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NOTE FROM THE EDITOR

The ASIAN STUDIES Journal, official publication of the UP Asian Center, resumes publication with this issue.

Hampered by lack of funds and certain technical difficulties—which appear to have been finally overcome—the journal was dormant for some time. Its non-appearance was greatly felt by our subscribers and numerous contributors who have been writing to ask when it would finally come out again.

As before, the journal will publish significant articles on Asia-Pacific and Philippine concerns, with a view to giving a sharp focus on contemporary political, economic, and cultural issues which inform the continuing social dynamics in this part of the world.

You will recall that the Asian Center had another quarterly, the *Lipunan*, which carried highly informative and interesting articles on Philippine society and culture. Unfortunately, it has had to cease publication due to financial constraints. However, manuscripts intended for *Lipunan* will be considered for publication in the Asian Studies Journal.

We are interested in the exchange of publications between the Asian Center and institutions which put out similar academic journals. We also welcome new subscribers and contributors, to maintain their links with us.

This revival issue of the journal will be followed by a special issue in December 1987 which will be built around the theme "The Aftermath of the February Revolution: Problems and Challenges in the Transition from Marcos to Aquino." A number of perceptive and timely articles are being lined up for this issue. Those interested in submitting their contribution have until the first week of July to do so.

We are glad to be able to begin anew.

EDGAR B. MARANAN
Issue Editor

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CONTENTS

SOURCES OF LOCAL HISTORY*

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Local history as an area of inquiry appears so easy a subject to develop that probably the serious students of history thought of it as something beneath their dignity and not worthy of their full attention. This does not exhaust the reason why local history has been neglected by professional historians. If history as a discipline is to expand and recover from the academic pummeling it has been receiving lately from the behavioralists and social scientists, "out of spite" or otherwise, historians and others engaged in similar undertakings must welcome tasks that they had been neglecting in the past. This area is the challenge and I hope historians will respond positively.

Probably on account of this neglect, local history since the appearance of Isabelo de los Reyes' *Historia de Ilocos* during the last decade of the preceding century has been the monopoly of known and faceless amateurs busy writing on the subject for athletic meets or conferences and town fiestas' souvenir programs. Or occasionally when politicians in the local levels want to engage in ego trips, teachers and students were obligated to write local histories, later called *Historical Data Papers* which turned out to be nothing but "boosteristic" activities for their localities or for the enhancement of their political fortunes. Moreover local histories repeat the same refrain of recounting chronological narrative of political and governmental highlights, the local peoples' contribution to episodic events like economic crisis and war, ending up with an ego massage of individuals considered prominent and distinguished including their "mugs," hence the phrase "mug book."

Indeed the cheapening of local history due to mishandling of it by the town-fiesta, athletic-meet and flash-in-the-pan overnight historians or casual and occasional historians was probably one other reason why professional historians and students of history turned against the writing of town, provincial, or regional history.

Regardless, in the past two decades or so Filipino and foreign historians' attention turned to this area of history leading to an explosion of research, writing and publications, a phenomenon matched by similar activities in

* Paper read during the National History Week Celebration, 15-21 September 1982 at the University of Life, Pasig, Metro Manila under the auspices of the National Historical Institute.

America and elsewhere, coincidentally at approximately the same time. During this period, or probably earlier, I remembered the late professor Nicolas Zafra being requested by the Rizal provincial governor to be one of the judges in the town-history writing contest for the province and one of my friends, Leopoldo Serrano writing the history of Caloocan or Mandaluyong (which of this, I now cannot remember). But Serrano's work, though I believed it won a prize, was never published. Later in the same decade, a group of U.P. historians led by Zafra had been requested by prominent officials and citizens of Marikina to do research and study the shoe industry of the town. Again I am not aware that this work was ever published for general dissemination. If it had come out in print I had not known about it. However, the then Dean Tomas Fonacier came out with an article that appeared in the *Diliman Review* of January, 1953, entitled "The Iloko Movement," discussing the story of the great Ilokano migration all over the country and abroad. Called by one scholar as a "solid work of scholarship" and "the standard work on Bikol regional history," the late Domingo Abella's *Bikol Annals: A Collection of Vignettes of Philippine History,* was an answer to the challenge poised by the needs for local history or history of the Bikol region, coming out in 1954.

But in the sixties, or more particularly in 1967 an American researcher, John A. Larkin, came forth with a call for writing more local history unaware probably that there had been more than passing interest earlier shown by professional historians on local history-writing, with his article entitled "The Place of Local History in Philippine Historiography" (*Journal of Southeast Asian History*). A little earlier, Larkin was preceded by another foreign researcher, Felix Keesing, who put out his *Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon* giving a lot of space to the Iloko provinces. The seventies witnessed the increasing number of scholarly works on local history commencing with Diokno Manlavi's *History of Palawan* in 1970, then the Foronda brothers', Juan and Marcelino, Jr., *Samtoy: Essays on Iloko Culture and History*, in 1972 which was also the year when Larkin's *The Pampangans, Colonial Society in a Philippine Province* was published abroad, with a local edition being published in 1975. Two years earlier, former Dean Cesar Majul of the University of the Philippines, performed for the Muslim Filipinos what others had been doing for the Ilokanos, Pampangans, Tagalogs, etc. when his *Muslim in the Philippines* was published in 1973. And later Rose Cortes, my colleague in the U.P. History Department, came out with *Pangasinan, 1572-1800.* In 1977 even the military sponsored the writing of the profile of the Ilokano and Iloko region, entitled *Ladaoan: The Ilokos and the Ilokanos* as a birthday gift to President Ferdinand E. Marcos.

Many of the preceding writers in turn stimulated the interest of students to write, as their masteral thesis or doctoral dissertations, local histories.

Some of these had already seen publication like Samuel K. Tan's *Sulu Under American Military Rule* in 1967; Cortes' which we already mentioned earlier; Ma. Fe Romero's *Negros Between Two Powers* in 1975 and others whose works are probably in the process of being printed or published like Maldonio Lao's *Cagayan de Oro in the 19th Century* (1980), Wilfredo Tamayo's master thesis on "The Fragita Condition: Cooperation and Discord Within the Panay Resistance Movement, 1942-1945" and Nilo Ocampo's "Ang Palawan sa Panahon ng Kolonyalismong Espanyol at Republikang Pilipino, 1621-1901." This of course does not complete the list since recently we witness the appearance in print of local histories written by foreign authors.

All the above was just one facet in the growing interest on local history since the fifties. This interest is also manifested in the form of conferences held on local history like that one at Xavier University, Cagayan de Oro City, on September 22-24, 1978, and now this national Seminar/Workshop sponsored by the National Historical Institute, the Ministry of Local Government and Community Development, and the Philippine Historical Association.

One or two sour notes however accompanied this recent renaissance of local history-writing by experts and professional historians. Most if not all of them have adopted the paranoid style of (1) assuming an air of martyrdom for the imagined snobbish treatment and insult hurled by national historians to local history and its practitioners, and (2) simultaneously adopting a superior mien and attitude based on the mistaken notion that without local histories there can never be a national history, conveying a one to one correlation between the whole and its parts.

There is no doubt that local history has just emerged as one of the most promising areas of historical inquiry. But to pit local history against national history is simply too much. True that local history can help explain further national events and developments. But it is equally true that some national events cannot find any parallel in local episodes and developments.

The emergence of local history as an area of investigation is of course significant since it (1) may probably lead to revision of interpretations in major areas of Philippine history, (2) can be the basis for a broader thesis about national history, (3) may revolutionize methodologies and stimulate conceptual innovations that will revitalize history as a discipline, and (4) focus attention on the "history of the people" or history "from bottom up."

The opportunity therefore is in this area of investigation. But problems abound in the writing of local history. One is definitional. What is local

history? And how local is local history? Is it a place? a relationship? a politico-administrative unit? an ethnic group? On account of difficulties or problems of definition, many practitioners lack clear conception of what is really distinctively local in their writings (worse, and more important, are they truly writing local history or "national history localized?"

Thus, it is important that we define the area we will work on and delimit the coverage in order to start with a clear concept of what we intend to do. Moreover, the definitional problem is just one among many. The other is the problem of sources. Once we identify the subject-matter we will work on, the problem is where to go to find the sources. This depends on the nature and character of the sources. If books and periodicals, it is easy to go to the library and the newspaper morgue. If reports of officials probably the place is that official's place of work, i.e., the Treasurer's reports to the Treasurer's office; parish records to the church or convent; artifacts to the museum, etc. Again, if we succeed in locating the place where we can find our sources of information, the next question is what to look for. One way, among many, to lick or surmount this problem is through careful delineation of coverage and subject-matter, i.e., include, exclude, or add and weed out topics whose sources may be meager or nil.

There is no need for me to overstress the fact that there can be no history without sources. Even in the presence of sources history writing is already difficult how much more in their absence unless you are writing a historical romance or fiction, in which case sources would be extraneous. But it is usual for libraries and archives to have finding aids or bibliographic aids like Wenceslao Retana's three-volume *Aparato bibliografico de la historia general de filipinas, 1524-1800* (Madrid, 1906), I. R. Rodriguez's "A Bibliography on Legazpi and Urdaneta and their Joint Expedition," (*Philippine Studies,* April, 1965), Henry Scott's *Prehispanic Source Materials for the Study of Philippine History* (Manila, 1968), Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera's *Biblioteca Filipina,* James Robertson's *Bibliography of the Philippine Islands,* James LeRoy's "The Philippines, 1860-1898; some Comments and Bibliographical Notes" (B & R, Vol. LII) and many others recently published. Many libraries and museums have listings of their own holdings. To be sure, one must check these listings to see if they contain sources on local history that may interest the local historians.

Sources on local history that may interest the historians depend on periodization. Following the traditional division of Philippine history into pre-colonial, Spanish colonial, Revolutionary, American Colonial, Japanese Colonial and contemporary Republican period, researchers may easily identify the places where they desire to go. For the Spanish period for instance, easily the National Archives, the Dominican Provincial Archives (Convent of Santo Domingo), the Rizal Library of Ateneo de Manila

(Diliman, Quezon City) are among the few logical places to go because of their rich collection of Spanish sources on local history.

It is not unusual that some general works contain bibliographies that will assist researchers. As a matter of fact, whether one is interested only in local hisory or national history, the basic search he/she ought to do is take hold of Teodoro A. Agoncillo and Milagros Guerrero's *History of the Filipino People,* or Garel A. Grunder and William E. Livezey's *The Philippines and the United States,* either of which contains a list of sources that may be of assistance to local history researches.

On the assumption that regardless of the criteria used by researchers in delineating local history — i.e. geographic homogeneity or proximity, politico-administrative division, and ethnocultural delimitation—all will observe certain uniformity in coverage and subject matter, let us cite some sources in the form of manuscript collections. In this connection, one must use the Philippine National Archives which, according to the late Domingo Abella, contains the largest collection of manuscript sources dealing with the entire Spanish colonial period from 1565 to 1898. It contains an estimated 11 million documents packed into *legajos* (bundles) and up till now still uncatalogued except for the topics on *guerra,* 1837-1898 and *Mindanao y Sulu,* 1857-1897.

Most of the sources to be found in the Archives can be classified as "scraps of evidence" taken from listings with topic and subtopic headings. To cite a few random samples, we have the *estadistica* or statistics by provinces, towns, number of inhabitants, marriages, births, deaths, and even *ganaderias* or stocks of cattle and *fincas* or any kind of property yielding income. The researchers will also find the heading *terrenos varias provincias* with tax collections, accounts of public income, *cedulas,* emigration, appointment of officials, and the like. *Erecciones del Pueblos* pertain to foundation of towns, barangays, *visitas* and *sitios;* while *actas de elecciones de gobernadorcillos y demas oficiales* contain records of electoral proceedings of town officials including the local police and officers in-charge of rice fields. *Expedientes* from provinces and others refer to despatches, complaints and other subjects like the suppression of the *malhechores* (*tulisanes*); and the *relaciones de los ministros de justicia nombrado* of course deal with reports of the judges in provinces and regions. There are also *reales ordenes* (appointments and resignations of officials), *padrones de polistas,* (lists of those who rendered forced labor by provinces, towns, etc. and *instituciones docentes* or records of schools, teachers and students. Others on the Chinese population include the *padron general de Chinos* by provinces giving in the census the name, age, religion, place of origin in China, place of residence in the Philippines, etc. There are also the *quintos* or compulsory military service of Filipinos

and mestizos in the military establishment and the *cedularios* or compilation of royal decrees issued by the King, already considered rare, as early as 1632.

The Filipiniana division of the National Library contains books, periodicals, and manuscripts on local history. Beginning with books or accounts written by Spanish historians or chroniclers, mostly friars and not a few lay authors, many works were about the activities and missions of various religious orders who saw service in the Philippines. In a broad sense the earliest local histories were written by Pigafetta and Transylvanus, referring to those sections of the Visayas and Palawan touched by the Magellan voyage or remnants of his expedition. Translation of these works are in the 55-volume work of Emma Blair and James Robertson, volumes 33 and 34 for Pigafetta and volume 1 for Transylvanus.

The missionary historians' accounts are quite significant for local history since their religious orders brought to so many areas of the country christianity or Catholicism. Their reports are significant as records of the foundation of towns which the religious orders stated as *visitas* initially; although in many cases the people themselves were responsible for founding towns. The order of St. Francis for instance had been active in and about Manila, the Tagalog region or provinces, Camarines, and other regions. The Franciscan Juan de la Plasencia, upon request of Governor de Sande, wrote his *Las Costumbres de los Tagalos* (B & R, volume 7) that was not only significant as source of local history of the Tagalog region but also as guide to the alcaldes in adjudication of cases involving the Filipinos. Indeed it is called the first civil code of the Philippines. And so with the account of Fr. Felix de Huerta, *Estado geografico, topografico estadistico, historico, religioso de la Santa y Apostolica provincia de S. Gregorio Magno de religiosos menores la regular y mas estrecha observancia de H.S.P.S. Francisco en las Filipinas* (1863). The Society of Jesus also had their own chronicler and historian. Since the Jesuits were active in Cebu, Leyte, Samar, Bohol and other islands in the Visayas, including the coastal region of Mindanao, Pedro Chirino's *Relacion de las islas Filipinas y de lo que ellas en trabajado los padres de la compañia de Jesus* (B & R, volumes 12 and 13), 1604 would be important in the history of those places. The order of St. Dominic had been active in and about Manila, Cagayan, Pangasinan, Panay and other places. The order's historian, Vicente de Salazar, wrote *Historia de la Provincia Santisimo Rosario,* 1742 touching on those places that might interest the researchers of local or regional history. Similarly, the Augustinians had labored in the Visayas, Ilocos, Pangasinan, Pampanga, in and about Manila. These places were discussed in the Augustinian Joaquin Martinez de Zuñiga's *Estadismo de las islas Filipinas* (2 volumes, 1893). This does not exhaust the list.

Other important sources are in the form of *diccionarios* like those of Manuel Buzeta y Felipe Bravo's and M. R. Berriz. The former wrote *Diccionario geografico, estadistico, historico de las islas Filipinas,* 1850-1851, (2 vols.) giving valuable statistics; while the latter wrote *Diccionario de la administracion de Filipinas,* 1887-1888 containing texts of royal decrees (15 vols.). *Guia oficial de Filipinas* for certain years gives us census of tribute payers, non-tribute payers, population by provinces, and the administrative and ecclesiastical system in the country.

Most of the sources we discussed are in the nature of manuscripts, books, and periodicals. This is true also of ethnic groups in the Philippines like the Muslim and Igorot Filipinos. There are already many bibliographic aids written on these two groups of Filipinos like Scott's which we already mentioned for the Igorots; and Alfredo Tiamson's "Bibliography of Cotabato" prepared for the First National Confrence on Local/Regional History, Xavier University, Cagayan de Oro City in September 1978.

Probably sources of local history will be hard to come by for the contemporary period although here, in addition to written sources, artifacts can be used together with oral sources or sources by word of mouth. Various areas, in this connection, can be included like religion, recreation, education, demographic patterns, social mobility rates, family networks, old age, women and others. Potential sources would be local newspapers, speeches of politicians or prominent men, interviews, films, slide shows, reminiscences, etc. To extract information and "scraps of evidences" out of the above, interviews can be had with selected people whether elite or the ordinary. The parish records also may yield genealogical informations like birth, death, marriage, baptism, and the like, and social mobility from one place to another, etc.

The municipal records yield a mine of information on local history or sources giving a more or less complete characterization of the local community or town. For instance, in the town of Marikina, I found records of recruitment, arrest, detention, types of crime committed, peace and order general situationer, traffic, fire and statistics on the socio-civic and religious organizations. All this can be found in the record section of the town's police department. The municipal secretary's office is the repository of various typescript data ranging from ordinances, resolutions, administrative circulars, to the cultural activities, barrio records, proceedings of the town council, and ecological data from the engineer's office spelling out town planning and development. Social, urban and oral history could be written on the basis of the above data obtainable from the municipal offices. And despite the lack of index, catalog, checklist, and bibliographical aids, the serious researchers must still continue in search

of the elusive data, which he can find only by imaginative sleuthing and detective work.

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BANDITRY IN CAVITE DURING THE POST WORLD WAR II PERIOD

By
CAROLYN I. SOBRITCHEA

INTRODUCTION

Banditry is one of the most neglected areas in the study of peasant unrest in the Philippines. So far, no comprehensive study on this subject matter has yet come to the attention of this writer inspite of the fact that historical documents attest to its frequent occurrence in many parts of the country during the colonial period and even in the recent past. Folk accounts are equally rife with references to *tulisanes* or *ladrones*[1] (bandits) who preyed upon landlords, state authorities and itinerant merchants, sometimes with the benefit of protection from the rural populace. A few of them have become legendary and stories of their Robin Hood exploits remain alive in the rural folk's memory.

This paper is a modest attempt to compensate for the dearth of researches on the nature and dynamics of banditry on the Philippines. It is specifically focused on bandit activities in the province of Cavite during the first two decades following the Second World War. Cavite was chosen because it had the highest incidence of banditry during the period, a phenomenon amply documented by the press and the government. Moreover, the recentness of the subject under study has enabled this writer to interview some of the relatives and friends of bandits in Cavite, as well as military personnel and other people who knew and interacted with them. This paper also probes into the geographic, socio-economic and political features of and conditions in Cavite, which could account for the proliferation of banditry in that province after the Second World War.

BANDITRY IN HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Banditry is one of the many forms of unrest in peasant societies all over the world. Historical and anthropological literature accounts for two general types of banditry—social and mercenary or petty banditry. Although both types have common features such as commission of robbery, theft and

[1] These terms were used loosely by colonizers to refer to all varieties of peasant protestors.

various acts of violence against persons, they differ on account of the peasants' perception of them. In the words of Hobsbawn,[2] social bandits are "peasant outlaws whom the lord and state feared as criminals, but who remain within peasant society, and are considered by their people as heroes, as champions . . . perhaps even leaders of liberation and in any case, as men to be admired, helped and supported." The folk idealization of a social bandit consequently turns him into a myth. Mercenary bandits, on the other hand, are generally feared and disliked by the common folk and do not, therefore, receive any form of support and protection from the latter. They are believed to victimize anyone including the poor and their co-villagers.

Sturtevant notes that banditry of both mercenary and social varieties disrupted the countryside throughout the colonial period.[3] It became most acute, however, towards the turn of the last century as a result of major changes in the local economy and the socio-political conditions that accompanied the Filipino-American hostilities. The deterioration of administrative control coupled with the spread of famine, pestilence and death created, in Sturtevant's own words, "a contagion of lawlessness."[4] Nevertheless, once American takeover was assured with the surrender of the leading members of the Philippine Revolutionary Government, a decisive and systematic military campaign put an early end to many insurgent and brigand activities. By 1903, some 4,172 brigands alone, not to mention insurgents, were reportedly killed and captured by government forces.[5] Some bandits however, managed to hold out with the help of relatives and friends who provided sanctuary and sustenance until they eventually vanished into the rural background or were captured in subsequent campaigns.

The common offenses attributed to brigands in colonial times were cattle rustling, burglary and raiding of towns, in the process terrorizing prominent residents and government officials. Towns with strong police protection such as those in Pampanga[6] were somehow spared and bandit attacks were instead carried out in remote areas and isolated villages. A foreigner who wrote about the country during the mid-19th century, however, decried the general inefficiency of police forces. He noted that were it not for such inefficiency, none of the Spaniards would had been afraid "to live out of town or make distant excursions to the country from

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2 E. J. Hobsbawn. *Bandits* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1969), p. 17.

3 David R. Sturteant, *Popular Uprisings in the Philippines: 1840-1940* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976), p. 115.

4 Ibid., p. 118.

5 *Report of the Philippine Commission* (1902), I. p. 180.

6 John A. Larkin, *The Pampangans; Colonial Society in a Philippine Province* (Berkeley, University fo California Press, 1972; rev. ed., Quezon City: Phoenix Press, 1975), pp. 255-256.

fear of the *tulisanes* or robber bands . . . scattered about in various places and . . . found pursuing their avocations in the neighborhood of the capital (Manila)."[7]

The bandits nearly never operated in their hometown nor victimized villagemates. Some, in fact, shared their booty with friends and relatives and offered swift revenge for any harm done against the latter by out-of-town brigands. But those who preyed upon the peasants often did so cruelly. Not only were peasants robbed of their much need carabaos and horses but also left with homes razed to the ground and crops ravaged. In the Southern Luzon provinces of Laguna, Tayabas (Quezon) and Cavite, brigandage was so rampant during the later part of the 19th century that many fertile lands situated far from the villages were left uncultivated for years.[8]

The following account probably typifies bandit operations during that time:

> These robbers plunder the country in bands perfectly organized, and bodies of them are generally existing within a few mile of Manila—the wilds and forests of Laguna being favorite haunts as well as the shores of the Bay of Manila from which they can come by night without leaving a trace of the direction they have taken, in bodies of ten and twenty men at a time in a large banca. They have apparently some friends in Manila, who plan out their enterprises, send them intelligence, and direct their attacks, so that every now and then they are heard of having gutted some rich native's or mestizo's house in the suburbs of Manila, after which they generally manage to get away clear before the alguacils come up.[9]

Peasant reaction to bandit attacks was not always passive and inegectual. In some villages, organized resistance was carried out and measures were taken to readily forewarn the residents of an impending ambush. In an incident which occured in Laguna in the 1840's, for example, a party of young male excursionists decided to scare a village and, in jest, fired their guns into the air taking care not to harm anyone. Upon hearing the shots, the villagers immediately concluded that their village was under seige by *tulisanes*. The males gathered and arming themselves with all sorts of weapons, prepared for the anticipated attack. The women and children were also hastily brought to safety while a request for military assistance was dispatched by the *gobernadorcillo* to the governor of the province.[10]

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[7] Robert MacMicking, *Recollections of Manila and the Philippines During 1848, 1849 and 1850,* edited and annotated by Nestor J. Netzorg (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1967), p. 119.

