and given offerings in elaborate round of rituals. The functions of religion according to Barton is that it "intensifies kinship solidarity in common ancestry" and the "performance of rituals and the sharing of food in ceremonial situation bolster this mutual feeling of dependence and common lineage."[21]

It is further suggested that the Ifugao religion provides the integrating principle in society and maintains the validity of social values. Ifugao religion is concerned with material prosperity which is sought by making petitions to the deities through the aid of ancestors. Prayers, myth recitations and sacrifices are ways by which one seeks to ameliorate one's present condition in the world. Ethical problems and mystical experience are not the basic concern of Ifugao religious practice. It aims rather to aid the individual Ifugao to attain prosperity in the present life, to live in harmony with his fellows and fulfill his task as a member of the family. Ifugao religion therefore enables the Ifugao to maneuver in society and provides the framework and the cosmology that gives order to his universe.

[21] *Ibid.*

Appendix 2

Observations on the Tourist Trade of Handicrafts

There now exists a thriving tourist market in Ifugao handicrafts. It is a lucrative business that employs large numbers of full-time workers relocated in Baguio City and in Bontoc. Aside from providing regular employment, it has generated larger volume of production and has also stimulated the proliferation of a wide variety of craft items, many hitherto unknown to local usage. Ifugao carving particularly has received considerable impetus from the tourist trade. The workshops in Baguio City and Bontoc serve as the major outlets of Ifugao products with Banaue as the way station for recruiting workers and commissioning crafts. Workshops were visited in Baguio City and in Bontoc; in the latter, the ones visited were textile shops. In Baguio City more than half of the workers were Ifugao carvers, and included among them were those who claimed that were it not for the tourist trade, they would not engage in carving on their own. A number of them were recruited while unemployed in Baguio City. While we have reason to rejoice over the economic opportunities given to many jobless Ifugaos by the tourist trade, this should not however prevent us from raising the issue on its possible influences on the nature, and the direction of development of Ifugao art and of the Ifugao craftsman.

In general tourist trade thrives on those products that exhibit the unique qualities of craftsmanship. The individuality and even the idiosyncracies of a craft product is that which makes it particularly appealing. Besides those qualities that result from skillful handling are those of novelty and a certain amount of rarity that make handicrafts worthwhile to their collectors. Large-scale production and haphazard techniques applied on tourist-handicrafts hardly enable the stamp of individual craftsmanship to emerge. Unfortunately many dealers in the tourist trade are not cognizant of the artistic principles governing the marketability of handicrafts. Their attention concentrated almost exclusively on the business aspect, they are on the whole least concerned in drawing out the best that their craftsmen can produce. It often happens that the worst models become the basis for the successive imitations that will eventually end up for sale in quantity. That the buyers themselves do not know any better (as the dealers are quick to explain) is no excuse why tourist trade goods should be shoddy. The tourist trade need not be a senseless charade where the tourists pick up our cultural trivia to be quickly discarded at the airport. Except for profit, no meaningful purpose or any lasting economic gains are served by such a wasteful enterprise. For after all, tourist trade

in handicrafts involves among others, the energies of craftsmen and the material resources of the nation's forests that can be put to better use. Perhaps not all the dealers can be expected to know the intricacies of art principles and to possess good taste, not to mention knowledge of the cultural contexts of the tribal arts they sell. The other option is for dealers and managers in the tourist trade to expand and enlarge the scope and variety of their products. By adopting principles of good engineering design, they can produce objects that are both utilitarian and elegant and whose style and content need not be attached to any specific country and culture. But herein lies the dilemma of the tourist and souvenir market. Generally, tourists visit other countries because among other things, these places are different. There is also the expectation that the products of the countries visited are unique to that region. The point here simply is that the main appeal of tourism relies heavily on the distinctiveness of the people, places, goods, and art, including the souvenirs each country has to offer. A world where everyone and everything is the same hardly makes travel worth the effort.

But we are concerned in this discussion more on the effects of the tourist trade on Ifugao art and on the Ifugao craftsmen. Ifugao artists who are employed in the workshops are suddenly made to work on a complex array of forms and techniques which he has not fully mastered. While perfectly capable of excellent work given traditional themes and tools, even the best Ifugao carvers lose control when confronted with the demands of the workshop, where they turn out ridiculous versions of the Madonna and Child, the twin masks of Greek tragedy and comedy, and Michelangelo's *David* (which Ifugaos are told is the Headhunter, a subject not found in traditional Ifugao repertory). When they work on traditional crafts they are expected to produce larger numbers in a short period of time. This is particularly true to weaving where technical short cuts replace the meticulous handling that each product received under traditional craft procedures. Besides the drawbacks Ifugaos encounter as far as unfamiliar subjects and techniques are concerned, there is still the intangible aspects to take into account. For one thing, the psychological consequence must be unnerving. Art forms that fit into Ifugao society for their practical and ritual purposes are reduced as mere curiosities or sources of amusement in the tourist trade. One can only imagine how they feel when they are asked to carve subjects which make them the objects of ridicule in total disregard of Ifugao sensibilities. The numerous examples need not be recounted here except a few glaring ones. Some Ifugaos through years of mountain climbing have come to

possess feet with an over-sized toe distended in a sharp outward curve. Even among these mountain-dwelling people, this phenomenon is unusual although it is never treated as a laughing-matter. In the tourist market, carvings of such feet are made in the form of ashtrays on which buyers are encouraged to crush down cigarette butts. Moreover, the Ifugaos are asked to carve blatantly vulgar and obscene subjects which need not be described here.

Undoubtedly, the Ifugao has been given the chance to participate in the mainstream of national life as a wage earner, but his services have become highly vulnerable to the vagaries of this particular market. At the same time it cannot be denied that his participation constitutes something of a moral degradation. Perhaps dealers, exporters and managers of workshops will not turn away from their responsibilities lightly if only they realize that in the long run they are bound to cripple their business if their acquiescent craftsmen continue to work without conviction and take on the same cynical attitude that prevails in the business.

There should be a sequel to this report on the tourist trade so that we can follow-up what has become of the Ifugao craftsmen working in the tourist trade. The dim view taken in these observations on Ifugao crafts and craftsmen need not apply to all Philippine handicrafts. There are avenues for good taste, ingenuity and even wit to exert an influence on the craft industries. As this is being written, there is every indication that these beneficial inflences will become more effective. But this is a subject for another study.

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ANG PAG-AARAL HINGGIL SA PILIPINAS SA USSR*

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ANG MGA UNANG BALITA UKOL SA MALALAYONG PULONG PILIPINO ay malaon nang nakarating sa Rusya, noong iilang taon pa lamang ang nakalilipas matapos ang paglalakbay ni Magallanes, na "tumuklas" sa kapuluan para sa agham-Europeo: noong mga 1530 ay isinalin sa wikang Ruso ang unang paglalarawan ng expedisyon ni Magallanes — ang libro ni Maximiliano Transylvanus, *Ukol sa mga Pulong Molukko*. Nagsimulang unang malaman sa Rusya ang ukol sa wika ng populasyong Pilipino noong taong 1788, nang lumabas sa San Petersburgo ang isang komparatibong talasilitaan ng mga wikang banyaga, na binuo ng tanyag na lingguwistang Rusong si Pallas. Isinama niya sa kanyang diksyunaryo, kabilang ng iba pa, ang wikang Tagalog at kasabay nito'y kanyang binigyan ito ng mataas na pagpapahalaga.

Ang Pilipinas ay siyang naging unang bayan sa Timog-Silangang Asya, na kung saan sinikap ng Rusyang magtatag ng tuwirang relasyong pangkalakalan at konsular noon pang simula ng ika-19 na dantaon. Si Pyotr Dobell, na nanungkulan bilang Konsul-Heneral na Ruso sa Maynila, ay sumulat ng isang interesanteng talang-gunita (memoirs) ukol sa kanyang pamamalagi sa Pilipinas, na inilathala sa San Petersburgo noong taong 1833. Kasunod sa librong ito ay lumabas sa imprenta ang mga tala sa paglalakbay ng mga pantas at manlalakbay na Ruso, na dumalaw sa mga pulong Pilipino: ang mga nabigador na sina Golovnin, Litka, Posyeta, manunulat na si Goncharov at iba pa. Isinalaysay nila sa mambabasang Ruso ang ukol sa mga kagandahan ng kalikasan ng Pilipinas, sa kultura at kaugalian ng populasyon, sa mga paghihirap nito sa ilalim ng kapangyarihan ng Espanya. Noong taong 1870 ay dumalaw sa Pilipinas si Miklukho-Maclay — ang di-pangkaraniwang antropologong Ruso, isang kalaban ng kolonialismo at rasismo. Siya'y namalagi ng ilang panahon sa piling ng mga tribong Negrito at nakuhang maging kaibigan ang mga ito. Ang naisagawa niyang mga pananaliksik ay nagbigay ng liwanag sa masalimuot na problema hinggil sa pinanggalingan ng bahaging ito ng populasyong Pilipino.

Gayunman, ang sistematikong pag-aaral ng kasaysayan, ekonomiya at kultura ng Pilipinas ay nagsimula sa aming bayan noong

* Unyon ng mga Sobyet-Sosyalistang Republika.

panahong Sobyet lamang, subalit lalo pa ngang naging aktibo matapos ang Ikalawang Digmaang Pandaigdig at ang pagpapahayag ng kasarinlan ng Republikang Pilipino

Simula noong 1950, ang mga pilipinistang pananaliksik sa aming bansa ay nakasentro sa Instituto ng Kaalamang-Pansilangan ng Akademya sa Agham ng Unyon ng mga Sobyet-Sosyalistang Republika. Dito sa malakas na sentrong siyentipikong ito sa loob ng seksyon ng Silangang-Asya ay nagtatrabaho ang espesyal na grupo sa pag-aaral ng Pilipinas (pinuno — ang Doktor sa agham-pangkasaysayan na si Levinson). Masalimuot ang pagsasagawa ng pag-aaral ng Pilipinas sa Instituto ng Kaalamang-pansilangan: dito nagtatrabaho nang malapit sa isa't isa ang mga istoryador (G. Levinson, Yu. Levtonova, N. Chelintseva, L. Taivan), ekonomista (O. Baryshnikova, U. Zhulev) at lingguwista (L. Shkarban). Bukod sa rito, sa mga pinakamataas na institusyong pang-edukasyon sa Mosku at Leningrad ay magtatrabaho ang mga espesyalista sa wikang Tagalog (I. Podberezskii, V. Makarenko, G. Rachkov), na hindi lamang nagtuturo ng wikang ito sa mga estudyante, kundi nagsasagawa rin ng mga siyentipikong pananaliksik ukol sa mga problemang panlingguwistika at nagsasalin mula sa wikang Tagalog ng katha ng mga manunulat na Pilipino.

Kung pagmamasdan ang nakamtan ng mga pantas-pilipinistang Sobyet sa magkakahiwalay na mga sangay ng karunungan, maaaring ilahad ang sumusunod na larawan (na mangyari pa'y hindi puspusan):

Una sa lahat, ang nauukol sa pag-aaral ng kasaysayan at ng pagsulong na pulitikal. Sa kalagitnaan ng mga taong 1920 ay lumabas ang mga unang lathalain ng mga manunulat na Sobyet, na naglalaman, sa pangkalahatan, ng analisis ng kalagayan noon sa Pilipinas. Noong mga taong 1930 ay nailunsad ang simula ng malalimang pag-aaral ng kasaysayan ng bansa. Ang naging tagapagtatag ng siyentipikong kaalamang-Pilipino ng mga Sobyet ay ang tanyag na pantas-oryentalistang ngayo'y yumao nang miyembro ng Akademya, si A. A. Gubyer. Ang mga una niyang aklat ay: *Pilipinas* (1937) at *José Rizal* (1937) — pananaliksik na istoriko-biograpikal na unang nagpakilala sa mga mambabasang Sobyet ng buhay at gawain ng pambansang bayaning Pilipino. Sa dalawang librong ito, nabigyan ng masusing pansin ang mga pinakaimportanteng problema ng pangkasaysayang pagsulong ng Pilipinas noong panahong kolonyal.

Makikitang isang masaklaw at pundamental na akda ukol sa bagong kasaysayan ng Pilipinas ang monograpiya ni A. A. Gubyer, *Republikang Pilipino ng Taong 1898 at ang Imperyalismong Amerikano*, na nauukol sa pinakamahalagang baitang ng kasaysayang Pilipino — ang Rebolusyong pambansa noong 1896-1898, ang paglikha ng nagsasariling Republika noong 1898, ang pambansang mapagpalayang

kilusan noong mga unang taon matapos itatag ang rehimeng Amerikano. Dalawang ulit na inilathala ang libro ni A. A. Gubyer: ang unang limbag ay lumabas noong 1948, ang ikalawa noong 1961. Kinakailangang banggitin na, sa kaunaunahang pagkakataon sa pandaigdig na literatura ng kasaysayan, napag-ukulan ng pagpapahalaga at analisis sa mga akda ni A. A. Gubyer ang mga pinakamahalagang pangyayari ng kasaysayang Pilipino mula sa nakikiisang pagtingin sa pakikibakang mapagpalayang-bansa.

Mula sa mga taong 1950 ay lubhang lumawak at, sa gayon ding pagkakataon, lumalim ang sangkapaksaan ng pangkasaysayang pananaliksik. Sa piryod na ito ay lumabas ang mga napakahusay na akda ni Levinson hinggil sa mga problema ng kasalukuyang kasaysayan ng Pilipinas. Inilimbag noong 1957 ang kanyang aklat na *Kilusang Manggagawa sa Pilipinas,* noong 1958 ang monograpiyang *Ang Pilipinas sa Pagitan ng Una at Ikalawang Digmaang Pandaigdig,* noong 1958 ang librong *Pilipinas: Kahapon at Ngayon,* na isang pagpapatuloy ng naunang monograpiya at kung saan ipinapakita ang kasaysayan ng Pilipinas mula 1942 hanggang 1958. Noong 1972 lumabas ang bagong aklat ni G. I. Levinson *Pilipinas Tungo sa Kasarinlan,* na isinulat batay sa isang malawak na saklaw ng mga sanggunian at batis (na kinabibilangan ng mga artsibal), na karamihan ay ngayon pa lamang ipinababatid sa mga sirkulong pang-agham; ang aklat ay isang pundamental na pananaliksik tungkol sa sosyo-pulitikal na pagsulong ng Pilipinas sa kasalukuyang panahon.

Noong mga taong '50-70 nagpatuloy ang mga ganito ring pagsusuri ng mga problema ng modernong kasaysayan ng Pilipinas. Noong 1962-1965 inihanda ng mga kagawad ng Instituto ng Kaalamang-Pansilangan ng Akademya sa Agham ng USSR ang edisyon ng 3-tomong pandokumentong publikasyon, *Ang Patakaran ng mga Kapangyarihang Kapitalista at Ang Kilusang Mapagpalayang-Bansa sa Timog-Silangang Asya,* na kung saan napapaloob ang mga dokumentong inihayag mula sa mga lihim na artsibo ng Ministeryo ng mga Suliraning Panlabas ng tsaristang Rusya at sumasaklaw sa piryod mula sa huling bahagi ng ika-19 na dantaon hanggang sa simula ng ika-20. Ang mga seksyong Pilipino ng edisyong ito ay binubuo ng isang mayamang koleksyon — higit sa dalawang daang bukod-tanging dokumentong hindi pa nalalathala, na nagbibigay-liwanag sa isang buong serye ng mga importante at di pa gaanong nalalamang paksa sa kasaysayan ng Pilipinas noong ika-19 na dantaon hanggang simula ng ika-20, na kung saan napapaloob ang piryod ng Rebolusyon noong 1896-1898. Ang mga detalyadong komentaryo tungkol sa mga suliraning Pilipino ay sinulat ni Yu. O. Levtonova.

Ang mga materyal sa publikasyong ito, na may kinalaman sa ika-19 na dantaon hanggang simula ng ika-20 dantaon, ay ginamit

sa libro ni Yu. O. Levtonova *Kabalangkasan ng Modernong Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas* (1965). Inilimbag noong 1971 ang kanyang di-gaanong malaking aklat *Apolinario Mabini – Pambansang Bayani ng Pilipinas,* at noong 1973, ang monograpiya *Ang Kasaysayan ng Kaisipang Panlipunan sa Pilipinas,* na kung saan sinusuri ang ideolohiya ng kilusang makareporma noong mga taong 80-90 ng ika-19 na dantaon at ng pambansang Rebolusyon noong mga taong 1896-1898.

Ang mga pilipinistang Sobyet ay makikita rin sa mga awtor ng napakaraming artikulo sa mga publikasyong pang-agham. Ang mga problema sa kasaysayan ng Pilipinas (mula sa pinakamakalumang panahon hanggang sa ating panahon), ideolohiya, kultura at edukasyon ay napag-ukulan ng repleksyon sa isang buong serye ng mga maikling akda tungkol sa kasaysayan ng mga bansa ng Silangan at ng rehiyong Timog-Silangang Asya. Bukod sa rito, sa mga teksbuk tungkol sa kasaysayan para sa matataas na paaralan may mga seksyong nauukol sa kasaysayan ng Pilipinas.

Ang pag-aaral ng kasaysayang etniko, ng mga prosesong etnososyal at etno-lingguwistiko sa Pilipinas ay ginagawa ng mga antropologo at etnograpong Sobyet. Sa mga akdang etnograpikong lumabas noong mga taong '60-'70 nararapat banggitin ang paglimbag noong 1962 ng isang detalyadong etno-lingguwistikong mapa "Ang Mapa ng mga bayang Indonesya, Malaya at Pilipinas" (may-akda: M. Berzina at S. Bruk), ang sanaysay na "Pilipinas" sa tomong *Mga Bayan ng Timog-Silangang Asya* (1968), ang mga limbag ng Instituto sa Etnograpiya, Akademya sa Agham ng USSR, na may mga seksyon tungkol sa Pilipinas sa (kanyang) mga huling publikasyon — *Kasaysayang Etnograpiko ng mga Bayan ng Asya* (1972) at *Mga Prosesong Etniko sa mga Bansa ng Timog-Silangang Asya.*

Ang pilipinolohiyang* Sobyet sa larangan ng ekonomiya ay bata pa. Nagsimula itong magtipon ng lakas nang lubhang huli na kung ihahambing sa kasaysayan at etnograpiya. Noong mga taong '60 lamang lumitaw ang unang matatag na pananaliksik hinggil sa mga pangunahing direksyon ng ekonomiya. Bago rito isinagawa muna ang mga paghahandang trabaho na, bilang kinalabasan, ay nakapagpalimbag ng mga bukod-bukod na artikulo, mga malawakang pagsisiyasat na pang-ekonomiko at mga seksyon sa mga libro hinggil sa buong Asya o kaya'y hinggil sa rehiyon ng Timog-Silangang Asya.

Noong 1960 ay magkasabay lumabas ang dalawang monograpiya ng isang bata't matalinong pilipinistang sa kasamaang palad ay maagang namatay, si Nikolai Savelyev: ang una, *Ang Puhunang Amerikano sa Pilipinas,* na kung saan malalim at masusing sinalik-

* Ang katagang *"filippinoved'enie"* ay nangangahulugang espesyal na pag-aaral o kaalaman ukol sa Pilipinas o, dili kaya, ang Pilipinas bilang larangan ng pag-aaral.

sik ang papel ng puhunang Amerikano sa buhay ekonomikong Pilipino at ang pangalawa, *Pilipinas: Balangkas Pang-ekonomiko,* na nagkakarakterisa sa kalagayan ng ekonomiya noong mga unang taon ng kasarinlan. Noong 1960 inilathala ang disertasyon ni O. G. Baryshnikova, *Pilipinas: Mga Karakteristikong Ekonomiko-heograpikal,* na kung saan iminumungkahi kasama ng mga suliranin tungkol sa repartisyon ng mga puwersang pamproduksyon ang isang batay sa agham na pagbabahaging pang-ekonomiko ng teritoryo ng bansa. Noong 1962 inilimbag ang isa pang libro ni O. G. Baryshnikova, *Ang Pambansang Burgesyang Pilipino sa Pakikibaka para sa isang Kalakalang Panlabas na May Kasarinlan,* na kung saan sinaliksik ang mga problema ng mga panlabas na relasyong pang-ekonomiko at ang papel ng kalakalang panlabas, kapwa napakahalaga sa pagkamit ng isang may-kasarinlang ekonomiya.

Ang mga problema ng pag-usbong ng kabuhayang pambukid ng Pilipinas ay binigyang liwanag ng akda ng awtor ding ito, *Ekonomiyang Rural: Pinagmulan at Pagsulong ng Kapitalismo,* na inilathala noong 1972. Sinaliksik dito ng may-akda ang lipunang Pilipino sa mga nayon noong bago masakop, noong panahon ng pamamanginoon ng mga Kastila at Amerikano. Pinag-ukulan ng masusing pansin ang mga problema ng pag-unlad ng nayong Pilipino sa piryod ng kasarinlan.

Sinuri ng mga pilipinistang Sobyet ang mga temang pangkabuhayang namamayani sa Pilipinas. Sila'y sumali sa mga pangkalahatang pagsisiyasat na nauukol sa mga suliranin sa istrukturang sosyal ng mga bansa ng "Ikatlong Daigdig," sa problema ng pagkain, sa mga relasyong pansakahan at repormang pansakahan, sa mga problema ng pananalaping pang-estado, kredito at kuwalta, sa mga kayamanan sa panggatong at enerhiya at paggamit ng mga ito, atbp. Hinggil sa lahat ng mga problemang ito'y nakapaglathala sila ng di kakaunting mga artikulo sa mga dyornal at koleksyon.

Sa larangan ng lingguwistikang Pilipino, ang trabahong siyentipiko ay sinimulan sa USSR noong katapusan lamang ng mga taong 1950, subalit sa nakaraang panahon maaaring banggitin ang ilang mga tagumpay nito. Una sa lahat ay nagawa ang dalawang talatinigan: isang Tagalog-Ruso na may 20 libong kataga (lumabas noong 1959) at isang Ruso-Tagalog na may 23 libong kataga (noong 1965). Tinipon ang mga ito ng lingguwistang Sobyet na si S. Ignashev kasama ng Pilipinong si M. Cruz (T. Lansang), na kasalukuyan noong nagtatrabaho sa Mosku bilang guro ng wikang Tagalog. Sa aming pagkakaalam, bago rito ay walang nalathalang mga diksyunaryo sa wikang Tagalog sa kahit aling bansa sa labas ng mga hanggan ng Pilipinas at Espanya.

Hinggil sa mga hiwalay na problema ng wikang Tagalog (o Pilipino) at ng kanyang pagkakaugnay sa iba pang mga wika sa

mundo, nailathala sa amin ang higit sa dalawampung siyentipikong artikulo at dalawang libro. Ang una sa mga huli ay *Ang Wikang Tagalog* na sinulat ni L. Shkarban (1966) sa pamamatnubay ni M. Cruz at nagbibigay ng isang pangkalahatang paglalarawan ng wika, laluna ang kaayusang gramatikal nito. Ang libro ni V. Makarenko, *Ang Pagbubuo ng Salita sa Tagalog,* ay ang unang pansistema't teoretikal na pananaliksik sa literaturang pandaigdig ukol sa temang ito.

Ang ilang resulta ng mga trabaho ng mga pantas na Sobyet ukol sa pag-aaral ng Pilipinas ay nagkamit ng katanyagan kahit sa labas ng USSR. Isang serye ng aming mga pilipinista — sina A. Gubyer, O. Baryshnikova, G. Levinson — ay dumalo at nagbasa ng papel sa iba't ibang kongresong pang-agham katulad ng mga kongreso ng mga istoryador, oryentalista, antropologo, ekonomista. Ilang mga libro at artikulo ng mga espesyalistang Sobyet sa Pilipinas ay isinalin at inilathala sa banyaga (halimbawa, ang mga libro ni Levinson na inilimbag sa Alemanya, Czechoslovakia, Tsina at Estados Unidos).

Pinag-ukulan din ng buong pansin ng mga pilipinistang Sobyet ang pagpapasamadla ng kaalaman tungkol sa Pilipinas: maliban sa mga makaagham na pananaliksik, kanilang inilathala sa pangmasang limbag para sa pinakamalawak na sirkulo ng mambabasa ang mga brosyur na naglalaman ng mga basikong impormasyon tungkol sa heograpiya, ekonomiya, kasaysayan at kalinangan. Sa gayon, noong 1953 ay inilimbag ang brosyur na "Pilipinas" ni G. I. Levinson sa serye *Sa Mapa ng Daigdig* (limbag na may 100,000 kopya), noong 1956 "Hapon-Pilipinas" (limbag na may 150 libong kopya) ni O. Baryshnikova sa serye *Mga Bansa ng Asya;* ang mga mapa ng Pilipinas (pisikal, ekonomikal at etnograpikal) na may impormasyong heograpikal ni O. G. Baryshnikova ay inilimbag nang tatlong ulit: noong 1959, 1967 at 1973. May mga impormasyon tungkol sa Pilipinas na napapaloob sa librong-sanggunian *Mga Bansa sa Timog-Silangang Asya* (1964), limbag na may 42 libong sipi, sa pamamatnugot ni A. F. Malova. Noong 1972 inilathala sa wikang Ingles at Pranses ang librong *Timog-Silangang Asya* (kasaysayan, ekonomiya, pulitika) na inihanda ng mga kagawad ng Instituto sa Kaalamang-Silangan, na kung saan binigyan ng nararapat na lugar ang Pilipinas.

Ang pagtuklas ng mga taong Sobyet sa nakaraan at kasalukuyang buhay ng Pilipinas ay isinasagawa di lamang sa pamamagitan ng paglimbag ng kaukulang siyentipiko at pangmadlang akda ng mga awtor na Sobyet, kundi sa pamamagitan ng aktibong paglathala sa pagkakasalin sa wikang Ruso ng mga likhang-isip ng mga may-akdang Pilipino.

Ang mambabasang Sobyet ay mayroong sapat na malawak na pagkakaalam sa mahahalagang tagumpay ng panitikang Pilipino. Ang unang pagkakilala rito ay naganap noong 1937, nang lumabas sa Ruso ang nobela ni Rizal, *El Filibusterismo* (salin ni D. Vigodskii). Noong simula ng mga taong 1960, kaugnay ng sentenaryo ng kapanganakan ni Jose Rizal, na ipinagdiwang noong 1961 ng pampanitikan at pang-agham na komunidad ng Mosku, ay inilimbag sa USSR ang lahat na pundamental na akda ng dakilang anak na ito ng bayang Pilipino: *Huwag Mo Akong Sasalangin* (*Noli Me Tangere*) sa pagsasalin ni M. Bylinkinoi, *Ang Mga Pilibustero* (*El Filibusterismo*) sa bagong pagsasalin ni E. Lysenko, *Piniling Akda* — isang koleksyon ng mga pamplet at sulat. Ang bantog na tula ni Rizal bago bitayin, ang *Ultimo Adios,* ay isinalin sa amin nang dalawang ulit — ni L. Sedov noong 1958 at ni E. Dolmatovskii noong 1967.

Ang maningning na folklor ng mga bayan ng Kapuluang Pilipino ay ipinakilala sa mga mambabasang Sobyet sa pamamagitan ng koleksyong *Mga Kuwento at Alamat na Pilipino,* na lumabas noong 1962 (salin mula sa Tagalog ni S. Ignashev). Ngayon ay nakahanda na para sa limbagan ang isa pang koleksyon ng mga tekstong folkloristiko.

Ang kasalukuyang literaturang Pilipino ay itinatampok sa isang buong serye ng mga publikasyon, na nagpapakilala, sa kabuuan, sa mga huwaran ng pinakamahalagang tagumpay ng pambansang panitikan sa lahat ng kanyang pinakaimportanteng genre. Sa dinamirami ng nobelang Pilipino, inilimbag sa USSR ang *Bamboo Dancers* ni N. V. M. Gonzalez (salin ni Yu. Petrova) at ang *Pretenders* ni F. Sionil Jose (salin ni I. Podberezskii) at malapit nang lumabas ang kathambuhay ni A. Hernandez *Mga Ibong Mandaragit* at isa pang nobela ni Gonzalez, *A Season of Grace.* Subalit ang pinakamalaking pagpapahalaga sa mga akdang salin sa Ruso ay inilaan sa maikling kuwento, ang uring pampanitikang pinakalaganap sa Pilipinas. Noong nakaraang limang taon inilimbag sa amin ang limang koleksyon ng mga kuwentong Pilipino, na naglalaman, sa kabuuan, ng humigit-kumulang sa 80 akda ng sampu-sampung awtor na nagsusulat hindi lamang sa Tagalog kundi sa Ingles. Ang mga koleksyon ay inilimbag nang sapat ang dami ng mga sipi — 30 libo at higit pa, at tumanggap ng pagpapahalaga mula sa mga mambabasa. Bukod sa rito, may karamihan ang bilang ng mga kuwentong Pilipino na inilathala sa iba't ibang dyornal sa Mosku. Sa mga isinaling awtor ay isinama ang mga batikang kuwentista ng matandang salinlahi — M. Arguilla, J. Garcia-Villa, N. V. M. Gonzalez at iba pa, at pati nga ang maraming kumakatawan ng batang henerasyong pampanitikan. Sa mga araw na darating, lalabas ang isa pang koleksyon — isang pagpipili sa mga katha ni Gonzalez, na kinapapalooban ng kanyang

pinakamagaling na kuwento, at pati na ang nobelang *A Season of Grace.*

Ang panulaan ng kasalukuyan Pilipinas ay kinakatawan sa ngayon ng isang libro lamang: ito ang koleksyon ng mga kathang di pa natatagalang natapos ni Amado Hernandez, ang *Rice Grains* (salin ni A. Revicha, 1971).

Mula sa larangan ng peryodismong pangkasaysayan nailimbag sa amin ang dalawang akda ni H. Abaya — *Betrayal in the Philippines* (1948, salin ni A. Ovadis) at *Untold Philippine Story* (1970, salin ni S. Rapaport).

Lahat ng inilathalang salin sa USSR ng mga manunulat na Pilipino ay walang salang may taglay na detalyadong paunang-salita, na ang mga awtor ay ang aming mga pangunahing pilipinista — Gubyer, Levinson, Podberezskii, Makarenko at iba pa. Kung pagsasamasamahin ang mga pambungad na artikulong ito, sila ay makapagbibigay, sa kabuuan, ng mga malawak at batay-sa-agham na kasaysayan ng literaturang Pilipino mula sa pinagsimulan nito hanggang sa ating panahon, kasama ng mga natatangi ritong kakanyahan sa idea at estilo.

Kung pag-uusapan ang mga salin, dapat banggitin higit sa lahat ang pangyayaring nailathala sa amin ang buong teksto ng mga konstitusyong Pilipino: ang salin ng saligang-batas na pinagtibay sa Malolos noong taong 1899, na ibinigay bilang karagdagan sa nabanggit na sa itaas na libro ni A. Gubyer; ang salin ng saligang-batas ng taong 1935 ay inilathala agad-agad matapos na pinagtibay ito — noong 1936 — na may pambungad ni A. Gubyer, subalit sa pangalawang pagkakataon ang teksto nito (kasama ng lahat ng panloob na susog pagkatapos ng panahong ito) ay inilimbag noong 1960 na may pambungad ni G. Levinson.

Bilang pagbubuo, maaaring magbigay ng mga bibliograpikal at istatistikal na katunayan: sa kabuuan ay nailimbag sa aming bansa noong piryod hanggang 1973 humigit-kumulang sa 600 libro at artikulo ukol sa Pilipinas, kasama ang mga salin ng mga awtor na Pilipino at banyaga (sa bilang na ito ay di kasama ang mga artikulo sa mga peryodiko, artikulo sa mga ensiklopedia at iba pang maliliit na publikasyon). Sa mga ito, nauukol sa kasaysayan at etnograpiya ang humigit-kumulang sa 300 pamagat; sa heograpiya at ekonomiya, humigit-kumulang sa 200; ang natitira, sa mga suliranin sa kultura, sining at wika. Sa gayon, sa bilang ng mga publikasyon tungkol sa Pilipinas, ang Unyon Sobyet ay nahuhuli lamang sa Espanya at Estados Unidos (kung hindi isasali ang Pilipinas mismo). Datapwat ang bagay, mangyari pa, ay hindi nasa dami ng inilathalang akda, kundi higit sa lahat sa pangyayaring ang mga publikasyong Sobyetiko ay palagiang lipos ng diwa ng pa-

kikipagkaibigan sa bayang Pilipino, ng paghahangad na mabatid ang kanyang pamumuhay sa nakaraan at sa kasalukuyan, na mapalaganap sa sinapupunan ng masa ng mga mambabasang Sobyet ang makatotohanang kaalaman hinggil sa malayong kabayanang ito.

Ika-25 ng Marso 1974

THE INTELLECTUAL'S PLAY: A BRIEF DISCOURSE ON THE NOH *

AMELIA LAPEÑA-BONIFACIO

AT THE VERY ONSET, I WISH TO MAKE CLEAR THAT THE NOH, a classical theatre of Japan, is by no means a strictly intellectual play. Watching it can be a highly emotional experience and it has been my fortunate experience to watch performances where I was moved to tears like hundreds watching the play. I thought that out of the varied plays I saw, the *Noh* can be what would most appeal to this group. Therefore, putting aside the very colorful *Kabuki* or Popular Stage, the *Bunraku* or Puppet Play and the *Kyogen* or Comic Interlude, I have chosen to speak on a drama form from our own part of the world in Asia, in continuous and active existence for some six hundred years — the *Noh* play of Japan.

There are three objectives which I hope to accomplish in this brief discourse:

1) give you a framework by which to appreciate the intricacies of the *Noh* by means of an actual experience of a *Noh* play (through an essay which I wrote in Tokyo) and a transposition of the story of Sisa from Dr. Rizal's *Noli Me Tangere* into a *Noh* play;
2) based on this framework, outline the dramatic elements of the *Noh*, showing how it is solidly couched on an amazing harmonization of opposites which is firmly based on a fundamental dramatic law of conflict;
3) show the mathematical precision of its form and presentation and its strict demand on "eye-knowledge" and imagination.

It is my hope that a combination of these three objectives would convince you, as I have been convinced, that the *Noh*, more than any dramatic form in existence today, is the supremely aesthetic theatre that would continue to challenge and baffle the intellect.

1. THE DANCE OF LADY AKASHI

A film of the *Noh* entitled *The Frozen Moment* comments that the *Noh* play is like an iceberg because three-fourths of it is submerged under the surface. The play, *Sumiyoshi-Mode* (The Pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi) which is said to belong to the Third Group, the Kanze,

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Kongo and Kita Schools is just that, an iceberg. So very little of its tip can be seen, one wonders if one merely dreamt up the vision.

Sumiyoshi-Mode is one of the most enchanting *Noh* plays I saw during my ASPAC tour of Japan. It incorporates the rich and gorgeous costumes, the fantastic headgears and the spare, symbolic *tsukurimono* or stage properties representing Prince Genji's carriage and Lady Akashi's boat, all made of slender bamboo bandaged in white gauze with red bands for design, the combination of red and white said to symbolize for the Japanese the most happy occasions. But it is the dance of Lady Akashi which stood etched in my mind as the ultimate representation of the *yugen* in the *Noh* — the subtle, half-hid, half-seen vision, the misty image one sees but fleetingly, it is said, as a wisp of cloud passes over the face of the moon.

The story, like most *Noh* plays, is barely there because in a *Noh* play when the *Waki,* usually a travelling priest, crosses the bridge known as the *hashigakari,* white split-toed socks sliding in measured steps to the 19-meter square cypress stage, the action as we know it in the western theatre, is already past. The moment the *Waki* entones in sonorous sing-song on top of the flute and drums that he is Priest So-and-So from Place Such-and-Such, it is merely to capture a moment in the past; it is merely to search for that moment again and in so doing perhaps atone for a grievous wrong.

But *Sumiyoshi-Mode* is a happy play or as happy as a play can get, for the happiest moments in the *Noh* theatre, I discovered, are usually tinged with great sadness. But there is no revenge here, no atoning and when Prince Genji and his former mistress-in-exile, Lady Akashi, meet, it is to feast and dance, before they sadly say farewell to each other. In a way, it is different as plays of the Third Group are different for their atmosphere of gentle and elegant beauty. The characters are flesh and blood, not fleeting spirits tied to earth and begging in trembling tones for prayers that would release them.

The version at Umewaka Gakuin, one of the several *Noh* theatres in Tokyo, is a feast for the senses, the fixed stances especially took on the quality of prints on rice paper, the most memorable being that of Lady Akashi under the canopied "boat," her white *onna-men* mask shining with a ghostly sheen above the cloud of her orange and gold kimono, her image clasped by two almost identical but older masks of the *onna-men,* two "lady" (like the *Kabuki,* the actors in the *Noh* are all male) attendants, one in a richly embroidered green kimono and the other in blue and silver! For five, ten minutes, they stood in the "boat" which "sailed" along the *hashigakari,* unmoving, transfixed, their masks in frozen hints of a smile and ever slowly, imperceptibly turning toward the direction of Prince Genji who sits in prayer of thanksgiving with his servants. Except for the chanting of the chorus and the measured beats of the drums, the actors are

never heard approaching; the *Shite* or the main actor may stamp his foot to indicate he has disappeared and the resonator jars under the stage would amplify the clap of sound on the boards. But even if he completes a journey by one step, the *Noh* actor moves soundlessly, his formal white socks rubbing the natural oil of the mirror-like surface of the stage, his heels sliding first and then whole length of the foot being slapped down noiselessly, each step in precise, measured lengths. One time, I checked my book for the continuation of the play, raised my head to see a character facing me on the stage though I never even heard the rustle of the curtain being lifted at the extreme end of the *hashigakari* nor his approach! It could very well be that he appeared by miraculous fusion — his molecules quickly rearranging themselves to re-create the man!

It was the dance, the last dance of Lady Akashi for her lover, Prince Genji, executed in muted, slow turns, like a slow motion film, that captured the essence of emotional control in a *Noh* play. Her orange kimono embroidered with gold chrysanthemum designs alternately flashed golden and blinding under the lights, her arm extended to an open fan, her face the ever-unchanging white and beautiful mask tied by trailing ribbons. It was a farewell dance which symbolized all the happy days of love between them and sadness at the parting was betrayed only once when she took a slow turn, crumpled down into a shaken heap, lifting ever so slightly a cupped hand to her forehead, a gesture all *Noh* playgoers know to symbolize that a tear is being shed. But no sound. No sound. It was as if the film projector was kept running but someone had shut off the sound track.

Hysteria appears to be an unknown factor in the vocabulary of the *Noh* play. Before Lady Akashi dances for Prince Genji, they feasted together, sitting meters apart, face-to-face, their fans spread on their laps to receive the "liquid" poured by a servant who likewise tilts his open fan (the fan in the *Noh* can symbolize so many objects). Their repast over, they get up simultaneously, spread their arms, voluminous sleeves shining like wings and as if afloat, they glide in slow motion, face-to-face, back-to-back but touching only once when Prince Genji moves behind Lady Akashi and positions an open fan above her shoulder. For a minute or so, arms still spread, they glide like two enormous birds, the sonorous chanting of the chorus accompanied by the drummers and their "i-yoi, i-yoi" cries and the flutist's plaintive tune underscoring the intensity of their emotions. How strange, I thought to myself, that being schooled in the western tradition where every dramatic impact is effected by heightening, I could be gripped by its exact opposite. I realized why most of the eyes in the audience were misty with tears. Emotional intensity restrained can be more moving than emotional intensity

released! It is a truth discovered by the Japanese dramatists centuries ago and while I have read about it, to come face to face with it was a moving experience. I was, truth to tell, quite shaken by it. The iceberg analogy, the freezing and submerging of emotions; two people, two perfectly young and healthy specimen of humanity, madly in love with each other, meeting to say goodbye and no hysteria? No outward signs of emotion, as a matter of fact! Merely acceptance, it seems, of the inevitable and gratitude for a gift of the past. It is the discipline of Buddhism which underlies every *Noh* play and can be understood by a barbarian Oriental like me only through a careful study of this great Religion.

—Tokyo, November 12, 1973

This actual experience of the *Noh* which I wrote after seeing *Sumiyohsi-Mode* is to introduce you to a drama so well organized, so well planned that nothing is left to chance or accident, even areas of the stage are defined and uninterchangeable. However, to give you a more solid foundation for the understanding of this theatrical form, I have worked out a framework against which to imagine the various aspects of the *Noh*. I am therefore offering you a transposition of the story of Sisa from Dr. Rizal's *Noli Me Tangere* into a *Noh* play.

2. *THE STORY OF SISA AS A NOH PLAY*

First of all, my apologies to Mr. Arthur Waley[1] who did the same for John Webster's *Duchess of Malfi* and whose pattern I adapted for my transposition. And, further apologies for what I hope to pass on to you, my dear colleagues, as "poetry" for this *"Noh"* play.

(I do not know if the degenerate Padre Salvi is capable of retribution, nevertheless, for the sake of an example, he is now in search of Sisa's home.)

A priest, Padre Salvi (*Waki*) comes very solemnly crossing the *hashigakari*. He wears his priestly robes, a string of rosary (Buddhist prayer beads) in one hand. As he comes to the stage, he stops and very slowly turns to face the audience, pronouncing his *Jidai* or preliminary couplet, some Buddhist aphorism appropriate to the subject of the play. Then he introduces himself very briefly:

Padre Salvi: I am Padre Salvi from the province of Laguna,
Here I am dressed in my priestly guise;

[1] Arthur Waley, *The No Plays of Japan* (New York: Grove Press, n.d.), pp. 53-54.

So quickly did I walk
That I am here already.

(He describes his journey, walking very slowly around the stage)

Over the mountains of Laguna,
Down the Makiling winds a road
White under the sun;
Through the valleys
And the soft murmur of the streams
My footfalls fell heavily
On the black ashes
Of the kaingin farms,
Outstretched like so many dark spiders
Against the hillsides.

In the bamboo groves of Biñan
I await the dawn,
Watching the mist break
Over Laguna de Bay;
The palm and bamboo
Shook their green tresses.
In the morning,
Sunlight breaks into many patterns
Varied as the patterns
Of our lives.

The Song of Travel ended, the *Waki* seats himself by the Waki pillar, his back to the audience. Sisa (*Shite*) comes in much the same manner as the *Waki*. She wears a lovely kimono of orange and gold autumnly patterns, her face covered with the beautiful mask of the *Onnamen* (in the *Noh*, poetry must be made to soar over beauty), she introduces herself:

Sisa: (It is convenient to call her this, but she is the Ghost of Sisa)

Once at the prime of life
Death plucked me,
Wretched such as I
In such wretched time;

I used to quake at the sound
Of the angelus
Hearing not the bells
But the bruised hands
Of my little boys,

Crispin and Basilio
Grasping at the rope.

I raise my head as I feel
The dry winds of this early summer,
Hoping to hear
Their laughter
Once again.

She calls to the Pilgrim (*Waki*) and engages him in conversation. He asks her whether it is not at this spot where Sisa once ran from her son, Basilio. She answers him in all eagerness, her voice rising from prose to poetry. She tells the simple story of Sisa, her marriage, her uncaring gambler of a husband, the birth of her sons, around whose lives she wove her own. Faster and faster, she spins her tale of impending tragedy, agitated by the memories of betrayal and hardship. The priest suddenly asks, "Who is it that is speaking to me?"

And the woman, shuddering (for it is hateful for a ghost to name itself) answers, *"Hazukashi ya!"* I am the soul of that unfortunate woman, she of the *kayumangging kaligatan* complexion, she whose sweet singing voice once moved the cruel Doña Consolacion to speak her native Tagalog again. I am the soul of she who was once called Sisa. Love still ties my soul to the earth. *Toburai tabi-tamaye*! "Pray for me, oh, pray for my release!"

Here ends the first part of the play. In the second, the ghost, her memory quickened by the Pilgrim's prayers (and this is part of the medicine of salvation), endures again the memory of her final hours. She mimes the action of kissing the blood-smeared face of her son Basilio, finds it very cold:

His face is cold,
My son does not breathe
He must be dead!
Ay, my boy
Ay, my master!

She narrates each scene of torture so vividly mimed that though it exists only in her brain, it is as real to the audience as if the figure of the unconscious Basilio lay propped upon the stage, or as if her executioners, Padre Salvi the curate, the sacristan, the guardias civiles and the loose women of the town were actually walking and jeering before her.

Finally, she acts the scene of her death:

I thought I felt his boyish kisses
Raining on my face,
His breath drawing mine;
But here he lies, dead
Ay, my son!
Ay, my master!

Faster and faster I shall dance
My own dance of bewilderment,
Not knowing whether Crispin
Lives or dies.

I shall dance when the sting
Of the *buntot page* lashes
My skin,
I shall sing
When they command
Me to sing.

And now that I am tired,
I shall close my eyes
And see no more,
No more.
No more!
No more!

The chorus taking up the phrase "No more!" chant a phrase from the *Hokkekyo*: *Sangai Mu-an,* "In the three Worlds there is no quietness or rest."

But the Pilgrim's prayers have been answered. Her soul has broken its bonds: is free to depart. The ghost recedes, grows dimmer and dimmer, till at last

use-ni-keri
Use-ni-keri

it vanishes from sight.

3. *The DRAMATIC ELEMENTS OF THE NOH*

As this transposition shows us, the *Noh* can have only two characters, the *Shite* (the ghost of Sisa) and a *Waki* (the travelling Padre Salvi). The *Shite* is the main actor or the "Doer" while the *Waki* is the secondary actor or the "Assistant" or as his name implies, "Stands Aside." On this first level alone, we can see that the reduction to the lowest possible number of two (sustaining an interaction) can be the severest test on the ability of both the dramatist

and the actor. While the western dramatist invariably finds the need for a third, even if it is only an inanimate third like a telephone in Bertolt Brecht's *The Jewish Wife* or a bench in Edward Albee's *The Zoo Story*, the Noh transcends the need by enlarging on the scope of the dramatic action so that the universes of both the living and the dead are encompassed and the past and present are finally, unmistakably merged. Nowhere is the poignancy of distance between the living and the dead more starkly delineated than in the touching exchange between the *Shite* and the *Waki* and possibly, it is only in the *Noh* where the indefinable realities of life and death are truly spanned on both spatial and intellectual planes all at once.

How is this achieved? There is the spare form of the drama itself set against an equally austere *Noh* stage. There is the strict symbolization of gestures, the stark linear simplicity of the costumes, masks and stage properties. There is the unrelenting penetration of the choral chanting and instrumental music underscoring the simple, direct poetic lines. Furthermore, all of these are spaced by the so-called intervals of "no-action" where "tension is not relaxed when the dancing and singing comes to an end or at intervals between the dialogue and the different types of miming but (the actor) maintains an unwavering inner strength."[2]

What holds these parts together, according to Zeami, is the mind. He explained it thus:

> "Life and death, past and present —
> Marionettes on a toy stage.
> When the strings are broken,
> Behold the broken pieces!
>
> (Dr. Donald Keene notes that this is a poem by an unknown Zen master and that the last two lines may mean, "When life comes to an end the illusions of this world also break into pieces.")

> "This is a metaphor describing human life as it transmigrates between life and death. Marionettes on a stage appear to move in various ways, but in fact it is not they who really move — they are manipulated by strings. When these strings are broken, the marionettes fall and are dashed to pieces. In the art of the *Noh* too, the different types of miming are artificial things. What holds the parts together is the mind. This mind must not be disclosed to the audience. If it is seen, it is just as if

[2] Zeami Motokiyo, "On the Art of the No," in Donald Keene (ed) *Anthology of Japanese Literature to the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Harmonsworth: Penquin Book, 1968), p. 250.

a marionette's strings were visible. The mind must be made the strings which hold together all the powers of the art. . . " [3]

It is this primacy of the mind in the Oriental theatre which struck Antonin Artaud; he noted that "Drama is the mind's most perfect expression." (and that) "The most beautiful manifestation of pure theater" is to be found in the Oriental theatre where what is disconcerting to Europeans like himself (and to western-oriented drama students like us) is, unlike the Occidental theatre, the Oriental theatre exudes an "admirable intellectuality that one senses crackling everywhere in the close and subtle web of gestures, in the infinitely varied modulation of the voice, etc. . . ." And that in this theatre, "everything is calculated with mathematical meticulousness." [4]

"Everything is calculated with mathematical meticulousness." Surely nothing truer can be said of the *Noh* theatre! There is the *Noh* stage, a majestic structure which wears its own roof like a crown under the ceiling of the theatre which houses the auditorium and the various tea and souvenir shops. The stage itself has unchanging dimensions, 19 meter square, joined to the dressing rooms by a bridge known as the *hashigakari.* The two structures combined have the appearance of a huge dipper, both glowing with the warm color of cypress wood, the newer *Noh* stages like the Kanze Nohgakudo have a pale milky appearance and the older ones, like the Suidobashi Nohgakudo, a pleasing warm reddish hue. The ornate eaves under the upturned roof are tipped with white, otherwise no paint mars the lovely cypress wood. The *Noh* stage, unlike the western stage, is never violated by pounded nails, overhanging counterweights and rope riggings, unsightly flats and curtains. Except for the Ginza Nohgakudo, a *Noh* theatre located between the 8th and 9th floor of a modern building in the midst of Tokyo, which has three plastic pines, real pine trees are planted at regular intervals alongside the *hashigakari,* on a gravel path which separates the audience section from the performance area. At the far end of the *hashigakari* is a colorfully stripped brocade curtain topped by satin ropes and tassels and lifted by means of two bamboo poles. The stage itself, under the unchanging lights of neons and birdseye lamps, is unadorned except for the huge mural of the traditional Yogo pine tree which occupies the entire back wall, its scraggly branches supporting voluminous clouds of pine needles.