[8] Ibid., Alfred Marche, *Luzon and Palawan.* Translated from French by Carmen Ojeda and Jovita Castro (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1970), p. 75; Paul Frost de La Gironiere, *Adventures of a Frenchman in the Philippines.* Rev. 9th ed. (Manila: Printer's Compositors, 1972).

[9] Mackmicking, Ibid.

[10] Ibid., pp. 89-91.

But while the people were passive or utmost defensive in their treatment of bandits, the colonial government took the outlaws in all seriousness. Minor offenders were flogged, tied to a horse and dragged around town, confined in jail for periods of time or subjected to hard labor. The more serious crimes ended in public execution.[11]

Agrarian unrest in the 1930's in several provinces of Central and Southern Luzon once again paved the way for the proliferation in these areas of bandit gangs. Some "slipped in and out" of various peasant organizations[12] and criss-crossed areas already brewing with peasant discontent. Two notable social bandit groups of this period were the Lope de la Rosa and Asedillo-Encallado bands. Another outlaw whose Robin Hood exploits have become a legend among the people of Cavite was Santiago Ronquillo or "Tiagong Akyat". He is said to have figured prominently in many peasant-landlord conflicts and became a fugitive for having been falsely charged of killing an oppressive *facendero*.[13]

The persistence of brigandage during the colonial period may be linked to the various socio-economic and political as well as physical conditions prevailing then. The extent of deterioration of peasant life determined, among the factors, by the degree of tenant-landlord antagonism, the greed of usurers and merchants as well as the frequency of typhoons and other calamities, all affected the ebb and flow, of brigandage. In addition, there were always the topographical features of the countryside and the degree of administrative effectiveness. It is apparent that bandits proliferated in times and areas of weak administrative control and of heightened agrarian difficulties.

CAVITE IN POSTWAR YEARS

The period following the Second World War saw another rise in crimes attributed to bandit gangs. It must be noted that the devastation brought about not only by the four years of Japanese occupation but more so by the American Liberation forces, was severe and extensive. It left the Philippines in economic shatters and with millions of destitute and sick inhabitants. Against this backdrop, roving groups of hungry and jobless young men stalked the countryside to scavenge and steal, while the communist-led Huk movement defied government order to return to "normal life" and instead tried to carry on their struggle to a revolutionary end. Thus, while a good part of the country was still in rubbles, Filipino peasants had to come to grips with the disturbances created by petty out-

[11] Ibid., pp. 120-121; George Farwell, *Mask of Asia: The Philippines* (Melbourne: F.W. Cheshire, 1966), p. 60.;

[12] Benedict J. Kervkliet, *The Huk Rebellion; A Study of Peasant Revolution in the Philippines* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1979), pp. 37-38.

[13] Lamberto V. Avellana, *Ronquillo Alias Tiagong Akyat* (n.d.), typescript.

laws and by military encounters between government forces and Huk guerillas. The peace and order situation was such that the government, with extensive American support, channeled enormous resources into the containment of all forms of peasant unrest.

After dismantling the backbone of the communist movement in the 1950s the national government again turned its attention to the containment of brigandage. Despite its efforts, military figures in 1965 still indicated a total of 68 bandit gangs with an aggregate strength of 643 or an average membership of 9.5 per group.[14] A sizeable number of these groups operated in Central and Southern Luzon, particularly in Cavite.[15]

The province of Cavite lies 17 kilometers south of Metro Manila. It is bounded in the east by the provinces of Rizal and Laguna, in the southeast by Batangas and in the west, by the China Sea. It has a land area of 1,287.6 square kilometers, 85.15% of which was still considered unclassified public forest about a decade ago.[16] The province is organized into 19 municipalities and three cities.

Cavite's geography presents striking contrasts. Its northern and northeastern portions are generally flat while the south is generally characterized by rolling hinterlands and low mountains. The most rugged terrain lies along the Maragondon border in the southwest, where the mountains of Dos Picos are located. Until recently, most of the villages in the central and southern regions were inaccessible. There were few roads traversing the area and the ones that existed were surrounded by thick vegetative cover that became favorite haunts of bandits bands. The national road leading to Tagatay City, a popular tourist and vacation spot, and those connecting Cavite to adjacent provinces, were particularly vulnerable to bandit ambush during the fifties and sixties.

Agriculture has traditionally been the main source of livelihood with fishing and mineral production as subsidiary industries. Farming mainly involves the production of rice and a wide variety of fruits, vegetables, coffee, nuts and coconuts, while animal husbandry includes the backyard raising of cows, goat and poultry. Like the rest the country, the agricultural economy of the province suffered tremendously during the last World War. It took more than a decade to reach and surpass the pre-war levels of farm production. In 1948, for instance, rice production was still 20% lower than the output of 1938 while total cultivated land area was down

[14] Jose M. Crisol, "Peac and Order in the Philippines Today," *Fookien Times Yearbook* (1954), p. 48.
[15] Flaviano P. Oliveros "Keeping the Peace in the Philippines," *Fookien Times Yearbook* (1965), p. 101.
[16] Ibid., "History of Cavite Province," (Trece Martires, Office of the Provincial Governor, n.d.), typescript.

Population of Cavite, 1939-1970

Province/ Municipality	*1970*	*1960*	*1948*	*1939*
CAVITE	520,180	378,138	262,550	238,581
Municipality of:				
Alfonso	17,703	17,477	11,714	9,797
Amadeo	13,030	10,560	7,960	6,402
Bacoor	48,440	27,267	20,453	16,130
Carmona	20,123	8,212	5,597	5,394
Cavite City	75,739	54,891	35,052	38,254
Dasmariñas	17,948	11,744	9,012	8,323
Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo[1]	10,275	7,301	5,002	4,599
General Trias	29,635	21,618	15,963	16,611
Imus	43,686	31,660	23,685	18,039
Indang	24,635	20,268	15,989	15,388
Kawit	28,447	19,352	13,970	10,783
Magallanes	7,294	5,436	3,998	4,095
Maragondon	12,743	9,994	8,465	9,449
Mendez-Nuñez	12,333	11,427	7,480	6,393
Naic	28,723	27,818	15,222	13,813
Noveleta	10,560	7,029	5,003	4,241
Rosario	23,817	16,227	11,894	9,894
Silang	38,999	28,631	20,292	18,909
Tagaytay City	10,907	7,203	5,233	1,657
Tanza	32,691	24,256	18,183	16,328
Ternate	5,930	5,345	2,383	4,082
Trece Martires City	6,522	4,422	———	———

[1] Bailen was renamed General Emilio Aguinaldo June 19, 1965 under R.A. No. 4346.

Source: Philippines. National Development and Economic Authority. *1970 Census of Population and Housing*. Manila: NCSO, 1970.

by 2%.[17] Tenancy remained at its peak after the war with about 56% of all farmers still under the share crop, share crop-cash and cash tenancy systems and cultivating 55% of all farms in the province.[18] Moreover, the traditional methods of farming utilized less than fifty percent of the productive capacity of the lands. It must be noted, however, that the agricultural communities mainly located in the central and southern regions were the ones greatly affected by these developments. Many of the northern towns were not that heavily dependent on agriculture in view of the presence of manufacturing, construction, mineral production, commercial fishing and other industries.

In contrast to the sluggish performance of the agricultural economy was the continuous increase in population. The "baby boom" which hit

[17] Philippine (Rep.), Presidential Economic Staff, *Provincial Profile of Cavite* (Manila: PES, 1969), p. 19.

[18] Commonwealth of the Philippines. Commission of the Census. *Census of the Philippines: 1939* Vol. III, Reports By Provinces for the Census of Agriculture (1940),

many countries after the war was much in evidence in Cavite. In years that followed, its social implications were readily apparent. From 1934 to 1948, and despite the war, Cavite's population increased by 10%.[19] Then from 1948 to 1960, it swelled by 44%, exceeding national growth by about 3%.[20] This development correspondingly increased the size of the dependent population, putting further strain on what was already a weak economy. It is possibly the inability of the economy to cope with the increasing population, particularly the latter's growth of subsistence needs and the demand to stave off idle labor, which partly accounts for the resurgence of banditry and outlawry in postwar years. Moreover, the existence of a wide expanse of rugged terrain close to thickly populated and urbanized towns in the north and nearby provinces, where potential victims were plentiful, further maintained an atmosphere conducive to banditry. Hobsbawn notes that "It is commonplace that brigands flourish in remote and inaccessible areas such as mountains, trackless plains, forests or estuaries with their labyrinth of creeks and waterways . . ."[21] In Cavite, however, banditry flourished not only in similar places but practically everywhere and the hinterlands seem to have served mainly as temporary refuge in times of intensified government manhunts.

Characteristics of Banditry

On April 20, 1954, ten municipalities were placed under complete Constabulary control. The main reason for this was the alleged inability of local police forces to contain the rise of banditry and other forms of lawlessness. Charges and counter-charges among rival politicians were rife with innuendos about police cuddling of bandit gangs in their respective territories. There were accusations against politicians using bandits to kill other politicians, disturb election proceedings and carry out illegal money-making activities like carnapping and smuggling of firearms and imported cigarettes. Not a single politician was ever proven guilty of these crimes, although political aides and allegedly conniving bandits were killed or suffered detention, supposedly because of these reasons. In the same year, one of Cavite's representatives to the national congress gave a privilege speech describing the grim situation in his province. He noted the existence of 130 "notorious outlaws" most of whom were organized in gangs with five to twenty members. He further claimed that from 1946 to 1953, there were recorded 24 kidnapping cases, 147 murders (90 percent of which were unsolved), 34 highway robberies and "hundreds of offenses of theft and petty robbery.[22] Said figures were even considered insignificant since

[19] Philippines (Rep.). Census of Statistics. *Census o the Philippines: 1948,* p. 553.
[20] Philippines (Rep.), PES, *Provincial Profile of Cavite,* op. cit., p. 12.
[21] Ibid.
[22] E. J. Hobsbawn, op. cit., p. 21.

80% of the crime committed were not actually reported and publicized.[23] The situation remained the same in the following years. By 1965, Cavite was already first in the Southern Tagalog provinces in frequency of murder, robbery, illegal possession of firearms, holdups and carnapping.[24] Most disturbing was the manner in which brigandage was committed. Ambushes were undertaken in broad daylight and sometimes even under the very noses of Constabulary forces. Bandits were frequently seen in public openly carrying high-powered firearms. Their activities did not, in fact, diminish despite many captures and surrenders in the mid-fifties since new groups kept surfacing all the time.

The composition and operation of bandit gangs show striking similarities. Many of the brigands started the life of a fugitive at the very early age of 16 to 25. Members of the same gang tended to come from the same municipalities or districts with friendships dating back to early teens. A number were even found to be related by blood and affinity. While some of the bandits were already married before becoming outlaws, most got married or entered into common-law relationships in the midst of their roving career. The prison record of a particular bandit showed, for example, that he was unmarried but had four natural children. Another bandit managed to maintain at least two families in separate municipalities. If these facts have any sociological importance, it is simply that the bandits were just as integrated as others in the social mainstream and lived almost normal lives for the most part of their career as fugitives.

Bandit gangs maintained specific territorial domains or areas of operation into which all others were not supposed to encroach. Such arrangement was generally honored by every group although some reported cases of bandit killings were attributed by the government to its violation. Coalitions between and among the gangs also existed, involving mutual defense in case of Constabulary attack and an exchange of information vital to each other's security. A particular case involved a bandit who started by joining the group of his co-villagers. After a few years of learning the ropes, so to speak, he left to form his own group but remained loyal to his old bandit leader. While this may appear to be an isolated case, the size of membership of brigand bands involved in publicized am-

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[23] *Congressional Record*, Vol. 1, No. 31, Third Congress, First Regular Session (April 27, 1954), pp. 2006-20014; Some of the bandit leaders whose names and offenses were publicized are Nicasio Caminero alias "Camerino" (surrendered, 1954); Nestor Lumabos (captured, 1956); Esing Antonio; Guillermo "Ision" Teodoro; Felipe "Jose" Ferrer (surrendered, 1956); Rudolfo Legaspi (captured, 1956); Gregorio "Orio" Gonzales (surrendered, 1955), Felix Rementilla (surrendered, 1958); Aurelio Solid of the Solis gang (killed, 1963); Tinio Paper of Pitong Gatang gang (killed, 1963); Emong Mabuyo of Amora gang (killed, 1963; and Leonardo Manecio alias "Nardong Putik" (killed, 1971).

[24] Ibid.

bushes would seem to indicate that some alliances went beyond pragmatic considerations and may, in fact, reflect the beginnings of organization beyond the band unit. Another possible explanation may had been the high incidence of attrition. Outside the nucleus composed of three to four members, band participation seemed flexible, if not unstable, and allowed easy inclusion or purging of members.

The mercenary or common bandits were sometime ruthless to peasants, not to mention their treatment of the rich, passing tourists and military personnel. They took the farmers' carabaos, crops and farm implements and the jewelry, money, vehicle and other marketable personal belongings of the rich. Highway robbery was a particularly popular bandit exploit in those days, involving commercial vehicles plying the Manila-Batangas and Manila-Laguna routes. On some occasions, passengers were not only divested of their money and jewelry but even the clothes they wore. A bandit named Nestor Lumabos recounted upon his arrest in 1956 that he and his gang were successful in waylaying vehicles because they always posed as soldiers and threatened their victims with the use of high powered firearms.[25] In addition to cattle rustling and highway robbery, some bandit groups pillaged villages. The following account illustrates how such offense was carried out:

> Heavily armed bandits in fatigue uniforms last night raided sitio Andingan, Buenavista, this town, killed a farmer, and then fled with 22 carabaos and two hostages after carrying out the most daring display of dissident effontry by "zoning up" the whole village.
>
> Santos Katapang, the barrio lieutenant, who was among those forced to walk over three rugged kilometers by the bandits, returned to the barrio ... today with his constituents and immediately reported the incident and the cold-blooded slaying of his assistant, Sotero Lubay, when the latter tried to escape to Mayor Prudencion Campana.
>
> Katapang said that the bandits even displayed Luba's bullet-riddled body before the cowed inhabitants with the stern warning that a similar fate awaited those who would attempt to escape.
>
> The barrio lieutenant related before army investigators that the bandits descended on the barrio at about 11 p.m. yesterday and forced an unidentified woman to round up all the barrio residents "on orders of the army."
>
> Following the woman as she knocked on every door, the bandit awaited at the foot of the stairs and hogtied everyone who came down. At the same time, the other outlaws rounded up the carabaos in the barrio and left ahead with the animals.
>
> At this moment, the barrio people realized that the men in fatigue uniforms were not soldiers so some of them, the women especially, started to cry, but they were silenced by the bandits. One of the housewives was slapped on the face.

[25] Johnny F. 'Villasanta, "Cavite: (Province of Peace and Disorder," *Weekly Graphic,* Vol. 29, No. 34, (February 13, 1963), p.10.

> Then the barrio population was herded, forced to walk ahead of the armed band on the way to Amadeo. After a few kilometers of plodding in the dark, Lubay managed to untie himself and made attempt to slip away, but he was spotted by one of the bandits and brought down with rifle fire.
>
> The bandits later realized that the helpless caravan was slowing down their escape, so they released everyone, but not without telling them that they would be bringing the bandit's wrath upon themselves if they ever tried to show the route taken by the brigands to the soldieres. To make sure that no one disobeyed the orders, the bandits brought two of the barrio residents along as hostages.[26]

Social Banditry

Among the hundreds of bandits who came and go during the postwar period, only one, Leonardo Manecio or "Narding Putik earned the respect and devotion of many residents in the province. The people's liking for him paralleled only the government's intent to picture him as the most dangerous outlaw of the time. He was known by the appelations "mud", "terror" and "village guard", terms which describe how the people regarded him. His life as a fugitive practically spanned two and a half decades (1946-1971) although about half of this period was spent intermittently behind bars. The press faithfully kept track of his activities and no less than three presidents of the country were directly involved in plans to capture or make him surrender.

This social bandit's personal background would not probably be any different from his mercenary counterparts. But what made him different from all the rest was the manner he related to the people and how the people in turn related to him. He was described as a helpless victim of power play among politicians, a kind, extremely good-looking and warm-hearted man whose fearless and invulnerable image served to scare other brigands from victimizing his poor relatives, friends and co-villagers. The man was born of a peasant family on October 25, 1924 in the town of Dasmariñas. He finished the fifth level of elementary education, after which he became, in turns, a farmer, a driver for a passenger bus, and a laborer for hire who took on varied short-term contractual services. At one point, after his first release from prison in 1947, he even served in the police force of his hometown and a security guard of a politician from Manila. It was probably on these occasions that he developed his marksmanship, a skill that was to be his trademark in years to come. The man's first brush with the law came in 1945 when, at the age of 19, he was charged but eventually acquitted of the crime of "brigandage" or robbery in band. His notoriety in the eyes of the government came years later

[26] "Army Nabs 4 Rustlers After Fight," *Manila Times,* (January 19, 1956), p. 27.

after an involvement in two cases of massacre, one of which included two Constabulary officers, four enlisted men and two civilian operatives. In addition were nineteen other convictions involving illegal possession of firearms, evasion of service, theft, robbery in band, illegal detention, kidnapping, assault on persons in authority and many others. While pleading guilty to some of the charges, he, however, vehemently denied having committed the others, claiming that they were fabricated by politicians who wanted him silenced for his extensive knowledge of their illegal activities.

In the classical formulation of a social bandit, the sharing of the loot, so to speak, was among the qualities that rose above all his misdeeds. In the case of Cavite's Robin Hood, it was his unusual sensitivity to the problems of the peasants which endeared him to them. He had the cunning ability to mediate in inter-family feuds, marital spats and bring forth immediate justice or revenge to those aggrieved by other bandits, petty criminals and even by government agents and politicians. His influence over underworld characters was believed to be so strong that he could negotiate the return of carabaos and other stolen items on appeal of the victims. He also mediated between warring bandit gangs and exerted pressures on them not to harass certain families or villages. As a high ranking official then conceded:

> "Kung may nakawan man o harangan o holdapan, hindi na rin dumudulog sa gobyerno ang mga biktima sapagkat wala rin daw mangyayari. Ayon na nga sa mga bali-balita, kay Putik na nagsusumbong ang mga iyon, at nagkakamit naman agad diumano ng hinihinging katarungan." (If there are indeed robberies, kidnappings or holdups, these are hardly reported to the government since the people know that doing so will not get them anywhere. The word that gets around is that people go to Putik ["Mud"] instead of the government and in the end, get the justice they have come for).[27]

For said reasons, some of the rural folks of Cavite welcomed the social bandit's presence in their villages, notwithstanding the danger of exposure to government forces who were always hot on his trail. On one occasion, he rejected the surrender appeal of former President Magsaysay because the people supposedly did not want him to do so. He said that

> "These people look up to me as their best guarantor that peace will be kept in these barrios. This is no idle talk. You can ask the barrio folks themselves."[28]

In order to evade arrest, he moved from one village to the other, seeking sanctuary among friends, relatives and those who owed him debts

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[27] "Murder One, Kidnap Two as Hostages," *Manila Times* (January 20, 1956), p. 15.

[28] Rogelio L. Ordoñez, "Ang Kabite at ang mga Montano," *Asia-Philippine Leaders,* Vol. 1, No. 4, (April 30, 1971), p. 47.

of gratitude. There were also times when he hid in distant provinces and returned to Cavite only after government pursuit efforts cooled down. He had supporters from all kinds of people: politicians, law enforcers, professionals and plain town folks. As an informant aptly put it: "How else could he have survived the long years of running from the law if we did not clothe, feed and shield him?" Although arrested and detained on many occasions, people believed that he would have been caught more often or met an early death, if not for his magical powers. A golden image tied to his necklace and worn all the time served as an amulet. Another story tells of an old man who bequethed him the eternal power of invulnerability so long as not a drop of blood would spill from his head. Thus, when he finally died in the hands of the law on October 10, 1971, people explained that it was because the spell was broken when an earlier accident caused the bleeding of his forehead. A few others believe that he was not the one killed on that fateful day—he is still alive and roams freely among the people. Nevertheless, a marker bearing his name now stands in a village cemetery and eye-witness accounts of his funeral attest to the hundreds of people who came and mourned for him.

CONCLUSION

The factors which brought about the resurgence of banditry in Cavite in postwar years were multifarious but not exactly unique to this place or period. The same or similar factors were to a large extent responsible for the existence of this phenomenon in the past and in other places. Hobsbawn's claim about the universality of banditry is again borne out by this study, yet nuances do occur and such have to be recorded and studied for they may reflect adaptations to changes impinging on rural society and possible variations to already noted features of banditry. In the case under study, the failure of the agricultural economy to keep pace with other societal developments, particularly the increase of population and corresponding growth of employment requirements and other social services, is seen as the most crucial factors that created a crisis situation and eventually, peasant restiveness. Moreover, the development which accrued from the postwar establishment of non-agricultural industries in the northern part of the province led to an uneven or lopsided pattern of income distribution where the agricultural communities most situated in the central and southern areas were generally poorer than those in the north. The slow expansion of areas for cultivation as well as persistence of traditional methods of farming were the factors that made for low agricultural production. On the other hand, the income generated by the non-agricultural sector paved the way for material progress such that by the sixties the north already had the "highest number of television aerials,

electrical appliances and private cars in the province."[29] It is no wonder that the bandits who came from the depressed farming sector often swopped down on their affluent neighbors in the north. The striking contrast in their quality of life further magnified by glaring disparities in material benefits, somehow stimulated discontent.