4. THE HARMONIZATION OF OPPOSITES

Against this stage is played an understatement of sensations, conjured, it seems, by judicious blending of monochrome and blinding

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 251.
[4] Antonin Artaud, *The Theater and its Double* (New York: Grove Press Inc., 1958), p. 57.

colors, monotones and shrieks, plaintive flute music and staccato drums. Reposeful gestures serve as counterpoint to violent ones which are forever toned down by slowing the violence, nay, the very speed of the motion. Even the contour of the human figure is changed, magnified by the stark, linear simplicity of the costumes, masks and stage properties, the body itself is enlarged to twice or three times its original size by the flared *hakama* or reed pantaloons and the various layers of billowing kimonos. The face which is subject to excessive expressions and to the vagaries of aging is negated behind an unchanging mask of a beautiful woman, a devil or a warrior. And even this masked figure is played against the scrubbed, shiny, brown-complexioned face of the *Waki* who wears no mask, no makeup and only neutral-coloured kimonos.

This playing of opposites against each other, this direct collision of contradistinctive elements, this clashing of extremes is carried to the opposition of action of the body itself. *"Yugen"* (in acting), according to Zeami, "can be attained only as long as the actor never loses sight of the beauty of effect and bears in mind always the correct balance between his mental and physical action and between the movements of his body and feet..." or as his theory points out, ". . . if the body and feet move in the same manner, the effect will be crude. Thus, in an agitated passage, when the feet are stamping wildly, the movements of the body should be gentle..." In the continuum, the opposition of action and "no action" is to be seen in the intervals of dancing and singing, miming and chanting as opposed to intervals of "no action" which occur in between. These stretches of "no action" hemmed in by actions before and after, "must be linked," according to Zeami, "by entering the state of mindlessness in which the actor conceals even from himself his own intent. The ability to move audiences depends, thus, on linking all the artistic powers with one mind."[5]

Aside from the smaller elements which make up the dramatic presentation, there are two bigger bases for harmonization of opposites. These are: 1) adapting the playing thus, the actor must do "negative" playing to counteract the "positive" day and "positive" playing to counteract the "negative" night-time. Or, if there is "an outburst of positivity" at night, then this must be dampened by "negative" playing and so forth; and, 2) the "aesthetic unit" itself in which staid pieces like a god-play or a play of prayer and a play inculcating virtues of benevolence, justice, politeness and wisdom is

[5] Zeami, *op. cit.*, pp. 250-251.

played against pieces of violence and death like a warrior play, a "wig" play or a mad woman play and a demon play.[6]

Clearly, this is one theatre where the actor is an equal creator with the dramatist, if not his superior. For it is through the instrument of his body and his mind that all artistic powers are finally linked: to sense "positivity" in the "negative" night-time or "negativity" in the "positive" day, to play instances of heightened emotion so many decibels lower where it can be controlled and muted and in the supreme test of oppositions, man against himself, a state of mindfulness against mindlessness, overt action against covert action all demand of the actor an intellectuality which is what Artaud sensed "crackling" throughout the performance.

In my attempt to show how these harmonizations of opposites in the *Noh* theater have resulted in some elegance of certain formulae, I may be accused of stretching its meaning beyond mere juxtaposition of elements. A number of authorities, Dr. Donald Keene, among them, explained these contradictions as historically and aesthetically based. For instance, he wrote that historically speaking, "the *Noh* may owe more to Zenchiku than Zeami; the bare stage, the insignificant props, the movements of the actors, recalling at once the Zen priest and the warrior. The overpowering sombre tones of the plays certainly bring to mind not Zeami's 'flowers' but the gloom of a monochrome, flowerless world."[7] Or, the aesthetic explanation for the small mask and voluminous costumes in the *Noh*, "originated in an aesthetic ideal of the Japanese for a small head on a large body."[8]

But even while the historical and aesthetic explanations may sufficiently support the presence of these elements, I perceive a deeper, philosophical meaning for these contradictions which appear everywhere and throughout the whole of this challenging theatrical form. Being a playwright, I cannot help but attach meanings to them through the very laws which govern dramatic action in the theatre which Artaud succinctly expressed as the "profound clashing and combining of distinct forces."

Lastly, on considering its greatest and strictest demand on the mind of the audience, I wish to say that you and I who often balk at frequent excursions to mindscapes of monochrome and silence would find in the *Noh* the full import of the admonitions of Zeami to his fellow artists that art is a lonely and secret undertaking.

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[6] For a more thorough explanation of these harmonizations through "positive" and "negative" playing and the "aesthetic unit" as propounded by Zeami, please see Waley, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-29.

[7] Donald Keene, *No: The Classical Theatre of Japan* (Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd., 1973), p. 36. In his analysis of the art of acting, Zeami enumerates the nine levels of actors as the nine arts of the "flower."

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 63.

Possibly what is appealing, what is challenging in the *Noh* is precisely this, that as surely as a sailboat is launched on a limitless lake, the mind is launched on its lonely excursion, above and beyond the boundaries of understated visual and aural aspects of the drama. In other words, unlike the western theatre, the poetry of this Oriental drama which treats of action as it occurs in the mind of the *Shite*, requires at its fullest concentration what Zeami himself calls "eye-knowledge" which comes, "not to all who see but to him who sees well." This inner eye or the "mind's eye" as Hamlet calls it, this requirement of the finest of sensibilities, the extremest discipline in the exercise of the imagination is what would appeal to the academician to whom the exercise of this faculty is a constant and regular undertaking. In short, the *Noh* theatre is truly a vehicle for the intellect. The symbolic gestures, the spare stage properties, the slow calculated dances, the barest hint of bridging between poetry, dance and music against the repose of the chorus and orchestra foisted on a bare stage and throughout, the unrelenting harmonization of opposites all zero in on the imagination as in no other theatre and call to fore the asceticism of a true scholar who can discard all worldly possessions the better to concentrate on his one precious, his one great asset — the human mind.

It is fervently hoped that with the gradual awakening of national interest in the rich tradition of Asian art, that no Oriental, especially one who is a member of this premier academy in our Asian country, would ever again say what I overheard said with such biting sarcasm, "Who would be interested in a literature course if it is only *Asian?*" Because it is only when we realize the depth, the astounding intricacies, the richly textured Asian theatre in particular and Asian Art in general, that we will realize that to say such an outrageous statement is not only a grave misreading of the current temper of our students but a revelation of an ignorance so improbable, of a colonial mentality so unbelievable that it dawned on me, upon hearing that remark, that sadly, truly, what a long trip the return of a native is; that a trip curved back toward our own direction consitutes a more arduous and longer line of progression.

But undertake it we must, step by painful step, beginning from the Drama which is the most penetrating of all artistic activities.

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SECOND FOOTNOTE ON THE TASADAY

ZEUS A. SALAZAR

TWO NEW REPORTS ISSUED ALMOST SIMULTANEOUSLY BY PANAMIN on the Tasaday, one[1] more scientific in language than the other,[2] provide an excellent occasion for further comment on our shifting knowledge of this celebrated Filipino group. The Ateneo anthropologists fail to mention, as in a recent pamphlet[3], that PANAMIN chief Manda Elizalde "is known to the Tasaday as 'Momo Dakel Diwata Tasaday' or bringer of good fortune," [4] whereas PANAMIN photographer-turned-ethnographer Nance writes that the 35-year old Harvard-graduate Tao Bung or "big man" among Mindanao minorities[5] is also considered by the troglodytic Tas. as "the man their ancestors had foretold would one day come to them" in order to "just love us and help us." [6] However, both reports follow the same outline, beginning with the helicopter penetration of the Tas. forest homeland and ending with the humanist exhortation for change through choice and research by invitation. Both likewise exhibit an unfaltering faith in the B'lit Manobo culture hero named Dafal, whose testimony is of prime importance in the determination of the real Tas. techno-economic condition before the presumed "effective isolation" was finally broken after presumed centuries by the scientific entry of PANAMIN.

At any rate, the Tas. now appear less hoary from their forcible journey through archeo-glottochronological time, less speculatively removed from their modern countrymen. For instance, they do not seem to appreciate "a loud voice and sharp looks," [7] a sentiment quite understandable to most Filipinos and not too readily perceived by Western guests. Their predilection for the betel-nut chew pro-

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[1] Carlos A. Fernandez and Frank Lynch, *The Tasaday: Cave-dwelling Food Gatherers of South Cotabato*, Mindanao Special Release, Panamin Foundation Inc., 1972).

[2] John Nance, "The Tasadays," *Manila Times*, June 8-12, 1972.

[3] "Protecting Man's Right to Choice," *Panamin Foundation Inc.*, 1972, p. 13. (Henceforth cited as *Pamphlet*).

[4] Kenneth MacLeish, "The Tasaday: Stone Age Cavemen of Mindanao," *National Geographic*, CXL11:2 (August, 1972), pp. 219, 226, 230, *passim.*, also mentions this new title of Elizalde as well as the Tas. messianic expectation in relation to him (*cf. infra*). An article in the German magazine *Stern* ("Mit dem Hubschrauber in die Steinzeit") recently identified *Momo Dakel Diwata* as the God they await from Heaven in their caves (pp. 41, 53).

[5] Nance, *loc. cit.*, June 12, 1972, p. 19.

[6] *Ibid.*, June 8, 1972, p. 6.

[7] *Ibid.*, June 11, 1972, p. 1.

vides the best occasion for dirt[8] and even for human contact[9], as in most traditional Philippine and Indonesian groups. The jew's harp played by Balayem and not yet attributed to Dafal's advent among the Tas.[10] is quite a common instrument in the country, particularly among archaic groups. If not just a typical subordinate's contribution to a personality cult, the reported messianic expectation among the Tas. in relation to the PANAMIN head is known in Pilipino as *bola, pambibilog ng ulo, panlalangis,* etc., a not exactly rare expression of Filipino raillery. Provided it is not conveniently identified later as another Dafal importation, the term *"diwata"* puts the Tas. in the same category as all the other Philippine groups from Mindanao and Sulu up to Pampanga where this Sanskrit loan word is found, unlike those in the rest of Luzon and the entire Austronesian world except West Indonesia which all have instead only *anito* and its cognate.[11]

"Diwata" also carries adverse implications for precipitate theories about the Tas. It was earlier thought, for instance, that either the B'lit separated from the Tas. or both separated from a common ancestral group called Pre-BT with, in any case, the Tas. remaining "primitive" in their forest environment and the B'lit gradually changing through civilizational influences from the coast[12] which include probably even agriculture.[13] Though they now recognize "minimal contacts" between the Tas. and other "bands of similar size" like the Tasafang and Sanduka from whom their wives come and whose presence "perhaps no more than 10 or 20 kilometers away" becomes more likely at "bedding down for the day,"[14] Fernandez and Lynch continued to postulate the "effective isolation of the ancestral forest people (Tasaday and others) from the early B'lit and others like them."[15] The presence of *"diwata"* implies, however, that *either* they already had the term before separating from the B'lit (or with the B'lit from the common indigenous Mindanao stock) and therefore had contact like all the other related groups with cultural influences from the coast, *or* they had contact with their relations and other advanced or advancing coastal groups after their supposed

[8] Fernandez and Lynch, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 26, *passim.*
[10] Pamphlet, pp. 14, 15.
[11] Zeus A. Salazar, *Le Concept AC* 'anitu' dans de monde austronésien: vers l'étude comparative des religions ethniques austronésiennes.* Ms. dissertation. (Sorbonne: Université de Paris, 1968), pp. 115-146; 154. (Henceforth cited as *Le Concept*).
[12] Frank Lynch and Teodoro A. Llamzon, "The B'lit Manobo and the Tasaday," *Philippine Sociological Review,* XIX:1-2 (Jan.-April, 1971), p. 93; Teodoro A. Llamzon, "The Tasaday Language So Far," *Philippine Journal of* Linguistics, XI:2 (December, 1971), p. 8 (Henceforth cited as *Tasaday*).
[13] Richard E. Elkins, "Comments," *Philippine Journal of Linguistics,* XI:2 (December, 1971), p. 33.
[14] Fernandez and Lynch, *op. cit.*, pp. 11,17-18.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

separation. In either case, the theory of "effective isolation" becomes untenable, because the contact must have been long and intense enough for a culture-heavy concept like *"diwata"* to penetrate, replace or coexist with other religious ideas. Under such circumstances, how could the other more techno-economic items of culture closely associated in Mindanao and elsewhere with *"diwata,"* like agriculture and metallurgy, not have affected the "originally primitive" Tas.? Analogous changes have precisely been attributed to the five or so intermittent contacts with Dafal between 1966, 1967 or 1968 and 1971.[16]

The chronological content of *"diwata"* is likewise unfavorable. In contrast with *"deva,"* another Sanskrit loan word whose distribution in the Indonesian world is limited to Java and the Lesser Sunda Islands, *"diwata"* is associated not only with the Austronesian cognate *"hantu"* but also with *djin, setan* and other terms related to Islam.[17] This suggests an Islam-borne conglomerate of folk-religious ideas which may have started from the original homeland of the Malays, Sumatra, since it is here that the connection *"hantu/diwata"* appears to be strongest. In this context, the *"diwata"* concept could not have reached the Tas. earlier than the accelerated expansion of Islam in Indonesia in the 14th century.[18] In the Philippines, Islamic influences of Sumatran flavor penetrated the Sulu region during the end of the 14th century and did not reach the Cotabato basin till the 15th century.[19] In that case, how long did it take for the term to reach and then be adopted by the Tas. or the "ancestral group" to which the Tas. may have belonged? It is quite futile to speculate, since the date should be very much later than the 2,000 years advanced by Fox[20] on the basis of a supposed similarity of Tas. stone tools with C-14 dated prehistoric analogues in the Philippines. The opinion was challenged almost immediately with the suggestion that Fox support his claim with "a seriously documented comparison," the typology of Philippine prehistoric implements being still quite rudimentary.[21] Now his collaborators consider "the making and using of stone tools. . . unimportant," adding that the "range of tool forms that we observe" approximate *no* "known type or series of Philippine stone implements" and that *none* of the axes

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[16] *Ibid.*, p. 26; Nance, *loc. cit.*, June 8, 1972, p. 6.
[17] Salazar, *Le Concept*, pp. 85-154.
[18] John Villiers, *Südostasien vor der Kolonialzeit*, Fisher Weltgeschihte, Bd. XVIII (Frankfurt: Fischer Bücherei, 1965), p. 258 *et seq.*
[19] Cesar A. Majul, "The Role of Islam in the History of the Filipino People," *Asian Studies*, IV:2 (August, 1966), pp. 308-9.
[20] Robert Fox, "Time Catches Up With the Tasaday," *The Asian*, I:3,7.
[21] Zeus A. Salazar, "Footnote on the Tasaday," *Philippine Journal of Linguistics*, XI:2 (December, 1971), p. 35. (Henceforth cited as *Footnote*).

"among stone tools recovered from the Philippine archaeological sites. . . resembles the kind of axe used by the Tasaday."[22]

Fox's line of argument has therefore been apparently abandoned. However, is it a new course to express the opinion that "probably the nearest form" to Tas. "axes" would be "some of those tools that show only edge-grinding and have been labeled 'protoneoliths' on this account" and "called 'Late Hoabinhian' or 'Bacsonian' because of their type provenience"[23]? Again, it would only be fair to the Filipinos and to scholarship to support this view with a well documented comparison. Among others, the classic works of Mansuy, Colani, Patte, etc. probably would be of better help than presently available local materials. In any case, it may be noted at this juncture that the characteristic Bacsonian tool, the "short axe," was obtained through segmentation of a biface and polished on only one side of the cutting edge, whereas the Tas. analogue is ground or "sharpened" in a rudimentary fashion against a rock on both sides of the cutting edge, the material appearing to be any stone or stone fragment.[24] Furthermore, this new conjecture perhaps should not be allowed to carry scientific enthusiasm away to further flights of temporal or anthropological fancy, particularly since the Hoabinhian-Bacsonian complex has been presumed elsewhere to be at once "protoneolithic" and "Australoid or Papuan-Melanesian"[25] and since the Fernandez-Lynch report suggestively mentions, again without citing sources, that the supposed Tas. subsistence area of approximately 25 sq. km. or one sq. km. per person is "not unlike estimates that have been made for certain Upper Paleolithic peoples."[26] Neither the Tas. physiognomy (the projected mensurational stint by Kelso among the Tas. would probably be an exercise in anthropological futility in this sense) nor their most likely age would reach that far!

Indeed, the supposed starting date of Tas. separation (with or without companion groups) from the rest of Mindanao ancestral mankind has progressively become more recent. After Fox's archaeological estimate of 2,000 years was made to recede into the speculative penumbra of prehistory, the glottochronological evidence was invoked in turn. From 700-900 glottochronological years ago around April, 1971,[27] the estimate decreased to only 571-755 years ago in December of the same year,[28] increasing again to 1,000 years ago

[22] Fernandez and Lynch, *op. cit.*, pp. 20, 21.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 21.
[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 21-23, pl. 5.
[25] P.V. Van Stein-Calenfals, "The Melanesoid Civilisations of Eastern Asia," *Bull. Raffles Museum*, Ser. B:1. 1936, pp. 41-51.
[26] Fernandez and Lynch, *op. cit.*, p. 44.
[27] Lynch and Llamzon, *loc. cit.*, p. 92.
[28] Llamzon, *Tasaday*, p. 8.

this year[29] in line with the reported result of "study period no. 4" (with Fox, Lynch and Llamson as personnel), establishing Tas. descent "from the same group from which the B'lit came, the split having occurred about 900-1000 year ago."[30] In the Fernandez-Lynch report, the start of Tas. isolation (presently conceived as being with undeterminable "intermittent contacts") has been reduced to "say 600 years or more"[31] or, in another context, "for well over 500 years and perhaps for as many as 800"[32] — *i.e.*, the old Llamzon estimate of last December (1971), though in a justificative note relegated to the back pages this is again raised to "perhaps one millenium."[33] To restate a point made earlier,[34] the glottochronological method can only apply to the onset of a separate linguistic evolution within two or more languages stemming from a common source *and not* to the separation, much less isolation, of linguistic communities, *assuming* that it is indeed valid for Austronesian languages where documentary checks on the rate of lexical loss are not available for long periods.

If both Tas. and B'lit were diverging *linguistically* "well over 500 years ago," their speakers in reality probably still had at the moment quite intimate contact with each other and with other Mindanao coastal groups, as the presence of *"diwata"* among the Tas. suggests.[35] Indeed, as the only truly historical clue thus far available on Tas. "age," this Sanskrit loan word constitutes not only a *terminus ad quem* for any supposed original or prehistoric "effective isolation" but, more damagingly, a *terminus a quo* for their effective contact with other groups and the Indonesian world— *at the very moment they were supposed to have become glottochronologically isolated!* In this context, the forms of *"seladeng"* (deer), which Elkins mistakenly believes "occur only in Manobo languages" and consequently uses as one among the lexical items proving the the autonomy of his proposed Manobo sub-group of Philippine languages[36] may not be cognates after all of Malay *"seladang"* ("wild deer") as earlier suggested[37] but loan words ultimately deriving from the same Malay-Sumatran source. At any rate, among the Mindanao groups used by Llamzon[38] for his glottochronological determination, *three* Manobo (Cotabato, Agusan and Binukid) and *only one* non-Manobo (the Kamato T'boli) possess (have retained?)

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29 Nance, *loc. cit.*, June 11, p. 13.
30 *Pamphlet*, p. 11.
31 *Op. cit.*, p. 1.
32 *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.
33 *Ibid.*, no. 13, p. 52.
34 Salazar, *Footnote*, p. 35.
35 Cf. *supra.*
36 Elkins, *loc. cit.*, p. 32.
37 Salazar, Footnote p. 36, 37.
38 Llamzon, *Tasaday*, p. 30.

the common Philippine term for "deer," *"usa."* Also of some interest is the parallel construction of Tas. *"mata agdaw"* ("eye of day") and Mal. *"mata hari"* ("eye of day") for "sun," in the face of just the normal reflexes of Proto-Austronesian *'a(*n*)*dav* in Mindanao and other Phil. languages.

All this suggests that the present Tas. must have become isolated not *originally*, in their "primitive" state, but rather *after* the probably long and intensive contacts implicit in the penetration of *"diwata"* and possibly other borrowed terms like *"seladeng"* which ultimately originate from Sumatran Mal. On the basis of earlier reports that the Tas. numbered 150 persons, an estimate of 150 years ago was proposed for this event.[39] Fernandez and Lynch now report that, beginning with the first couple, five generations can be counted, of which three constitute the present band of some 25 members.[40] This should reduce our estimate to something like 80 years ago or much less. But even if 200 years were given to this point of separation, it would still mean that the actual Tas. constitute the "wreckage" of a formerly more advanced (possibly already a *kaingin*-based) culture, an idea quite repugnant to Lynch and his collaborators.[41]

The idea of "culture loss" in relation to the Tas. does not appeal to Lynch because agriculture and hunting "would immensely increase their chances for survival" and "the opportunities for planting and the materials for bow-and-arrow construction were at hand."[42] As it now turns out, the "chances for survival" do not have to depend on such techniques. The Tas. environment is such that, even without them, subsistence "is not precarious"[43] for the Tas., who "live in plenty and will continue to do so for years to come"[44] by following "a strategy that has led to successful survival with a minimum of harassment or anxiety."[45] As for "opportunities," the physical environment constitutes less of a problem than the cultural and (and human) one. Agriculture, even of the "shifting" variety exemplified by the *kaingin* method practiced by the Manobo in the late 20's[46] and even now,[47] requires a much bigger number than we would suppose the Tas. had at the outset[48] and implies

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[39] Salazar, *Footnote*, p. 36.
[40] Fernandez and Lynch, *op. cit.*, pl. 2.
[41] Llamzon, *Tasaday*, p. 8; Lynch and Llamzon, *loc. cit.*, pp. 92-93; Fernandez and Lynch, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
[42] Lynch and Llamzon, *loc. cit.*, pp. 92-93; Llamzon, *loc. cit.*, p. 8.
[43] Fernandez and Lynch, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
[44] *Ibid.*, p. 44.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. 45.
[46] John M. Garvan, *The Manobos of Mindanao* (Washington: Memoirs of the National Academy of Sciences, 1931), p. 74, *et seq.*
[47] Rogelio M. Lopez, *Agricultural Practices of the Manobo in the Interior of Southwestern Cotabato (Mindanao)*. Cebu: University of San Carlos, 1968.
[48] Cf. their genealogy in Fernandez and Lynch, *op. cit.*, pl. 20.

the application of specialized techniques, like the felling of trees and the control of fire, and ritual-propitiatory practices known only to a specialist like the *baylan*.

Though less complex, hunting presents similar problems for a small group without a specialist in ritual or at least a knowledgeable person in the technique. As the Fernandez-Lynch report points out, hunting is not just the use of the bow and arrow or the spear; it involves "equally, if not more important,... the knowledge of animal behavior"[49] — *i.e.*, it is already a kind of specialization. The "trapper" Dafal is himself already a specialist in his group, within which a great many do not possess his knowledge! As for iron and particularly steel whose loss Fernandez and Lynch consider "less likely in the circumstances,"[50] the aleatory nature of the former as a trade product from the coast has already been underlined,[51] whereas the latter should not even be considered "in the circumstances" of coastal trade in Mindanao until perhaps very recently. At any rate, even ethnic metallurgy is an art of the specialist.

Culture loss, it would seem, explains quite a number of things in Tas. life. For example, the Tas. stone-tool "technology," which cannot be attached to any tradition, is probably *that* "pragmatic"[52] because it is in fact *not a product of tradition* but that of just simple circumstance and necessity. The actual stone implements are fashioned not by working them with a stone or wooden "hammer" as in most prehistoric traditions but rather by "sharpening" them *against a rock* as one would a metal tool;[53] whereas an "heirloom" stone tool is not only shaped like a knife[54] but is used like one and in the Filipino way—*i.e.*, held between the thumb and the forefinger for "scraping" in an outward direction from the body, as when one prepares rattan or bamboo.[55] Is this the "knife" called *igot* in the Llamzon list?[56] In that case, the word is probably a cognate of Sebuano *igut* "scrape s. t. by rubbing a knife which has been fixed into s.t. immovable up and down against it,"[57] whose root is identifiable at once in Tag. *hagot*, Seb. *hag-ut* and Bik. *ha-got* "strip the outer part of abaca to get the fibers" (a technique where the blade is fixed and the abaca mobile) and in Bis. and Bik.

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[49] *Ibid.*, p. 29.
[50] *Ibid.*, p. 22.
[51] Salazar, *Footnote*, p. 35.
[52] Fernandez and Lynch, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
[53] *Ibid.*, pl. 5.
[54] *Ibid.*, pl. 6 fig. 9; Lynch and Llamzon, *loc. cit.*, p. 1.7.
[55] *Ibid.*, p. 94; Fernandez and Lynch, *op. cit.*, pl. 7.
[56] Teodoro A. Llamzon, "A Tasaday Manobo Word List" (complied on July 16-17, 1971) Mimeo. p. 2. (Henceforth cited as *List*).
[57] John U. Wolff, *A Dictionary of Cebuano Visayan*, Philippine Journal *of Linguistics*. (Special Monograph No. 4, 1972), p. 366.

gutgut "cut with a slicing motion" and Tag. *gutgut* "torn or rent into pieces."[58] At the very least, such an etymology does not contradict an earlier Tas. use of metal. The same is true with the "special role" of the bamboo knife *bilis* (cognate to Tag. *bulos* "harpoon, dart, spear"?) "in the severing of the newly-born's umbilical cord,"[59] since it indicates precisely a taboo on metal tools which, in this case, would expose the infant to some mysterious malady or death (in the modern view, from tetanus and other infections). Similarly, the "wooden pounders" used to "loosen the yellow-orange pith" in the preparation of the beneficent staple *natek*[60] recall in shape and handling the familiar metal hoe — unless, of course, this peculiarity is again attributed to the already pervasive influence of Dafal's five or more visits with the Tas.

In this connection, it seems odd that Dafal's name has not been perpetuated in at least one of his supposed cultural importations into Tas. — like the bolo, for instance. Instead, this most useful of the reported "gifts" of Dafal was called *fais,* the old name for the Tas. stone axe which, as a result, purportedly came to be known as *batu fais* or "stone *fais.*"[61] If true, the phenomenon is linguistically a most quaint instance of a new object taking the generic name of an old one instead of being classified as just one specified type. In this sense, our *pan americano* would be called simply *pan,* while the earlier known ones would be specified as *pan filipino* or *pan español;* the potato would be identified simply as "appel" in Dutch and "pomme" in French instead of "aardappel" and "pomme de terre" (earth apple) respectively, while the original apple would be qualified as "hemelappel" and "pomme de ciel" (apple of heaven)! The point must be driven home, because the designation of the bolo as *fais,* instead of "*fais* Dafal" (in honor of this culture-bearer and on the model of *bulbul siko* and *bulbul laso* in the Llamzon list[62]) or simply whatever Dafal calls the bolo (if the term *natek* was presumably accepted by the Tas. with the entire process and product from Dafal, why should his term for bolo not be?), may in fact be normal in the light of an earlier knowledge of metal or even of the bolo itself.

That the bolo may even have been known *before Dafal* is implicit in the speculation by Fernandez and Lynch that the use of *rattan* for hafting "may have followed the introduction of the bolo: cutting this plant would be a difficult task for the stone axe,"[63] *be-*

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[58] *Ibid.,* pp. 280, 288; Jose V. Panganiban, *Diksyunaryo-Tesauro Pilipino-Ingles* (Lungsod ng Quezon: Manlapaz Publishing Co., 1972), pp. 457, 465.
[59] Fernandez and Lynch, *op. cit.,* p. 24.
[60] *Ibid.,* pls. 8, 9, 13.
[61] *Ibid.,* pp. 20-21.
[62] Llamzon, *List,* p. 2.
[63] *Ibid.,* p. 23.

ause the stone tool "heirlooms" which the Tas. "say they have had for generations" (*i.e.*, certainly before the reported advent of Dafal) are also hafted through the use of *rattan*.[64] As a matter of fact, they are not only better worked but also better hafted with much more cleanly shaved *rattan* than the ones made for the curious visitors of the Tas. forest.[65] In that case, there seems to be no need to suspect that the Tas. did not use bamboo internodes or *nafnaf* for cooking before Dafal's arrival[66] or to suppose that it was Dafal's bolo which was responsible for the popularization of *nafnaf*,[67] also used as containers to fetch water[68] in the manner of our barrio folk not so long ago. The rub, however, lies in the fact that extensive Tas. use of *nafnaf* before Dafal would point to previous knowledge of the bolo or some other metal tool. Such a circumstance would be most unprepossessing, since even for the metal (brass) earrings that a young Tas. wears there can be no other explanation but some insignificant "recent contact with neighboring Manobo peoples"[69] who, of course, *collectively* could not produce the same massive effects as the solitary Dafal on his five or more short excursions into Tas. land. The assumption must be maintained firmly that the Tas. constitute an originally primitive people untouched by the world until Dafal came to bring them to a higher level of culture. Thus communicated to anthropological science as "one of the most significant finds of the last half century," the discovery could afford the PANAMIN and other interested sectors "a rare, and perhaps our last, chance to study man living at the extreme end of the spectrum of cultural development."[70]

That end of the spectrum, however, appears to be considerably less extreme than the sweep of this self-consciously momentous view — even and particularly on the crucial point of food production. The early appearance of terms for "grain" and "grind" (a reflex of Proto-Austronesian **gili̯ŋ* [71] in our still very limited Tas. vocabulary,[72] tatoo (a practice closely associated with ritual headhunting within the context of agriculture among Mindanao and even Austronesian groups) and the "incipient horticulture" observed by Fox have already been pointed out as indicating the probable previous knowledge of

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64 *Ibid.*, pl. 6 fig. 7 and 9, pl. 7; Lynch and Llamzon, *loc. cit.* p. 94.
65 Cf. *Pamphlet*, p. 6; Fernandez and Lynch, *op. cit.*, pl. 5, pl. 6 fig. 8.
66 Fernandez and Lynch, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
67 *Ibid.*, p. 34.
68 *Ibid.*, p. 15.
69 Lynch and Llamzon, *loc. cit.*, p. 94; Fernandez and Lynch, *op. cit.*, p. 28, p. 1.7.
70 Fernandez and Lynch, *op. cit.*, p. 52 n. 13.
71 Otto Dempwolff, *Vergleichende Lautlehre des Austronesischen Wortschatzes. I. Induktiver Aufbau einer Indonesischen Ursprache* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1934), p. 55 (Henceforth cited as *Induktiver Aufbau*).
72 Llamzon, *List*, p. 2.

agriculture.[73] Describing Tas. "incipient horticulture" as a "system of monitoring and fussing over the wild yam's growth, marking it for future harvest, and removing tubers in such a way as not to kill the plant," Fernandez and Lynch[74] limit it to only one yam species "referred to as *biking,*" all the other species having been "pointed out by Dafal, who even taught them how to leach one species known to be poisonous."[75] This means that Dafal, "trapper of wild pig and a collector of coconut pith, for both delicacies he had a good market in his own settlement,"[76] is also an expert on wild yams and on the preparation of at least one poisonous species. He must have also introduced their names (*kalut, bugsu, lafad, malafakid, banag, fugwa*)[77] into the Tas. vocabulary, after having found them in the forest Zone II[78] and taught their use to the Tas. who are presumed to have lived in that same environment for a thousand years or even two without discovering other yam sorts than their very own *biking* before Dafal! Indeed, it would be most unusual if the Tas. had known these other species (particularly the poisonous *kalut*), because that would make them real and not just "incipient" wild yam horticulturists, unpleasantly removing them from the more interesting "extreme end of the spectrum."

But Dafal is also credited with having introduced the *ubod,* "tasty terminal bud of the wild palm and other plants,"[79] and the *natek* or wild palm pith.[80] The names must consequently be assumed to have come from Dafal, since the Tas. could not have had them without knowing what they stood for. Having taught the Tas. to appreciate *ubod* as food (it is taking them some time to accept other food products brought by PANAMIN[81]), he must have found time enough to show that it can be collected from "three species of palm (possibly more), from rattan (ubod balagan), and from bamboo shoots,"[82] before being cooked over hot coals, steamed in a bamboo tube or simply eaten raw! The WB Manobo of course know *uvud,* "the edible heart or bud of a palm tree or banana plant."[83] It is the Bik. *ubud* or "coconut palm core," the Bis. *úbud* or "tender heart of the trunk of palms, bananas, bamboos, rattans,"[84] the Ibanag *ubud* or "kind of palm" and Tag. *ubod* or

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[73] Salazar, *Footnote,* p. 37.
[74] *Op. cit.,* p. 36.
[75] *Ibid.*
[76] Lynch and Llamzon, *loc. cit.,* p. 91.
[77] Llamzon, *Tasaday,* p. 4.
[78] Fernandez and Lynch, *op. cit.,* p. 35.
[79] *Ibid.,* pp. 25, 36, *passim.*
[80] *Ibid.,* pp. 25, 27.
[81] Nance, *loc. cit.,* June 12, p. 19; Fernandez and Lynch, *op. cit.,* pp. 29, *passim.*
[82] *Ibid.,* 36-37.
[83] Richard E. Elkins, *Manobo-English Dictionary* (Hawaii: University Press, 1968), p. 216. (Henceforth cited as *Dictionary.*)
[84] Wolff, *op. cit.,* p. 1075.

"core, gist, substance, essence of."[85] It is thus a pan-Philippine and even pan-Austronesian phenomenon which the Tas. never experienced till Dafal!

The same is suggested with *natek*, known to the WB Manobo as "sago, a starchy food prepared from the juice of the trunk of certain palms." [86] Bik. *natuk* refers to "coconut milk or any extract," whereas Bis. *natuk* is the "powdery starch of any sort that has been obtained by soaking the source in water and letting it settle." [87] The word could not have been known to the Tas. before Dafal who brought the food it refers to. With it, the B'lit culture hero also introduced "a complex of knowledge, equipment, and behavior" — *i.e.*, the tools (like the bolo, a press made of split bamboo and ferns, a trough made of bark, bark trays to heat the starch, bark scoop, pith pounder, etc.) and their utilization.[88] Dafal appears thus as an expert in another field, as versatile as a trained Peace Corps volunteer! In this sense, is it safe to assume that he also taught the Tas. to "test-cut the trunk and determine from the consistency of the pith if it is ready" to be tapped for the stored-up starch through *natek* extraction? Some Tas. claim they can tell "by knocking the trunk with one knuckle, or by tapping it with a piece of wood." [89] Such method and talent would require quite a long apprenticeship which Dafal must have provided during the "about five trips" he made to the Tas.! Did he also initiate them in the technique of taking less than half of the *basag* trunk for *natek* extraction in order to leave the remaining portion to rot as potential source of beetle grubs[90] to be collected some time after for food?[91] Apparently associated with fallen and rotting palm trees,[92] the "grub" industry must have been connected (or flourished only) with the introduction of the *natek* process.

Little would then really remain as "originally" Tas., since Dafal supposedly introduced also trapping and hunting, together with all the necessary instruments and their utilization.[93] All the Tas. terms relative to these activities, therefore, must be considered as loan words from the B'lit through the omnipresent Dafal. However, the words "*usada makatalunan*" or "pig (wild)" [94] and "*faen*" or "bait"[95] seem to be Tas. and therefore quite interesting. Literally, the first

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85 Panganiban, *op. cit.*, p. 1003.
86 Elkins, *Dictionary*, p. 127.
87 Wolff, *op. cit.*, p. 699.
88 Fernandez and Lynch, *op. cit.*, pp. 25, 28.
89 *Ibid.*, p. 39.
90 *Ibid.*
91 *Ibid.*, p. 17.
92 *Ibid.*, p. 20.
93 *Ibid.*, p. 25, *passim*.
94 Llamzon, *List*, p. 3.
95 Fernandez and Lynch, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

should mean "forest *usada,*" since *"katalunan"*[96] or *"talonan"*[97] means "forest." Does this point to another animal of the same category as the pig but also called *usada* or to the previous existence of domesticated pig among the Tas.? As for *"faen,"* the Tas. seem to use the wild banana which, of course, should relate the term to Bis. Bik. *"paon,"* Ilok. *"appan"* and Tag. *"pain."* The WB Manobo do not have a cognate term, "bait" being for them either *"segkad"* "to set a captive bird as bait" or *"kati"* "to catch a wild animal or bird by using another to attract him,"[98] the Tag. *"kati"* and Bik. *"kate"* "decoy for birds, fowls, animals, etc."[99] Could this be interpreted generously to give the Tas. at least the techniques of animal food acquisition implicit in the word *"faen"—i.e.,* including perhaps fishing? At any rate, Dafal seems to have been the least effective in precisely the area where he is supposedly most qualified and to which he also must have devoted most of the instructional time consumed during the "about five times" he was with the Tas. between 1966 and 1971.[100]

In fact, he apparently was more effective with the "bamboo broom" he was supposed to have given the Tas.[101] since Cave III was constantly kept "quite clean by reason of regular attention from a split-bamboo broom,"[102] a habit quite unusual and archaeologically regrettable in a troglodytic people[103] but really very reminiscent of house-dwelling groups. As with the other benevolences of Dafal, the broom is mysterious, since on "none of (his) visits did he reach the caves where (the Tas.) lived"[104] and the fact that they lived in caves became clear only in March of this year.[105] Furthermore, even if the gift were simply another proof of Dafal's uncanny perception of Tas. needs, the Tas. urge to sweep the cave floor would have to be explained with its none too prehistoric constancy (and result). Would it be too simple to admit that, after all, the Tas. probably knew and had houses? They now still have sheds or temporary shelters "fashioned out of wood and palm leaves"[106] called *"lawi"*[107] which, quite distinct from the "roof" or *"tifang"* (cf. Bik. *atop,* Tag. *atip,* Ivt. *atep*) a simple "lean-to" would not possess,[108] should be related to Tag. *bahay,* Mal. Bik. Bis. Ilk. *balay* and Ivt. *vahay*

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96 *Ibid.*, p. 2.
97 *Ibid.*, p. 38.
98 Elkins, *Dictionary*, pp. 38, 162, 229.
99 Panganiban, *op. cit.*, p. 272.
100 Fernandez and Lynch, *op. cit.*, pp. 26, passim.
101 *Ibid.*, p. 28.
102 *Ibid.*, p. 8.
103 *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.
104 *Ibid.*, p. 26.
105 Nance, *loc. cit.*, June 8, p. 6.
106 *Ibid.*, p. 34-35.
107 Llamzon, *List*, p. 2.
108 Salazar, *Footnote*, p. 37.

through Maranaw *oalai* and Magindanaw *walay* [109] by metathesis. Even the other term gathered by Fox — *dungdung*[110] recalls Tag. Kap. *dalungdung* "forest grass cabin, hut or cottage" [111] as well as Bik. Bis. *dungdung* "head covering of cloth or any flexible material." [112] It may be mentioned that, among the related Manobo of the interior of Southwestern Cotabato, the houses are "temporary in nature" and made of bamboo, cogon leaves, tree trunks and tree barks.[113]

At any rate, there seem to be strong indications not only for "culture loss" among the Tas. in the areas of housing, food production and metallurgy, but more so for serious doubt with regard to Dafal's testimony—particularly because research up to now has had as one main hindrance "the refusal of the Tasaday themselves to be interviewed or observed unless Elizalde were present or somewhere nearby." [114] No real reason for Dafal's benevolence toward the Tas. has been established except that the Tas. were giving him *bui*, a vine chewed with betel nut,[115] which he could have procured for himself anyway. His "about five trips" or even ten to the Tas.—the number *is* in fact important, contrary to what Fernandez and Lynch [116] believe—do not appear sufficient in frequency or intensity to produce the kind of techno-economic and linguistic changes his supposed importations imply, even assuming he was capable and willing to carry them out. In this sense, a great number of the presently known Tas. vocabulary would have to be dismissed as loan words from the B'lit through Dafal, a phenomenon comparable in dimension to the Indianization of Indonesia or, why not, to the Americanization of the Philippines (with Dafal playing the role at once of the soldier, the banker, the businessman, the missionary and the Peace Corps volunteer). This should be emphasized in the face of the fact that, up to the time of Tas. contact with PANAMIN and even beyond this, *Dafal did not seem to know much of the Tas. language* since, according to Secretary Elizalde and Dr. Fox, no one could be found, "either T'boli, Ubo or B'lit, who could understand (it) to obtain detailed information" *except Igna* who said at the outset that "less than half" of what the Tas. said was intelligible.[117] He must have taught the Tas. by sign language, the Tas. learning thereby more proficiently Dafal's B'lit than he their Tas.!

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109 Llamzon, *Tasaday*, p. 22.
110 Llamzon, *List*, p. 2.
111 Panganiban, *op. cit.*, p. 345.
112 Wolff, *op. cit.*, p. 238.
113 Lopez, *op. cit.*, p. 59.
114 Fernandez and Lynch, *op. cit.* p. 4.
115 *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27, *passim.*
116 *Ibid.*, p. 26.
117 Llamzon, *Tasaday*, p. 1; Fox, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

To close this footnote, a few etymological points may be added to the ones already made above. When Fernandez and Lynch state that the Tas. "take their name from the forested peak in which the western slope of the valley terminates, about 300-350 feet above the floor of the main cave," [118] are they transmitting original information from the Tas. or are they interpreting an etymology we proposed long before it was known that the Tas. lived in caves?[119] In the former case, the derivation of *Tasaday* from *"ta/sa/aday"* or, by metathesis, *"ta/sa/daya"* (i.e., "people of the upstream, from the direction toward the mountain") is confirmed. In the latter case, the source of the information should have been cited in good faith. In this regard, the etymology of *Tasafang* may be related to that of *Tasaday,* in the same manner the two groups seem to be related in marriage. *Tasafang* can be analyzed into *"ta/sa/fang"* or *"ta/safang,"* meaning "people of or from *fang*" or *"safang* people." Less likely, the latter etymology would have to connect a Tas. term *"safang"* either with Bis. *"sapang"* or *"salapang"* "spear that is thrown or a harpoon"[120] or with Tag. *"sapang"* "red tint from wood; brazilwood tree which gives off a red dye," with cognates in Kap., Ibg., Ilk., Ivt. and Png.[121] In the former etymology, *"fang"* must be related to Tag. *pampang,* Bik. Bis. *pangpang* "river bank," Ilk. *pangpang* "furrow" and Seb. Sam-Leyt. *pangpang* "rock; cliff."[122] Among the Samal and the Sangir in the Mindanao area, *"ápeng"* refers to "shore," the meaning of *"pangpang"* in Manobo-Dibabawon. All reflect Proto-Austronesia * *paŋpaŋ* "to separate, part, divide" (auseinander Stehen), the Ngadju-Dajak having *pampang* "peak, spike; antler point" and the Hova *fampana* "abyss, gulf, pit; chasm, gap, rift."[123] These meanings do not seem to contradict the fact that Tasafang is remembered "indistinctly as far away, 'high up in a cave where nearby the water boils' "[124] or that its people met with the Tas. "at a stream where they fished together," [125] the streams and their banks being the focal point of economic and other activities.[126]

Already linked with Tag. *katalonan* "priestess" (i.e., *ka/talon/an* "that which or he who is connected with the *talon*") and Mal. metathesized *hutan* "forest" from **tahun* which may have conflicted with a homonym meaning "year," [127] Tas. *"katalunan"* or *"ta-*

[118] Fernandez and Lynch, *op. cit.,* p. 6.
[119] Salazar, *Footnote,* pp. 34-35.
[120] Wolff, *op. cit.,* pp. 854, 875.
[121] Panganiban, *op. cit.,* pp. 885-886.
[122] *Ibid.,* p. 764; Wolff, *op. cit.,* p. 732.
[123] Otto Dempwolff, *Vergleichende Lautlehre des Austronesischen Wortschatzes. III. Austronesisches Wörterverzeichnis.* (Berlin: Deitrich Reimer, 1937), p. 144. (Henceforth cited as *Wörterverzeichnis*).
[124] Fernandez and Lynch, *op. cit.,* p. 18.
[125] *Ibid.,* p. 10.
[126] *Ibid.,* p. 34, *passim.*
[127] Salazar, *Footnote,* p. 37.

lonan" "forest" has other cognates in Ilocano *talon* "field, farm" and Ibanag (sa) *talon* "field," (sa) *aroyu talon* "forest." The sense of "field, farm; fields" of *talon* in Ilk. and Ibg.[128] should perhaps be emphasized in the context of an upland *kaingin*-type of agriculture for the original Tas. Furthermore, if the correlation *talon* = * *tahun* is correct, then Dempwolff's reconstruction of Proto-Austronesian * *hu*[*t*]*an* "wood, forest" may have to be recast, since it is reflected in Proto-Polynesian only by To. *'uta'* and Fu. Sm. *uta'* "(forested) interior." [129] In this sense, * *qu-(tT)an* would have to be withdrawn from Dyen's examples [130] of PMP Initial q, the Van der Tuuk-ish Tag.-Mal. correspondence -l-/*-h- consisting perhaps a clue to Dempwolff's erstarrten Infix at least in the instance of Tag. *kalabaw*, Jav. *kebaw* and Tob. *horbo* "water buffalo." [131] As for *natek*, its sense among the Tas. and elsewhere [132] should make it a reflex of Proto-Austronesian **ña*[*t*]*uh* "name of a tree," as reconstructed by Dempwolff from Tag. *nato "Sterculiaciae* (*i.e.*, family comprising the cacao and kola nut trees)," Mal. NgD. *ñatuh, ñato'* "guttapercha tree" and Hov. *natu'* "imbricate plant (*i.e.*, like the coniferae)," [133] all having a "starchy" or substantial nature. Tas. *"ma/bula"* or "white" [134] corresponds to WB Manobo *"evul"* or "whitish; of a diseased eye or of water, to become cloudy or whitish in color," [135] a cognate of Tag. *laboq* "turbidity (of liquids); obscurity of meaning; dimness (of light), developing blindness." [136] All reflect Dempwolff's reconstruction **labu'* "to be dirty." [137] Together with Tag. Bkl. Ilk. Png. *tipon*, "gathering together, collecting, accumulating," [138] Tas. *tifun* "local group; band" [139] also reflects Proto-Austronesian *[*t*]*i*(*m*)*pun* "to gather, collect, accumulate." [140] Tas. *foso* "flower" [141] joins Bik. Bis. Tag. *puso,'* Ibg. *futu*, Mar. Png. *poso* "heart; center, middle" as reflexes of P-A **put'uh* "heart; heart leaf," constructed from Tg. *puso'* TB. *pusu'* "heart" and NgD. *puso'* "bud" among others.[142]

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[128] The name of a controversial estate in Quezon City, *tatalon*, should have its etymology sought in the same direction, particularly in view of the formerly "forested" nature of the area. "Forest" is also *talon* among the Dumagat of Casiguran, *talun* among the Agta (Bkl.) and Gaddang, *tolunan* among the Subanun.

[129] Dempwolff, *Wörterverzeichnis*, p. 66

[130] Isidore Dyen, *The Proto-Malayo-Polynesian Laryngeals* (Baltimore: Waverly Press, 1953), p. 32.

[131] Dempwolff, *Induktiver Aufbau*, pp. 59, 73.

[132] Cf. *supra*.

[133] Dempwolff, *Wörterverzeichnis*, p. 108.

[134] Fernandez and Lynch, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

[135] Elkins, *Dictionary*, pp. 69, 352.

[136] Panganiban, *op. cit.*, p. 579.

[137] Dempwolff, *Wörterverzeichnis*, p. 100.

[138] Panganiban, *op. cit.*, p. 981.

[139] Fernandez and Lynch, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

[140] Dempwolff, *Wörterverzeichnis*, p. 139.

[141] Fernandez and Lynch, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

[142] Dempwolff, *Wörterverzeichnis*, p. 124.

Finally, some "local" etymologies may be of some interest. The controversial *"nafnaf"* or "bamboo internodes" is found among the Manobo in Southwestern Cotabato as *nafnaf* "a kind of small bamboo" probably related to *Schizostachyum lumampao* (Blanco) Merr, otherwise known as *napnap* in Ilok.[143] Tas. *igkan* "fruit," [144] as distinguished from *bunga* "fruit" in the Llamzon list,[145] appears to be connected with Bis. *gikan* "from such and such a place or time; originate from" which forms *kagikan* "ancestral origin" and *ginikanan* "parents; origin, primary source," [146] all of which forms and meanings are also found in Bik. A word can thus always crop up in any given language and, having done so, find cognates elsewhere in sister languages. In this sense, prudence becomes another name for intellectual honesty. Consequently, it might not be too judicious to state that a particular word, like for instance the Tas. one for "boat," is not known [147] or that, to one's knowledge, it is known only in a certain linguistic subgroup. An instance of the latter is Elkins' listing of eleven lexical items as specifically Manobo,[148] when a little research reveals at least six of them with probable cognates in major Philippine languages. These are: Man. *getek* "belly" [149]—Bik, *tulák* "stomach," Bis. *gutuk* "filled to the point that it is tight. *Gutuk na ang ákung tiyan,* my stomach is filled to bursting";[150] Man. *langesa* "blood"—Bik. Bis. *langsa* "having a fishy smell or the taste of blood," [151] Tag. *lansa* "odor or taste of fish or of shed blood," Ilk. *lang-es* "odor of fish (and blood)";[152] Man. *qumaw* "call"—Bik. *qumaw* "praise"; Man. *seladeng* "deer"—Mal. *seladang* "wild deer"; [153] Man. *belad* "hand"—Tag. Bik. Bis. *palad* "palm of hand"; and Man. *lasuq* "penis"—Bis. *lúsù* "penis (coarse)" or *lasù* "masturbate" [154] Bik. *lusiq* "exposed head of penis" or *lasog* "penis."

Restraint would seem to be, in the light of what has been discussed, still quite a commendable virtue — even with regard to the now rejuvenated (hopefully) Tas.

—Diliman, September 12, 1972

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143 Lopez, *op. cit.*, p. 21 n. 5.
144 Fernandez and Lynch, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
145 Llamzon, *List*, p. 2.
146 Wolff, *Dictionary*, p. 264.
147 Fernandez and Lynch, *op. cit.*, p. 20, *passim.*
148 Elkins, "Comments", p. 32.
149 The term may even be a Proto-Austronesian reflex, since it has probable cognates in Polynesian Fiji, Tongan, Uneven *kete* "belly" and Rotuman *efe* "belly." Cf. George W. Grace, *The Position of the Polynesian Languages within the Austronesian (Malayo-Polynesian) Language Family.* Indiana University publications in Anthropology and Linguistics. Memoir 16 of the International Journal of American Linguistics. (Baltimore, Waverly Press, Inc., 1959), pp. 58-59.
150 Wolff, *op. cit.*, p. 280.
151 *Ibid.*, p. 577.
152 Panganiban, *op. cit.*, pp. 606, 610, *sub* "langis."
153 Cf. *supra.*
154 Wolff, *op. cit.*, pp. 650, 588.