The geographic features of the province, specifically the existence of rugged terrains, made further inaccessible by the lack of efficient transport and communication systems, also influenceed the growth of banditry. It must be noted, however, that the existence per se of hinterlands and other inaccessible areas may not automatically stimulate the condition of lawlessness. What is probably crucial is the proximity of suitable places for so-called tactical retreat to areas fertile with potential victims and where the crimes are actually committed. The speed by which bandits could escape from their pursuers or disappear from the scene of the crime seems to be an important adaptive requirement to modern times where faster modes of transport and more effective weapons undermine their very existence. For the social bandit, however, the factor of geography may not be so vital as the extent of support and protection he could get from the people.

The political situation prevailing during the period complimented the aforementioned factors. Political rivalries, often verging on violence, prevailed throughout the province and fragmented the population into various political enclaves. The ineptness of the local bureaucracy particularly in undertaking meaningful social reforms, and giving redress to the problems of the people also aggravated the condition. Although bandits have generally operated independently and outside the realm of politics, some manifestations indicate the contrary. As mentioned earlier, rival politicians frequently accused each other of using bandits to carry out political crimes and promote their political interests. Such development is significant in view of the assumed non-political character of banditry. Unfortunately, this paper has barely pursued this issue. Further studies on this aspect is definitely necessary to determine the more intricate relationship and theoretical implications between banditry and modern politics. Hobsbawn notes:

> "Being extremely archaic and indeed pre-political, banditry and Mafia are difficult to classify in modern political terms. They can be used by various classes, and indeed sometimes as in the case of the Mafia, become primarily the instruments of the men of power or of aspirations to power and consequently *cease to be in any sense movements of social protest.*"[30] (underscoring supplied)

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[29] "Outlaw Claims Barrio People Fear Rustlers," *Manila Chronicle,* March 22, 1956), p. 2.

[30] Gorgonio P. Fojas, "A Closer Look at Cavite," *Weekly Nation,* (July 5, 1968), p. 40.

[31] E. J. Hobsbawn, *Primitive Rebels* (New York. Federico A. Praeger, 1959), p. 6.

Both the mercenary and social varieties of banditry existed, with the former largely dominating the latter in number and each somehow largely influencing the other. Social banditry, in particular, emerged from the very conditions of lawlessness and politico-economic instability. Its social role was made more relevant by the failure of the government to respond to the people's need for justice and protection. It must be stressed, however, that the popularity of a social bandit like Nardong Putik among the people was limited by certain considerations. There were those who also despised him and they were probably the people or those related to the people whom he had hurt in the course of helping others. He seems to be most popular today in his hometown and in places where he was known to have stayed for periods of time. A careful sociological analysis of his career as a fugitive indicates the preeminence of the principles of kinship and other traditional patterns of Filipino alliances. Many of those who joined his band or became loyal supporters were his relatives, close friends and/or villagemates. The same holds true for those who provided sanctuary within and outside the province. This observation therefore, indicates that Robin Hoodism follows, to a large extent, the same particularistic principles that have influenced social institutions in the Philippines.

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SPANISH AND AMERICAN COLONIZATION PROCESSES IN SAMAR

REYNALDO H. IMPERIAL, Ph.D.

A. Hispanization Process

Until the close of the nineteenth century, Spain's colonial interests in the Philippines centered on the religious, economic and political activities in Manila, which means that most parts of the country remained free from Hispanic influence, either through administrative or political means.[1] One clear angle of the Hispanization process was Spain's negligence of the countryside's rich natural resources. Spain solely attached more attention to the unpredictable resources of the Acapulco trade. In this light, Manila remained a somnolent port between China and Mexico — meaning

> "this superficial commerce did little to develop the productive capacity (potential) of the countryside. But it stimulated an unforeseen migration that directly affected village economics. Merchants were reinforced by artisans, coolies and farmers."[2]

As early as 1600, the interdependent systems of Hispanic politico-religious-economic activities yielded an embryonic western economy concentrated in Manila, a traditional economy centered in the villages and a Chinese economy merging and segregating the two extremes.

As regards Spain's preoccupation with Manila and nearby provinces, ecclesiastical priorities determined the activities in many of the localities beyond Manila or Luzon. In most of Spain's colonial rule, the priests of the various missions constituted the only Spanish entity in the provinces. Because people in these areas attuned their hearts and minds to spiritual or religious activities, they readily responded to the proselytizing efforts of the clerics.[3] Spain's early introduction of political and economic modi-

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1 An excellent study on the Filipino response to Spanish rule is in John Leddy Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses* 1565-1700 (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1959). Also in Nichols P. Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines* (Manila: n.p., 1971).

2 David R. Sturtevant, *Popular Uprisings in the Philippines,* 1840-1940. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976), p. 29.

3 Early clerical activities were discussed by Ignacio Alcina, *La Historia de las Islas Indios Visayas del Padre Alcina,* 1688. Madrid: Instituto Historica de Marina.

fications to the native society lagged behind the religious changes. While Manila evolved into a legal and cultural expression of Hispanic civilization and culture, beyond the city's walls existed an ambience almost unaffected by Spanish colonial activities. Consequently, many of the colony's provinces remained backwaters.

Because the Spanish empire lost vast possessions in the New World in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Madrid assessed the direction of Spain's colonial policies in the Philippines. With the liberation of most of Spain's colonies in South America, Madrid maximized the utilization of the resources of the remaining colonies. Hence, there was a shift of interest in the Philippines — from religion to agriculture and commerce. Increased production of cash crops, like tobacco, hemp, copra, sugar, and coffee was highly encouraged to support the dwindling economy of the Iberian monarchy. Accompanying these productive activities were Spain's establishment of institutions integrating both political and economic dependency of the country. Moreover, roads, bridges, ports and markets were constructed. Included in this infrastructure program was the development of legal-bureaucratic structures which oversaw the steady flow of activities in the cash crop economy.[4] Such modifications started in the 1880s. Consequently, the country opened its ports to world trade and commerce because the necessary elements for commercial transactions were all set.

The resulting changes stimulated the Filipinos to experience incipient forms of national consciousness, triggered by the general increase in the composition of the *ilustrado* or *principalia*[5] and the growing rate at which rural Filipinos required to render labor for the various economic and productive activities of the country. The involvement of the people in these structures grew into proportions arousing in the Filipino intellect a sense of nationalism and revolutionary consciousness which became evident in the Reform Movement and the revolution of 1896, where people started questioning and repudiating Spain's forces of colonial oppression.

A facsimile copy is in the Divine Word University Museum, Tacloban City, Leyte. See also, John N. Schumacher, *Readings in Philippine Church History* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1979).

[4] Benito Legarda, Jr., "Foreign Trade, Economic Change and Entreprenuership in the 19th Century Philippines, Doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1955. This provides an ample discussion of the various economic activities which the Spanish regime engaged in the country which was directed at producing export crops for the world market.

[5] A convenient survey of the political system under Spain is in Edward Bourne, "Historical Introductions," *Philippine Islands* 1493-1898, 56 vols. Emma Blair and Alexander Robertson (eds.) (Cleveland, Chicago: The Arthur H. Clark and Company, 1903-1909) I: 49-56. Also in Onofre D. Corpus, *The Philippines* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1965).

Samar is the Philippines' third largest island.[6] Because of its abundant natural resources, it lures colonial intrusion which keeps its economy poverty-laden and under-developed. The Samareños, of course, knew fully well the consequences of being another country's colony. With this perspective, they unanimously resisted Spanish colonial rule and American imperialism.

Before the coming of the Spaniards in the islands up to the early eighteenth century, the civilized natives of the island usually lived along or near the coasts, for the sea was the primary source of food and the main thoroughway for transportation and communication. Most of the towns of island were originally situated in these areas, except some, like, Gandara, which is in the interior.[7]

Samar's interior had a great natural barrier: a trackless jungle cleft by mountain gorges which should be crossed by ropes or by letting oneself down hundreds of feet clutching the *bejuce* vines and climbing up on the other side using the same precarious support. There were numerous deep and rapid river streams winding amidst forbidding mountains. There were only about five miles of road in the island passable by vehicle in 1884. There were no trails in the interior which horses could penetrate.

It was in these conditions where the Spanish authorities attempted to rule Samar and where the Americans conducted their counter-insurgency campaigns from 1892-1902.

Historically speaking, Samar was the first island subjugated by the Spaniards in 1521.[8] Centuries of Spanish rule proved that it remained a backwater when viewed against the overall Hispanic colonization schemes.

When the Spaniards first set foot on the island, they found the natives warm and friendly. Pigafetta, one of the chroniclers of Ferdinand Magellan's voyage, described the initial encounter between the Spaniards and the Samareños:[9]

> On Monday afternoon, March 18, we saw a boat coming towards us with men in it... when those reached shore, their chief went immediately to

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[6] Samar has an area of 13,080 square kilometers. It has a rhomboidal outline, stretching from the northwest to the southeast, from 12°32' to 10°54' with mean length of 32 miles and breadth of 11 miles. Samar is separated from Leyte in the south by the narrow San Juanico Strait. Many years ago, it was called Tandaya, Ibabao, Achan, and Filipinas, severally. Antonio Pigafetta, "Voyage Around the World," *The Philippine Islands*. Blair and Robertson (eds.) 33: 103.

[7] The Spanish term for settlements can be misleading. For instance, the term *pueblo*, often translated into town was really a municipal district, with which is located a poblacion, and smaller groups known as *sitios, visitas* or barrios. For this paper, the term *native* refers to the non-European, non-Chinese residents of the island.

[8] Antonio Pigaffeta, "First Voyage Around the World," *Philippine Islands* ed. by Blair and Robertson, 33: 103.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 103.

> the captain general, giving signs of joy because of our arrival. Five of them ornately adorned remained with us, while the rest [to get] some others who were reasonable men, ordered food to be served before them, and gave them red capes, mirrors, combs, bells, ivory, bocasine and other things. When they saw the captain's courtesy, they presented fish, a jar of palm wine which they call uraca and coconuts. They had nothing else then, but made signs with their hands that they would bring *umay* or rice and coconuts and many other articles of food within four days.

This initial sign of friendliness and hospitality continued even until the early days of colonial rule of the Spaniards in Samar.

During the Spanish regime, Samar was backwater. Within three centuries, only Catbalogan knew a Spanish secular administrator; most towns followed orders emanating from the *residencias* of the Jesuits, Franciscans, and Augustinians. For over these centuries, the Samareños patiently suffered from the pressures and pangs of colonial life. However, sporadic and collective expressions of the people—which originated in the anti-secular and anti-clerical sentiments—compounded their revolutionary tradition and found utmost demonstration and manifestation in the guerrilla warfare led by General Vicente Lukban from 1898-1902.

The Jesuit missionaries started converting the Samareños into the Christian faith when they came to Samar in 1596.[10] They continued doing so until their expulsion from the country in 1786. Essentially, the Jesuits played a major role in the evangelization and conversion of the natives. Aside from religious activities, they supervised the construction of stone churches and plazas in the various pueblos where the missionaries resided.[11]

The Jesuits maintained two *residencias* encompassing several pueblos and independent settlements. One residence directly faced Spain; the other stood on the opposite coast. The former included the pueblos of Catbalogan, Calbiga, Paranas, Bangayon, Ybatan, and Capul. The latter subsumed the pueblos of Palapag, Catubig, Buraben, Catarman, Bonbon, Bui, Bacor, Tubig, and Borongan.

When the Jesuits left Samar in 1786, they had successfully erected 16 pueblos and pooled 15 resident missionaries in the island. This same year the Franciscan order took over the administration of the *residencias*.

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[10] "The Jesuit Missions in the Philippines, 1665," *Philippine Islands* ed. by Blair and Robertson, 36: 55. For an extensive discussion of early Jesuit influences in the country, see Horacio de la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1979). Also in Joseph Schumacher, *The Church and the Revolution* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1982).

[11] The workable relationship between the Samareños and the Jesuit missionaries could be seen in "Report of 1599 of Diego de Otazo (Jesuit missionary in Samar) in P. Chirino, *Relacion de las Islas Filipinas* (Rome: Eslevan Paulino, 1604), pp. 107-180. See also, Ignacio Alcina, *La Historia de las Islas Filipinas Indios de Visayas del Padre Alcina,* 1688. A facsimile copy of this book is in the DWU-Museum, Tacloban City, Leyte.

The Franciscans were largely responsible for the primary education of the people. They wrote and translated materials and books for the schools they established. With their characteristic missionary zeal, they penetrated the interior towns to spread the gospel and to encourage the people to leave their mountain hamlets and to establish their houses in the coastal pueblos.[12] The priests felt that the people's proximity to the centers of the pueblos would make their teaching of the gospel a lot easier and fuller.

The Franciscans, however, became critical of the previous missionary efforts of the Jesuits. In a letter of the Franciscan mission to the vicar of Manila, it said:[12]

> The Jesuits only did one thing well and efficiently. This was commerce and for the greater profit, they allow the indios to live in the hills and along coasts so that they could gather wax, medicinal plants and others which the priests bought so cheaply and sold dearly in Manila.

The Franciscans felt the Jesuits used religion to convince the people to trade with them, with the latter at a disadvantage. They also felt that the *residencias* were not fully used in converting souls to the faith, but in negotiating, transacting, and finalizing trade and commercial activities. When the Franciscans took over, they put an end to these activities and rescinded commerce. The cold and reluctant acceptance of the people to the missionary efforts of the Franciscans soon found expressions in the various attempts of local traders to challenge the authority of the priests in the pueblos. The Franciscans failed to see one thing; by stopping the flow of trade and commerce in Samar, they were directly working against the interests of local elites, who acted as middlemen in the exchange of commodities between the interior producers and the pueblo priests. The interior producers were affected because their produce stopped generating income.[14]

Bruce Cruikshank discussed the roles of the Jesuit order in the social and economic activities of the Samareños.[15] He noted that the Franciscan order, with their vows of poverty and emphasis on religious activities,

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[12] "The expulsion of the Jesuits, (1768-1769)," *The Philippine Islands* ed. by Blair and Robertson, 50:269-273. See also Cantius Kobak, *Samar Materials from the Spanish Era.* This collection is in DWU-Museum. Kobak documents this source as: "Bull of Suppression of the Jesuits and other Implementing Decrees," Cedula Book of 1771-1778, pages 170-196b.

[13] *Historical Data Papers, Catbalogan* (Manila: Philippine National Library, 1951). This is a collection of historical and social histories of the different provinces of the country which were prepared by the public school teachers in fulfillment of President Elpidio Quirino's instructions. While the materials are good reference materials, care was taken in handling the data from this source, since the teachers who collected the data were not abreast with historical methodology. The page numbers given in this dissertation follows that of the xeroxed copy which the DWU-Museum holds.

[14] Pedro Jagor, *Viajes por Filipinos* (Madero: Imprinta Estereotypia y Galiano Puastan, de Ariban y Ca., 1878), p. 225. Also in: Bruce Cruikshank, "A History of Samar Islands," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconcin, 1975, p. 32.

[15] Cruikshank, *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

sowed the seeds of discontent and rebellion in the people which were expressed in the various forms of revolts in the 1880s and 1890s.

However, to say that these were the only cause of the revolutionary fervor of the Samareños is to miss the truism that the people had been freedom fighters even before the coming of the Spaniards.

Extant records in the National Archives described valorous accounts of the defense of the natives against invasion of "Moros" from Mindanao. From the fifteenth century to the sixteenth century, the Muslims continually raided and plundered the western and northern portions of Samar.[16] They came to Samar because of their growing slave trade business and their interest to rob the people of whatever treasures they possessed. When the Spanish missionaries established their foothold in Samar, they became targets of the piratical raids because of the ransom money that they were able to exact from the order for their release.[17]

The Spanish administrators in the province as well as in Manila were alarmed over the increased piratical raids in the eighteenth century that they sought assistance from the King of Spain. The King decided to issue a Royal Decree on July 31, 1766, which expressed his desire to prevent the unabated intrusion of the "Moros" in Samar.[18] He said that it was time for the Spanish forces to use full power to end these raids. Subsequently, a boatload of soldiers was dispatched to the Philippines with the expressed mission to assist the soldiers initially deployed in Samar. With the subsequent fortification of the coastal towns, the piratical raids decreased, and at the turn of the century, Samar was no longer besieged by the pirates. After this period, the Spanish authorities in Manila concentrated on the secular activities in the island and sought to include the province as one of its tribute-sources.

Consequently, in 1771, Governor Arda of Samar's military district formed a flotilla of light gunboats to protect the coastal towns and organized the *Armada de Pintados* for the Visayas.[19] Watch towers were constructed to alert the people of the coming of the pirates. The priests in the pueblos of Catubig, Catarman, Laoang, Capul, Pambujan, Catbalogan, Basey, Balangiga, and Borongan were active in all these activities. The church bells were rung to signal the people to prepare for battle and the churches

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16 "Moro Raids in Samar, 1751-1765," *Philippine Islands* ed. by Blair and Robertson, 48:49.

17 Cantius Kobak (trans.), "An Account of the Ransom of Don Miguel del Castillo, Alcalde Mayor of Catbalogan from the Hands of the Muslims," Leyte-Samar Studies, 12 (1978), pp. 61-67.

18 "Moro Raids Repulsed, 1751-1765," *Philippine Islands,* Blair and Robertson, eds., 48:52.

19 Manila, Philippine National Archives, *Cedulario* 1766-1778, Expediente 15, pp. 148-183.

were used to keep women and children. Gradually, a sense of heightened communality developed in the ranks of the Samareños.

In 1830, the first military governor of Samar got his appointment. It was an offshoot of the failure of the Cebu-based Governor General of the Visayas to collect tributes and other revenues systematically from the people.[20] Three years later, the staff of the military governor was increased because of the increasing secular activities in the province. This included a public defender of prisoners. The number of Samareños in jail increased because of their failure to pay taxes and other tributes.

From 1830 to 1896, the governor's staff grew in membership because of the increasing complexity of the bureaucracy since 40 pueblos received supervision from the governor.[21] With this was an increase in the governor's responsibility which included the swift administration of justice and implementation of the laws and decrees which Madrid and Manila issued. Also, the *guardias civiles* got more members because of the increased police activities needed in the province.

In December 1888, Governor General Juaquin Garcera of Samar reported that the troops deployed in Samar included 80 *guardias civiles* who were responsible for peace and order in the government's center in Catbalogan and in other pueblos.[22] They were also charged with efficient trading and transporting of agricultural products from the producers to the government-controlled merchant ships for transport to Manila or Cebu.[23]

In 1890, the staff in Catbalogan proved incapable of handling the administrative and paper work of a big province like Samar.[24] While the Manila-based Spanish authorities attempted to ameliorate the situation by sending an additional staff or two, they ignored the idea of a strong staff for the province because economically and politically the distance of the province from Luzon and its uneconomical position were considered by these authorities as negative factors in the over-all colonial structure they developed.

Because Samar was a backwater, the governor of Samar obviously became the key person in the Spanish administration of the province. He was

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[20] During the early days of Spanish rule, Samar was under the politico-military jurisdiction of Cebu. Samar was ruled domestically by a *gobernador* whose activities were supervised by the Politico-Military Governor of Cebu. In 1735, because of the increased political and economic activities in Samar, it was transformed into a district province with Calbayog as capital. HDP, Catbalogan. See also Felix Huerta, *Histtografit de las Islas Filipinas* (Manila: Imprenta de Manila, 1865), p. 72.

[21] Kobak, Bundle No. 29, No. 5 (Report of Joaquin Garcia, September 29, 1888).

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] Manila, PNA, *Sediciones y Rebelliones,* 1884-1888, one unnumbered legajo. (Report of Joaquin Garcia, governor of Samar undated.)

[25] *Op. cit.,* Cruikshank, p. 152.

the vital link between Manila and Samar. Such a situation proved difficult to handle, especially with the emergence of hostilities between the Spanish forces and the Samareños.

The first and major organized uprising in the country happened in Samar on June 1, 1649.[25] Montero y Vidal in his *Historia de Filipinas* said:[26]

> The first region to declare war against us is the province of Ibabao, which is in the island of Samar in the northern portion of the province.

Montero y Vidal also added that the revolt was a reaction of the natives against oppression embedded in the public works project of the central government which he felt was unwarranted because the people clamored for protection and defense of their coastal pueblos against any form of interference.[27] Obviously, the authorities believed that it could only be done if the financial position of the government would improve after losses in the galleon trade.

These losses incurred by the galleons in the seventeenth century paved the way for the decision of Manila to maintain a shipyard in the province, as it was one of the provinces where the galleons got agricultural products, especially copra and hemp for export in the foreign ports. Consequently, this needed the drafting of carpenters and workers from the pueblos of Samar.[28] The people naturally disliked this political compulsion. Nevertheless, they supplied the shipyard with the required manpower of one man for every village. Such a gesture was shortlived. The natives decided to fight against this unjust scheme. Actually, the people only waited for a trusted leadership. And Sumoroy provided the qualities of a good leader and fighter. Sumoroy led the Samareños to fight against conscription and forced taxation. They agreed to end the simpler expression of exploitation in the pueblo—the parish priest and his church. Father Miguel Barberan became the target.[29] Sumoroy hurled a javelin at the priest after his Sunday mass which pierced his breast and instantly killed the latter.

Such a valorous manifestation of inflicting destruction upon a seemingly unconquerable institution, the church, served as an example for the Samareños who subsequently defied the orders of the governor-general of Samar. In effect, the people of the other provinces in the Visayas and in Luzon defied the Spanish decree one after the other.[30] The failure of the govern-

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25 HDP, Palapag, p. 136.

26 "The Insurrection of the Filipinos, 1674 1678," *The Philippine Islands* ed. by Blair and Robertson, 38: 117-118.