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THE PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE CONTROVERSY FROM McKINLEY TO TAFT: THE POLITICS OF ACCOMMODATION

RAWLEIN G. SOBERANO

READERS OF PHILIPPINE HISTORY COME ACROSS MANY QUESTIONS that could be raised in the area of the independence controversy during the American Occupation to clarify issues that finally led to the granting of self-rule in 1946. Did William McKinley have in mind the welfare of the Filipinos when he decided to annex the Islands? Did Theodore Roosevelt justify American annexation in view of the "Filipino incapacity for self-rule," because the latter was not of the Anglo-Saxon race, in order to promote American commercial penetration in the Far East? Was William H. Taft free from the clutches of the clandestine imperialism of the Republican Philippine policy?

This paper will go deeper into the controversy and deal with the American atrocities that were levelled against individuals and groups who showed opposition to the intruders, the debates for and against annexation among American legislators in the United States Congress, the division among the commanding officers of the invading army and the Filipino response to this changing scene.

The strained relations existing between Filipinos and Americans in 1900 are easily traceable from the war of the preceding years. For the Filipinos it could be safely said that there was never any faltering or any concealment of what they wanted. They knew what they were struggling for, and they had made it plain that independence was the goal for which they had pledged their lives, their possessions and their honor.[1] Even before the start of the hostilities between the Americans and the Filipinos, there was no doubt at all as to what the Filipino leaders had set as their goal. In a letter to McKinley, they were very clear "that independence signifies for us redemption from slavery and tyranny, regaining our liberty and entrance into the concert of civilized nations."[2] On the other hand, the policy of Washington had been so vague and evasive that the American public did not know the true state of affairs.

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[1] Archibald C. Coolidge, *The United States as a World Power* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1927), p. 154.

[2] U.S., Congress, Senate, *Treaty of Peace*, S. Doc. 62, 55th Cong., 3rd sess., 1899, p. 561.

The period from 1900 to 1905 was properly described as the "period of suppressed nationalism."[3] The only political party permitted to function in the Philippines during this time was the *Partido Federal* which advocated annexation by the United States. However it did not win popular support among the masses.

To manifest the Filipino antipathy against American suppression of their freedom, nationalistic plays were staged. Among them could be cited *Walang Sugat* (No Wound) by Severino Reyes; *Kahapon, Ngayon at Bukas* (Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow) by Amelio Tolentino; *Hindi Ako Patay* (I Am Not Dead) by Juan Cruz Matapang; *Pag-ibig sa Lupang Tinubuan* (Love of One's Own Native Land) by P.H. Poblete; and *Tanikalang Guinto* (Golden Chain) by Juan Abad.[4]

A strong argument to retain the Philippines was the commercial trade opportunities for the United States by expanding its foothold in East Asia. This was looked upon as a threat by the big powers already entrenched in the area that wanted to eliminate American intrusion into the commerce of China.[5]

It was McKinley himself who summed up his administration's stand on whether or not to annex the Philippines. Denying any imperialistic venture, he made this clear in his second inaugural address when he said:

> Our institutions will not deteriorate by extension, and our sense of justice will not abate under tropic suns in the distant seas. If there are those among us who would make our way difficult, we must not be disheartened, but the more earnestly dedicate ourselves to the task upon which we have rightly entered.[6]

As a whole there was a general desire for peace from both sides. In a letter from the Promotor Fiscal to the Military Governor, it was mentioned that in a meeting with General Trias, the latter indicated his wish for peace and the people's desire to go back to their everyday chores. However, he pointed at the difference of attitude between those who were in favor of and those who were against the continuation of hostilities. Those who opposed the peace movement fell into various degrees of opposition to it. As he described them:

> Those who are least opposed are those who have nothing to lose and who imperiously demand recognition of their deeds. Those who are firmly

[3] W. Cameron Forbes, *The Philippine Islands*, 2 vols. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1928), Vol. II, pp. 339-340.

[4] Gregorio F. Zaide, *Philippine Political and Cultural History*, 2 vols. (Manila: McCullough Printing Co., 1961), Vol. II, p. 238.

[5] Norman A. Graebner, *An Uncertain Tradition* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co. Inc., 1961), p. 29.

[6] James D. Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1907*, 11 vols. (New York: Bureau of National Literature and Art, 1908), Vol. X, pp. 242 ff.

> opposed ... do not wish for the war ever to cease, because they are bandits and there is no other remedy left than to exterminate them.[7]

Meanwhile, the anti-imperialists in the United States were holding rallies protesting against the Republican colonial policy. In one such rally in Boston, proofs were produced to support their accusations that prisoners were not taken in battle. Fatalities exceeded the wounded five to one. Captured and disarmed prisoners were shot without trial or opportunity for defense. There was the seizure of all males whether combatants or not, and the herding of women and children into deserts and mountains. Famine and pestilence were made inevitable by systematic burning of homes and authorized waste of growing grains and fertile fields. Tortures unto death were inflicted upon persons only suspected of holding secrets of hostile import. There was the forcible extortion of secrets of religious brotherhoods from priests or ministers and the indiscriminate slaughter of all male children from age ten up.[8] Some American officers were even named because of their ruthless barbarism.[9]

Senator Edward W. Carmack of Tennessee cried out loudly against these ignominious perpetrations: "Did these not constitute a license to all of the criminal elements in the Army?"[10] Moreover, this perfidy was not reserved for Filipino soldiers and civilians alone. There was the case of Private Edward G. Richter of Syracuse, New York who was tortured to death by Lieutenant William B. Sinclair of Company I, 28th Infantry.[11]

Defending the position of the Filipinos, Senator Henry M. Teller of Colorado pointed out that the Filipinos did not owe any allegiance to the United States. This allegiance was due to Spain, which had no right to transfer said allegiance to another country. She transferred by treaty her sovereignty over the soil, but she could not sell the nine or ten million people there. They were resisting Spain at the very time the United States made this treaty and were believed by most people to be capable of maintaining that position against Spain and of winning their independence if they were left alone.[12]

Some argued in favor of independence on the basis of the equality of man:

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[7] Letter, Jose Ner to General Elwell S. Otis, August 8, 1900, Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Manuscripts Division, *William McKinley Papers*, Series 1, Reel 11.

[8] *Mass Meetings of Protest Against the Suppression of Truth about the Philippine Islands*, Faneuil Hall, March 19, 1903 (Boston: n.p., 1903), pp. 1-58.

[9] *To Lincoln's Plain People*, "Facts Regarding 'Benevolent Assimilation' in the Philippine Islands," (Philadelphia: "City and State," 1903), pp. 2-4.

[10] "Court-Martial in the Philippines," *Speech before the U.S. Senate*, February 9, 1903 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903), p. 7.

[11] "Court-Martial in the Philippines," pp. 11-12.

[12] U.S., Congress, Senate, 57th Cong., 1st sess., Feb. 12, 1902, *Congressional Record*, XXXV, 1640-1641.

> Freedom is as sacred to every true-hearted man and woman in the Philippines as in Cuba, or America, and justice and honor are equally binding everywhere . . . . The horrors of war still hang like a death pall over this people struggling bravely to be free, but if we are true to our trust of the ages . . . . it will soon cease in a blessed peace, by the bestowal of constitutional liberty in accordance with Republican principles.[13]

The voice of those who upheld the middle ground could be heard too. Jacob G. Schurman, who headed the First Philippine Commission, was adamant in discouraging the proposal for Philippine incorporation into the Union. Because no political party would propose such an insane program, he was in favor of Philippine independence, the date of which was to be set jointly by both Americans and Filipinos. He also suggested active partnership with educated Filipinos in the government of the Islands to eliminate atrophy in their capacity for self-government. In this way they would learn "to govern themselves in the manner of the really free nations."[14]

The military was not unanimous in approving the Republican approach. Admiral William T. Sampson was opposed to the idea of the United States acquiring a colonial territory in a far distant land because it would endanger the United States and make her vulnerable to attack by another foreign power. As he clearly put it:

> It is insisted that we must have permanent territorial expansion in order to extend our trade. . . . I do not think so. I have been strongly inclined to think that in the long run, with all the embarrassment and complication and dangers it will bring upon our peoples, it will retard rather than develop the foreign trade of the United States. We have been growing rapidly in our trade without territorial expansion. To acquire distant, non-assimilable peoples in order, through permanent dominion, to force our trade upon them seems to me to be the poorest imaginable national policy.[15]

Another military man, General J. F. Bell, was ambiguous when he called the Filipinos unfit for self-rule, while on the other hand he praised Aguinaldo for his sincerity, honesty and natural gift for leadership and his adjutants "most of whom are young, smart and well educated."[16] He admired their determination to resist any country which might move in again and make of them a colony the way Spain did.

The official American policy expressed in the Philippine Government Act of July 1, 1902 had been first indicated as early as Decem-

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[13] H. H. Van Meter, *The Truth About the Philippines from Official Records and Authentic Sources* (Chicago: The Liberty League, 1900), p. 427. See also Washington, D.C., *National Archives*, Bureau of Insular Affairs, File 364-46.

[14] Jacob G. Schurman, *Philippine Affairs, A Retrospect and Outlook* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902), pp. 88-89.

[15] U.S., Congress, Senate, 57th Cong., 1st sess., May 31, 1902, *Congressional Record*, XXXV, Appendix, 365.

[16] 57th Cong., 1st sess., May 31, 1902, *Congressional Record*, XXXV, 450.

ber, 1898 when President McKinley instructed General Elwell Otis to follow a policy of benevolent assimilation. The policy was further refined in the Letter of Instruction of April, 1900 to the members of the American Commission to the Philippines that the American policy was not for "the satisfaction or . . . experiment of our theoretical views, but for the happiness, peace and prosperity of the Filipinos themselves."[17] It was then expanded in the Philippine Government Act of 1902 as a policy whose goal was the progressive extension of self-government to the Filipinos as they became better qualified to accept responsibility, and the securing to them of all the basic freedoms except the right to trial by jury and the right to bear arms.[18] Independence was not promised them, though Governor William H. Taft admitted that such was an inevitable conclusion.

When Theodore Roosevelt took over the presidency after the assassination of McKinley, army brutality in the Philippines was still a hot issue in the American Congress and among many Americans in general. In a letter to the postmaster-general, dated March 20, 1903 on the alleged brutalities of the American soldiers in suppressing the native insurrections which were being given much coverage in the press, Roosevelt demanded the immediate withdrawal of American troops and gave orders that the Filipinos be left to rule themselves. He further instructed Governor Taft to appoint a commission to investigate the conduct of the military and to verify their alleged brutalities.[19]

On the other hand, he extolled America's work in the Islands. Speaking in Memphis on November 19, 1902, he said:

> There is no question as to our not having gone far enough and fast enough in granting self-government to the Filipinos; the only possible danger has been lest we should go faster and further than was in the interest of the Filipinos themselves. Each Filipino at the present day is guaranteed his life, his liberty and the chance to pursue happiness as he wishes, so long as he does not harm his fellows, in a way which the islands have never known before during all their recorded history.[20]

However, the Filipinos, in a letter to President Roosevelt reiterated their aspirations for independence which, in no way, were recent nor connected with the arrival of the American land forces.

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[17] U.S., Congress, House, "Philippine Local Autonomy," *Hearings before the Committee on Insular Affairs on H.R. 8856*, 68th Cong., 1st sess., April 30-May 6, 1924, p. 2.

[18] Charles Burke Elliott, *The Philippines: To the End of the Military Regime* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1916), pp. 34-43.

[19] Joseph Bucklin Bishop, ed., *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt*, 24 vols., *Theodore Roosevelt and His Time, Shown in His Own Letters*, Vol. XXIII (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923-1926), p. 219.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 267.

Neither were such aspirations under the influence of "a few politico-military adventurers." As they described it:

> A review of the present situation also will show that this aspiration has lost none of its force. All the reverses which our people have met with, and all the rigors of war in which, in many respects, mercy has not been conspicuous, have not lessened their determination to continue the defense at whatever sacrifice.... The consequent temporary decrease in our defensive operations has proved to be simply an example of the ebb and flow which accompany all military conflicts. The surrender of some of our generals has served to separate the chaff from the wheat; whilst the taking of both allegiance [sic] by a number of our people may, in cases where sordid motives did not enter, be attributed to causes other than that of desire for American rule or a surrender of their aspiration for independence.[21]

Governor Taft disagreed with the Filipino position, stating:

> In the Philippine Islands, ninety per cent of the inhabitants are still in a hopeless condition of ignorance, and utterly unable intelligently to wield political control. They are subject like the waves of the sea to the influence of the moment, and any educated Filipino can carry them in one direction or another, as the opportunity and occasion shall permit.[22]

President Roosevelt echoed the same concern, pointing out that the exigencies of war were the determinants for taking possession of the Islands towards whose inhabitants the American people had since behaved with disinterested zeal for their progress. To leave the Islands at that time would have meant "desertion of duty on our part" [23] and a crime against humanity. He then added that self-government took Americans thirty generations to achieve; this could not be expected of another race in only thirty years' time.

Roosevelt indicated that the condition of the Filipinos as far as material growth was concerned, was far better than ever before, and that their political, intellectual and moral advance had kept pace with their material progress. "No people ever benefitted another people more than we have benefitted the Filipinos by taking possession of the Islands."[24] Roosevelt praised the work of the Philippine Legislature, but cautioned against haste in setting an exact date for the independence of the Islands:

> No one can prophesy the exact date when it will be wise to consider independence as a fixed and definite policy. It would be worse than folly

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[21] Comite Central Filipino, *To the President of the United States of America* (Hongkong: n.p., 1901), pp. 4-6.

[22] William H. Taft, "The Philippine Islands," *An Address before the New York Chamber of Commerce*, April 21, 1904 (New York: n.p., 1904), p. 9.

[23] Bishop, *op. cit., The Books of Theodore Roosevelt, State Papers as Governor and President, 1899-1909*, Vol. XVII (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925), p. 128.

[24] Bishop, *Roosevelt State Papers*, p. 223.

> to try to set down such a date in advance, for it must depend upon the way in which the Philippine people themselves develop the power of self-mastery.[25]

Supporters for the administration were not wanting. After having gone through and studied extensively the islands of Luzon and Visayas in three hectic months, David H. Doherty, a medical doctor and member of the Anti-Imperialist League, praised the Republican policy which he said "was actuated by the loftiest principles."[26] He commented on the benefits that would befall the Filipinos if they remained under the tutelage of the United States. He also praised the civil government for its service to the people and its dedication to duty.

The opposition was strong in voicing its disapproval of the Republican course. Francis G. Newlands, United States senator from Nevada, warned against tying down Philippine economy to that of the United States saying it would prove a deterrent to ultimate independence. He did not relish the idea of binding the two countries so strongly by navigation laws, tariff legislation and trade ties as to make it impossible to cut their political ties.[27]

James H. Blount, a former Judge of the Court of First Instance in the Philippines, substantiated Bryan's statement urging the granting of independence to Filipinos. In summary, he said that:

1. The Filipinos themselves wanted independence;

2. If they were protected from the land-grabbing powers, they did not have to account for their internal affairs to any alien government. There was definitely a consciousness of racial unity. The fact that only a few elite took care of the governmental affairs was true of most countries, even democracies;

3. There was wisdom in setting a date for Philippine independence, since it provided a goal towards which to work. But he warned against an inconsistent policy—treating the Philippines as American territory when American interests were serve, while treating it as foreign territory when American interests were not served.[28]

From the beginning of the American Occupation, President Roosevelt was personally favorably inclined towards independence, but he did not reveal this attitude until sometime later. In so doing he was very careful and discreet about it. He thought that the Filipinos would not settle for anything less than independence, which though not promised to them was hinted at in the Philippine Bill of

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[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 632-633.

[26] David H. Doherty, *Conditions in the Philippines* (Washington: n.p., 1904), p. 2.

[27] Francis G. Newlands, "A Democrat in the Philippines," *North American Review*, Vol. DLXXXIX (December, 1905), pp. 941-943.

[28] James H. Blount, "Philippine Independence—When?," *North American Review*, Vol. DCVIII (January 18, 1907), pp. 146-149.

1902.[29] But he would not commit himself to the specific time when the American withdrawal would be. In his annual message to Congress on December 8, 1908 he said it would be foolish to rush the granting of independence to the Islands before the people had proven that they were capable of self-rule.[30]

Unfortunately, there is a strong doubt as to how honestly Roosevelt felt toward Philippine independence. Lieutenant-General Nelson A. Miles was personally rebuked by the president for telling the truth about the conditions in the Philippines, in an inspection report. Miles fell into disfavor with the administration and was treated with utmost discourtesy.[31]

At a later date, speaking about preparedness for any military eventuality, Miles insisted that the territorial coastline of Alaska, Hawaii and the Panama Canal be protected at all times. His tone on the Philippines was different, though the reluctance to grant it independence was clearly perceptible:

> I exclude the Philippines. . . . I have never felt that the Philippines were of any special use to us. But I have felt that we had a great task to perform there and that a great nation is benefitted by doing a great task.
>
> It was our bounden duty to work primarily for the interests of the Filipinos; but it was also our bounden duty, in as much as the entire responsibility lay upon us, to consult our own judgment and not theirs in finally deciding what was to be done.[32]

Many Filipinos felt at the time that not only had American Occupation not done anything for them, but also it had deprived them of benefits formerly derived from the Spanish market. Since they were not American citizens, the consideration of their progress or regress had no connection at all with the careers of public men responsible for American policies. Therefore, the only strong ground on which their appeal for justice rested was that of morality which disturbed so many consciences.[33]

Taft never thought that the United States should rule the Philippines forever, but he was more strongly opposed to an official commitment to independence than Roosevelt. His support of McKinley's policy best expressed his stand on Philippine independence:

> If the American Government can only remain in the Islands long enough to educate the entire people, to give them a language which enables

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[29] Elting E. Morison, ed., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, 8 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951-1954), Vol. III, p. 276.

[30] *National Archives*, Bureau of Insular Affairs, File 364-740 I.

[31] L.M.H., *Roosevelt, Historian—Shattering American Ideals* (Washington: n.p., 1903), p. 50.

[32] Theodore Roosevelt, "The Navy as a Peacemaker," *New York Times*, November 22, 1914, p. 5.

[33] W. H. Carter, "A Plea for the Filipinos," *North American Review*, Vol. DCIX (February 15, 1907), pp. 382-385.

> them to come into contact with modern civilization, and to extend to them, from time to time, additional political rights so that by the exercise of them they shall learn the use and responsibility necessary to their proper exercise, independence can be granted with entire safety.[34]

Taft's program was founded on one great assumption, namely, that the American people were unselfish in their attitude towards Filipinos and would continue to do so. Hence they could be trusted to keep men in office who would carry out this policy, no matter how absolute a power they might be able to wield from that position. Ultimately, it was the American people who had under their guidance and control an archipelago of eight million inhabitants.[35] Taft held this view during his four years as president. Since he was in an advantageous position to claim personal knowledge of Philippine affairs, no one questioned his statements.[36]

Both Roosevelt and Taft favored ultimate independence as the apex of American policy, but neither was clear in his stand for it. They thought it unwise to promise self-rule when there was no chance for its achievement during the lifetime of present national leaders. They did not favor the idea of raising false hopes that could only culminate in uselessly endangering the status quo.[37]

The failure of both men to come out unequivocally for the Philippine Bill of 1902, the inevitable goal of which was independence, made them vulnerable to the accusation of being hypocrites. It obstructed the Filipino appreciation of American efforts and achievements during the Taft era. Meanwhile, the Filipinos continued their demand for an American policy of independence which ultimately ended in the clamor for complete and immediate self-rule in the Islands. This circumstance caused undue hardship to those Filipino leaders who would have preferred gradual American withdrawal, in view of the many benefits the Philippines reaped under the latter's rule. Such ruthless Filipino criticism of the Roosevelt-Taft policy bungled Filipino-American relations during the Taft era. In the end, this lack of a clear direction on the part of the Republican Philippine policy encouraged the formation of underground rebel groups, some of which were used as a front for the exploitation of the masses by swindlers and opportunists to serve their own selfish goals.

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[34] U.S. War Department: Office of the Secretary, *Special Report of William H. Taft, Secretary of War, to the President on the Philippines* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905), pp. 74-75.

[35] Taft, *New York Chamber of Commerce Address*, p. 1.

[36] Forbes, *op. cit.*, pp. 348-350.

[37] Theodore Roosevelt, *An Autobiography* (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1913), pp. 543-544.

A BELGIAN VIEW OF THE PHILIPPINES: 1899 [1]

ARNOLD BLUMBERG

IN 1898, AT THE CLOSE OF THE BRIEF SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR, international observers speculated on the future disposition of the Spanish colonial empire. Not until October 1898, was it generally known that the United States intended to annex the Philippines.[2] Predictably, therefore, the great maritime powers of the world pressed forward to enlarge their realms at the expense of defeated Spain.[3] Indeed, Great Britain, while encouraging the United States to annex the Philippines, made it clear that if such annexation did not take place, she wished to be given first option to purchase the islands.[4]

In such an atmosphere of uncertainty, the nationalist aspirations of lesser powers also found expression. Belgium represents an interesting case in point.

For sixteen years, Mr. Edouard André had been a successful businessman in Manila, as well as Belgium's Consul at that city. When the United States had seized Manila, André had been called to the favorable attention of his own government when Rear Admiral George Dewey had publicly thanked him for having served as an intermediary between the contending forces, expediting the surrender of Manila and reducing losses in life and property.[5] As a consequence of Consul André's modest but favorable notoriety, his ideas received more attention at Brussels than would ordinarily have been his due. Thus, when he supplied his government with extensive reports on the resources and commercial potentialities of the Philippines, he played a major role in strengthening Belgian ambitions to become Spain's heir in the islands. The government of King Leopold II had

[1] The writer wishes to express his appreciation to the Faculty Research Committee of Towson State College for the financial support which made the present study possible.

[2] James F. Rhodes, *The McKinley and Roosevelt Administrations, 1897-1909*, (Port Washington, New York: Kennikat Press, 1965), pp. 102-103.

[3] Germany took the occasion to purchase the Caroline Islands from Spain. See Message of President McKinley to the United States Congress, December 5, 1898, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1898, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901), p. xxi.

[4] See R. G. Neale, *Great Britain and United States Expansion, 1898-1900*, (Michigan State University Press, 1966), p. 212.

[5] United States Minister Bellamy Storer to Belgian Foreign Minister Paul de Favereau, October 14, 1898, Brussels, Belge, Ministère des Affaires Étrangères et du Commerce Extérieur (microfilmed Belgian diplomatic correspondence housed at the United States National Archives, cited hereinafter as "Belge, A.E."), Microcopy T125, Roll 6; Favereau to Storer, November 8, 1898, Brussels, *ibid.*

high hopes for a Belgian protectorate or at least a joint Belgo-American condominium in the archipelago. All of that was dashed to the ground, of course, when the intentions of President McKinley became clearly known.[6]

Even after the signing and ratification of the Peace of Paris in December 1898, the Belgians persisted in the hope that they might yet play an expanded role in the Philippines. Frustrated in their daydreams of political power, they seriously pursued efforts to replace the Spaniards as caretakers of Roman Catholic interests in the islands.

Edouard André, who had asked leave to return to Belgium on personal business, was instructed to stop at Washington, en route. He was to report to the Belgian Minister at that capital and to place himself at his orders.[7] Before leaving Manila, the consul had visited Monsignor Bernardino de Nozaleda, Archbishop of Manila. The Spanish prelate had given him a letter of introduction to James, Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore. Despairing of the future of his church in the Philippines if it was entrusted to the native clergy, Archbishop de Nozaleda entrusted a lengthy and dismal memorial in Spanish to André, for delivery to Cardinal Gibbons. André, in turn hoped to enlist the good offices of the cardinal in obtaining the appointment of Belgian prelates to posts in the Filipino hierarchy.

Having arrived at Washington in February 1899, André composed a lengthy written report for the information of Count Lichtervelde, the Belgian envoy at Washington. It is intrinsically interesting because it reflects the frank and ingenuous impressions of an intelligent European observer describing the conflicting nationalisms of Filipinos, Spaniards, and Americans. It also contains the sort of stereotyped generalizations about "national characteristics" which would horrify modern sociologists.

> Monsignor the Archbishop[9] told me that he did not think himself obliged to remain at his post because he could no longer count on the obedience of the Filipinos in general; as a Spaniard, he was enveloped in the animosity which they show to all that is Spanish; the Filipino curates are no exception and like all the rest show themselves to be very hostile and even vindictive for the prerogatives which until this moment had not been extended to them. They even claim the archbishopric, or at least to occupy the several bishoprics of the archipelago. On the other hand, the archbishop does not think that the American authorities would be happy

[6] For a full treatment of this subject in its larger context, see Arnold Blumberg, "Belgium and a Philippines Protectorate; A Stillborn Plan," *Asian Studies* [University of the Philippines], Vol. X (December 1972), 336-343.

[7] André to Favereau, February 22, 1899, Washington, Belge, A. E., Microcopy T125, Roll 6.

[8] The present writer has translated the document which follows from the original French. Omissions are indicated in the standard way. Only repetitious materials or trite introductions or conclusions have been excluded.

[9] Archbishop Bernardino de Nozaleda.

to see him continue to occupy this important post and his situation would be more difficult and therefore very unfavorable to the good direction of religious affairs. He understands that for the good of religion and of general good understanding, that an archbishop belonging to a neutral nationality should replace him.

The same reasons as those concerning the archbishop have already motivated the departure of about 300 religious of different monastic orders established at Manila and who were charged with parishes in the Philippines; about 200 religious are prisoners of the Filipinos and suffer a cruel captivity. All will certainly abandon the archipelago as soon as they are liberated. The procurors of the several orders have said and repeated to me that they were resolved to abandon the islands without hope of return and were even disposed to sell the goods they possessed. At the most, they will retain some rare parishes at Manila and some schools. The Jesuit Fathers, alone, think to be able to remain, but they occupy only Manila and some parishes in Mindanao, which like the remainder will more than likely be abandoned unless they are efficaciously protected against the Moslem Malays.

The intellectual capacity of the Filipinos is quite comparable to that of the Japanese; they learn quickly and their intelligence is lively; it does not exceed certain limits, however; they are neither creators nor inventors; but they are the most excellent musicians, painters, sculptors, etc., which the Japanese are not. This suffices to give an idea of what the Filipinos are who have received an education . . . . The remainder of the population is submitted to those who are superior to them in intelligence; before it was the Spaniards; now it is the half blood and the different party chiefs and later it will be the American authorities or those who will be appointed by the Government of the United States.

Outside of these, there are the native curates who have remained and who still have an enormous influence on the masses, above all on the women, and these are a most important element, for the Malay women have the finest minds; finer than the men, and it is almost always the women who decide the important questions. These curates, however, felt a very great disillusionment when the rebel congress [10] decreed religious liberty and that the parish curates would not be paid by the revolutionary government. These decrees have made the curates the declared enemies of the insurgent government and they are the unconditional allies of those who offer them a treatment which permits them to live without exposing themselves to begging for the means of sustaining themselves . . .; in return they will be the most ardent propagators of a government which offers them an assured future. On the other hand, complete freedom of religion would

[10] The Filipino nationalist leader Emilio Aguinaldo had been transported from exile at Hong Kong by Admiral Dewey and landed in the Philippines to raise a native army against Spain. When it became apparent, after the capture of Manila, that the United States had no intention of recognizing Aguinaldo's regime as the government of the islands, he withdrew to Malolos and made that the capital of the territories he held. When, ultimately, the Treaty of Paris provided for the outright sale of the Philippines to the United States, conflict ensued between Aguinaldo's forces and the Americans. The last major Filipino guerilla force surrendered in April, 1902. See Jean Grossholtz, *Politics in the Philippines*, (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown and Co., 1964), pp. 22-23. Having lived to see the establishment of an independent republic in 1946, Aguinaldo made his peace with the United States when close to his ninetieth birthday. See Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy and Vicente A. Pacis, *A Second Look at America* (New York: Robert Speller and Sons, 1957).

lead to grave disorders; for a great many denominations would form and from them would come the breeding place of continued dissension. At the most, one could permit the exercise of a religion already practiced in the United States. Again, it would be necessary to supervise that liberty strictly, for these peoples are very passionate concerning anything which relates to religious questions and would hasten to create a religion for themselves, which would permit those vices and passions which still persist.[11]

The Filipinos, like all peoples who submit to a foreign domination, will soon harbor the same resentments against the Americans that they bore against the Spaniards; all of these rancors, however, would be avoided by an archbishop belonging to a neutral nationality, which would not only permit him to supervise the worthy maintenance of religion, but also to serve as a conciliator between the authorities and the Filipinos; his role would then be fair and noble. In the hands of an intelligent man, it would be of great merit. It would certainly be accepted without umbrage and with more pleasure by the United States if he did not belong to a powerful maritime nation. It is not only on behalf of our compatriots, but in the interest of the Catholic Religion and also in that of those who hold the future of 6,000,000 Catholics in the Far East between their hands that I permit myself to draw your attention to this subject. My long residence in the Philippines has permitted me to become acquainted with the native; he is religious, but he must be guided constantly, for he tends in spite of himself to fetishism; the practices of the native clergy are already too loose, and that will accelerate under the instigation of men interested in bringing about an evolution publicly which already exists surreptitiously.

If you desire more details, I will hasten to give them to you Monsieur le Ministre. I fear trying your attention on a question which, however interesting, is not exactly within my jurisdiction.

His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons listened to me with interest . . . . He told me that he would think about it and speak of it to the President of the United States, would see me again, and refer the matter to the Holy See; but as I understood that the decision would be reached at the Vatican, I think it useful to inform you of it, and to draw your attention to the advantages which the choice of Belgian ecclesiastics could bring to our country and to our clergy. Our compatriots combine in so many respects the qualities which render them apt to fill religious posts in the Philippines vacated by the monastic orders....[12]

In the end, of course, the Belgians were to be as frustrated in their hopes for a Belgianization of the Filipino church as they had already been in their projects for political influence in the islands. Cardinal Gibbons kept his promise to André in that he forwarded

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[11] In forwarding André's report to Brussels, the Belgian minister at Washington dwelt, at length, upon the alleged moral inadequacies of the Filipino clergy. In discussing breaches of the vow of chastity, the envoy apparently accepted André's unprovable allegations at full value. He reported quite solemnly that... "They have exaggerated the immorality of the Spanish clergy in the Philippines a great deal. Only eight per cent had illicit relations, and not under the same roof. It is the native clergy which leaves the most to be desired and the proportion there ought to be reversed, since their cohabitation is not disguised . . . ." (Count G. de Lichtervelde to Favereau, February 28, 1899, No. 50, Confidential, Belge, A. E., Microcopy T125, Roll 6).

[12] André to Lichtervelde, February 27, 1899, *ibid.*

the materials from Archbishop de Nozaleda to the Apostolic Delegate to the United States. Archbishop Sebastian Martinelli ended the matter effectively, when he informed Cardinal Gibbons that the Vatican would make all decisions touching the new episcopal status of the Philippines, and declining to make any recommendations to his superiors on the subject.[13]

As for Edouard André, he eventually returned to Manila from Brussels, where he had succeeded in chartering and raising capital for a new *Compagnie Générale des Philippines.* At the end, even he was reconciled to the dominant role of United States citizens in the political and ecclesiastical life of the islands.[14]

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[13] F. Rooker to Rev. Father O'Brien, March 8, 1899, Washington, Archdiocesan Archives of Baltimore, Gibbons Papers, Mss. The present writer is grateful to Reverend Father John J. Tierney, Archivist of the Archdiocese of Baltimore for his cooperation in allowing him to examine the 60,000 piece manuscript collection of Cardinal Gibbons' papers.

[14] Lichtervelde to Favereau, November 14, 1899, No. 269, Washington. Belge. A. E., Microcopy T1113, LM43, Roll 15.

PHILIPPINE SHAMANISM AND SOUTHEAST ASIAN PARALLELS

FRANCISCO R. DEMETRIO, S.J.

SHAMANISM IS PREEMINENTLY A SIBERIAN AND CENTRAL ASIAN religious phenomenon for in these regions "the ecstatic experience is considered the religious experience par excellence (and) the shaman, and he alone, is the great master of ecstasy."[1] Still shamanism is also documented elsewhere in North and South America, Australia, Oceania and Southeast Asia. We shall see that it is also found in the Philippines.[2]

After some preliminary remarks, the paper will document the phenomenon of shamanism in the Philippines as found in the writings of Spanish chroniclers as well as those of others up to the present.[3]

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[1] Mircea Eliade, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1964), p. 4. (Henceforth to be referred to as *Shamanism*).

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 5 and 337 ff., and *passim*.

[3] Earlier Philippine writings used in preparing this paper include the following: Diego Aduarte, "Historia de la Provincia del Santo Rosario de la Orden de Predicadores," Vol. 30, 1640 in *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*. Edited by Emma Blair and James Robertson. (Cleveland, Ohio: A. H. Clark and Company, 1903-1909), pp. 285-298. (Henceforth to be referred to as *Historia* and *Islands*, respectively); Francisco Alzina, *Historia de las Islas Bisayas*, 1668-1669. Muñoz text, part I, books 3 and 4; preliminary translation by Paul S. Lietz (Chicago: Philippine Studies Program) Mimeo. (Henceforth to be referred to as *Historia*); Pedro Chirino, "Relacion de las Islas Filipinas," Vol. 12, 1602-1604 in *Islands*. Edited by E. Blair and J. Robertson (Cleveland, Ohio: A. H. Clark and Company, 1903-1909), pp. 60-64; 65-68; (Henceforth to be referred to as *Relacion*); Francisco Colin, "Native Races and Their Customs," Vol. 40, 1690-1691 in *Islands*. Edited by E. Blair and J. Robertson (Cleveland, Ohio; A. H. Clark and Company, 1903-1909), pp. 69-82. (Henceforth to be referred to as *Native Races*); Miguel de Loarca, "Relacion de las Yslas Filipinas," Vol. 5, 1582-1583 in *Islands*. Edited by E. Blair and J. Robertson (Cleveland, Ohio: A. H. Clark and Company, 1903-1909), pp. 129 ff. (Henceforth to be referred to as *Relacion*); Antonio Pigafetta, "Primo Viaggio Interno al Mondo," Vol. 33, 1519-1522 in *Islands*. Edited by E. Blair and J. Robertson (Cleveland, Ohio: A. H. Clark and Company, 1903-1909), pp. 137-175. (Henceforth to be referred to as *Viaggio*); Juan de Plasencia, "Costumbre de los Tagalo(g)s," Vol. 7, 1588-1591 in *Islands*. Edited by E. Blair and J. Robertson (Cleveland, Ohio: A. H. Clark and Company, 1903-1909), pp. 173-196. (Henceforth to be referred to as *Costumbres*).

More recent writers include: Richard Arens, "The 'Tambalan' and His Medical Practices in Leyte and Samar," *Leyte-Samar Studies*, Vol. 5 (1 & 2), 1971, pp. 107-115. (Henceforth to be referred to as *Tambalan*); Laura Watson Benedict, *A Study of Bagobo Ceremonial, Magic and Myths* (New York: Academy of Science, 1916). (Henceforth to be referred to as *Bagobo*); Francisco R. Demetrio, *Dictionary of Philippine Folk Beliefs and Customs*, 4 vols. (Cagayan de Oro: Xavier University, 1970). (Henceforth to be referred to as *Dictionary*); John M. Garvan, *The Manobos of Mindanao* (Washington: Memoirs of the National Academy of Sciences, 1931). (Henceforth to be referred to as *Manobos*); Rudolph Rahmann, "Shamanistic and Related Phenomena in Northern and Middle India." *Anthropos*, Vol. LIV (1959), pp. 681-760. (Henceforth to be referred to as *Shamanistic Phenomena*); Morice Vanoverbergh, "Religion and Magic Among

In the second part of the paper we shall draw up some parallelisms between shamanism in the Philippines and in Southeast Asia. The author will feel satisfied if he shall have shown the extent of this correlation, hoping that in another essay he could point out the causal nexus that are responsible for these manifold coincidences. However, even before the second part, whenever opportunities come up for pointing up similarities these will not go by unnoticed.

General Remarks on Shamanism: Antiquity and Universality

Scholars tell us that shamanism as a religious phenomenon, that is, as a complex of beliefs and practices is a very ancient institution. Some would place it way back in the early paleolithic, in the period of the earliest hunters and food gatherers.[4] It is usually linked with a belief in supreme beings who dwell in the sky, the creators of the universe, the guardians of the moral order, the givers of life and everything that sustains life,[5] as well as the lords of death.[6] The ideology behind earliest shamanism seems to be that of a three-tiered world: an Upperworld, the abode of the supreme gods, and the spirits of the heavens and of the sky, as well as of the dead who have arisen to the ranks of the gods; an Underworld, the realm of the spirits of the dead who have not yet arisen to the ranks of the heavenly spirits, who ever so often come out of their world and mingle unseen with the men of the Middleworld. The Middleworld, however, also seems to expand into a region, well beyond the bounds of the space inhabited by men, now imaged as the rim of the universe, now as the islands of the blessed where they repose amid perpetual sunshine, shady glades, bountiful gardens, running streams of clear waters.[7] This place has been identified by the Greeks and others like them in the west as the Isles of Hesperides.

Connexions with Moon, Animism and Worship of Dead

Others, too, would connect shamanism with the mythology of the moon;[8] and the sacrifice of the pig which is very common in the Southeast Asian region seems to fall in line with this idea; the pig being considered to be a moon animal.[9] Still other attributes are given to shamanism, namely, that it is an offshoot of the worship

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Isnegs," *Anthropos*, Vol. XLVIII (1953), pp. 557-568. (Henceforth to be referred to as *Isnegs*). Other writers consulted include Joseph Campbell. *The Masks of God: Primitive Mythology* (New York: Viking Press, 1959). (Henceforth to be referred to as *Mythology*).

[4] Campbell, *Mythology*, pp. 331, 339, 350 ff., 372 ff.

[5] Eliade, *op. cit.*, pp. 19, 185 f.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 200 ff.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 355 ff.

[8] Rahmann, *Shamanistic Phenomena*, p. 752.

[9] Campbell, *op.* cit., pp. 183 f., 367, 426 f.

of the spirits and of the dead.[10] And throughout the world, there seems to be a close link between the shaman and the worship of the dead. In fact, the shaman is said to be a psychopomp, that is, the conductor of the soul of the dead man to the land of the dead.[11] And in some places, the shaman sometimes is possessed by the spirits of the dead.[12] Although this is quite incidental to his task as shaman which is to guide the soul or return it to its body. And it is claimed the shaman can do this because he is himself a very special person. He is one who even while still living in the flesh has already stepped into the spirit-world, himself having died and then come to life again.

Shamanism as Religious Phenomenon

As a religious phenomenon, I take shamanism to focus around man's ultimate concerns, that is to say, with man's life or existence, as well as the meaning of that existence.[14] It must necessarily then touch upon the problem of disease, on the mystery of recovery, as well as on the mystery of death and of the possibility or fact of life after death. A shaman has been called, and rightly, the specialist of the holy or the sacred, or as the guardian of the psychic equilibrium of the community.[15] I think these characterizations have something to do with the ultimate concerns of man; preoccupation with the sacred or the holy touches the reality which undergirds man in his total nature, his whole being as contingent and limited;[16] anything that touches the psyche borders on the innermost life of man: for it seizes him where he is most sensitive to the influences that can reach down to his very depths: the psyche is the region where his materiality and his spirituality are most merged, his two aspects united although distinct. It is the seat of his personality.[17]

The Shaman and the Philippine Religious Functionaries

Like most primitive peoples, the early Bisayans, Tagalogs, Bikolanos and Cagayanos as well as the modern survivals of the proto-Malays and others now dwelling in the hills of Luzon, Bisayas and Mindanao — all have their religious functionaries. These functionaries

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[10] *Loc. cit.*, p. 748 f., and 752.
[11] Eliade, *op. cit.*, pp. 4, 182, 205 ff, 208 f, *passim.*
[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 365, 366, 507 n.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 85 f.
[14] Campbell, *op. cit.*, pp. 253-254.
[15] Eliade, *op. cit.*, pp. 237, 508. Cf. also his Recent Works on Shamanism. *History of Religions.* I, pp. 184-186.
[16] Campbell, *op .cit.*, pp. 253-254.
[17] C. G. Jung. *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1959), pp. 77, 116, 101, 208.

roughly may be grouped under three categories: 1) the shaman variously called *catalonan*[18] or *anitera*[19] (Tagalog and northern Luzon), *bailan*,[20] *daetan*,[21] *catooran*,[22] *balian*,[23] *mamumuhat, diwatero* (Bisayas, especially Samar, Leyte, Cebu, Bohol and northern Mindanao), *dorarakit*[24] or *anitowan*[25] (Isnegs), *alopogan*[26] (Tinguians), *balian* (Pygmies of Palawan),[27] *babalian* (Negros and elsewhere),[28] and *ballyan*[29] among the Mandayas of Mindanao. The shaman is at once priest-sacrificer, healer, intermediary with the spirit world, prophet and seer; 2) the magician or sorcerer who can be either a white magician or medicine-man, *mananambal, mamumuhat, diwatero, arbolaryo*,[30] *herbolaryo*,[31] *makinaadmanon* whose actions are generally for the good of others, or the black magician or witch-doctors who can either do good or harm to people, but mostly harm for a fee. Then they are generally called *mamalarang*,[32] *barangan, usikan, paktolan*,[33] *sigbinan*, etc. This is by no means an exhaustive enumeration; the *mancocolam* of the Tagalogs described by Plasencia as a medicine-man who would emit flames which could not be put out from his body once or oftener during a month beneath the house of someone belongs to this group. And (3) the witch or *balbal*, or *aswang;* men and women, mostly women who, in the mind of the folk, are people with a particular kind of sickness which in turn they can give to others: their weakness for the blood of women just delivered of their babies, for the foetus inside the womb of a pregnant woman, for the liver of infants, for the blood of infants, for the liver and flesh of dead people, for the phlegm voided from the lungs

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18 Plasencia, *Costumbres*, p. 190.
19 Aduarte, *Historia*, p. 286.
20 Loarca, *Relacion*, p. 75.
21 Alzina, *Historia*, p. 212.
22 *Ibid.*, p. 217.
23 *Ibid.*, p. 212.
24 Vanoverbergh, *Isnegs*, p. 558.
25 *Ibid.*
26 James Fay-Cooper Cole, *The Tinguians: Social, Religious and Economic Life of a Philippine Tribe*, Field Museum of National History-Anthropological Series (Chicago: n.p., 1922), p. 301. (Henceforth to be referred to as *Tinguians*).
27 Eliade, *op. cit.*, pp. 340-341.
28 Emerson Brewer Christie, *The Subanuns of Sindangan Bay* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1909), p. 70.
29 James Fay-Cooper Cole, *The Wild Tribes of Davao District, Mindanao* (Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1913). (Henceforth to be referred to as *Wild Tribes*).
30 *Arbolaryo* is an indigenized form of the original Spanish *arbolario:* someone who handles tree roots and barks and leaves for medicinal purposes.
31 *Herbolaryo* is another indigenized form of perhaps an original Spanish *herbolario* (from hierba), i.e., someone expert in the use of plants and herbs for medicinal purposes.
32 Richard W. Lieban, *Cebuano Sorcery: Malign Magic in the Philippines* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), p. 50.
33 *Ibid.*, pp. 52-58.

and respiratory organs of tubercular people.[34] Those people have powers of sense and sight which are fantastic, they can transform themselves into birds, cats, dogs, etc., they can fly through the air, can detach themselves from their torsos which they leave behind a post or beneath a window sill, while their upper parts from the head and shoulders, along with the entrails, go travelling through the air in search of prey. The witch carries a flask of oil which it uses to empower itself to fly. If you get hold of this oil you render the witch powerless. If you strike the witch's body when it is under an animal form, the marks will be left on the man's body next morning. To become a witch something like a chicken's egg begins to germinate inside his stomach.[35] This "thing" eventually develops into a chick then into a full grown bird. If you make a person vomit this "thing" before it grows wings inside, he can still be saved from becoming a witch. Once the creature has grown wings, the witch's lot is sealed.[36] A witch cannot die until he has transferred the witch-being to someone else.

This study will limit itself only to the religious functionary known elsewhere by the general name shaman and which is variously termed by the various groups in the Philippines. The paper will discover the various elements which make for shamanism in the Philippines and then see parallels in other Southeast Asian peoples. By way of conclusion we shall see how closely or how distantly are our Philippine shamans linked with their counterparts in the lands south of us.

The Shamanic Call and Consecration

All over the world the shaman has been recognized to be a person whose office is somehow or other linked with a call or a vocation. And the call is understood to come from the gods or the spirits. Even when a future shaman of his own volition seeks out the first experiences which eventually credit him with being a shaman, still his personal quest has to be validated as it were by the spirits who will appear to him in a dream or vision.[37]

Bisayans

In the Philippines, the call to shamanism must come directly through a sudden fit of trembling and insanity, as was the case of the shamans among the early *Bisayans* as we read in Francisco

[34] Francis X. Lynch, "Ang Mga Asuwang: a Bicol Belief," *The Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review*, Vol. 14 (December, 1949), p. 413.
[35] Demetrio, *Dictionary, under aswangs and witches: restoration of*, IV, R, p. 846; cf. also Lynch, *loc. cit.*, p. 410.
[36] *Loc. cit.*, p. 414.
[37] Eliade, *op. cit.*, p. 13 f and *passim*.

Alzina's *History of the Bisayan Islands,* 1668-1669. Writing about the women priestesses or *balianas,* he says:

> They were accustomed to go to the *nonoc* (*ficus closiodes*) covered with gold and ornaments made by them. There the *diwata* lived and there he selected them at his pleasure holding his unions with them . . . . Then those selected were initiated. The exterior sign was that he communicated to them a kind of madness, or they pretended that he did, making many grimaces, rolling their eyes and becoming enraged at times, as we find some of the ancient Sibyls and Vestals. With this it was understood that she was now possessed by the *diwata.* She began to relate fables and to say that the *diwata* was talking to her and giving her knowledge about future things to happen. "Gintitingan ako," which means "the *diwata* has just talked to me." With these demonstrations, some pretended, some really caused by the devil, these women are considered *catooran,* and begin to perform their functions.[38]

Or the call could come during a long period of sickness and depression when a *diwata, anito* or spirit would call on them offering himself as a friend, promising to be a familiar; or it could come by a vision, as was the case of a Subanon who, having been in the forest a number of days, and finding himself without food, suddenly "saw" a *diwata,* riding in a boat, who promised to become his guardian spirit.[39]

Isnegs

In other cases, the call was more indirect, as for instance among the Isnegs. An older shaman would pick out a young girl as candidate for the office; she was made to undergo the ritual of consecration called *ipuwan.* The elder woman pours sweet-scented oil on the head of the candidate. She presses the *xaranait* beads on her forehead and blows over it through her cupped hands. The spirit is believed to be transmitted this way. The girl begins to tremble and shake all over. This is the first consecration. It entitles the girl to assist at the seances of her mistress, to act as assistant during the seances. But she may not conduct them herself. After the girl's marriage, the same identical consecration is gone through again; only afterwards may she hold her own seances.[40]

Tinguians

Among the Tinguians, once a candidate is sure that a spirit is calling him, he approaches an older shaman and undergoes a kind of apprenticeship. He learns the details of the craft, the gifts suitable for each spirit, the chants and *diams* (myths) to be recited in each

[38] Alzina, *op. cit.,* pp. 216-217.
[39] Christie, *op. cit.,* p. 70 f.
[40] Vanoverbergh, *op. cit.,* pp. 558-559.

specific sacrifice. The candidate must learn all this by rote; for the ceremonies must be conducted as perfectly as possible according to the teachings of the spirits of "the people of the first times." After several months of training, the candidate receives her *piling*. The *piling* which may be considered the badge of her shamanic office is a collection of large sea-shells, attached to a cord and kept inside a small basket, together with a chinese plate and a hundred fathoms of thread. The *piling* of a dead shaman is much preferred to shells just freshly gathered. It is in striking her plate with the sea-shells that the shaman summons the spirits.[41]

Remarks:

From the above instances we realize that the shaman-candidate owes her vocation to some spirit or god; that the candidate undergoes an experience of initiation, that the initiation is but the beginning of a series of other experiences during her period of instruction under the guidance of a mistress, human or spiritual. It is only through repeated experiences like unto those of her first calling that a shaman is finally inducted into the company and craftsmanship of other shamans.

A word is needed on the sickness of the shaman during her initiatory paces. We are told that this comes in the form of insanity, usually following upon the candidate's disappearance for two or three days, sometimes even longer.

Shamanic Illness

About the Yakuts of North Asia, N. V. Pripuzov writes: "One destined to shamanship begins by becoming frenzied, then suddenly loses consciousness, withdraws to the forests, feeds on tree bark, flings himself into water and fire, wounds himself with knives. The family then appeals to an old shaman, who undertakes to teach the distraught young man the various kinds of spirits and how to summon and control them. This is only the beginning of the initiation proper. Among the Niassans of Sumatra, a man destined to become a prophet-priest suddenly disappears, carried off by the spirits . . . he returns to the village 3 or 4 days later. If he does not return a search is made for him, and he is usually found on the top of a tree, conversing with spirits. He seems to have lost his mind and sacrifices must be offered to restore him to sanity. The initiation also includes a ritual procession to the graves, to a watercourse, and to a mountain.[42]

This "madness" is in reality the first experience of ecstasy or trance. The candidate is carried out of himself; his body may be present, but his spirit is away communing with the spirits who have

[41] Cole, *Wild Tribes*, p. 302.
[42] Eliade, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

invited him and who have made him undergo the first steps of his training. The bodily disappearance and the state of being abstracted are part of the same initiatory syndrome: departure from his wonted and usual ways into a new state or condition: the condition of one who is beginning to become a spirit. That is why he can "see" and "hear" spirits, while oblivious to the words and cries of his own relatives who are worried and anxious with his "madness."