27 The moros plundered and burned the towns of Catubig, Catarman, Calbayog, Capul and Pambujan.

28 *Op. cit.*, HDP, Palapag, p. 136.

29 *Ibid.*

ment to pacify the rebellious fervor of these people immediately forced them to require the Spanish priests in Samar and in other rebel strongholds to leave their churches. The exodus of these priests occasioned the burning of the churches.

Naturally, the beleaguered governor of the province asked for reinforcements from Cebu and Manila. Before aid arrived, the rebels sought refuge in the forests. A running battle, therefore, ensued between the two factions.[31] The revolutionary zeal of the Samareños fanned the stamina of the people of Camarines and Ibabao to replicate the achievements of their fellow rebels.

Sumoroy's revolutionary career ended abruptly because his brother-in-law bartered the fighter's life from Spanish authorities with a few *pesetas*.[32] The soldiers captured him eventually and was executed in the public square of Calbayog.

The Spaniards in publicly executing Sumoroy thought that such an experience would prevent them from defying their orders again. However, from this time on, the history of Samar was full of minor uprisings which the Spanish governor of the province dismissed as isolated expressions of the people's ignorance of the law. Also, since most of the manifestations of unrest emanated from the interior dwellers, they were considered insignificant when compared to the peaceable coastal dwellers. However, this situation was intermittently defied by even the coastal dwellers, as they were dissatisfied with the colonial rule of Spain expressed in its oppressive and unjust system of taxation and tribute collection.[33] The Samareños felt that while they contributed to the up-keep of the government, they were still in the quagmire of poverty and underdevelopment.

On August 7, 1873, the Governor of the Visayas ordered Sr. Enrique de la Vieja, governor of Samar, to investigate the truth of the existence of subversive movements in the island.[34] He was ordered to confiscate firearms owned by the natives. This order came about due to resurgence of rebel movements in the island, which gained more members from the "ignorant masses", who were promised by some leaders a better government and a richer life. The leaders of such a movement lectured on detachment of the present world and enjoined the people to work with fervor for the establishment of a better government to be led by a great ruler in the

30 "The Insurrection of the Filipinos in the 17th Century, 1674-1683," *The Philippine Islands,* 38: 1060-1067.

31 *Ibid.,* pp. 120-121.

32 *Op. Cit.,* HDP, Palapag, p. 138.

33 The relevant archival materials are in 19 unnumbered legajos of *Sediciones Y Rebelliones,* 1884-1896; PNA.

34 Manila, PNA, Sediciones Y Rebelliones, bundle 1840-1892, Exp. 1, folder I-216. (Order of Governor Enrique de la Vieja to investigate subversive activities in Samar, August 7, 1873).

future. However, some vagueness appeared in the manner the alternative could be achieved. With certainty, the Spanish authorities knew that the force of the movement would become another Palapag if it remained unobstructed. The governor-general said something like preventing the tree from living by uprooting it immediately.[35] The movement ushered in the birth and growth of the Dios-dios movement in the island, which in the succeeding years became the source of strength of the guerrilla forces of General Lukban and the pulajanes.

Consequently, several people were arrested and deported. Sources showed the following as victims:

1. Candido Llamaran and Cesario Cabagaran were apprehended in Guiuan by the military and deported to Paragura. They were suspected of engaging in subversive activities.[36]
2. Francisco Paragatos, Narciso Parajates, Matias Paragatos, and Aniceto Tarampos of Villareal were deported because of involvement in subversive activities and secret alliance with Leon Petac, a Dios-dios member, whom Spanish authorities considered criminal.[37]
3. Fabian Ortonio of Calbayog was deported for vagrancy and illegal possession of firearms.[38]

Extant sources mentioned these persons. It may be speculated that the Spanish administrators sowed the seeds of terror in the provinces to discourage the Samareños from asserting and fighting for their rights.

The governor thought that religious instruction was wanting, so the church had to work harder to discipline the people and force them to tow the line. In March 1844, he directed everyone to attend religious functions and instruction because non-attendance was tantamount to subversion or usurpation of authority.[39]

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[35] *Ibid.*

Pulahanism was a very complex organized movement of the peasants of Samar. It grew out of the cultural and economic lag which permeated the coastal and interior towns. Moreover, its predecessor, the Dios-Dios movement was inspired by nationalistic and religious motives.

The Pulahanes had its beginnings during the Spanish regime when scores of Samareños refused to follow the decrees of the church and fled to the mountains to organize the Dios-Dios movement, a religious and fanatical organization. Spanish reaction was fierce causing the death of many Dios-dios members. Others, to escape death, went further into the mountaints.

The members of this organization fought the Spanish forces mostly with bolos. Their bolos were usually crescent shaped, to easily decapitate a man by a single blow. Their battle preparations consisted of prayers and the consecration of their anting-anting (amulets) and other religious paraphernalia. Their battle cry was *"tadtad!"* which means chop to pieces.

[36] Manila, PNA, *Expedientes Gobernativos,* Expediente 21, Folder I-366, bundle 1880-1882 (Order of arrest of Suspected Dios-Dios members, August 8, 1881.)

[37] Manila, PNA, *Expedientes Gobernativos,* Exp. 23, Folder I-45, bundle 1884-1887 (Deportation of Francisco Paragatos, et al. from Calbayog, June 5, 1887).

[38] *Ibid.*

[39] Manila, PNA, *Expedientes Gobernativos,* Ex. 24, bundle 1884-1886 (Order of Chacon, Governor of Samar, Calbayog, March 23, 1844).

For the churches of the towns to consolidate and expand their religious involvement in the island, Sr. Adolfo Rodrigues decreed the political reorganization of the townships by dividing them, for the authorities to manage, identify, and monitor the movement of the people (natives) by the parish priest.[40] Thus, the towns of Catbalogan, Zumaraga, Calbiga, Paranas, San Sebastian, and Dapdap were subdivided into political districts. The governor believed that the earlier political subdivision of the province into townships facilitated the movement of insurrectos in the towns since the boundaries of the political units were not clearly defined. With this reorganization, it would be easier for the government to identify and to keep track of the movement of the people in their jurisdiction.[41]

On November 1883, Dionisio Mendiola sent three prisoners to Catbalogan to seek audience with the Spanish Governor, Enrique Chacon, and to answer the charges of inciting people to subversion and rebellion as phoney by informing the government about the advent of a new king called Conde Legnes because they worked closely with Isidro Reyes, whom Mendiola in January 1843, imprisoned in Catbalogan.[42] Reyes was accused of promising miraculous recovery from various ailments, attracting people and gaining financial profit from the same from August to October 1883. He was well received by the people as shown by the number of people who visited him bringing eggs, hens, rice, and other foodstuff.

Actually, Mendiola instructed Bio Bismar, head of *guardia civil* in Gandara,[43] to establish an outpost at the Lapinit river to contain the rebels and prevent them from moving and affecting other people in other sitios or towns.

The uprising in Gandara occurred because of the issuance of a general decree which imposed a monthly due of 20 centavos on each adult member of the town.[44] The people got furious with this decree because they generally suffered from dire poverty. They saw clearly the consequences of the scheme: their lives became miserable; therefore, all would be deprived of food and other basic needs.

In the beginning, the failure of the people to pay their regular contributions to the government was not a result of the people's resistance. In reality, the initial problem centered on their failure to produce enough agricultural products to support their everyday needs.[45] Furthermore, the

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[40] Manila, PNA, *Expedientes Gobernativos*, Exp. 25, bundle 1884-1886 (Order of Adolfo Rodriguez, Governor of the P.I., May 24, 1844).

[41] *Ibid.*

[42] Manila, PNA, *Expedientes Gobernativos*, Exp. 24, bundle 1884-1886 (Mendiola to Chacon, November 1883).

[43] *Ibid.*

[44] *Ibid.* See also PNA, *Sediciones Y Rebelliones*, unnumbered legajo, bundle 1883-1887. (Report of Mendiola about the Gandara uprising, undated).

[45] On November 9, 1985 for instance, Enrique Chacon reported:

governor's staff could not effectively reach the population, but still they demanded from them contributions.

Before the late nineteenth century prosperity in the trade and sale of abaca, tribute payments were hard to collect. In 1832, as a case in point, a governor of Samar commented that any collection of tribute on Samar was a miracle because it was not possible to remedy the situation using force.[46] Resorting to force only encouraged people to flee into the interior. In any collection scheme, the government never tolerated remiss payers and granted exemptions. About 1845, the *principalia* of Gandara requested not to pay the year's tribute because the typhoon destroyed their crops. The governor replied harshly:[47]

> . . . rare is the year without one, two or three *baguios* which destroy the crops, leaving the pueblos virtually in a state of languor from the loss of their harvests. But these people are never in absolute misery nor denied recourse because of the fertility of the soil and abundance of other resources to which only their lack of stimuli makes them indifferent. . . .

He ended his request by saying that North Gandara or any other pueblo in Samar had no right to request for a respite to pay tribute for a year.[48] However, the governor failed to ascertain the main cause of low produce from the people's farm and mass indifference.

Samar, unlike the coastal plains of Luzon, has narrow strips of land suited for the cultivation of rice and other crops. The land area from the Palapag plains, Catubig valley, and western portion of Catarman is the largest available farmland for rice.[49] Because of the inadequacy of farmlots, rice and corn production was way below adequate levels for the sustenance of the population.

Lowlands were, without exception, coastal and therefore limited in extent. Until today, the chief problem of Samar pivots on inadequate extensive agricultural lowlands and the distinctly limited accessibility of those that exist.[50]

The province is poor especially in the west and east coasts, while also the lack of communication and transportation facilities greatly impede the sale of the products. — Manila, PNA, *Memorias* (Enrique Chacon), bundle 1884.

[46] *Op. Cit.*, Cruikshank, p. 145.

[47] Manila, PNA, *Provincia, Samar,* unnumbered legajo, bundle 1884-1888. This document is undated and bears no signature of writer. However, since this is a directive, this must have been insists by the governor-general of the islands.

[48] *Ibid.*

[49] A good source for Samar's physiography is in Hubert Schneck, "Physiography and Geology of Samar Islands, P.I.," *The Philippine Journal of Science* 20 (March, 1922): 231-246.

[50] Michael Perry McIntyre, "Leyte and Samar: A Geographic Analysis of the Rural Economies of the Eastern Visayas," (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1965), p. 63.

In lieu of these, the natives cultivated rootcrops which amplified their meals of rice, meat or fish. These rootcrops were important to the Samareños: *camote* (sweet potato), *kamoteng-kahoy* (cassava) and *gabi* (taro).[51] They could be grown anywhere and needed only minimal tillage.

However, production of these crops was insufficient to enable them to fulfill their yearly contributions to the government regularly and constantly.

To make the decree on taxation compulsory, the governor of Samar created the municipalities of Dapdap, Gandara, Laoang, Catubig because these places were largely populated.[52]

To further assure the collection of taxes, the *guardia civiles* were strengthened and given more powers. On April 7, with the arrival of nine more troops in Samar,[53] Enrique Garcia was appointed as Commander-in-Chief of the *guardia civiles* for the whole province.

As the entire machinery of the Spanish secular and military forces went to exact by force from the people their contributions to the bureaucracy, sporadic and isolated rebellions occurred in the province. In May, 1884, 1,500 rebels were apprehended and deported to Dapitan.[54]

An unusually large gathering of people numbering about 2,000 alerted the *gobernadorcillo* of Dapdap, Tarangan. He noticed that people from the pueblos of Catbalogan, Zumaraga, Jiabong, Paranas, Calbiga, San Sebastian, and Calbayog had been meeting for several days in the *visita.* When querried, the crowd said that they were just fulfilling their familial vows for the *Nuestra Señora de los Dolores.*[55] They added that to complete the fulfillment of their religious pledge, they should proceed to Tarangan to say their prayer for St. Francis Asisi, their patron, and St. Vicente Ferrer for the barrio of Tinambacan, Calbayog. The pilgrimages according to them were the people's fulfillment of a vow, for they escaped the claws of the cholera epidemic of 1882-1883. Ceferino Protesto was responsible for this gathering.[56]

Governor Chacon was immediately informed of this gathering. He sent troops to disperse this unwarranted congregation. With a formidable force

[51] From the agricultural inputs, the industry in Samar was confined to weaving and the distillation of oil. Some of the people also engage in the trade of vino or *tuba.* In 1870, there were 105 weavers and 5,727 oilers in the province. These data were taken from Felix Huerta, p. 80.

[52] Manila, PNA, *Expedientes Gobernativos,* unnumbered legajo, bundle 1884 (Order of Chacon creating new pueblos, March 23, 1844).

[53] PNA, Manila, *Expedientes Gobernativos,* unnumbered legajo, bundle 2884 (Order of Chacon regarding assignments of *Guardia Civiles*).

[54] *Ibid.*

[55] PNA, Manila, *Sediciones Y Rebelliones,* bundle 1884-1893, unnumbered legajo.

[56] *Ibid.*

of fully armed soldiers and the parish priest of Gandara, 267 person were captured and taken to Catbalogan. From the interrogation that followed, Governor Chacon learned that the devotees believed that:[57]

> this island on which they lived were going to sink, the world was going to end. To evade this first cataclysms, they moved to the *visita* of Bonga when each paid one-half real to register and for expenses of this organization. Those that preached in this meeting were Locreo, Nicolas, Ramon and Carlos, all from Gandara. . . . .

Governor Chacon concluded that these people were simply deluded by some who were out to exploit them.[58] All were ordered to return to their respective *visitas* and live a peaceable life. Chacon hoped that the situation in the island would be greatly improved.

However, the leaders of this meeting eluded captivity. On March 19, the pueblo officials and *cuadrillos*[59] of Gandara who carried out mapping operations, for the leaders of the Bonga meeting encountered a group of armed men and women in one of the pueblo's *sitios*. The scouts pursued them, but decided to backtrack since the armed group outnumbered them.[60]

This group, which in the beginning started with a purely religious theme, evolved into a political force which challenged the supremacy of the Spanish rule in the island. This group was led by Locreo. In attracting more adherents to the cause, Locreo said:[61]

> A great city would appear that they would return to the ancient customs and dress, that the prices of commodities would decline and that they would grow strong and numerous enough to kill the *gobernadorcillo* of Gandara and the authorities.

It was clear that Locreo envisioned the possibility of a counter institution, the structure of which would free the people from all forms of economic and political oppression. However, while the process of change was not clear, it was definite that change could only come by a definitive change of the poor's conditions: death of the *gobernadorcillo* and resistance against authorities. The goal was to topple the old order (Spanish) by replacing it with a new one. Moreover, it needed the concerted action of the people to enable the leadership to fulfill its plans.

Governor Chacon, as in the Bonga encounter, reacted quickly, with a reinforcement of 125 *guardia civiles* from Cebu, he set out to meet the

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57 Kobak, Exp. 123, legajo, 5528. Chuikshank in his dissertation identified this document in his book to be taken from the Archivo Historico-Nacional, Ultramar, Spain.

58 *Ibid.*

59 *Cuadrillos* are local or town policemen.

60 Manila, PNA, *Sediciones Y Rebelliones,* bundle 1884-1896, unnumbered legajo. (Report of Mendiola about Bonga encounter, March 22, 1884).

61 *Ibid.*

rebels.[62] Upon arrival, he was met by 1,500 men drawn on the beach in a battle formation. The rebels were asked to surrender, but they refused. The use of force by the Spanish soldiers became necessary: rifles and bolos clashed. In the end, three rebels died, 23 wounded and 95 captured. The rest fled. The Spanish soldiers reported no casualty.

When Chacon assessed the outcome of the encounter, he deplored the death of these men.[63] However, he believed that the uncivilized acts of the Samareños dramatized the looseness of the morality and the lack of religious discipline that he expected the people to value. He, therefore, asked the various chiefs of the *guardia civiles* in the sub-districts to be on their posts and to report other untoward incidents in their respective area of jurisdiction.

The governor noted that the well-to-do people's leaders were the instigators of several acts against the authorities.[64] He warned and asked them to cooperate fully with the government in its civil and religious activities.

General Chacon, in a letter to the *Sr. Teniente de la Guardia del Distrito de estas Islas,* reported that he be given the authority to fully exercise his discretion to arrest similar problems in the future without prior approval or permission from central authority.[65] He declared that the distance from Manila and time lost in the dispatch of request for military action proved crucial in the easy suppression of rebellion. Thus, the Governor-General of the island, commanding the resurgence of the rebellious activities of the people and the rule of force necessary to check the "sedition schemes of the ignorant Samareños", empowered Chacon with the authority to use his best discretion in an armed confrontation with the Samareños.[66]

Chacon thought that peace would soon happen in the island. However, he was mistaken. By September of 1882, Borongan became the site of a *Dios-dios* movement. Active preaching and recruiting characterized the activities of the movement.[67] Like Borongan, the leaders promised the emergence of a new city and a new king. However, additional promises were given like resurrection of those who died in the cholera epidemic, protection from Spanish bullets, and use of magical prayer and supernatural intervention.[68]

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[62] Manila, PNA, *Sediciones Y Rebelliones,* bundle 1884-1896, unnumbered legajo. (Report of Enrique Chacon, March 28, 1884).

[63] PNA, Manila, *Expedientes Gobernativos,* Exp. 24, bundle 1884-1886 (Enrique Chacon's report, undated).

[64] *Ibid.*

[65] Manila, PNA, *Sediciones Y Rebelliones,* bundle 1884-1886, unnumbered legajo, April 7, 1844.

[66] *Ibid.*

[67] Manila, PNA, *Sediciones Y Rebelliones,* bundle 1884-1897, unnumbered legajo, (Report of Enrique Chacon, October 15, 1884).

[68] *Sediciones Y Rebelliones. Ibid.*

An important aspect of their teaching was the need to use force and violence in the creation of conditions that would permit the attainment of a better condition and life. Thus, resistance and rebellion were more pronounced in their teaching, superstition, and the religious aspect of the group was given secondary importance.

On November 4, 1884, the parish priest of Borongan reported to Governor Chacon that his parishioners followed again their heretical practices. He said that the people had forgotten their Christian duties and neglected to participate in the religious activities. The people, in their desire to express their disgust over the ways in which the civil government and the religious group conducted their work, sought to demonstrate their disobedience by engaging in cockfighting, gambling, and drinking on Sundays.[69] From extant records, the leader of these protests wanted to draw the civil guards into their territory for a bloody hand-to-hand combat. This came when soldiers came upon the suggestion of the local parish priest. The movement was temporarily quelled.

The priest thought that people resorted to heretical practices because they needed teachings on cathechism and its practices. To ensure this, the Bishop of Cebu on November 20, 1884, declared that he would visit local parishes and talk on the role of conversion to Catholicism.[70] The bishop decreed that the people should receive the holy sacrament, baptism, confirmation, and matrimony. He said that only these ignorant and Godless people were in the fold of the church and that these people should also be within the fold of the state.

A subsequent order was decreed by Governor Chacon. He instructed the priests and the religious orders to participate in the formation of *celdas* to track down the movement of the people in the towns.[71] They would see to it that curfew was observed and bar outsiders without proper identification and legitimate business in the town. They were also ordered to supervise the sanitation and cleanliness activities of the town. However, these *celdas* were under the jurisdiction of the *guardia civil.*

Borongan was attacked twice in November.[72] The ensuing conflict was more intense than the previous. Many people were killed because rifles proved more lethal than bolos.

The government hastened to disperse the meeting of these people, but favorable terrain and knowledge of various pathways helped them

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[69] Manila, PNA, *Expedientes Gobernativos,* bundle 1884 (Chacon's reaction to a letter by the parish priest of Borongan, November 4, 1884).

[70] Manila, PNA, *Expedientes Gobernativos,* bundle 1885-1896, unnumbered legajo (Instructions of the Bishop of Cebu, November 20, 1884).

[71] Manila, PNA, *Memorias* (Enrique Chacon, December 17, 1844).

[72] Nanila, PNA, *Sediciones Y Rebelliones* bundles 1884-1890 and 1888, unnumbered legajos (Report of Enrique Chacon, *undated*).

escape from the pursuers. Once, a band of rebels ambushed a squad of *guardia civiles* and killed four.[73]

Chacon felt that another attack was needed to totally paralyze the movement. The soldiers, with more reinforcements from Cebu, easily repulsed the rebels.[74] By December 22, all were reported quiet, except for a small group of rebels near Libas and Lanang. By January 1885, most who engaged themselves in fanatical meetings returned to the fold of the law. Leaders were either killed or incarcerated; many members returned to their houses.

In 1888, *another Dios-dios*-led uprising occurred in Borongan. Soledad Alas was its leader. She established her stronghold in the barrio of Surat.[75] The movement that she led slowly transformed the religious movement into a politically-motivated uprising. She outlined the aims of the uprising as follows: return to folk reliigon through the abolition of the Catholic religion and its affiliate institution and abolition of taxation and forced labor.

She clearly showed that these could be attained only through armed conflict. She prepared the people for the battle and ordered the production of large quantities of bolos and spears.

However, she underestimated the brutality of the Spanish colonizers. Alas and several of her men met their deaths in the hands of the *guardia civiles* and *cazadores*. For the period following the turmoil-laden years, occasional pocket demonstrations of resistance surfaced. Most of them were instigated and led by members of the *Dios-dios*. Their leader was a man called Leno Anteja who had been "charged by God to redeem his converts." In December 1885, the government seized 12 *Dioses* near San Sebastian.[76] In January 1886, 38 insurrectionists called *Dios-dios* were captured. In October 1886, some *Dioses* were arrested in the mountains behind Sulat and Libas.[77] The captured rebels all admitted that part of their activity was to peddle oraciones/magical prayers written on slips of paper for a *peseta* each as protection against cholera. They also said that they prepared the island for the coming of a new king who would rule them with kindness and benevolence.

The *Dios-dios* movement, forerunner of the *Pulahanism,* found adherents in other pueblos. Some more people vowed to the aims of the movement and prepared themselves to fight. The authorities started to consolidate its power and apprehended leaders and followers of the movement. In June 1887, Teodoro Legau, Patricio Herica, Geronimo Sacaya,

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[73] *Ibid.*
[74] *Ibid., Sediciones Y Rebelliones.*
[75] HDP, Borongan, p. 49.
[76] *Ibid.,* p. 50.
[77] *Ibid.*

Marcelino Acebar, Calixto Juan of Sulat, Pambujan, Laoang and Catubig were caught and jailed for launching activities inimical to the principles of the church.[78] On November 1887, Miguel Fajardo of Villareal reported to Governor Chacon the existence of the *Dios-dios* movement in Bilat, Villareal. For the state to take interest in these people, the church accused them of subverting the people against the Spanish rule.

The Spanish authorities, on the other hand, facilitated the institution to prepare itself against local protests.[79] In 1884, members of the *principalia* of each town were appointed as affiliates of the civil government. They were responsible for disciplining the people and reporting of any unusual activities in their territories. At this point, the Spaniards used the Samareño against his fellow Samareño. Most of the members of this elite group rallied behind this policy and started to implement a hard line policy against any violation of Spanish laws and decrees. They were promised among other things access to various lands and percentages of trade and commerce in their towns. With this, the antagonism between the patrons and clients heightened.

To establish a semblance of law and justice, Governor Miguel Fajardo ordered in 1887 that all persons accused of a crime should receive fair trial and that everyone could appeal decisions of the bodies that condemned him to the next higher office.[80] However, experience showed that nothing much could be expected from his pronouncement on justice, for many of those who were arrested were deported or jailed without a fair day at court. Some cases tried simply sustained the ruling of the lower judicial bodies. In several instances, sentences became more grievous. A case in point was the trial of Eugenio Gonzales who was convicted of theft. He was sentenced to several months of imprisonment, but when the case was appealed to a higher court, Alfarez Ramos added to the previous sentence of imprisonment for six months hard labor.[81]

In a related case, the *Juzgado de la Instancia de Borongan* on October 15, 1887, sentenced several people in Borongan for inciting sedition and rebellion.[82] They were found guilty and were asked to render indefinite prison terms with hard labor. All those charged were common workers, who felt that taxes levied on them were excessive. They agreed among themselves to refuse payment of taxes and avoid conscription.

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[78] Manila, PNA, *Memorias* (Enrique Chacon, June 1887).

[79] Manila, PNA, *Expedientes Gobernativos,* bundle 1884, unnumbered legajo (Chacon's order appointing civil officials from among the town's *principalia, undated*).

[80] Manila, PNA, *Memorias* (Miguel Fajardo), bundle 1887.

[81] Manila, PNA, *Sediciones Y Rebelliones,* bundle 1884-1888, unnumbered legajo. (Order of Governor Miguel Fajardo, 1887).

[82] Manila, PNA, *Sediciones Y Rebelliones,* bundle 1884-1898, unnumbered legajo (Proceeding of the *Juggado de la Instancia de Borongan,* October 15, 1887).

After 1888, no reports of *Dios-dios* activities were heard. The governor of Samar thought that tranquility had finally settled in the island.

However, in 1893, with the setback suffered by the Spanish crown in the foreign colonies, attempts were made to secure the cooperation of the Filipinos to enable the crown to curtail the effects of various economic and political failures of the empire all the world over. Governor Ricardo Nomuta of Samar, issued a decree which further made the life of the common Samareño difficult.[83] He ordered the census of each town to determine taxation and manpower resources. He also regulated the flow of trade and commerce by laying down harsher tariffs on products sold in the local markets. During this year, ₱40,000 came from tariff alone. The people reacted negatively to this policy. Their leaders asserted that the Filipinos should be the beneficiaries of progress and development from the proceeds of their labor. They thought that the people, because of their industry, were superior to the Europeans. As a result, the ignorance of the people permitted them to accept the situation which the Spanish forces imposed on them. A bitter struggle ensued between these people and the Spanish forces. Most of their leaders were arrested and deported to the smaller islands of the province. The Spanish governor, in his intention to fulfill the decrees of the government, only used force if needed.

By the end of the Spanish regime, forty towns had been founded in Samar.

At this juncture, too, commerce in the island was controlled by the foreigners. Manila's most important commercial houses conducted business in Samar. They purchased products of the natives—wax, rice, abaca, oil, sugar cane, and the like.[84]

In 1900, the province shipped to Manila 157,377 piculs of hemp and 6,214 piculs of copra. This greatly enabled the Samareños to increase their purchasing capabilities. However, as figures showed, this improve-

[83] Manila, PNA, *Memorias* (Ricardo Nomilla), bundle 1893.

[84] To illustrate this point, consider hemp production and marketing. Hemp was primarily produced to enable the natives to purchase food, clothing and other necessities. Cleaning and drying hemp, transporting system included, involved physical or manual exertion. Dried hemp was usually brought to the coastal or riverside areas where it was loaded for marketing in the hemp center in Calbayog, Laoang, Palapag, Pambujan, Catubig and Oras. These marketing centers bought the product from the mountaineers: subsequently, they sold the same to the foreign commercial houses in the island like Warner Barnes and Company, Compania de Tabacos de Filipinas, Smith Bell and Company, Ynchausti and Company, The Pacific Oriental Trading, American Commercial House and Gutierrez Hermanos. These houses compete with four huge Chinese commercial houses in Laoang and the Oria Hermanos. See also: Taylor, John, *Report on the Administration of Civil Government,* Section on Samar's Administration.

ment in trade and commerce did not benefit the common Samareño, but only forced them to retreat into the hinterlands to escape the exploitation and oppression of the authorities. This basic discontent developed into a compounding restlessness, which found expression in the various revolts people waged, even before General Lukban came to Samar.

Before the actual defeat and fall of the Spanish forces in Samar in 1897-1898, the Samareños, with their spirits heightened by the various successes of the Filipino forces in Luzon because of the return to power of General Emilio Aguinaldo, attempted to kill all the Spaniards in Calbayog and Catbalogan in 1897.[85] This plot was drawn by the members of the civil guards who were in this period mostly natives armed by the Spanish government. The plan was discovered, and the plotters imprisoned.

General Aguinaldo, in a move calculated to convince the people to join the revolt against Spain, appointed Don Antonio Muñoz as Samar's governor.[86] He was responsible for organizing the local forces, securing popular support and arming the forces in preparation of the armed conflict with the Spaniards.

General Lukban arrived in Samar in December 1898. Meanwhile, all the Spaniards left for Iloilo.[87] At the outset, General Lukban prepared to accomplish his revolutionary mission in Samar.

B. American Colonization Process

American involvement in the social and political unrest of the Cubans and Filipinos resulted in a war declaration between America and Spain.[88] The resulting defeat of the Spanish forces—naval and land forces vanquished in the Philippines—allowed Admiral George Dewey to blockade Manila while they waited for the reinforcements to come to finally conclude the occupation of the Philippines.[89]

Initially, the Filipino leaders hailed the victory of the American naval forces as they continued to harass the remaining strongholds of the Spanish

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[85] Kobak, Bundle 29, Folder 463. (Report of head, guardian civiles of Catbalogan, undated).

[86] HDP, Catbalogan, p. 38.

[87] *Ibid.*

[88] An extensive account of the US-Spanish War can be gotten from a perusal of relevant documents in the U.S. Adjutant General's Office. *Correspondence Relating to the War with Spain Between the Adjutant General of the Army and Military Commander in the United States, Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippine Islands,* Vol. II, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902).

[89] The Filipino forces did not know that an agreement had been reached between the Spanish and American forces. They agreed to stage a mock battle. See also, James Blount, *The American Occupation of the Philippines* (New York: Putnam's Sons, 1912). Also in Leon Wolff, *Little Brown Brother* (Garden City: Double Day and Company, 1961), pp. 129-131.

forces in Luzon. They thought that the Americans were sincere when they promised to assist the Filipinos in their struggle to gain independence from Spain.[90] Emilio Aguinaldo, believing completely in America's promise, urged all Filipinos to fully support the campaigns of the Americans, when in reality Filipino troops liberated all provinces except Intramuros which the Americans surrounded.[91]

Three months after Aguinaldo's return to the country, he held again the helm of the revolutionary army's hierarchy. The people were, therefore, challenged to rally behind his forces to wipe out the vestiges of Spanish colonial rule. Soon Aguinaldo's rhetorical calls to arms spread like wild fire. Almost before the outbreak of the Filipino-American war, 30,000 *voluntarios* pitched their camps in the different encampments of the revolutionary army and carefully organized themselves into fighting units.[92]

In August 1898, the Filipinos' sustained enthusiasm dismayed the Spanish forces.[93] When the Spaniard's last stronghold was almost vanquished, the Filipino forces around Intramuros received an order from the Americans to vacate the trenches and outposts which they occupied leading to the fort city. Emilio Aguinaldo did not know, at this point, that a clandestine plan of surrender was arranged between the Spanish and American forces: The Spaniards agreed with the Americans to stage a mock battle because they loathed seeing themselves captured by the *indios.*

After the mock battle, with the victory of the American forces secured, Aguinaldo proclaimed the independence of the country and established the republic.[94]

The relation between the Filipino and American forces, as of late December 1898, seethed with hostilities. The Filipinos, by then, knew with certainty the implications of America's interest in the Philippines, right after the conclusion of the peace talks in Paris.[95] One major import of this talk was the emergence of a treaty which thought of ending hostilities between Spain and America by ceding the Philippines to the United States, with the payment of $200,000. Such treaty when finalized by the

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[90] Emilio Aguinaldo discusses this position in his book — *Resena Veridica de Revolucion Filipina* (Tarlak, 1898). See also, Teodoro Agoncillo, "Malolos: The Crisis of the Republic," *The Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review* 25 (1960): 25.

[91] Apolinario Mabini, *The Philippine Sevolution* (Manila: National Historical Commission, 1969), p. 52.

[92] Blount, p. 261. Also in Wolff, p. 132.

[93] Mabini, *op. cit.,* p. 53.

[94] Aguinaldo's message at this juncture was obviously in keeping with his understanding of the alliance he negotiated with the Americans, specifically with Consul General Spencer Pratt.

[95] Maximo Kalaw, *The Case for the Filipinos* (New York: The Century Company, 1965), p. 59.

representatives of both governments awaited confirmation in the United States Senate; it needed two-thirds vote for ready passage.[96]

With full consciousness, the Filipinos knew that the Treaty of Paris signalled the eventual conquest of the Americans over the Philippines. Consequently, America's intention to secure a foothold in the country became fully manifest. It would be sheer insensitivity if a discerning eye believed that the Americans never desired to manipulate the Philippines and turn it into a colony, an interest which earlier reverberated in the statements of Senator Albert Beveridge of Indiana when he articulated that:[97]

> American factories are making more than the American people can use; American soil is producing more than they can consume. Fate has written our policy for us; the trade of the world must and shall be ours. We will cover the world with our merchant marines. We will build a navy to the measure of our greatness. The Philippines is logically our first target. The Philippines is ours. Beyond them are China's illimitable markets.

Apparently, the actions of the American command in the Philippines betrayed their true intentions. The gradual military build-up of their forces and the issuance of President McKinley's proclamation of benevolent assimilation and the virtual occupation of Manila by the American forces under General Green were received by the Filipinos and their leaders as virtual signs of American occupation of the country.

As a reaction to this, General Aguinaldo issued statements protesting the enemies' calculated moves to conquer the country. On January 5, 1899, he issued a proclamation criticizing President McKinley's benevolent assimilation proclamation:[98]

> The government of the Philippines has considered it a duty to set forth to the civilized powers of the world the facts determining the rapture of the amicable relationships with the army of the United States in these islands, to the end that they may thereby reach the conclusion that I for my part, have done everything possible to avoid it, although at the cost of many rights uselessly sacrificed.

Again a discerning observer may notice that all along General Aguinaldo still hoped the Americans would remain faithful to the oral promises given him in Hongkong. Moreover, the same observer may see him insensibly stupid because he lacks insight to discern several calculated moves of the Americans against the vaunted independence.

Back in the United States, the pro-annexationist faction in the government, after assessing their number in the coming discussions of the Senate

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[96] Blount, pp. 121-137. See also Agoncillo, pp. 353-359.
[97] Wolff, p. 63.
[98] *Ibid.*, p. 201.

of the Treaty of Paris when it would convene in January 1899, knew that they were one vote short of the two-thirds majority concurrence required by their constitution. President McKinley was himself worried over the situation because he deeply apprehended the growing public sentiments against the policy of colonialism.

In the evening of February 4, 1899, a skirmish happened between the American and Filipino forces. Both Generals Otis and Aguinaldo were quick to label the encounter as premeditated by the other side and both forces did not want to fire the first bullet. The truth, however, as to its instigator disseminated freely and pinpointed that the American forces deliberately planned the attack under direct instructions from Washington.[99] The outcome of this initial encounter reached the American public, with the mass media gloating over the savage attack inflicted on the American outposts by Filipino troopers. This reached the ears of the American decision makers, the real targets of this propaganda. On February 6, the U.S. Senate ratified the Treaty of Paris, with a margin of one vote in its favor, which opened the formalization of America's colonial conquest of the Philippines.

During the night of the outbreak of the hostilities between the two forces, Emilio Aguinaldo noted the fiasco of his peace-keeping efforts. With the news of the ratification of the Treaty of Paris, he issued a statement addressed to the Filipino army and the people. He declared:[100]

> No more can I deplore than this rupture of friendly relations. I have a clear conscience that I have endeavored to avoid it at all costs, using all my efforts to preserve friendship with the army of occupation, even at the cost of not a few humiliations and many sacrificed rights.
> But it is unavoidable duty to maintain the integrity of the national honor and of the army so unjustly attacked by those who, posing as our friends and liberators, attempted to dominate us in place of the Spaniards.

Then, he announced the following decisions:

1. Peace and friendship between the Philippine forces and the American forces of occupation are broken and the latter will be treated as enemies within the prescribed limits of the laws of war.
2. American soldiers who may be captured by the Philippine forces will be treated as prisoners of war.
3. This communication shall be disseminated to the accredited consuls of Manila, and to Congress, in order that it may accord the suspension of the constitutional guarantees and the resulting declaration of war.

While the Filipino fighters stood their ground against the onslaught of the powerful war machines of the American army, a British observer

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[99] Agoncillo, p. 174.
[100] Taylor, 2:163. Also in Agoncillo, p. 201.

spotted some lopsidedness of the initial encounters between the two forces. His observations of the fierce fighting ran as follows:[101]

> This is not war, it is simply massacre and murderous butchery.

With this statement, Admiral Dewey, commander of the American Navy Squadron in the Philippines, replied:[102]

> The Filipinos have swollen heads, they only need one licking, and they will go crying to their homes, we shall drive them . . . within the next three days.

True enough, they delivered deadly blows against the Filipino forces in the ensuing battles. However, the Filipinos stood defending themselves by fighting bravely.

For General Otis, the present insurrection could be crushed in a matter of three months using only about 30,000 soldiers. To him, the uprising, being a Tagalog-led insurrection, was a local affair.[103] By June of the same year, he felt it would totally collapse. However, the subsequent realities of fighting in the fields belied his skimpy analysis of the situation. On August 15, faced with an insurrection which reached the Visayas, General Otis cabled Washington for an additional 60,000 troops.

Emilio Aguinaldo hurriedly prepared the country for war against American colonization. He reorganized the revolutionary army and assigned a politico-military head for each province. It was here when Antonio Luna became the Secretary of War.[104]

As a result of this reorganization, many new military leaders were appointed to head their respective provinces in the war preparation. One such leader was Vicente Rilles Lukban whose preliminary activities in Southern Luzon and Bicol provinces won him the appointment to serve in 1898 as the politico-military head of Samar and Leyte. Consequently, the history of Samar from 1898 to 1902 revolved around General Lukban who earned the distinction of being the most formidable leader of the revolution and the last general of the revolutionary army to be captured.

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101 Wolff, p. 266.

102 Wolff, p. 227.

103 U.S. War Department, *Report of Major General E. S. Otis, U.S. Volunteers on Military Operations and Civil Affairs in the Philippine Islands, 1899,* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1899), p. 67.

When the war broke out in the night of February 4, 1899, the Americans controlled only the Walled City. The Filipinos, on the other hand, controlled the rest of the country. The Filipinos then fighting the war could not be called insurgents.

104 *El Heraldo de la Revolucion,* September 26, 1898.

RELIGION AND SECULARIZATION IN THE PHILIPPINES AND OTHER ASIAN COUNTRIES*

DR. RENÉ E. MENDOZA

The Philippines is probably one of the most dramatic examples, if not the most dramatic example, of a modernizing Asian country seeking to rediscover its cultural identity. In asking basic questions as to what would be a better future for the nation, or whether such is even possible, the Philippine case appears to be an interesting study of how religion has been used in imperialistic designs over less developed countries (LDCs).

In the Philippine case, modernization could hardly be divorced from westernization, since its colonial history indeed propelled the very notion of nationhood and then of national independence from its colonial masters as a component prerequisite of modernization. It is the common colonial exploitation and subservience that tied together the once disunited and unorganized clusters of semi-independent settlements which then had no particular consciousness of a common Philippine nationhood. The Philippines in fact acquired its name and its contemporary majority religion as a result of the occupation and colonization of the islands in the latter part of the 16th century.

The arrival of Ferdinand Magellan in Philippine waters on 17 March 1521 is traditionally dated as the beginning of the Spanish period. The Spanish intrusion in this part of Asia was a result of the rivalry between the Portugues and the Spaniards in the exploration of the non-European world. Between them, the world was divided by Pope Alexander VI in 1493 with the issuance of the *Inter caetera* (a papal bull) drawing a demarcation line so that all lands lying one hundred leagues west of the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands were to belong to Spain, and those east, to Portugal. Since the Pope, Alejandro Borja, was a Spaniard and expected to favor the Spaniards, the papal bull was somehow held suspect by the Portuguese. The Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494 between the two powers thus moved the demarcation line 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. In 1592 the Treaty of Zaragoza extended the demarcation line and defined it in the Pacific at 297½ leagues east of the Moluccas, with Spain

* Paper read at the *"Asia Week*: A Diamond Jubilee Celebration of the University of the Philippines," sponsored by the Asian Center with the cooperation of the Institute of Islamic Studies, 14 June 1983; a revised version of an original paper read at the International Symposium on "Cultural Identity and Modernization in Asian Countries," Kokugakuin University Centennial, 9-13 January 1983, Tokyo, Japan.

gaining the right of ownership and settlement over lands east of this line. Interestingly, the Philippines even lay unquestionably within the Portuguese side of the demarcation line. Moreover, its acquisition was facilitated by the proceeds of the sale of whatever right Spain may have had over the Moluccas, except that the Moluccas actually was within the Portuguese sphere of influence, as delineated by these treaties.

This pattern of deceit and religious-political intrigue became the *leitmotif* of the Spanish occupation and its imperialistic exploitation of the Filipinos. Religious interventions in political matters were justified by the principle of union of church and state which previously laid the foundation or the rationale of the Spanish *conquista*—that of "civilizing and Christianizing" such pagan lands initially assigned by fiat of the Pope. This led to encroachments by the ambitious and avaricious friars of the Catholic Church on jurisdictions of the civil government.

Due to the short tenure of civil officials and the clergy's relative advantage of actual presence and knowledge of the local languages reinforced by the possession of the technology of colonization, the Spanish friars became virtually the most visible element of stability and continuity of Spanish sovereignty in the rest of the Philippines outside of Manila. The civil officials, moreover, tended to be concentrated in Manila alone, which historically explains the centralization pattern of civil government even well into the sixties.

The friars' systematic exploitation and interference in the political, economic, and social life of the people made their domination so pervasive and oppressive that Filipino propagandists and reformists demanded their expulsion from the Philippines. The contrary principle of separation of church and state thus became one of the constitutional principles that survived the Malolos Congress which was convened on 15 September 1898 to draft a Constitution for the First Philippine Republic. Even the subsequent war with the United States, and the defeat of the First Republic, did not change that historic commitment.

In the Philippine context, "secularization" meant merely "nationalizing" the Catholic Church by replacing the friars with native secular priests. This was a reaction to the Spanish friars who were perceived as obstacles to education, progress, and freedom. The Filipino rebels against the Spanish actually had to fight two battles toward the end of that period. The first one was against the Spanish, and the other, against the Americans. Deceit and political-religious intrigue was similarly the *leitmotif* of the neo-imperialism of the Americans, who had initially led the Filipinos to believe that they were going to be allies against Spain. The realization of this fact by the illustrado leadership of the Revolution later brought on the Philip-

pine-American war which was ingloriously referred to as "The Philippine Insurrection" in American historical accounts.

The American colonial period, which followed after some three centuries of Spanish rule, is officially dated as starting on 1 May 1898 with the one-sided naval battle resulting in the destruction of Admiral Patricio Montojo's fleet of Spanish ships in Manila Bay by then Commodore George Dewey. Dewey, who was maneuvered into position as the American Asiatic Squadron Commander by then Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt Sr., was even promoted to Rear Admiral for this naval victory. Even then, American war-mongers had imperialistic designs over Spanish possessions. The Philippines was to have been a coaling station for the Chinese trade which was expected to be very profitable. "Oil for the oil lamps of China" was a very picturesque expression of its profitability expectation.

The taking of Manila however involved more deceit and treachery. A mock battle was staged to save Castillian face or honor, while at the same time excluding the Filipino revolutionaries from participating in the "liberation" of Manila. This colonial phase of the Philippines was thus no better than the preceding one, in that treacherous design, deceit and division were the same techniques used in dominating and exploiting the Philippine population in the same spirit of their own brand of Christianity — in the case of the Americans, the various Protestant varieties.

That the American soldier used education as an enticement, education having been virtually denied the Filipinos by the Spanish friars, was a master stroke of colonial innovation. This had the consequence of having certain ideas and norms infused in the culture and values of the Filipinos that persist even up to the present day. This is often the contemporary "demon" denounced and demanded to be "exorcised" by latter-day radicals in their analysis of the neo-colonial aspects of Philippine culture, including the "miseducation" of the Filipinos.