One thing sure about this madness, however, is that it is temporary. The would-be shaman gets cured. How? it is most often mysterious. And his cure has always a connection with his especial relationship with a god or spirit. The cure is effected precisely through the initiation.

In this connection it is well to recall that psychopathic phenomena are found almost throughout the world. And such maladies nearly always appear in relation to the vocation of a shaman or medicine man. Eliade remarks that this should be no cause for surprise since "like the sick man, the religious man is projected into a vital plane that shows him the fundamental data of human existence, that is, solitude, danger, hostility of the surrounding world." But the primitive magician, the medicine man, the shaman is not only a sick man; he is, above all, a sick man who has been cured, who has succeeded in curing himself. Often when the shaman's or a medicine man's vocation is revealed through an illness or an epileptoid attack, the initiation of the candidate is equivalent to a cure.[43] We shall discuss this at greater length below.

Ritual Tree Climbing

Common all over the world where shamanism has appeared is the connection of the shaman's initiation with a tree. Sometimes it is up a mountain that the candidate climbs, or up a rope or a vine like the liana. Ascent by boat is also reported.[44] The ideology behind this ritual of climbing seems to be the ascension motif. The ascension motif in turn seems to be linked with the belief in the World Tree which serves as the Axis Mundi, the Center of the World, for it is at the Center of the World that a break through is possible between the 3-tiers of the cosmos: to the Upper as well as to the Lower World.

Although this particular mythic view might no longer have been alive among the natives of the Philippines by the time the Spanish

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[43] Mircea Eliade, *Rites and Symbols of Initiation: The Mysteries of Birth and Rebirth.* Trans. by Willard R. Trask (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1958), pp. 81-102.

[44] Eliade, *Shamanism*, p. 264 ff.; cf. also *Patterns in Comparative Religion.* Trans. by Rosemary Ward (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1958), p. 379 ff., also *The Myth of the Eternal Return.* Trans. by Willard R. Trask. (Bollingen Series XLVI), 1954, p. 76 ff. Also London, 1954, p. 76 ff.

chroniclers wrote their observations, yet it is fascinating to note that the behavior of the shaman candidate still ran along the patterns traced by this ancient world view. We know from Alzina that the Bisayan priestesses used to go to the *nonoc* or *balite* tree and there, were initiated by the spirits; we know too that even at present, a so-called *engkanto* victim whom I take to be a shaman candidate, after having disappeared for a couple of days is found oftentimes on top of a tree, or else up the *kisame* or awning of a house, oblivious of the danger he is in. The same is true of the Yakuts of North Asia and the Niassans of Sumatra.[45]

An Igorot myth tells how Banggilit of Hinagangan while hunting was transported to the sky and there lived for sometime until the time for him to return to the earth came. He brought with him a couple of jars from the skyworld in return for his four years' labors there. He was let down to earth by means of a ladder whose foot stood on top of a tree. He slid down the smooth tree trunk, and descended into his own frontyard very early one morning as the cocks were just beginning to crow. His disappearance, his being oblivious of the length of time he had spent in the skyworld, his being let down upon a tree — seem to have shamanic connotations. However these elements were worked into the frame of a folktale.[46]

Phenomenology of Philippine Shamans

The following pages will present documentary evidence of actual observations by early and modern travellers of shamanism in action in the Philippines. A general analysis will be supplied towards the end.

Miguel de Loarca informs us that sacrifices among the early Filipinos were held only during sickness, during planting season or war. He reports: "The priestesses dress very gaily, with garlands on their heads, and are resplendent with gold. They bring to the place of sacrifice some pitarillas (a kind of earthen jar) full of rice-wine, besides a live hog and a quantity of prepared food. Then the priestess chants her songs and invokes the demon, who appears to her all glistening in gold. Then he enters her body and hurls her to the ground, foaming at the mouth as one possessed. In this state she declares whether the sick person is to recover or not. In regard to other matters she foretells the future. All this takes place to the sound of bells and kettle-drums. Then she rises and taking a spear, she pierces the heart of the hog. They dress it and prepare a dish

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[45] Eliade, *Shamanism*, p. 140; cf. also Francisco Demetrio, "The Engkanto Belief: An Essay in Interpretation," *Asian Folklore Studies*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 1, 54, 89. (Henceforth to be referred to as *Engkanto*).

[46] Otley Beyer, "Origin of Myths Among the Mountain Peoples of the Philippines," *Philippine Journal of Science*, Vol. VIII (1913), pp. 114-115.

for the demons. Upon an altar erected there, they place the dressed hog, rice, bananas, wine and all the other articles of food that they have brought. All this is done in behalf of sick persons, or to redeem those who are confined in the infernal regions. When they go to war or on a plundering expedition, they offer prayers to Varangao, who is the rainbow, and to their gods, Ynaguinid and Macanduc. For the redemption of the souls detained in the inferno above mentioned, they invoke also their ancestors, and the dead, claiming to see them and receive answers to their questions."[47]

The same Loarca reports about the Tagalogs: ". . . . the mode of sacrifice was like that of the Pintados. They summoned the catalonan, which is the same as the baylan among the Pintados, that is, a priest. He offered the sacrifice, requesting from the anito whatever the people desired him to ask, and heaping up great quantities of rice, meat, and fish. His invocations lasted until the demon entered his body, when the catalonan fell into a swoon, foaming at the mouth. The Indians sang, drank, and feasted until the catalonan came to himself, and told them the answer that the anito had given to him. If the sacrifice was in behalf of a sick person, they offered many golden chains and ornaments, saying that they were paying a ransom for the sick person's health."[48]

Colin describes a sacrifice for a sick person. "The sick person was taken to the new lodging (built especially for the purpose of this sacrifice). Then preparing the intended sacrifice — a slave (which was their custom at times), a turtle, a large shellfish, or a hog — without an altar or anything resembling one, they place it near the sick person, who was stretched out on the floor of the house on a palm mat (which they use as a mattress). They also set many small tables there, laden with various viands. The catalonan stepped out, and, dancing to the sound of gongs, wounded the animal, and annointed with the blood the sick person, as well as some of the bystanders. The animal was then drawn slightly to one side and skinned and cleaned. After that it was taken back to its first location, and the catalonan there before them all, spoke some words between her teeth while she opened it, and took out and examined the entrails, in the manner of the ancient soothsayers. Besides that the devil became incarnate in her, or the catalonan feigned to be him by grimaces, and shaking of the feet and hands, and foaming at the mouth, acting as if out of her senses. After she had returned to her senses, she prophesied to the sick person what would happen to him. If the prophecy was one of life, the people ate and drank, chanted the histories of the ancestors of the sick person and of the anito to which

[47] Loarca, *op. cit.*, p. 129 ff.
[48] *Ibid.*

the sacrifice was being made, and danced until they fell through sheer exhaustion. If the prophecy was one of death, the priestess bolstered up her bad news with praises of the sick person, for whose virtues and prowess she said the anitos had chosen him to become one of them. From that time she commended herself with him and all his family, begging him to remember her in the other life. She added other flatteries and lies, with which she made the poor sick person swallow his death; and obliged his friends and relatives to treat him from that time as an anito, and make feasts to him. The end was eating and drinking, for that marked the termination of their sacrifices."[49]

Fr. Diego Aduarte describes the sacrifices in the north of Luzon: "The peoples employed more priestesses or aniteras, than priests, though they had some of the latter a wretched class of people, and with reason despised because of their foul manner of life. The devil entered these aniteras or sorceresses, and through them, and by their agency, he gave his anwers. By these priestesses the Indians performed their superstitious rites and sacrifices, when they wished to placate their anitos or obtain anything from them. If anyone fell sick, the aniteras immediately came, and with oils and a thousand performances they persuaded him that, if he would believe in what they did, they would cure him. Then in his sight they performed and displayed a thousand fantastic things; and the devil so earnestly strove to give them credit that at times he made the people believe that the soul had left the body, and that the anitera had restored it by the power of her prayers and her medicines. Whenever the sick person recovered, they attributed the recovery to their own efforts; while, if he died, they were plentifully supplied with excuses and reasons to avoid the blame and to throw the responsibility upon someone else. . . . Before sowing their fields they used to celebrate their solemn feast-days, during which all the men gave themselves up to dancing, eating and drinking until they were unable to stand; and after this came that which commonly follows — namely, giving loose rein to the flesh. The women did not drink, for this was very contrary to their customs as they are very laborious; but they made up for it as well as they could, and in the dances and all the rest they did as well as the men."[50]

Chirino describes a sacrifice thus: "The house is the usual place for the sacrifice, and the victim is . . . a fine hog, or a cock. The mode of sacrifice is to slay the victim with certain ceremonies, and with dance movements which are performed by the priest to the accompaniment of a bell or kettle-drum. It is at this time that the devil takes possession of them, or they pretend that he does. They

[49] Colin, *Native Races*, pp. 75-77.
[50] Aduarte, *op. cit.*, pp. 286-287.

now make their strange grimaces, and fall into a state of ecstasy; after that has passed, they announce what they have seen and heard. On this day a grand feast is prepared; they eat, drink and become intoxicated, the priest or priestess more than the rest. . . ."[51]

And even much earlier in the first quarter of the 16th century, we have Pigafetta's account of how the early Bisayans consecrated the swine before feasting on it. "They first sound these large gongs. Then three large dishes are brought in; two with roses and with cakes of rice and millet, baked and wrapped in leaves, and roast fish; the other with cloth of Cambaia and two standards made of palm-tree cloth. One bit of cloth of Cambaia is spread on the ground. Then two very old women come, each of whom has a bamboo trumpet in her hand. When they have stepped upon the cloth they make obeisance to the sun. They then wrap the clothes about themselves. One of them puts a kerchief with two horns on her forehead, and take another kerchief in her hands, and dancing and blowing upon her trumpet, she thereby calls out to the sun. The other takes one of the standards and dances and blows on her trumpet. They dance and call out thus for a little space, saying many things between themselves to the sun. She with the kerchief takes the other standard, and lets the kerchief drop, and both blowing of their trumpets for a long time, dance about the bound hog. She with the horns always speaks covertly to the sun, and the other answers her. A cup of wine is presented to her of the horns, and she dancing and repeating certain words, while the other answers her, and making pretense four or five times of drinking the wine, sprinkles it upon the heart of the hog. Then she immediately begins to dance again. A lance is given to the same woman. She shaking it and repeating certain words, while both of them continue to dance, and making motion four or five times of thrusting the lance through the heart of the pig, with a sudden and quick stroke, thrusts it through from one side to the other. The wound is quickly stopped with grass. The one who has killed the hog, taking in her mouth a lighted torch, which has been lighted throughout that ceremony, extinguishes it. The other one dipping the end of her trumpet in the blood of the hog, goes around marking with blood with her finger first the foreheads of their husbands, and then the others; but they never came to us. Then they divest themselves and go to eat the contents of those dishes, and they invite only women (to eat with them). The hair is removed from the hog by means of fire. Thus no one but women consecrate the flesh of the hog, and they do not eat it unless it is killed in this way."[52]

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[51] Chirino, *Relacion*, p. 270.
[52] Pigafetta, *Viaggio*, pp. 167, 169, 171.

Fr. Richard Arens, S.V.D., in the 1950's observed a curing ceremony in sitio Tubig-ginoo of Kawayan in Leyte. The features of this curing ceremony are still very much like those of the rites observed by the Spanish chroniclers we have mentioned above. The only difference here is that the ceremony, instead of being gone through only once, had to be straddled for 2 successive weeks, and had 2 parts. The first part is called *Pa-Apong* (i.e., the ceremony "to let the spirits come.") The family of the sick man gather round him in the sala. Four *tambalans* are invited, the chief of whom is said to be more powerful because he can contact the spirits. He meets the spirits and welcome them. Then for the space of an hour, he and his companions keep quiet in the presence of the spirits. Afterwards the chief *tambalan* speaks with the spirits and inquires what kind of sickness he has. An assistant *tambalan* will interpret to the audience the answer of the spirits. Afterwards the head *tambalan* will inform the audience what the spirits had told him. These are the things usually asked for:

chicken with red feathers and black legs
black pig with white feet
additional chicken — all white for other invited spirits
seven glasses of wine
seven glasses of tuba
seven biscuits
seven sticks of cigarettes
seven pieces of rolled tobacco
one dozen eggs
betel nut chew quids or *tilad.*

Afterwards, the chief *tambalan* lets out a loud sigh — an expression of thanks to the spirit.

The second part of the ceremony is called the *pana-ad* (or performing the promise.) It takes 7 days to gather all the materials required by the spirits. After the 7 days the *pana-ad* is performed. This time the site is not the sala but the yard of the house. There are tables laden with the unseasoned foods required by the spirits. The patient is there with his family. The four *tambalans* are around. But they have their own specific roles to play: the chief converses with the spirit; the assistant is interpreter; the third is entertainer for spirits who are only visitors; and the fourth is the comforter of the patient. A big fire is built in the yard. Bamboo musical instruments and a rusty piece of iron are in readiness. Suddenly the chief *tambalan* will let go a loud shout, welcoming the spirits. After 5 minutes he covers his head with a red handkerchief and begins to dance. This dance symbolizes the welcoming of the chief spirit. All

present bow their heads, close their eyes and move lips silently in deep respect.

Then women with red kerchiefs round their heads dance around the fire. The men dance a kind of tinikling. The assistant *tambalan*, the interpreter, dances a saucer dance whereby he holds a saucer on top of one of his fingernails as he dances. After this the community together sings a very sad and sentimental song.

After the singing, the patient is laid on a table. The assistant holds a sharp bolo in his hand. Meantime the chief *tambalan* has worked himself into a trance and the patient is in a similar condition. It is believed that both are "magnified" by the spirit. Suddenly the *tambalan* will command his assistant to stab the patient. He does so with the bolo. Everyone is quiet; for should one speak, the patient would be wounded. Then the chief *tambalan* goes 7 times around the patient mumbling words which are said to be dictates of the spirit who has entered the *tambalan*. Then he blesses the patient and then the feating begins. Seven days afterwards, the patient takes his first bath. At this time another banquet is prepared in thanksgiving to the spirit who was responsible for curing him.[53]

Analysis of the Shamanic Function in These Various Ceremonies.

Sex of Shamans

It seems that in the Philippines, especially in the early days, the female shamans were more numerous than the males. In fact, among the Bisayans, Alcina tells us, men who aspired to become shaman had to ape the ways and dress of women. These men were generally called *asog* (*bayog* in Tagalog).[54]

Number Performing

Generally a shaman would be assisted by one or two others who would answer her questions, playing the role of spirits.

Relationship with Gods or Spirits

The god or spirits with whom they had relationship were generally the *diwatas* or the *anitos*. These could be spirits of dead shaman and ancestors, or natural spirits, or deities and gods of the sky or underworld. All over the world, Eliade tells us, wherever you have shamans of the ecstatic or meditative types, then there is generally linked with the practise of shamanism, a belief in the supreme gods. Among the Filipinos the supreme god was variously named: *Bathala*

[53] Arens, *Tambalan*, pp. 114-116.
[54] Alzina, *op. cit.*, p. 213; Plasencia, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

Meykapal,[55] *Malaon, Badadum,* etc. Loarca tells us that when he asked the natives why they offered sacrifices to the anitos and not to Bathala their answer was that "Bathala was a great Lord, and no one could speak to him. He lived in the sky; but the anito, who was of such a nature that he came down here to talk with men, was to Bathala as a minister, and interceded for them." The anitos were therefore the tutelary spirits of these shamans. They also seem to be sun-worshippers, at least the Bisayans.

Possession

In general it could be said that the special relationship of the shaman with the tutelary spirit was through possession. But it was not mere possession, for between the shaman and the spirit there was a strong bond of familiarity, especially of friendship. The shaman allowed himself to become one with the spirit, to be used by him, to become fully identified with him.[56] We are told that shamans under the spell of the spirit would be sometimes hurled to the ground, would shake all over, make grimaces, swoon and foam at the mouth, and speak in a language and a voice not their own. This possession especially happened when the sacrifice was in behalf of a sick person or some other petition of importance. At other times, there is no possession that follows, even though the dancing and the singing and the playing of musical instruments are there.[57]

Instruments

The instruments used by the shamans were generally bells, kettle-drums, large gongs, bamboo trumpets; we also know that chinese plates were used along with the piling or sea-shells for striking the plates.

Dancing

Dancing, singing, invocation, conversing with the spirits as well as greetings to the sun, and conversation between the chief shaman and her assistants are common occurrences. In some cases, too, mastery over fire has been reported.[58] Pigafetta tells us that the chief priestess in the rite for consecrating the swine, after the hog has been speared, took a lighted torch and extinguished it in her mouth. Plasencia tells of a catalonan who, when under the possession of the

[55] Chirino, *op. cit.*, p. 263.
[56] Eliade, *Shamanism*, p. 506 n.
[57] Plasencia, *op. cit.*, p. 18 f.
[58] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 372-378.

spirit, was filled with arrogance "that she seemed to shoot flames from her eyes; her hair stood on end." We know that the *mancocolam* of the Tagalog would emit flames which were inextinguishable from his body as he lay under a man's house at night. The curing ceremony in sitio Tubig-ginoo is accomplished besides a huge fire built in the yard at the order of the chief shaman or tambalan.

Animal Sacrifice

Although other animals may be offered during sacrifices like the turtle, a goat, large shellfish, and a cock, yet the most important animal and one which was consumed fully was the hog or the pig.

Other Sacrificial Items

The use of rice-wine, tuba, roses, aromatic herbs could be to induce a certain transport or ecstatic condition on the part of the catalonan or the bailan. Certainly the song, the dancing, the beating of the gongs, the kettle-drum, the bells — all are means to induce the state of trance, during which the spirit is said to come and possess the shaman. It is then that information regarding the cause of the disease, or the cure for it, who the thief was of a lost animal or article, what course of action to take in order to avoid defeat or calamity, etc., — all these are known and seen and heard during the period of possession. However, it could be that even in the past there was in the Philippines some vestige of the techniques of ecstasy such as Eliade postulates as the most essential characteristic of shamanism. In modern times, however, there has been found among the Aetas of the Philippines the type of meditation-shamanism, one which is closely linked with the belief in a Supreme Being.[59]

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[59] Mircea Eliade in his above mentioned article "Recent Works on Shamanism," *History of Religions*, Vol. I (1961-1962), pp. 168-169, studies the works of writers on shamanism in Oceania and Southeast Asia. He refers with satisfaction to an article by Engelbert Stiglmayr, "Schamanismus in Australien," *Wiener Volkerkundliche Mitteilungen*, Vol. V, No. 2 (1957), pp. 161-190. For this study corroborates his own findings reported in his books *Shamanism and Birth and Rebirth, passim*. Stiglmayr discovered 3 kinds of medicine-men among the Kurnai, the oldest tribe of Australia: the *bira-ark* (bard, singer and seer), the *mulla mullung* (healer), and the *bunjil* (actual wizard). The *bira-ark*, through his tutelary spirits is able to ascend to heaven. He is distinguished from the other two kinds by his relation to a higher being called Baukan. His seances are held at night, and these are preceded by meditation. Analyzing the myth of Baukan, Stiglmayr concludes: "The truly Supreme Being of the Kurnai is Baukan, who has later been replaced by Mungan ngaua. Hence the connections of the shaman of the ecstatic type with a celestial Supreme Being seem to be attested to even at the most archaic stage of Australian religion. (This confirms our hypothesis on the antiquity of the techniques of ecstasy which are altogether in accordance with a belief in celestial High Beings."). *Ibid.*, p. 168.

PART II

PARALLELS BETWEEN THE PHILIPPINES AND SOME SOUTHEAST ASIAN SHAMANS

1. *The Shamanic Call and Consecration*

Among the Andaman Islanders, the future medicine man (*oko-jumu*, i.e., a "dreamer" or "one who speaks from dreams") becomes one through contact with the spirits, either in the jungle or in dreams, or by dying and coming to life again.[60] In Car Nicobar, a youth who has a sickly temperament is set aside to become a shaman; it is the spirits of recently dead relatives or friends who thus choose him. If he refuses, the youth dies. Among the northern Batak the *sibaso* (shaman, literally, "the word," usually a woman) receives the call directly from the spirits. Under their instruction he is able to "see" and prophesy, or to be "possessed" by the spirits. Her seances take place at night. She drums and dances around the fire in order to invoke the spirits.[61] Among the Menangkabau of Sumatra, the *dukun* is at once a healer and a medium. Through his initiation he becomes invisible and can see spirits at night. The *dukun* can be either a man or woman. Among the Sea Dyak the shaman is called *manang*. The profession among them is usually hereditary even as it is among the Batak and the Menangkabau of Sumatra, as among the Isneg of the Philippines. Among the Sea Dyak, however, the *manang* could also be a sexless (impotent) man called the *manang bali*. The same class is also attested to among the early Tagalogs (*bayog* or *bayoguin*[62]), and the early Bisayans (*asog*[63]). We shall say more of this below. The Ngadju Dyak of southern Borneo also have the *balian* (priestess-shamaness) and the *basir* (an asexual priest-shaman). These, too, must have a special summons from the spirit before they can perform their function as intermediary between the world of the gods and spirits and the world of men. The *basir* also has his counterpart in the *tadu* or *bajasa* of the Bare'e Toradja of Celebes. These are usually women or men who pose as women (literally, "deceiver"). Both the *basir* and the *belian* of the Ngadju Dyak and the Bare'e Toradja are ecstatics, that is, they journey to the sky or the underworld either in spirit or *in concreto*. The *bajasa*, for instance, climbs the rainbow to the house of Pue di Songe, Supreme God, and brings back the patient's soul; or she goes and seeks to bring back the "soul of the rice" when it leaves the crops and these

[60] Eliade, *Shamanism*, p. 342.
[61] *Ibid.*, pp. 346-347.
[62] Plasencia, *op. cit.*
[63] Alzina, *op. cit.*

wither and die. Besides this, the *bajasa* during the great funerary festival, the *mompemate,* leads the souls of the dead to the beyond.[64]

We see then that both in the Philippines and some Southeast Asian peoples, the shaman always has a special relationship with the spirits or the gods, particularly with the supreme beings who dwell in the sky. We have seen, too, that the shamans could be either men or women.

Ritual Transformation of Sex

But there is a special class of shamans who, although males, try to behave and function like females. They assume the tone of voice, mannerisms and dress of females. Some even go so far as to "marry" and live with young men in the village. We are told that this life and the changes it involves is assumed only after a direct command from the spirits. In many cases it is said that young men so chosen and commanded and who refuse to follow the call would kill themselves. For the penalty of refusal is death for the candidate.

In this regard, it is well to recall what Eliade has written on this peculiar phenomenon:

> Ritual transformation into a woman also occurs among the Kamchadal, the Asiatic Eskimo, and the Koryak; . . . . Though rare, the phenomenon is not confined to northeastern Asia; transvestism and ritual change of sex are found, for example, in Indonesia (*manang bali* of the Sea Dyak, in South America (Patagonians and Araucanians), and among certain North American tribes (Arapaho, Cheyenne, Ute, etc.). Ritual and symbolic transformation into a woman is probably explained by an ideology derived from the archaic matriarchy; but . . . . it does not appear to indicate any priority of women in earliest shamanism. . . .[65]

One thing is sure, then. Ritual transformation of sex, whatever decadence it may historically have undergone, originally had a religious purpose: to reproduce in the person of the religious intermediary between the two levels of the cosmos: human and divine, the feminine element (earth) and the masculine element (the sky).[66]

2. *Magic Stones and Quartz Crystals*

Among Philippine magicians and shamans, we hear of stones or crystals being inserted into their arms or limbs, or being swallowed by them. These objects are said to render them "powerful," invisible, endowed with superhuman strength, invulnerable to bullets, impervious to attacks by evil spirits and evil magicians. The same phenomenon is attested to among the Dyak of Borneo. During the first

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[64] *Ibid.*, pp. 353-354.
[65] *Ibid.*, p. 258.
[66] *Ibid.*, p. 353.

part of the *manang's* initiation called the *besudi* (i.e., "to feel" or "touch"), the old shamans may introduce magical "power" into the body of the candidates in the form of pebbles and other objects.[67] The medicine man of the Semang, called the *hala* or *halak* cure the sick by the help of the *cenoi* or the "nephews of god." They are little celestial beings, servants of the divinity. They are intermediaries between man and Ta Pedn, and are regarded as ancestors of the Negritos. Quartz crystals are obtained from the *cenoi* who are said to live in these crystals and are at the *hala's* beck and call. The healer is said to see the sickness in these crystals, i.e., the *cenoi* inside shows him the cause of the sickness and the treatment of it.[68]

Rock crystals are also important in Australian magic and religion as well as in Oceania. The beliefs, though complex, have the same fundamental structure: there are crystals or magic stones, detached from the sky, and though fallen to earth continue to dispense "uranian sacrality" enabling the possessor with magic powers of clairvoyance, wisdom, power of divination, ability to fly, etc. It matters not that many people are no longer aware of this ancient world view. As Eliade tells us:

> Their uranian origin is not always distinctly attested in the respective beliefs, but forgetting original meanings is a common phenomenon in the history of religions.[69]

Let us also add that among the paraphernalia of the Dyak *manang* is a box containing magical objects, most important of which are the quartz crystals — the *batu ilau* ("stones of light") ; by means of these stones, the shaman discovers the aberrant soul of the patient.