The apocryphal story of President William McKinley's claim to having been told by God to "take the Philippines," and the assignment by General Arthur MacArthur of chaplains and non-commissioned officers to teach, even before the American civil government was established, again illustrate the role of religion in colonization. Emphasized in the system, process and content of education transplanted by the Americans were the virtues enshrined in the Protestant ethic, so basic to the development of capitalism. At the same time, avoiding the establishment of a state church, which is anathema to most Americans, who happen to be Protestant too, made it easy to ignore the religious dimensions of the American colonization.[1]

[1] A "naughty" question may indeed be injected at this point: "Is the continuing presence and even perhaps the increasing ubiquity of White Protestant missionaries in

The establishment of a secularized public school system and the use of English as a medium of instruction and communication laid the foundations of a continuing Westernized direction to Philippine modernization, and an insidious acceptance of American values and models of development, notwithstanding gross differences in history, culture and resource base which continues up to the present.

Secularization, taken in its broadest sense, means the increase in the worldly, the temporal, or non-church — or in its more extreme case, of the profane — functions or activities. Thus, it is only an added "political" dimension stressing greater participation where the original "religious" dimension was confounded with an authoritarian, exclusivistic, and special interest group characteristic.

Figure 1 is a schematic representation of the combination of these "political" and "religious" dimensions each representing a continuum of opposing or "polar" typologies. The resulting single "circular continuum" shows secularization as merely an alternative to the church-state relation: (1) union of church and state, typical of less modern nations — at least, as defined by the West; and (2) separation of church and state, said to be typical of modern and modernizing states — at least, insofar as Christianity is concerned.

In the non-Christian parts of the Philippines, as in the rest of Asia, religion is not of the exclusivist and intolerant variety. It occurs in so many forms — there are the essentially metaphysical or "other-worldly" religions; there are the religions that so pervade the very life of the people that is coterminous with their culture; there are philosophical systems which, because these developed the inner discipline of the individual to provide him with a strong moral foundation, were considered religions by Western scholars; or even the pantheistic or animist varieties, or any combinations of these. It is not uncommon in Asia to see these religious strains mixed, not only with one another, but even with social and political doctrines, with the resulting combinations so confounding to Westerners. Ironically, Christianity, although Asian in origin, became so Westernized that it had difficulty being diffused in Asian than did the other great Asian religions. Its penetration to the Asian world appears limited at the rim, the Philippines being on the eastern side, from which both Catholic and Protestant missions were often, and still continue to be, launched into the heartlands of Asia.

Although safeguarding the principle of separation of church and state in the Philippines and preserving the secular outlook of education, the American colonial administration virtually obliterated whatever remaining

a country claiming to be the only Christian country in Asia, another insidious form of neo-colonialism by the Americans?"

native ideas, customs and traditions, and even the national cultural identity of the Filipinos that the Spaniards were unable to replace, as part of their colonial design. "Modernization" hence continued to mean "Westernization," just as "civilization" under the Spaniards meant "Christianization." The contemporary search for a national cultural identity of the Filipino has therefore often been branded as "anti-clerical" or "anti-Spanish," "anti-American" or "anti-colonial," depending on what political or historical "demon" the ideologist or ideologue may wish to "exorcise" from the system.

Secularization is no defense against the monastic influence that still pervades the social and cultural life of the people. Even though officially Christian, even Catholic, Filipinos actually continue to practice paganistic rituals not only in rural but in urban areas as well. "Paganization" of Catholic devotions had even been commercialized as tourist attractions, so that the evolution of a "folk Catholicism" often proscribed from the pulpit, generally persists despite the vigilance of the official Catholic hierarchy, or the incessant evangelization efforts of Protestant missionaries. Of course, as long as the West defines modernization in its own image, such syncretic combinations will be regarded as "pre-modern," and their *excoriation* demanded as a "price" for modernization.

Conceptually, religion can mean not only the organized doctrine, ritual, and practice in or by a collective, but also the unorganized set of values, beliefs, and norms that are accepted on faith by an individual. It may include or involve a faith in, and/or worship of, a deity or deities, and it could mean a devotedness or dedication to a holy life, no matter how defined. In this case, the issue of religions and secularity in Asia is hard put to be resolved on the issue of modernization. Religion and the religious influence are so pervasive in Asia that secularization often means not a rejection of religion, but a repudiation of a decadent clergy who have become exploitative, rigidly formalist, and standing in the way of genuine spiritual development.

It is this typically Asian repudiation which marks the secularization experience of the Philippines. Obviously, Filipinos turned their backs only to the decadent Spanish friars and not to priests in general, nor to the Catholic religion, as shown by the failure of some nationalist native clergy to form a Philippine national church[2] as well as in the conversion of only a small percentage of Filipinos to Protestantism by the American mission-

2 The closest attempt during the Revolutionary period is the Philippine Independent Church founded by Gregorio Aglipay. The members' distrust of the foreign orientations of the Catholic Church led them to call Catholics *"Romano."* In fact, in many rural areas, today, the Catholics continue to be referred to as *"Romano"* just as members of the Philippine Independent Church (PIC) are called *"Aglipayano"* after its founder. The PIC was the first native Catholic Church — very much like the Anglican Church in the U.K., at least, in so far as doctrinal matters are concerned. Today, however,

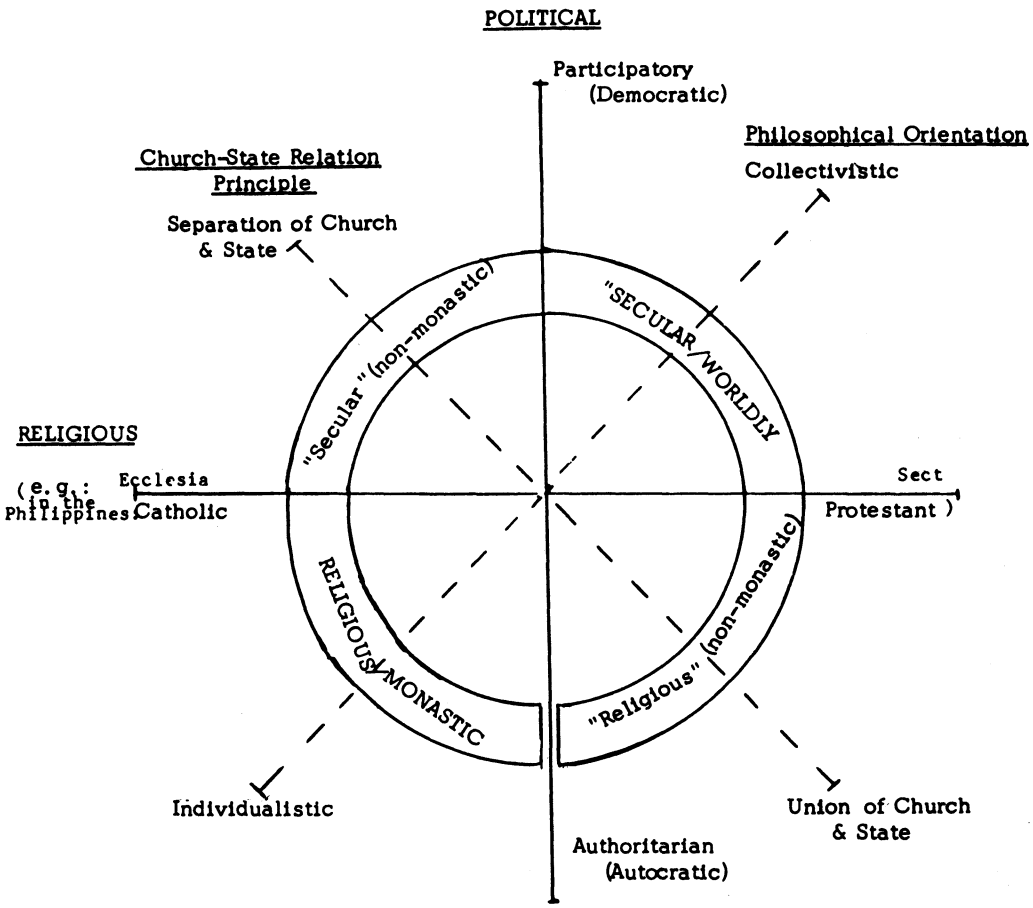

Figure 1. Diagrammatic representation of the combinations of political and religious dimensions with philosophical orientations and church-state relations principles as additional dimensions, resulting in a single "circular continuum."

aries. The other aspect of secularization — materialism, which perhaps reflects more the Philippine colonial heritage from the Americans — and the Filipinos ready acceptance of the Western models of modernization make difficult the contemporary Filipino's rediscovery of his national cultural identity.

The "essence" of modernization should not be confused with its "accidents," one of which is its Western location or identification by *western* culture-bound writers. But if "modernization" is defined as a "dynamic form of social and technological innovation resulting from the knowledge explosion in recent times," or as "the process by which historically-evolved institutions adapt to the rapidly changing environments, taking on new and growing functions that are consequences of unprecedented increases in man's knowledge, permitting control in turn, over these same environments," one can avoid the mistake of equating modernization with "Westernization." "Westernization" could only be *one* form, but not the *only* form, of modernization.

The complexity and interrelatedness of all aspects of the modernization process is perhaps better appreciated in a holistic and syncretic manner, rather than in the mutually exclusive perspectives of the West and its religions. The line between religion and secularization is not quite that clearly drawn in Asian societies. For in the experience of some Asian nations, both religion and secularization have been instruments for "modernization," although both under colonial ventures have been eschewed as unacceptable. Thus, the search for rediscovering one's national cultural identity has to also involve an analysis of the impact of religion and sacred values on modernization. It is this holistic, syncretic and eclectic approach, which is typical of Asia, that can satisfy the *Kokugaku*-type scholars in their search for national self-determination in pursuit of modernization. In the Philippines, we at the Asian Center of the University of the Philippines, have taken on the task of establishing stronger linkages with our Asian neighbors, relating to our own rediscovery of our cultural identity from a perspective of international cooperation.

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it is no longer unusual for *Aglipayanos* to go to *Romano* churches. Their animosities only flare up in rare and distant places, and the PIC itself has been plagued by intra-denominational conflicts.

BUHID IDEOLOGY: "TRADITIONAL" AND "TRANSITIONAL"[1]

VIOLETA LOPEZ-GONZAGA, Ph.D.

In his essay, "Ideology as a Cultural System", Geertz points out that one of the minor ironies of modern intellectual history is that the word "ideology" has itself become ideologized. Yet, instead of rejecting the word for its numerous and often vague meanings, he proposes a redemptive working of its essence. Avoiding the strictly functionalist or psychological interpretation of the term, Geertz alternatively defines ideology as "cultural symbol-systems" or as "template for the organization of social, psychological and cultural processes" (1975: 216). Ideology, redefined as an attempt to render otherwise incomprehensible social stratification meaningful—as a people's "model of", and "model for" their physical, social and psychological reality, is an appropriate one for the focus of this essay.

An investigation of the Buhid ideology would reveal the persistence of traditional cultural symbol-systems. It is embedded in their "surviving past", as reflected in the wealth of their folk tales, rituals, beliefs and ethos. In a way, the Buhid interpretation of their present reality is framed within the language of their traditional ideal.

The Buhid are one of the six Mangyan groups found in the south-central region of Mindoro, the seventh largest island in the Philippines. Except for Conklin's cursory references to this group in his study of the Hanunoo (1955) and Miyamoto's sweeping survey, based on a few days' stay in different Buhid settlements (1974), the Buhid have remained largely out of the cognizance of social scientists.[2] It is for this reason that I have chosen this ethnic group for my ethnographic investigation.

For convenience in presentation, I have divided my discussion into two parts: the first half deals with their "traditional" ideology, the second

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[1] This essay is based on my one-year field research in Mindoro for my Ph.D. thesis, *Peasants in the Hills: A Study of the Dynamics of Social Change Among the Buhid Swidden Cultivators in the Philippines.* Funding for my field work was generously provided at various points by grants from the University of the Philippines-National Science Development Board Faculty Research Grant, the University of Toronto Doctoral Fellowship and the Altrusa International.

[2] Barry's recently published Ethnographic Atlas (1980) does not list the Buhid.

half focuses on the "transitional" ideal as reflected in their ethos for purposeful action within their contemporary society.

Subsistence Ideology

The Buhid have a saying that work (*ibolon*) is as tall as a standing man; it never ends until he falls flat on the ground, dead. In practice, Buhid subsistence production which includes swidden agriculture, hunting and gathering activities, defines to a large extent their physical existence. From the time they are old enough to make their own clearing, to the time when they are bent with age and all they can do is to weed their *iyag* and dig for root crops, the Buhid are continually involved in subsistence work.

The prime value given to work may be traced to the Buhid's basic fear of *lunos* (hunger). To the Buhid, the worst thing that can happen to a man is to be *kalunos* (starved) and have no means of alleviation. This fear of starvation acts as some kind of inner dynamic which keeps Buhid in subsistence production.

The forest in its primeval state, untouched by loggers and miners, insured the Buhid a vast reserve of virgin islands, to exploit for their subsistence. That exploitation, however, was done with restraint and deference to the complex of spiritual powers that traditionally dominate the Buhid's universe. For example, while the land is considered mostly a free and unlimited good to be extracted from the forest, certain forest groves, unusual tree formations and burial sites, frequently in the densest part of the forest, are rigorously avoided both for swiddening and settlement. It is believed that human encroachment on these areas would unleash the malevolent ethereal forces.

The order of spiritual forces, believed to govern the Buhid's universe, may be classified between those that assume animal form, the *labang,* and those which take man's image, the *lahi.* The *labang* are seen as man's outright enemies, the lahi as potential allies and protectors against the *labang.* The *falad* or souls of the dead, belong to a third category of spirits which may act upon the living.

The *labang* is believed to manifest itself in various animal forms such as the wild pig and wild fowl. Interestingly, all of the *labang's* animal doubles are Buhid game. However, these same animal, when filled with the *labang,* are believed to turn into man's own predators. For just as man is always on the lookout for game, so the labang are continually on the prowl seeking human souls (*falad*) to "bite". The Buhid believe a *labang*'s bite is potentially fatal because if becomes the spirit's entry

point through which it brings *sagit* or "sickness", which in turn may lead to death, if the spirit is not driven away. Thus the Buhid say that if you go hunting, you must strike first, otherwise, the *labang*'s animal double will strike you.

In Buhid cosmology then, the *labang* and man stand in contraposition to one another. Man's successful hunt is a *labang*'s loss; conversely, man's sickness or death, emanating from the *labang's* bite is the spirit's gain. To the traditional Buhid a dead person becomes prey to the *labang*, which thrives on eating human souls.

This belief is graphically illustrated in a myth narrated to me by a Batangan Buhid who was also the foremost *iglahi* in the area. This myth tells the origin of the malevolent *labang* and how they spread out throughout the island of Mindoro.[3] For this reason, he considers this as their most important *tultol-magurang* (tales or teachings of parents).

> Long ago, there lived an old woman named Wada-wada. Wada-wada's grandchild is Yoyon. While Yoyon was out trapping river crabs, he saw that a *wiwi*[4] with many appendages was caught in his *balakong*.[5] Seeing this, Yoyon let go of the *wiwi* which bit him as he did so. Yoyon then returned home. "What have you got? You look like you're grievously ill," said Wada-wada who saw him enter the house said. Yoyon answered, "a *wiwi* bit me." "What kind of *wiwi,* is it long? Well if it is, then it is a snake, and if it has a narrow belly with nippers, then it is an *amtik."*[6] Yoyon replied, "Fofo, it is not as you described it." "Well, if you saw one with many nippers, hairy and looks very much like a small crab, that is a *talitago*.[7] By sundown, if you were bitten by it, you will die," said Wada-wada. "Oh that's the one that bit me Fofo," cried Yoyon.
>
> True enough, at sundown, Yoyon died. Wada-wada wailed and lamented Yoyon's death. At night, she felt eerie. Suddenly she saw two *anak-labang* which look like the *balugbog* of bananas, by Yoyon's grave, underneath her earthen stove.[8] Wada-wada then ate her earshaped mushrooms. Said the child *labang* unto Wada-wada, "What are you eating?" Wada-wada replied, "my ears." Wada-wada then saw the child *labang* cut his ears and ate it. Said the child *labang* to Wada-wada, "Oh, there comes mother and father." At night time, Wada-wada saw one *labang* carrying her child by

[3] The Buhid like most Mangyans, hardly ever receive medical services from the state. During the course of my field work, the PPM (Program sa Pagpapaunlad ng mga Mangyan), an inter-Mangyan association of evangelical believers started a medical and health program, training "barefoot doctors." As the program has just started, its impact on the iglahi's role is yet to be seen.

[4] This is a term to refer to a class of creeping creatures, including arachmas in their environment.

[5] An archaic word for a crab trap made out of wild vine strips, tied into a miniature lasso and placed in strategic areas around river crab holes.

[6] A species of ants with painful but not potent sting.

[7] Possibly, a scorpion, the sting of which is believed to cause death within hours.

[8] That is, *labang* child.

her hip, another has a labang-child in *sabibi,*[9] others on piggy-back ride. Wada-wada was really scared. She climbed up on the roof top of her hut. At the back of the house was a large tree named *hayu-ayahak.* Wada-wada took one *biyagan,* lit it with fire, and jumped into one of the *ayahak's* branches. When it was fully night Wada-wada heard many *labang* eating Yoyon's remains. At midnight, she heard one *labang* say, "I will count the stars." The smallest of the *labang* children had no stars to count and when it looked down, saw Wada-wada's fire. "The fire is mine to count," it cried. When morning came, Wada-wada saw many *labang* calling out, asking her, "Where did you pass going up the tree? We'd like to come up to you." Wada-wada dropped a rope as red as the big centavo coin, until it reached the ground. She then said to the *labang,* "here, I climbed up the rope, the biggest of the group going before the others. Then the other *labang* followed suit, one climbing after the other. When the biggest *labang* was close to the ayahak tree, Wada-wada cut the red-dyed rope, and down fell all the *labang,* except one family with two children, one mother, one father. Said the *labang* to Wada-wada, "let us play hide and seek. You hide first, then it will be our turn. If we win, we will then eat you." Wada-wada then hid herself in the *hugonan.* The *labang* also hid themselves from Wada-wada, but Wada-wada said to the *labang,* "I can see you," even when she did not actually see them. It was all a hoax, what Wada-wada said to the *labang.* However, when it was Wada-wada's turn to hide, the *labang* could not find her. As it was hard to find her, the *labang* set fire to the *hugonan.* Wada-wada would have surely been burnt alive but she ran to another *hugonan* and hid herself once more. The *labang* then hid themselves from Wada-wada inside the hole of a tree named *daha.* Wada-wada again said, "I can see you." But this time, the *labang* did not come out from their hiding place. Wada-wada then guessed that they had hidden themselves inside the hole of a *batang.* She quickly made two fire brands which she used to set fire to the log's hole and then continuously fanned. Said the wife, the mother *labang,* "we are soon going to die, once Wada-wada's fire starts to smoke." The male *labang* then started doing *iglahi* inside the *batang*[10] of the *daha,* chanting as he did, *Nangabang kasanduwan, nganaban kasanlima.*[11] The *batang-daha* then cracked, and the *labang* broke free. Inside the *daha* trunk, however, one of the *labang* children dies, leaving them only one child. They then continued with their hide and seek within the *hugonan.* The *labang* then hid themselves inside the *anagi batang.* Wada-wada then set fire to fire the hole of the *anangi batang,* and fanned it again and again. In the process, the remaining *labang* child died. Said the *labang* wife to her husband, "you should *iglahi* again, lest we die." The *labang* husband then chanted, *ngabang kasansadi, nganabang dik batang anagi.* Soon after that the *anagi batang* cracked and the *labang* couple passed through its crevice. They then said to Wada-wada, "you won in our hide and seek, we won't eat you now." Wada-wada then left the *labang* in the *furo* of Namugmuyan.

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9 A *sabibi* is a peculiar Buhid and southern Mangyan way of carrying their infants through the use of a spare *abol,* hung around the upper torso of the body, with the infant "pocketed" by the folds of the abol by their breast.

10 Fallen trunk of a huge tree.

11 This is a play of magical words, using old Buhid language which my informant is unable to translate in simpler Buhid.

In the olden times it is said that here in the mountains, there were no *labang*. That is our parents tales. Well, according to them, after a long time has passed, about twenty *fangaraw* (approximately 20 years) there were eight siblings, one named Kulinda, two named Kasinan, others Lokwit and Dumalogdog. These siblings set out to gather snails. They hiked up to Mahaligi where they saw Wada-wada. Wada-wada then warned them not to go to Namugnuyan, saying "that site is where I keep captured *labang*." The people who arrived in the mountains then went forth looking for snails. Suddenly, they saw three big monkeys which they shot with their arrows and caught. They said one to another, how are we to cook this without an *anglit*?[12] As they walked around the place, they saw an *ayahak* tree. By this three, they saw an *anglit* buried underneath it. They took this red clay pot. Inside it they saw that it has smears of fresh blood, leaves of *ilang-ilang* and *dalanaw*. When their pot of monkey meat was nearly cooked, one of them was suddenly taken ill and died. Not long after, death came simultaneously to the others, leaving only Dumalogdog and Kulinda. Dumalogdog then dug the ground until it was neck deep, with the bodies of his brothers in front of him. Then Dumalogdog saw the *labang*. He hacked all the *labang* with his bolo, right and left. When Dumalogdog was up the mountain, the blood of the *labang* stuck on his body and he died. All the others died, except one, Kulinda. Kulinda roamed around the full length of Mindoro and reached Hayakyan. He made a pig-trap in the forest with a sharpened wild bamboo. While sharpening the spear trap, he accidentally cut himself with the sharp edge of the bamboo. Kulinda tried to treat his wound but his blood had been licked by the *edu-labang*.[13] Not long after, his cut hand became really swollen and his body became very weak. As he was dying, the host of the *labang* gathered around him and ate him up. Where Kulinda died, the *labang*, whose name is Lidong Mata, stayed. It is really a host of *labang*. Even now, people say, there are times when light like the burning bush comes out of that site. In that place, no one dares to go up now.

While the *labang* are associated with the wild life, the *lahi* are related to human beings. Believed to be once human, the *lahi* are thought to have their own households and fields and perform swidden activities in the other world. Some of the *lahi* are called *afu-fungso* and others *afu-daga*. The *afu-daga* are thought to have a direct control of the Buhid universe and the host of *labang* that surround them. The acts of the *afu-daga* are manifest in physically observable phenomenon. For instance, soil erosion (*tibag*) is believed to be a result of *ofu-daga's* own swiddening activities. Cataclysmic events such as earthquakes or floods are believed to be the expressions of the wrath of *afu-daga* over man's *sala*, or failure to uphold the moral order. A particular case of *sala* is *fayawan* or "incest", which is believed to immediately result in *tagandagaw*, water springing out of the earth of the turok or "post" of the guilty party's house, and in the water, there will successively appear a river crab, an eel and a

[12] The *anglit* is a native clay pot sought after by the Mangyan-patag and Bangon in their internal trading with the Buhid.

[13] A "dog-spirit", associated with the hunting dog of the *afu* of the forest.

shrimp. Unless the violation of the incest taboo is immediately remedied by an *iglahi,* a traditional ritual specialist, the Buhid say that the water will keep welling up and the earth will open and engulf the whole house. To stop this *tagandagaw,* the *iglahi* is supposed to immediately eat all the river creatures that come out of the pool of water and later perform a placatory rite, *fanluhod afu-daga.* This involves the piercing of the earth (daga) with an iron wire, followed by the slaughter of a pig.

The case of incest is often a hushed affair, until the threat of destruction it brings to the community has been adequately dealt with by the *iglahi.* During the course of my field work in Batangan, the incest committed by two teenagers was detected by their immediate kin when the dreaded signs of *fayawan,* earth cracking, was observed under the houses of both lovers:

> Benito and Sanuhuan are *taginsan* (cousin) and the former's father, Gin-uman, and the latter's father, Siw-ay are brothers (same mother but different fathers). One day, the two were seen going together to the *singapuran* (taro swidden), obviously to dig for some *singapur* to sell. However, while in the *singapuran,* they did something else, for a week after they were seen together, a break in the ground was seen underneath their respective houses. Alarmed Gin-uman, Benito's father, called for formal talks with his *kaiban* (kindred) to determine what to do. Some of his *kaiban* were so enraged about the incest committed by the young couple, they suggested throwing them into the sea to abort the dreadful *tagandagaw.* The case eventually reached Yaom, and a *tultulan* was held with him as arbiter. It was decided through the formal talks that a *fanluhod* be held. Gin-uman, with the help of Siw-ay then looked for a pig which was slaughtered, its jaw and tail offered to the *afu-daga,* and the rest eaten in a communal meal by the kindred group members of the guilty couple.

Though the *afu-daga* may thus be enraged, the Buhid still conceive of him as their truck, literally "support post", the *afu-daga* is capable of dispensing good to man and withholding *duwat,* that is, anything that is bad, wicked, destructive or upsetting the balance of their physical universe, such as earthquakes, floods, starvation, war, sickness and death. To the Buhid, the *afu-daga* is the source of help, a steady support in times of uncertainty. To win its support or to appease his wrath, the Buhid observe the rite, *fanluhod afu-daga* performed by the *iglahi.* What follows is an excerpt from my diary describing a *fanluhod* in Batangan performed by some of its residents in response to the news of the sky-lab falling in the mountains:

> Tonight is the predicted fall of the sky-lab. Having heard this over the radio or through the *Loktanon* who relishes spreading spectacular news from the towns to the hills, very few Buhid dared to go to their fields today. Somehow, the strong winds and dark sky managed to confirm their fears of the *imdagdag* (lit. that which will fall). Rumors greatly abound and tale-bearers had their field day.

At dusk, I overheard that a *fangalahiyan* will be done in Yahiwan's house to drive the sky-lab away from the mountains into the seas. I half-ran across the barrio to Yahiwan's place when I heard this. By the flickering light of the *salong* (a light made of almaciga sap), I saw Sanyuan and Yahiwan seated on the bamboo floor, each holding a cock laid flat against the floor-Yahiwan with a red rooster, Sanyuan with a white cock. Upon seeing me, Sanyuan bid me in. I then noticed that all those present except one migrant Mangyan *patag* woman *iglahi,* are members of either Yahiwan or Sanyuan's households. No sooner than I have squatted on the floor, Sanyuan started addressing the *afu-daga* making excuses for the roosters but nonetheless enjoining him to accept it. In between his pauses, Yahiwan joined in the *fanluhod,* uttering petitions for the *afu-daga's* protection against the sky-lab. Pleas were made for the *afu-daga* to drive the *imdagdag* to where it belongs, away from the mountains and their habitation. Their alternate litanies includes the expression of *dayu* (fearful repugnance) of *tag-kalunos* (starvation), *katuno* (landslide), *mga sundalo* (soldiers), *balutong* (small pox), any and all that would make them *lumag-duwat* (see evil). After the *fanluhod,* Yahiwan cut the rooster's necks, allowing the blood to drip through the bamboo slats unto the *daga* (earth) as some kind of libation to the *afu.* When both roosters stopped struggling, they were singed over fire then cleaned of its burnt feathers. After the chicken were cooked, it was served in an *igsaduhan,* a joint-meal participated by all who were present.

The meal was followed by the *fangalahiyan,* a chanting to the personally known *lahi* of the three *iglahi* in the *fanluhod.* It went on through the night, intermittently broken by a consultation of the *iglahi* about their whereabouts in the *lahi's* "settlement", or some informal exchange of talks of news between the *iglahi* and others who were around. Chanting was individually done by the *iglahi,* while the members of the household gathered around to rest on the bamboo-floor and chat about the day's happening.

In addition to the labang and the iglahi, the Buhid believe that the *falad* (soul) of their dead kin also act on their microcosm. Though the dead must perforce go to the *daga-salad* (the Buhid believe they live there in much the same manner as they did on this earth). Thus, just as the living get hungry, so the *falad* also gets hungry and so need the support of the living. Neglect of filial duty on the part of the living may enrage the *falad,* causing them to bring illness and misfortune to those who have offended them. It is the Buhid belief that illness may either be the working of the *labang* or a punitive act of the *falad* to remind the living to "feed" them. In the event that a *falad* is thus angered, a *sagda* is called for. This requires the slaughter of a pig and the offering of its head and tail to he *falad.* Like the living, the *falad* are believed capable of envy and may be led by such emotion to bring about *lumag-duwat* or that "which is evil to see" upon a person or his family who, enjoying good fortune themselves, have selfishly forgotten the *falad.*

Upon the death of the family member, the Buhid would traditionally move their home to a new site within the territory of their *gufudan.* After the 10 days *igli* (taboo imposed in those who were in physical contact with the dead), the dead man's *iyab* is harvested of its root crops and non-permanent cultigens. Such root crops as sweet potatoes, yam and taro are cooked and eaten right in the dead man's field during a rite called *fangafuyan.*[14] After the ritual harvest and eating of the root crops of the dead, the field is abandoned, as it is believed that it will become *tigwanan,* the dead man's source of subsistence. The damage of the field by such pests as ground ants and weevil is believed to be a manifestation of the *falad's* claim to the field crops.

In deference to the *falad* of the departed kinsmen, the Buhid also observe the annual rite of *fangahawan.* Traditionally, this was held after the rice harvest season, or the end of the *fangaraw* — a full agricultural cycle roughly equivalent to one year. The Buhid believe that this is the time when the soul of their dead kin becomes hungry and therefore it needs to be fed with a pig slaughtered, singed over fire, boiled and then served with rice to the dead as well as the gathered living kin.

As rice cultivation had become less important, the *fangahawan* has been confined to the time when someone in the family gets sick or when one "dreams" of a soul of a kin becoming *kalunos* (hungry). One such case is cited below:

> Uynan dreamt that Samanay, his *bay* (his father's sister), of whom he is the sole immediate surviving kin, and who died four months ago, is already *kasamok-baboy.*[15] Not wishing to offend her, Uynan immediately called for Agnipan, a distant kin who *imbuklid* (carried) his *bay* solely on his back, when Uynan fainted while doing so. Agnipan became Uynan's designated heir. With Agnipan's help, a *fangahawan* was immediately set, though it is only the third month of Samanay's death. For the hurriedly scheduled *fangahawan,* Uynan's *kaiban* (kindred) was mobilized, i.e., Daeng and Alaga (Agnipan's sister and her husband), Tanay (Uynan's wife-cousin), his Mangyan-*patag sandugo,* and a few of his *garakbangan* (swidden neighbor).
>
> By the time most of the notified party were present, Uynan's last pig was slaughtered, singed over fire, cut to pieces, then boiled with salt and some green leaves. Rice, brought as a gift by Agnipan and Daeng were added to Uynan's own rice supply, then boiled for the joint meal. The parts of the pig, meant to be served to Samanay, was cooked separately in a pot. This consisted of the jaw, heart and tail of the slaughtered pig. As soon as everything was cooked, long banana leaves were cut, then set on the floor, neatly lined up with the steaming boiled rice. The cooked meat

[14] This is a compound word out of *afuy,* "fire."

[15] *Kasamok* is a Buhid term for "deep" of fervent longing or desire for something, which needs immedite satisfaction. It is customary for Buhid to share food or any good for which one is *kasamok* as they believe withholding it would cause illness on the part of the person who refuses to give.

was served in portions in polished coconut shell containers. Great care was taken to stretch the supply of meat to everyone who joined the *fangahawan,* and others, who though not present would expect a portion, a *huray* of the slaughtered pig. When everyone has thus eaten, the remaining portions were carefully divided to all the Buhid originally from Nawa and now residing in Batangan. Significantly, a sizeable portion was set aside for Yaom, the "mayor."

When everyone has partaken of the meal, Uynan and his wife brought out six *tayas* (polished coconut shell container), which they then filled with boiled rice. These containers were placed on a *nigo* (native flat winnowing basket and tray), along with the meat offering. Afterwards, Uynan called on Samanay and her *talanahan* (family/household- to come to partake of the food. While mashing the boiled rice with pig's jaw, he simultaneously addressed his petitions which he made, Uynan asked Samanay to keep sickness away because if he dies, no one else will serve her food offerings. In addition, he asked to be kept from *mga lunos* (hunger and starvation), *bagyo* (strong winds and typhoons), *tulisan* (bandits), *giyera* (war) and *sundalos* (soldiers). After uttering his petitions, Uynan poured a major residing in Batangan. Significantly, a sizeable portion was set aside for his house, and the rest eaten by members of his own household.

In some respects, Uynan's early observance of the *fangahawan* seems to tie with his desire to keep alive his kindred ties. Being old and without any living offspring of his son, Uynan is dependent solely on the support of his *gufudan* from Nawa, an aggregate of second-degree cousins, distant consanguineal and affinal relations. The early call for *fangahawan,* the major expenses of which he shouldered, was an attempt on his part to affirm his *gufudan's* support, especially as he was contemplating on moving to Batangan barrio, to avail himself of various benefits that accrue from his being Yaom's *sakup.* This motive also lies behind the setting aside of a sizeable portion of the slaughtered pig for Yaom, and the distribution of the other portions to the Nawa residents. Uynan is notorious for being *kwangit,* i.e., stingy, not predisposed to being "open" or generous, and this appeared to have kept some of his *gufudan* members at bay. Significantly, all of his potential sources of help, from his *gufudan* members to his Mangyan *sandugo* (ritual brother), were present during the *fangahawan.* Along with forging his *gufudan* support is his bid to become regular resident of Batangan; the invitation extended to his Mangyan-*patag* ritual kin may be an exort on Uynan's part to keep alive his traditional source of extra labor help (he being childless), magico-religious services and goods customarily obtained through the neighboring group's internal trading. As a whole, the *fangahawan* rite occasioned a forging of his local and external group ties.

Upon the death of a family member, the Buhid tradltionally relocated their home and swidden to a new site within the defined territory of their *gufudan.* After 10 days of *igli,* the taboo imposed on those who were in physical contact with the dead, the departed kin's swidden is harvested of

its root crops and non-permanent cultigens. The root crops consisting of sweet potatoes, yam and taro are cooked and eaten right in the dead man's field, in a rite called *fangafusan.* After the ritual harvest and eating of the garden crops of the dead, the field is then abandoned and declared as 'tigwanan', the field used by the departed. While the Buhid believe that the *falad* takes possession of the land from that time on, in reality the *fangahawan* marks the beginning of following or that land. The damage of the field by such pests as ground ants and weevil is believed to be a manifestation of the *falad's* claim to the field crops. Significantly, the Buhid believe that the soul of the dead, after one or two planting seasons, "becomes like a pig" in that they have no thought (*fangayufan*). They have no sense of honor (*kafiiyan*), or shame (*kaya*) and would simply feed on anyone's *iyab* (swidden) anywhere.

The Lahi Mediator

As with the neighboring Bangon and the Mangyan-*patag,* the Buhid have magico-religious experts who are believed to have special access to the *lahi,* buried underneath the earth (*daga*) in the *gunaw,* the Great Flood. These experts are called *iglahi* (lit. the one who does *lahi*), each of whom has a particular *lahi.* An *iglahi* knows the secret name of his *lahi,* which he uses in addressing the *lahi.* The supernatural power of this *lahi* serves as his own *turok*—the foundation, like a main post of a house, of his expertise in dealing with the *labang,* sickness or calamity. When he calls on his *lahi's* secret name, it is believed that his *lahi* rides in a *baloto,* a beam of light which, like an airplane, transports it to the *iglahi's* range of vision and control.

The special knowledge of the *lahi* and the manipulation of his powers are considered by the Buhid to be acquired through some form of inheritance, *it-faglagon* (lit. that which would be seen of them), to be handed down from one generation to other. In the absence of one's own children, the *lahi* may be passed on to a close or distant kin, or even a regular exchange partner like the *sandugo,* who has promised to provide for his daily subsistence when he can no longer work and *imbuklid* (carry) him to the grave upon his death. Whoever is the recipient, a would-be *iglahi* has to offer a *sanag,* a ritual offering of a white rooster or a pig bled over a *finggan* (antique chinese porcelain plate), which is struck several times with a *bay* (bow). This rite, along with the learning of the secret names of the *lahi* and the special chants to address him, are learned from a master *iglahi* over a period lasting in average seven to ten days, at the end of which period, the *sangkap* of the *iglahi,* the magical stones identified with a particular *lahi,* are passed on to his inheritor. With these stones come the knowledge of the magical chants which contain the personal name of the *lahi* his wife, their invisible settlement, the secret passage to it, etc.

A *lahi* may also be personally sought through an individual rite that calls for the participation of one with a *marigon-fag-fangayuhan* (lit. strong intestines). Such a person goes under a balete tree believed to be the habitation of some *afu,* or isolated springheads and make an offering of a whose rooster or a pig bled over an old Chinese porcelain plate. The belief is that after the offering, there will appear a stone which will be the token of a *lahi's* personal revelation, and that would be *iglahi's daniw* (chant). The stone is believed to have a particular *afu* (essence or being) who will make themselves known after one night through the seeker's dream. If one dreams of a Buhid or Mangyan-*patag,* then the *afu* is a good one and the stone can be kept, and the spiritual personage be established as one's *lahi.* However, if the *lahi* seeker dreams of a Bangon or one who is *bunihin* (one covered with scaly ringworm), then the *afu* of the stone is *duwat* (bad). In this case, the stone should immediately be returned to its source. After the identity of the stone's *afu* is determined through a dream, a second *sanag* is done and the supplicant will determine whether he will use the stone of *iglahi* or *fangamlang* healing through finger-press, which is believed to remove sickness-causing foreign objects. It one desires to use the stone for *fangamlang,* the seeker will just have to bleed the chicken over the stone. If he desires to be an *iglahi,* then he will have to bleed the chicken over *bay.*

Apart from his expertise in dealing with the spiritual host, the *iglahi* as already mentioned in Section 4.3 also served as a *tahinan* or *gurangon.* This leadership function was more frequently observed before the incorporation of the Buhid into barrios. This quasi-leadership position, rather than being fixed is more of a situational or seasonal exercise of authority, as when the community is faced with puzzling events or circumstances that can not be explained away "naturally" or, any new, unfamiliar events that may disturb the community, as for instance the entrance of strangers in their (traditional) territory. A *tahinan,* however, need not necessarily be an *iglahi,* though he was usually one known to give wise judgments.

While the *iglahi* is generally associated with good (*fiya*), the Buhid also recognize the existence of some who may use their *lahi* against their enemies, particularly in the snatching of the soul of their enemies which may eventually lead to their death. This soul-snatching is called *"duwat-iglahi"* or "evil *iglahi.*" However, reported cases of an *iglahi* harming others is rare. Among the Buhid in fact, a bad *iglahi* is generally associated with the *Bangon.* Hence, any *bangdan* (accusation) of an *iglahi* for the abuse of his powers is deemed a very serious matter. Any person thus accused will not let it pass unchallenged. The *bangdan* is formally contested in a *gad-gaya:an,* on which occasion the person who made the accusation, may end up giving a *balan* (fee to placate an anger, or "hard feeling") to the offended *iglahi,* if the latter is proven innocent in the course of public talks partici-

pated in by friends and sympathizers of both sides. However, in the event that an uttered *salan,* i.e., a curse or a verbal threat made by an *iglahi* to anyone, comes true, the *iglahi* may easily become the target of a *fangayatan,* instigated by the aggrieved party. This was illustrated in a case which took place in Avufay, a Bangon settlement which serves as Yaom's non-Buhid *sakup*:

> Tanay, an expert in *iglahi,* is a key competitor of Agaw for the leadership of a Buhid sub-group in Avufay. The Buhid actually refer to this community as "Bagon." Agaw, an oppointed councilor of Yaom in this village has actively worked for the incorporation of their settlement as a ward of Batangan, and by extension, of the town government. This move was primarily instigated by a standing land dispute with some lowlanders.
>
> Tanay served for some time as policeman of the community, having been appointed by Agaw, but this did not last long as he soon contested the latter's leadership. He spoke strongly against the rapid change in the ways of the village, and at point in the heated debate, threatened to kill some of his opponents by snatching their souls. Not long after, one of Agaw's children died, and the villagers of Avufay readily linked his death with Tanay's earlier threats. This suspicion of Tanay's unlawful use of his *lahi* became even stronger when Agrumay, Agaw's main spokesman in his verbal contest with Tanay, died suddenly of "unknown cause." His co-villagers took this unexplained sudden death as a result of Tanay bidding his *lahi* to steal Agrumay's soul.

Inter-Personal Relations and Confict Resolution

Paramount in the Buhid ideal of the world is the maintenance of *kahuwayan*—the absence of any rancour that figuratively causes "knotted entrails" (*funa*). In this generally non-violent society, any rancour of the mind, *kahuri-fangayuhan,* must perforce find a solution. Any delay in easing off one's *kahurian* (rancour) is dangerous, for a knotted entrail continues to trouble the mind, and may end up in one being *kapaong* (deranged), or in despair, and lead to self-destruction in the form of *gugot* (suicide by hanging). But among the Buhid, one's rancour rarely develops into open violence against others. Incidents of "running amok", a murder of vendetta, is virtually non-existent. In contrast, according to my informants, the incidence of suicide appears to be more frequent especially in the more interior areas such as Siange and the *Hayakyan* region, than in Batangan. In Batangan, I actually observed one case of attempted suicide by a wife desperate over her constantly philandering (*fabaywan*), non-providing husband.

An unrequited love, the threat of abandonment by one's spouse for another mate, a promise not fulfilled, an accusation that threatens one's *kafiyan* (goodly honor), an insult publicly made and which may lead to one's shame (*kaya*), and endless round of hardships (particularly the lack of food), all these may lead to *kahuri-fangayufan.* This mental state normally

leads a Buhid to *igfaangay,* to make publicly known and air his unhappiness in order to get the support of his community. Individuals who thus think that they have a strong case (after informally "airing" their grievances), may openly *tagayat,* or confront the source of his rancour in formal talks mediated by established *fangayatan* (advocates), known for their skill in verbal disputations and fairness in settling cases. Although a *fangayatan* may mediate trouble cases arising from particular individuals, the public discussion of the cases often serves as a pretext to open up old, unsettled disputes of the kindred members of the respective parties involved in the dispute. In this sense the formal talks held to settle a particular dispute, is also a time of "accounting" of accumulated wrongs, or previous unsettled grievances, by the respective *kaiban* (kindred) members of the parties. While litigations may spring from individual grievances, the formal talks which such personal wrongs do occasion, take place in the presence of *kaiban* members in attendance. The strength of one's case is thus also dependent on the strength of the support of the kindred and their participation in talks. The *kaiban* members of the aggrieved also have the right to demand the customary fine (balan) given to the aggrieved party by the individual publicly affirmed to be guilty as a result of the formal talks. A solution or settlement of a case is considered to have been attained when a consensus is reached among all parties involved in the formal talks, consisting of the respective *fangayatan* (advocate) of each party, the kindred group members of each side and the over-all arbiter of the case. In addition to the *balan,* the person publicly confirmed to be guilty is made to pay the *fangabaya,* a form of fine which goes to the *fangayatan.* Should the guilty person be unable to pay the *balan* and/or the *fangabaya,* his kindred are expected to help him by giving him some kind of a loan.

Up to fifteen years ago in Batangan, the *balan,* and *fangabaya* were given wholly in the prescribed amount of beads. Presently, this practice has given way to cash payments. In cases of wife-snatching or divorce (the frequent causes for filing of cases), the settlement fee, often asked by the aggrieved spouse, ranges from 100 to 500 pesos. The use of beads for settlement is now confined mostly to the interior areas, but even there, the *balan* has taken the combined form of beads and cash payments. In both Batangan and the Buhid frontier areas, wife-snatching or divorce is considered settled only when a pig is slaughtered and served in a joint peace-meal of the persons involved in the dispute and their respective kindred.

Closely intertwined with the idea of *kahuwayan* is the Buhid notion of *kafiyaon,* that is "just right", what "fits", one's felt need, or required taste, and want. In fact, everything that "pleases", or bring gratification to one's physical, aesthetic and moral sense is *kafiyaon.* Thus, a finely-woven,

two tiered indigo-dyed skirt is a *kafiyaon* as a meal of boiled white rice and pork, or a man winning his long-awaited lady's love.