Filipinos use precious stones as protection against evil magicians and spirits. Arens mentions 2 kinds of diamonds: the *diamante* which is the element in its raw form, and the *brillante,* the refined form. It is believed that the *diamante* is more potent against the powers of the *barangans* and others. Another precious gem of supernatural power is the *mutya.* This can be obtained from a number of sources. The flower of a *kusul* plant [70] (*kisol* — Bukidnon, Bisaya; *kosol* — Pampango: a kind of ginger, *Kaempferia galanga Linn.*) has a shell-like gem which comes out of it as the moon rises. If the possessor buries this jewel in his body he becomes invulnerable;[71] a certain banana species is believed to yield a hard stone on Good Friday, at

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[67] *Ibid.*, p. 57.
[68] *Ibid.*, p. 339.
[69] *Ibid.*, p. 139.
[70] William Henry Brown, *Useful Plants of the Philippines* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1941), p. 429.
[71] Demetrio, *Dictionary,* Amulets and Talismans: Flower, II, F, p. 521; cf. also *Ibid.*, II, G. pp. 526, 527, 528, 529.

midnight. You swallow this stone and you become irresistible to women.[72] A *mutya* is also believed to be possessed by a rat. It approaches the person who is destined to obtain it. The rat vomits the stone, the person should pick it up quickly and swallow it. At the same moment giants will come and struggle with him for the possession of the *mutya*. But the possessor will be stronger than all of them. This type of amulet is called *anting-anting yatot*, greatly desired by thieves. It will make one rich by stealing. Like the rat, he will know who is rich and where the money is hidden.[73]

3. *Shamanic Madness, Ecstasy and Possession*

Wherever shamanism appears, the shaman begins his career with some kind of psychological crisis which borders on madness. We have said something about this subject above.[74] Among the Filipinos, this phenomenon is copiously documented both for the shamans among the lowland as well as the highland peoples. We have mentioned how the early Bisayans were selected by the spirits to become shamans precisely by this experience;[75] Loarca reports the same occurrence among the early peoples of Bisayas, Luzon and Mindanao. More recently, John Garvan, writing about the Manobos of Mindanao says that a bailan-elect "is not recognized by his fellow tribesmen until he falls into the condition of what is known as *dunaan*, a state of mental and physical exaltation, whis is considered to be an unmistakable proof of the presence and operation of some supernatural power within him. This exaltation manifests itself by a violent trembling, accompanied by loud belching, copious sweating, foaming at the mouth, protruding of eyeballs, and in some cases that I have seen, apparent temporary loss of sight and unconsciousness. These symptoms are considered to be an infallible sign of divine influence, and the novice is accordingly recognized as a full-fledged priest ready to begin his ministrations under the protection of his spiritual friends. . . ."[76]

Garvan also reports on the Great Religious Movement of 1908-1910 among the Manobos, Mandayas, Mangguangans, and Dababaons of Mindanao. It was called the Tungud Movement because the formula "*tungud, tungud, tagaan*" was on the lips of believers. Tungud was started by one Meskinan, a Manobo of Libaganon River, who was taken ill by cholera. His relatives abandoned him. But on the third day he recovered and searched out his people. He assured them that his appearance was not due to an evil, but a beneficent, spirit who had

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[72] *Ibid.*, II, L-C, p. 542; cf. also *ibid.*, II, B, pp. 497, 498, 499, 500.

[73] Richard Arens, "The Use of Amulets and Talismans," *Leyte-Samar Studies*, Vol. V, Nos. 1-2 (1971), pp. 125, 131.

[74] Cf. *supra*, pp. 7-8.

[75] Cf. *supra*, p. 5.

[76] Garvan, *Manobos*, p. 200.

given him medicine which he showed them. "They readily gave credence to his story in view of his marvelous recovery, and also because of the extraordinary state of trembling and of apparent divine possession into which he fell after recounting his story."[77] This movement had the ear-marks of a revival of shamanic religion. It was said that Meskinan had been changed into a deity, and that he was the only one to save the Manobos. For the ancient deities had abandoned the world in disgust and decreed its downfall. The Magbabaya of Libaganon had actually departed to the underworld and had taken up his abode near the pillars of the earth; he has been engaged in weaving a piece of cloth and had only one yard to finish; upon the completion of this, the world would be shaken to its foundations and destroyed. Meskinan had gone down there to negotiate with the Magbabayas. However, Meskinan and the new spirits he communicated to his followers could save their worshippers at the awful moment of the dissolution of the world. For these new spirits had marvelous powers to revive the dead, restore health to the sick, discern the future, make people safe from wounds, and, at the moment of the destruction of the world, could protect their worshippers from the wrath of the ancient tribal gods.

This religious movement followed in the track of the ancient sacrificial patterns ending in paroxyms. Garvan describes a sacrifice of a pig in honor of Meskinan. The point was reached when the high priest and his assistants killed the animal by plunging a dagger through its left side. Garvan describes it:

> The scene that followed the killing of the pig was indescribable. The priests covered their heads and faces with their sacred kerchiefs and trembled with intense vehemence, some leaning against the posts of the sacrificial table, the high priest himself grovelling on the ground on all fours, unable to arise from sheer exhaustion. When the death blow had been dealt to the victim they broke into the mystic words, "*tungud, tungud, tagaan,*" with loud coughs at the end. These words were taken up by the bystanders and shouted with vehemence. Many of them, especially the small girls, fell into paroxyms of trembling. Many of the men and adult women divested themselves of their property, such as necklaces, bracelets, and arms, and laid them near the sacrificial table. Others promised to make an offering as soon as they could procure one.[78] This movement fizzled out because it was discovered to be a racket. But much of the ancient religious motifs were built into their ritual by the organizers of the Tungud Movement.

Laura Watson Benedict in *A Study of Bagobo Ceremonial, Magic and Myth,* relates a trance or pseudo-trance, the chief actor of which was an old man, Datu Idal.[79] After a period of successive singing,

[77] *Ibid.*, p. 229.
[78] *Ibid.*, p. 234.
[79] Benedict, *Bagobos,* p. 156.

punctuated by the sharp cries from groups of men and women, the Datu fell on the floor. He was said to be dead, but would come to life again by and by. He gradually seemed to pass imperceptibly from his condition of stupor into natural slumber. After sunrise the next day, he stirred, opened his eyes, sat up and began to chew betel as though nothing had happened the night before. This took place towards the last day of the Ginum festival. She also reports a case of possession of a priestess, Singan by name, who officiated at the curing ceremony in favor of her son-in-law, Malik.

Possession

The structure of shamanic performance among the peoples of the Philippines as well as the peoples of Indonesia and Malaysia seem to possess a good deal of similarities, especially in the case of possession. Among the Dyaks of Borneo, the seance of the *manang* takes places at night. The patient's body is first rubbed with stones, while the audience chants monotonous songs. Then the chief *manang* dances to the point of exhaustion; it is then that she seeks and summons the patient's soul. The soul escapes the *manang's* hands if the sickness is serious. Once the leading shaman has fallen to the ground, a blanket is thrown over him and the audience awaits the results of his ecstatic journey. When in ecstasy, the shaman is said to go to the Underworld in search of the soul of the sick which he finally captures, holds in his hand, and replaces it through the fontanel in the skull. This sacrifice is called *belian* and the sacrifice usually ends in the sacrifice of a chicken.

While in the state of ecstasy or possession, the onslaught of unconsciousness is often reported for the shaman both in the Philippines and in many peoples of Southeast Asia. The dance of the Malayan *poyang* usually ends in a state of *lupa* "forgetfulness" or "trance" (from the Skt. *lopa*, "loss or disappearance"). He loses consciousness of his own personality and incarnates some spirit. Among the Mentaweian "the real seance follows the usual Indonesian pattern: the shaman dances for a long time, falls to the ground unconscious, and his soul is carried to the sky in a boat drawn by eagles." However, Eliade tells us, this shaman "never shows any sign of 'possession' and has no knowledge of exorcising evil spirits from the patient's body."[80]

The Kubu shaman of southern Sumatra dances until he falls into a trance. The Bataks of Palawan, another pygmy people of Malaysia, have their shaman, the *balian*, obtain his trance by dancing also.[81] When the Malayan *poyang* falls into a trance, he can also

[80] Eliade, *Shamanism*, p. 349.
[81] *Ibid.*, pp. 340-341.

drive away demons and can answer whatever question is asked of him.[82]

Spirit Language

Two other motifs are closely connected with the phenomenon of trance and possession: first, the shaman speaking in a language that is unintelligible, in a high pitched tone, or in a voice not his own. For instance, the *hala* and his helpers among the Semang once they had entered the leaf hut, begin to sing and speak in an unknown language, the "spirit language" which they profess to have forgotten as soon as they emerged from the hut.[83] In case of possession, of course, the shaman simply becomes a medium for the spirits or the souls to use in making their communications heard by the audience.

Doors Opening and Closing

The second motif is that of a magical door that opens and shuts in an instant. The motif is found in Australia, in North America and in Asia. The Bagobos look upon the horizon as the spot where one exits from the earth. One Urbano Eli, tells of the hero Lumabat who was said to have been born after the flood and the dispersal of the races. In one of his wanderings, he is said to have come to a place called *bination* where the sky and the earth meet. He saw the sky going up and down like a man opening and closing his jaws. He says to the sky "You must go up!" But the sky said "No!" But Lumabat promised the sky that if it allowed him and others to go through, the sky might catch the last one who tries to go through. So the sky opened its mouth and the people hurriedly got through, but the bolo of the person second to the last one got caught in the jaw, and it devoured the last one.[84] The Pahang Negrito believes that a Chinoi named Halak Gihmal ("The Weapon Shaman") lives on the back of the great Snake, Mat Chinoi, and guards its treasures. When a shaman wants to enter the snake's body Halak Gihmal subjects him to 2 ordeals: first, he must pass through 7 carpets that are constantly in motion, approaching and separating. If the candidate does not act quickly he is liable to fall upon the back of the snake who lies below stretched under the beam that holds the carpet. The second is that of entering a tobacco box whose cover opens and closes at great speed.[85]

These two motifs symbolize the shaman's return, during her seance, to the "original times" when man understood the language

[82] *Ibid.*, p. 345.
[83] *Ibid.*, p. 338.
[84] Cole, *Wild Tribes*, p. 126.
[85] *Ibid.*, p. 340.

of animals as well as that of the spirits and the gods. It also is a symbolic flash back to the myth of the Center of the World (*Axis Mundi*) where exit is possible from one plane of the cosmos to another, whether up or below. And this is possible for the shaman today *only* in spirit, or in ecstasy.

4. *The Nomenclature*

The name of the shaman itself coincides a number of times in the two regions: the Philippines and Southeast Asia. Among the Negritos the name is *balyan*, among the Mandayas, *ballyan*, among the Bisayans, *bailan*. The same nomenclature is found among the Ngadju Dyak, *balian* (priestess-shamaness), and we come across the same name among the Dusun of North, South and East Borneo. The shaman is called *belian bomor* in Kelantan; while the Sea Dyak call the seance of the manang, *belian*. And the impotent sexless priest-shaman of the same Sea Dyak is called *manang bali*.

The Philippine Negritos used another name for the shaman, namely, *puyang*.[86] The same word is used by the Jakun, another Malay race, to signify the shaman, *poyang*.[87] Another Negrito word *pauang* [88] closely resembles the Malayan word for shaman, *pawang*.[89] A fourth Negrito word for shaman, *huhak* [90] is akin to the Semang Pygmies *hala* or *halak*.[91]

It appears, however, that the greater number of coincidences as far as nomenclature goes is found among the Pygmies of the Philippines and their counterparts in Indonesia.

5. *Mastery Over Fire and Madness*

Shamans all over the world are known for their ability to control fire and heat. Some can produce fire and heat in their own bodies. Linked closely with the power to produce heat is the rage, fury and madness which shamans, warriors and heroes are believed to participate in. Eliade has written some very instructive and interesting pages on the relationship between the inner heat or *tapas* of the Indian divinities and yogins, the *wut* or sacred force of the ancient Germans as well as their berserkers (literally, "warriors in shirts (serkr) of bears"); the *ferg* (literally, 'anger') of the Irish, and the *menos* ("wrath") of the Homeric Greeks.[92] In the Philippines we

[86] John M. Garvan, *The Negritos of the Philippines*, edited by Herman Hochegger (Wiener Beitrage zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik, Bd. 14, 1964), p. 218. (Henceforth to be referred to as *Negritos*).
[87] Eliade, *Shamanism*, pp. 91, 34 ff.
[88] *Ibid.*
[89] *Ibid.*, pp. 341, 345 ff.
[90] Garvan, *Negritos*, p. 218.
[91] Eliade, *op. cit.*, p. 337.
[92] *Ibid.*, pp. 81-85.

are acquainted with the terrific strength that the so-called *engkanto* victims possess. It takes 5 or more able-bodied men to contain a frail, innocent girl, who says she is being dragged away by fair-faced young men to a waiting spirit car.[93] Plasencia reports that a shaman under the influence of the spirits "had to be tied to a tree by his companions, to prevent the devil in his infernal fury from destroying him."[94] Alzina tells of a woman of the local nobility in Sulat, a pueblo of Ybabao, present northern Samar. "The lady was . . . . frail and delicate; when she was afflicted, she would climb to the highest part of the *nonoc* tree (*Ficus balete Merr.*[95]); there disrobe herself, leaving her clothes upon the highest branches; sometimes she came down undressed, sometimes half-dressed, depending on how long the madness lasted. Once when she had left her clothings up there, she came down and went walking down the streets, naked in the afternoon and was heading towards the church. Another chief who saw her thus, accosted her and asked her where she was headed. But she answered nothing. He took her forcibly to her house and ordered her to dress or cover herself until she came to. Ashamed at being seen in her nudity and realizing that she had gone that way through the village streets, she began to cry. The place was near my church, and so I learned all this from the chief who had met her. She remained in this state for many months, and this was a sign of her being *Daetan*. . . ."[96]

Madness and mastery over fire are well documented all over the world and known to be a magico-religious phenomena which are very archaic. For primitive people attribute the quality of "burning" or of being "very hot" to magico-religious power. The religious fervor felt by mystics in the course of their prayer or contemplation is known all over the world of Christianity as well. It is told of a young Jesuit saint, St. Stanislaus Kostka, for instance, that he had to go down to the college well in the patio very early in the morning and apply cold water on his chest. So fervent were his outpourings of love to God that he had to recourse to this external means of cooling his heart.

Siberian shamans swallow burning coals; and in Fiji, families can walk over burning coals or white-heated stones. Hard-nosed anthropologists and observers attest to the genuineness of these phenomena. Eliade writes that "what is more remarkable, the Fijian shamans can confer insensibility to fire on the entire tribe even on outsiders."[97]

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[93] Demetrio, *Engkanto*, pp. 136-143.
[94] Plasencia, *op. cit.*
[95] Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
[96] Aduarte, *op. cit.*, pp. 220-222.
[97] Eliade, *Shamanism*, pp. 372-373.

We have seen that the *mancocolam* used to emit a kind of unextinguishable fire from his own body as he wallowed in the filth under the house. We know, too, that Bisayan shamans could extinguish a burning torch by taking it into their mouth as reported by Pigafetta; Alzina reports that there were stories of women "who take live coals of fire in their hands and on their lap without burning themselves or scorching their clothes.... of another who scatters her hair in the middle of a large flame without scorching it."[98]

The same phenomenon has been reported in South America where during an Araucanian shaman's consecration "the masters and neophytes walk barefoot on fire without burning themselves and without their clothes catching fire."[99]

One more thing. The power to produce fire or heat in one's body is a sign that one has achieved a superior manner of existing. The myths of certain primitive peoples in Australia, New Guinea, Trobriand, Marquesas Islands, South America[100] tell that the old women of the tribe "naturally" possesed fire in their genital organs which they used for cooking their food. The men finally got hold of it only through trickery. Two historical events may be reflected in these myths, first, the hegemony of women in the matriarchal society, and second, "... the fact that fire, being produced by the friction of two pieces of wood (that is, by their 'sexual union'), was regarded as existing naturally in the piece which represented the female. In this sort of culture woman symbolizes the natural sorceress. But men finally achieved 'mastery' over fire and in the end the sorcerers became more powerful and more numerous than their female counterparts. In Dobu the aboriginals believe that both male and female magicians fly by night and traces of the fire which they leave behind them can be seen."[101]

Mastery over fire, magic or inner heat, and the falling into a furor or a rage-all these are manifold expressions of the magic power achieved by the shaman, by the smith and the hero through their initiation. As Eliade writes:

> From the viewpoint of the history of religion, these different accomplishments show that the human condition has been abolished and that the shaman, the smith, or the warrior participate, each on his own plane, in a higher condition. For this higher condition can be that of a God, that of a spirit, or that of an animal. The respective initiations, though following

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[98] Alzina, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-123.

[99] *Loc. cit.*, p. 54.

[100] James Frazer, *Myths of the Origin of Fire* (London: MacMillan, 1930), pp. 5 f, 22 f, 48 ff, 83 ff, 123 ff.

[101] Mircea Eliade, *The Forge and the Crucible* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1962), p. 80.

> different paths, pursue the same end — to make the novice die to the human condition and to resuscitate him to a new, a transhuman existence."[102]

Finally, let it be added that, a similar idea underlies the belief that heroes and all those who die a violent death, being hit by lightning, for instance, or dying after having been assaulted by an enemy, or drowning, or being hit by a falling rock or a tree — all who die thus are said to mount up the sky by means of the rainbow. A thing common in Philippine folk belief. This kind of a death is considered an initiation; therefore, a higher mode of being has been achieved by these victims.[103]

Conclusion

Having presented the data, we cannot but conclude that the phenomenon of shamanism in the Philippines as well as in many Southeast Asian lands is very similar. The similarity is seen in the manner the shaman is called and consecrated. The madness characteristic of the Philippine shaman-to-be is also borne out among the shaman candidates of Indonesia and Malaysia. The actual seance, often held at night, by women shamans, along with one or more assistants, ends up with the priestess falling on the ground, foaming at the mouth, often turning rigid and unconscious. During this interval, she is believed to be either carried away in ecstasy to regions where the gods and the spirits or the souls of the dead dwell; or else, her body is possessed by spirits and souls of ancestors who speak their messages to the people through the shaman as medium. In either case, whether the seance ends in ecstasy or possession, the shaman is the central figure who acts as intermediary between the spirit world and the world of men. Other magical powers attributed to shamans in many parts of the world are also attested to in both regions: magic stones and quartz crystals, control of fire, tree climbing and ritual transformation of sex. The author has been greatly impressed by this closeness. It remains to penetrate deeper the causal nexus between Philippines, Indonesian and Malayan shamanism.

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[102] Eliade, *Rites and Symbols*, pp. 86-87.
[103] Eliade, *Shamanism*, p. 206.

A PRELIMINARY CATALOGUE OF BIKOL DRAMAS

MARIA LILIA REALUBIT

THE BIKOL FLAIR FOR THE ARTISTIC AND DRAMATIC IS RECOGNIZED. And Bikol drama can be significant and distinctive of the Bikol people.

Relatively unknown in cultural circles and the literati, a few of these, among the large mass of plays written over the years, are noteworthy for their ingenious rendering into dramatic composition the people's thoughts and insights into human nature and life. Here are visibly mirrored the Bikol way of life, the Bikol mind and temperament. Serving as outlets for nationalistic sentiments, these dramas confined radical ideas in configurations of action, role, and symbol and skillfully ensconced them in romantic episodes and comic situations. Given encouragement and a requisite environment, Bikol drama could have grown and developed into a high dramatic art, representative of the Bikols.

But the Bikol area has been most underdeveloped of the eight major regions in the country, and so its drama, the art closest to the immediacy and reality of the life of the people, is equally slow in development. Worse, Bikol literary endeavors receive no boost or become relegated to substandard by a people unaware of their use and value.

To illustrate, innovations on the old comedia form reveal Bikol craft and versatility. More than just warring Christians and Moros on a religious theme, the later comedias castigated complacency and exposed the ills of a hypocritical government. It sought vengeance on an interfering foreign lord and placed as king a man from the masses. Nowhere does the comedia end in an execution as in Bikol drama.

In Bikol zarzuela are stirrings of the women's lib movement. Contrary to a brand of complaisance, the Bikol woman here unprecedentedly kills a priest right on stage. In fact, it is the Bikol woman who seems to dominate in Bikol drama.

But many of these plays fall back on artistic excellence. What mattered was that the people for whom they were written considered them significant. Likewise invaluable were their roles in helping enrich Bikol life and in fostering artistic inclinations. Of value to the theater, they supplied entertainment and kept up the technical machine of playwriting.

Today a massive development program is earmarked for Bikol. Even young Bikolistas are emerging. And too, drama groups are beginning to search for native themes. Bikol drama may yet rise from lethargy.

However, extant manuscripts in Bikol are meager due to neglect and loss. Even the informants are getting scarce. For this reason, literary research in Bikol offers many challenges and problems, even as the hunt for manuscripts, which moves from hunch to sleuthing to clue-tracking, often brings in little haul. The titles included here are available for study: a complete list will be given at the termination of this research, at which time, a fuller picture of the Bikol people as manifested in their drama can be drawn.

A. Religious Plays

Ang Paghanap ni Sta. Elena can Sta. Cruz na Pinacoan ni Jesus asin si Pinacoania. Drama na pinamogtac sa verso nin sarong sacerdote secular. Nueva Caceres, Imp. "La Sagrada Familia," 1896. 72 p. 16°.

An Sarong Modelo o Familiang Aarogan asin an Familiang Ominarog. Drama na pinamogtac sa tolo cabtang nin sarong sacerdote secular. Tomo I. Nueva Caceres, Imp. "La Sagrada Familia," 1895. 76 p. 16°.

The above-mentioned plays are cited in Helen R. Tubangui, ed. *A Catalog of Filipiniana at Valladolid.* Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1973. Entries No. 1849 on page 205 and No. 1793 on page 199.

Cahaditan o Pagborongborong ni San Jose can Pagbados ni Maria.

Figueroa, Jose. *Mahal na Drama can Pasaquit asin Pagcagadan ni Jesus.* Sorsogon, 1926. ms. barba paper.

Hernandez, Tranquilino. *Casaysayan can Mahal Na Pasion ni Jesus Cagurangnanta.* Manila: Universidad de Santo Tomas, 1940.

Inciso, Flaviano Fr. *Comedia na Dapit sa Dios o Magna Cahayagan can Magna Misterios nin Navidad.* Nueva Caceres: Imprenta La Sagrada Familia, 1898.

Jesus, Leocadio de. *Panharongharong ni San Jose y Maria.* n.d. ms. legal paper.

Lua y Alabacion qui Sto. Sr. San Jose. n.d. ms. 7 p. 8x12 legal paper.

Lua para Alabacion del Señor Sto. Juan Bautista, Patron Titular de este Pueblo de Bato. n.d. ms. 7 p. 8x13 Manila paper.

Latumbo, Policarpo. *Lagaylay para sa Sta. Cruz.* n.d. ms. legal paper.

Nicomedes, Mariano. *Dotoc sa Mahal na Santa Cruz.* Nueva Caceres: Imprenta Mariana, 1919.

Perfecto, Mariano. *An Pagguiao can Magna Pastores sa Pagcamondag ni Jesus Duman sa Portal sa Belen.* Drama o comedia na pina-

mogtac sa tolo cabtang ni M.P. Nueva Caceres: Imp. "La Sagrada Familia," 1895. 60 p. 16°.

Cited by Helen R. Tubangui, ed. *A Catalog of Filipiniana at Valladolid.* Entry 1774, p. 197.

Quinatha nin Sarong Sacerdote asin Guinono sa Año Cristiano ni Padre Croisset. *Dotoc sa Mahal na Santa Cruz.* Nueva Caceres: Imprenta La Sagrada Familia, 1895.

B. Comedias (Moro-moro Plays)

Alejandria, Clemente. *Agui-agui ni Prinsipe Lizardo asin ni Criselda.* n.d. ms. 92 p.

Alejandria, Clemente. *Prinsipe Fernando.* n.d. ms. 86 p.

Armenta, Sabas. *Doña Argentina Aqui ni Eduardo sa Ciudad nin Samordia.* n.d. ms. 92 p.

Armenta, Sabas. *Don Juan Teñoso.* n.d. ms. 151 p.

Armenta, Sabas. *Emperador Hosayito sa Albania.* n.d. ms. 82 p. notebook.

Armenta, Sabas. *Gonzalo de Cordova.* n.d. ms. 98 p. notebook.

Armenta, Sabas. *Principe Ludovico.* n.d. ms. 110 p. notebook.

Armenta, Sabas. *Principe Roberto asin Germania.* n.d. ms. 76 p. notebook.

Armenta, Sabas. *Principe Rodolfo y Villarba.* n.d. ms. 89 p.

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