The concept directly opposite to *kafiyaon* is *duwat,* anything which brings discord, or does not "fit" within the Buhid's prescribed sense of *kahuwayan* or *kafiyaon.* The Buhid consider an unsettled, constantly *kabangon* (lit. "awakened") grievances as *duwat.* This explains why they place such a high priority on settlement of cases, no matter how long it takes. By extension, the slow almost drooling manner of speaking typical of the Bangon, is *duwat,* so is a person who perennially wears dirty, tattered loin cloth, and whose tangled, coarse hair never gets washed.

The Nominal Catholic and Di-Binyagan

The Buhid refer to their traditional way of life as *ugali-magurang* (lit. the ways of the parents) and contrast it with *bagong batas* or the "new law", which has been gaining in importance to those living in a municipality, incorporated in the administrative framework of the central government — the barangay. To these Buhid, the *bagong batas* represents the *Gobyerno* (government), whose force has come to bear increasingly upon their lives.

While the *ugali-magurang,* regulated by the spiritual forces, are based on the Buhid life in the dense forest, the *bagong batas* is oriented towards the lowlands and as the forest gradually dispersed, the force of the spirit world also waned. In their stead, the Buhid see the increasing force of the "New Order", providing a new model for social and economic organizations and the surplus that used to be applied to their ceremonial fund has been largely directed to the *Gobyerno,* through its agents, in the form of "tax."[16]

It is important to observe, however, that the Buhid appear to continue interpreting transition from *ugali-magurang* to *bagong batas* within the meaning complex of the former. This may be seen in the annual tax-paying event held in Batangan for the residents of the barrio and the surrounding settlements of Tauga, Matanos and Siange. The annual taxpaying now takes the form of *pista* (fiesta) and a grand market day. It is marked by the annual visit of town officials and tax collectors who are feasted with pigs, chicken and rice, contributed by the Buhid. Significantly, these are the same ritual food offered to the *afu-daga* to ensure their continued well-being.

[16] Interview with the Municipal officials including the town mayor has not quite cleared the official category of this tax levied on the Buhid. Receipts issued bear payment for "Real Estate Property Tax", which strictly speaking, does not apply to the Buhid because their cultivations officially fall in the government "forest reserve land". However, since the Buhid are desirous of having the legal title of ownership for their lands, the tax payment for "improvements they have made on their landholding" is, according to the town officials, "a good way of proving continued use of land for ten years," a requirement before one can apply for a land title on homesteads or forest lands.

From the perspective of their tradition, therefore, the Buhid seem to interpret the annual tax-paying event as another form of ritual where they pay tribute to a greater *afu* as represented by the Gobyerno, interceding for its positive action on their lives. For the Buhid, the need to pay their annual tribute in the form of tax money, is necessary to insure their continued hold on their land and to maintain the protection of the Gobyerno through its agents, the town officials.

Aside from spouse-snatching and divorce, land became a source of frequent disputes, partly as a result of the increasing pressure on it by the growing population of both the Buhid and the Loktanon and of the recent trend to regard the land as being under private control. A most frequent context in which land becomes an object of dispute, is when it is to be divided among the offspring of the Buhid who adopted the Loktanon practise of private landholding. In solving dispute, the Buhid have also adapted their custom of *imbuklid-natay*. The rule of inheritance sanctioned in the rite of *imbuklid-natay,* prescribes that the person who carries the dead kin to the grave and who ministered to all the needs of the dying kin by his bed, inherits all his *sangkap* (traditionally comprising his magical stones, bolo, clothing and plants). Because of the increasing importance of land, *sangkap* now includes the land, which thus becomes the object of inheritance on the occasion of *imbuklid-natay*. During this ritual, it is also customary for the dying Buhid to name the person who would carry them to their grave in exactly the same manner as they would carry their *buyugan* (swidden basket) full of daily subsistence from their *iyab*. Often the person so named is the closest kin, either the surviving wife or husband, a favorite child, brother or sister. The naming is often based on who, among the kindred, has most faithfully attended to the dying relative and came to his aid in his lifetime. This death mandate, however, is not readily accepted, as the Buhid fear the *labang* which have caused the death of their kin, may transfer to the living. The Buhid also believe the *falad* (soul) of their kin return and take their living survivor with them. Thus, only a devoted and closely attached in would have sufficient courage about carrying the dead. In the event that the land or other valuable properties of the dead is to be shared with an equally solicitous kin, the latter voluntarily joins the officially designated to carry the dead. Such a kinsman also joins the vigil on the dying and does not withdraw from physical contact with dying, before and after the event of death. The individuals thus inheriting the deceased's land and other properties, are considered "polluted" and undergo a ten-day *igli* (taboo) and prohibited from having any form of physical contact with others.

The following case illustrates the practice of *imbuklid-natay* which has become a major ritual requirement for a Buhid heir (or heirs) to the deceased's property including land:

The end came slowly for Ighay. Death for him was a gradual, but steady conquest of the *labang-baboy* (pig-spirit). This dread disease known to the outside world as TB has claimed many other Buhid lives. Ighay's own parents, brothers, niece and first wife all died from being stricken with virulent *labang-baboy*.

As his death seemed imminent, only two persons constantly remained by his side and ministering directly to his needs—his daughter Min-ay and wife of his later years, Hayuman. His two surviving brothers, An-iw and Tanay, maintained some distance though they were constantly at watch, along with their wives and other close kin. The frequent cry of *sabawon niyog* (coconut water) by the dying, was immediately heeded by those around, but the native drinking vessel was never given to him directly. All things handed to Ighay were passed to Min-ay and his wife, who never left his side. Except for these two women, all the others gathered in the small hut but avoided any form of physical contact with the dying man. Noticing this, I asked the Buhid woman seated beside me why they feared physical contact with the dying man. She pointed out that they feared the *labang-baboy* transferring to them, especially at his point of death.

Long before the worsening of Ighay's *labang-baboy,* a *tultulan* (formal talks) was held to determine who would be carrying him for his burial. Tanay, one of his two surviving brothers, who to my yet unenlightened mind, appeared to be the likeliest candidate because of his strong constitution, refused to volunteer. A relative close by, explained to me that Tanay already has two parcels of land, so no one thinks him qualified to be carrying Ighay. She pointed out that An-iw is a more likely candidate because he has many children and a small land. Though An-iw himself has a bad knee, he indicated strong willingness and had in fact been made by Ighay to carry him to his grave. However, Min-ay protested this arrangement and in An-iw's stead, pesented herself and possibly her husband's Altang, to carry Ighay. All through the talks though, she has been convincing her husband to assist her in carrying her father, Altang however, remained reticent about Min-ay's request. When Ighay appeared to be nearing his end, Min-ay broke into tears and plead once more that her husband help *imbuklid* her father. It is at this point, that the other relatives of Ighay gathered around the hearth, started voicing their opinion. A common opinion was, if Min-ay is insisting to assume the burden of carrying her father to his grave, then she alone must carry him and not break their *ugali* (customs). If she is unable to do this alone, then Ighay's first preference, An-iw, must perforce *imbuklid* him.

The final decision on this issue became known to me the following day, when I saw Min-ay *imbuklid* Ighay's corpse. The body was wrapped well inside a mat, tied up with rattan and slung over Min-ay's forehead and supported with her arms at the back. Though surrounded by strong men, including her husband, no one dared assist her.

The Buhid Evangelicals

Among the Buhid, who have been converted to evangelical Christianity, the ritual of *imbuklid-nataу* is no longer important and from among one's *faduwasay-sas-fon* ("brother in the Lord") are readily recruited volunteers to help carry the dead, even without the traditional share of the inheritance

from carrying the dead. Among the evangelical Buhid therefore, conflicts in land inheritance tend to center around the issue of equality of division among the surviving kin rather than around the issue of carrying the dead. The new-land based conflicts which face the evangelical Buhid may be seen in the following case study:

> Daganay has three children from his two marriages—a daughter by his first marriage, Iba and two sons by his second marriage. While married to his second wife, Gaymay, Daganay acted as *Tahinan,* a kind of a leader to Gaymay's younger brothers and deceased sister's son. While he was thus acting as head of the kindred group in Madling, the Commission on National Integration initiated a survey of the Buhid swidden fields and clearing, which eventually resulted to the adoption of private landholdings in the area. Daganay, originally from *luad* (downstream) Batangan, had only small clearing in Madling. However, as his wife was one of the traditional residents in Madling, there was more than enough land to declare as their holding. Neither quite comprehending the meaning of land declaration nor anticipating divorce with Daganay, Gaymay did not object to the idea of putting almost all her father's clearing and traditional swidden site of some 20 hectares (including secondary and primary forest areas), under Daganay's name. However, when Daganay met an accident which permanently injured his knees and diminished his physical capacity to work in their field, Gaymay lost heart and decided to return to her first husband who, about the same, has just been left by his wife. Daganay, now a permanent resident of Batangan and a *tahinan* (elder) of the *Iglesiya* (congregation) refused to turn over the land, for which he has been paying tax, to Gaymay unless she returns to him. He further reasoned that the original clearing of Gaymay's father has been expanded and planted to permanent plants by him. Gaymay on the other hand, did not bother to press her claim to the land any further as she knew that the declared land under Daganay's name will eventually pass to their two sons, Yahan and Yaba.
>
> After his children have all been married and have children of their own, Daganay burdened by the annual tax for his land-holding, decided to divide the land among his children. The division of his declared land, as he initially determined it in a *hampangan* (a talk witnessed by others) with his children, was 3 hectares for Iba, his daughter by his first wife, 7 hectares for Yahan, 7 hectares for Yaba, his two sons by Gaymay, 3 hectares for himself. No question was raised by his own children and the matter would have been closed, except for Gaymay's strong objection when she heard that Iba was included in the division of land. Her younger brother, Taras, and deceased sister's son, Gungon, also raised objections against the sharing of land with Iba, claiming that Daganay, having been divorced from Gaymay, no longer have a legitimate hold on their *kaiban's* clearings which was *insakup* (or contained) in his land declaration. Instigated by his mother, Yahan made it known among their *garakbangan* (neighbors) and *gufudan* in the iglesiya that Daganay's remaining 3 hectares will be his property upon his father's death. He also claimed a major portion of the land bequeathed to Iba leaving her only with 1½ hectares.

Recognizing the legitimacy of the claim of Gaymay's kindred, Daganay did not oppose Yahan's move. Iba was greatly displeased with the turn of events. Knowing that she has a little chance of success in her claim for a larger inheritance from her father, as the public opinion among the evangelical Buhid side was heavily for Gaymay's kindred, Iba turned to Yaom for intervention in her dispute with Yahan.

A *tultulan* was soon held, attended by the *konsehales,* Iba's *kaiban,* Gaymay's *kaiban,* the leaders from the believers side and other interested barrio folks. In this tultulan, Yaom acted as Iba's *fangayat* to advocate, while Hagan, an elder of the Iglesiya spoke for Yahan's position. Each side took time to explain the legitimacy of their claims. Iba made strong her demand for a larger portion of Daganay's land on the ground that her father originally meant to give her a share of the land which he developed and in which he planted tree crops. Yaom backed Iba by pointing out that as Daganay's own child, she has a right for an equitable share of his fields. Yahan countered that Iba's present share of 1½ hectares is good enough as he has, apart from the price of land which came from Daganay, her own *mana* (inheritance) from her mother. After such a series of exchange of arguments and counter arguments the matter was finally resolved with the compromise move suggested by Yaom and agreed upon by Hagan, the church elder, which enjoined Yahan to add about 400 sq. meters more of land to Iba's *mana,* making up her total land claimed from Daganay to 2½ hectares.

From all the cases discussed above, it is clear that the Buhid live in two systems of social control: *ugali-magurang* and the *bagong batas.* This dual frame of reference apears to be subject to situational manipulation by those who are in the position of authority, and who take part in the decision-making processes, viz., the "mayor" and the *konsehales.* Take for instance, the case of the *fangabaya.* In traditional cases of divorce or wife-snatching for example, the "mayor" and other *konsehales* acting as *fangayatan* would demand the *fangabaya* (the traditional settlement gift) as a form of pledge, a constraint to keep the guilty person from repeating the same offense. However, in cases which deal with non-traditional offense, such as consistent failure to attend barangay meetings, the *fangabaya* is passed on a *multa* (penalty). However, it is interpreted, the Buhid who feature in dispute, stand to lose because mediating in their behalf need to be compensated for their service out of their stock of their surplus holding.

Secondly, with the intrusion of *bagong batas* into Buhid life, the traditional role of *fangayatan* (i.e., of advocacy and mediation) has increasingly been dominated by the "mayor" and the members of his local council. On the basis of the sanction represented in the "New Land", the local Buhid leaders have effectively established the "validity" of their judicial and arbitration roles not only among their Buhid constituents, but also among the Loktanon migrants in the vicinity of Batangan barrio. In particular, the Buhid "mayor" has not only successfully consolidated his role as *fangayatan*

but also his strategic function as the interpreter of the workings of the *Gobyerno* and the "New Law." In every respect, the institution of the *bagong batas* or the "New Law" has legitimated the Buhid "mayor" strategic role as a mediator between the Buhid on the one hand, and Loktanon on the other, including town officials and enterpreneurs.

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METAPHOR AS SOCIAL REFLECTION
An Essay on the Poetics of Federico Licsi Espino Jr.

EDGAR B. MARANAN

Kislap ng talinghagang
Hiniram sa bituin,
Patay na ang makata'y
Kumukutitap pa rin.
(The glow of a metaphor
Borrowed from a star,
Shall sparkle on, and on,
Long after the poet's gone.)
— F. LICSI ESPINO, JR.

Poetry is beautiful and eternal,
like the ears of corn and the stars.
It is created for living
and serves people.
Man says: I'm fine!
Poetry answers: I'm with you!
Man groans: I'm in pain!
Poetry responds: I'm with you!
— KAISYN KULIEV

In his introduction to Part One of *The Sociology of Literature,* Alan Swingewood writes:

> For the literary critic, literature is seen as a largely self-enclosed, self-sustaining enterprise. Works of literature must be approached primarily in terms of their own inner structure, imagery, metaphor, rhythm, delineation of character, dynamics of plot, and so on. Only occasionally is the external society allowed to intrude and then merely descriptively, as a necessary background.[1]

Swingewood's literary critic is, without doubt, the redoubtable formalist-textualist-'New Critic' effectively immunized against the contagious agent of social analysis in the arts, since the arts (to include literature), in his perception, must and do exist in a self-contained universe, proceeding from the minds (and hands) of craftsmen and thereafter liberated from them, not being social products reflective of the entire creative process involving both internal mind and external reality (human society), but

[1] Diana Laurenson and Alan Swingewood, THE SOCIOLOGY OF LITERATURE, London: Paladin Books, 1972, p. 11.

'creations' of the artistic 'imagination' expressive initially of the individual artist's *mood*, assuming a separate, independent, 'value-free' existence. At the very least, Swingewood's literary critic will never subscribe to the social-history approach of an Arnold Hauser, or the dialectical historical-materialist approach of a Christopher Caudwell, to art and literature in general, to poetry in particular.

He will not construe a poetic metaphor in terms of *social reflection* — not the conventional sense of 'holding up to a mirror', but the purposive, deliberate handling of word-images in the *active contemplation* of nature and society, in the process evoking correspondences with social, natural, political and economic phenomena existing in the world external to the 'poetic mind' — since a metaphor, as far as this critic is concerned, is nothing but a finely wrought, fine-tuned, well-crafted abstraction designed to bring out the immanent beauty of language: metaphor is the Word Incarnate.

> The New Critics rediscovered in the wake of *l'art pour l'art* and modernist formalism that works of art are discreet, autonomous, self-referential, radically implicit artifacts without relation to any reality except perhaps our aesthetic sensibilities.[2]

On the other hand, literary critics with a worldview (indeed, the basis for the difference is systemic, systematic, and total) diametrically opposed to the linguistic mystification and disembodiment of literature implicit in the formalist approach have been waging constant battle for their views to be heard.

In discussing the Tagalog poetics of Federico Licsi Espino Jr., especially the poems of the last ten years, a formalist analysis will simply fail to explain—as by necessity it fails to explain totalities of the human experience in *any* art form—the constellation of images and the wealth of symbolisms corresponding to identifiable historical and political events in recent Philippine history. The explication of social meaning (not merely *meaning*) is not, of course, the province nor proper task of formalism. But in seeking to explain the poem's form, the approach practically explains nothing. The social historian of art and the dialectical literary critic then cannot accommodate either the premises or the conclusions of such a method of criticism.Such method may succeed in dissecting the nuances of rhyme and meter in Licsi Espino, explain the linguistic significations of the poet's well-known wordplay, but it is likely to ignore the component philosophies in his political satire, fail to explain the social and historical referents of a metaphor or metaphor-cluster, and will certainly be at a loss to explain why the poet often resorts to ancient Tagalog poem- forms for his contem-

[2] Norman Pudich, editor, WEAPONS OF CRITICISM: MARXISM IN AMERICA AND THE LITERARY TRADITION, Palo Alto: Ramparts Press, 1976, p. 17.

porary themes. Thus, formalism explains the poem's form, and explains practically nothing else.

At his most lyrical, the formalist (speaking as a true-blooded belletrist) might be moved to state, 'a poem is a poem is a poem'.

What, indeed, is a poem?

A poem is a concrete act. It is concretized by a poet. But where does a poem originate? What is its ultimate source? To answer these is to answer the question, 'what is a poem'. To say that a poem proceeds from the mind (or 'soul') of the poet both begs the question and leads to yet another question: where does the poet 'get' the poem? Of what 'raw material' is it made? A process is proposed: a poem is formed out of the thoughts, impressions, dreams, visions, feelings proceeding from (the human brain of) the poet subjected to external stimulation acting on his subjective intimate psyche: the external factor may be a personal encounter or interaction with another human being, an experience involving a natural phenomenon or a social event, in fact *any* happenstance (even 'imagined' ones!) that takes place in nature and in society. A poem always has an objective referent in external reality. Even the most 'abstract' concepts do not escape the social nexus: freedom, love, joy, truth, beauty, are meaningless outside of the human, social and natural environment. A poem is a concrete and conscious act. It is the poet's active reflection *on* and reaction to his time and his historical place, to his human situation which is inseparable from the larger Human Condition. There is of course no human condition outside of society. Thus no poet goes beyond the parameter of social existence when he writes. His being is always social being. In writing 'for himself', he merely performs the act of self-alienation, but remains a part of society, and in being read by others, or allowing himself to be read, he relates vitally to others. The purpose of a poem is to communicate—an idea, an emotion, a message, an inspiration, a thought, a question, an answer, a search, a discovery, being or becoming. It does so by using *language*. (Even Xoce Garcia Villa's purely punctuation poetry is using language, the metaphysical language of social alienation.)

The early genius of a Christopher Caudwell had put the matter pithily:

> Poetry is written in language . . . language is a social product, the instrument whereby men communicate and persuade each other; thus the study of poetry's sources cannot be separated from the study of society.[3]

The sociological approach as an analytical-critical method of clarifying the sources of poetry—as well as those of the other arts—is primarily

[3] Christopher Caudwell, ILLUSION AND REALITY, New York: International Publishers, 1973, p. 13. Cf. Raymond Williams: "Literature is the process and the result of formal composition within the social and formal properties of a language." In his MARXISM AND LITERATURE, Oxford University Press, 1977, p. 46.

concerned with the unity of form and content, source and function, the individual writer and the rest of society. All other approaches (which does not consider the external world of the artist) would appear fragmented, illusory even. A phenomenon is not sufficiently explained by one of its mere manifestations but by its roots in reality which is the external world, the source of all manifestations (the archetypal, the psychological, the mythological, the formal, etc.), the matrix of all life, art or non-art.

> In the realm of literary criticism, the sociological approach necessarily juxtaposes the individual work of art with some vaster form of social reality which is seen in one way or another as its source of ontological ground, its Gestalt field, and of which the work itself comes to be thought of as a reflection on a *symptom,* a characteristic *manifestation* or a simple byproduct, a coming to consciousness or an imaginary or symbolic *resolution,* to mention only a few of the ways in which this problematic central relationship has been conceived.[4]

To write a poem is to express oneself in the language of metaphor. (All expressions, indeed, use a *language,* the inescapable, the crucial vehicle of all human thought, of which poetry is but a part, a manifestation.) *Metaphor as social reflection*: the phrase attempts to overcome the formalist barrier by actively involving the external element, underscoring its importance as both the cause of the psyche's reflection as well as its intended final audience. Thus, poetry is mind and society producing a metaphor that reveals or explains something of both. Reflection here is, of course, understood in the sense of intellection or contemplation, rather than the conventional notion of a "mirror device".

> The conception of the mirror . . . must be treated with great care in the sociological analysis of literature. Above all else, of course, it ignores the writer himself, his awareness and his intention.[5]

The theory of reflection has been one of literature's problematics. The criticism of it takes to task the passivity that it implies, the mechanistic picture of presenting to society a mirror image of itself, an idea that even in the most 'representationalist' visual art may not be valid since the process of transferring an idea, an object, and occurrence existing in historical time upon a canvass necessitates the mediation of the artistic philosophy, temper, medium, technique, etc.; in short, the visual arts are nothing if *only* visual: there is an interpretation always involved. It is posited that the act of mediation and interpretation is even more pronounced, more intense, more

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[4] Frederic Jameson, MARXISM AND FORM, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1971, p. 5. Underscoring in the original.

[5] Laurenson and Swingewood, *op. cit.*, p. 15. I was 'actively reflecting' on the possibilities of 'refraction' as an alternative: the artist/writer as a prism who absorbs totalities of 'personal' and social experience, to break them down into a spectrum of impressions and interpretations.

complex, in the creative process of writing literature. Much can be settled, therefore, if we finally and once and for all begin to set aside the mechanistic construal of 'reflection' and instead use it in the sense of 'active contemplation' of society and nature.

> (Art is) seeing the world as sets of changing possibilities; it is a reflection *on*, not *of* nature—including human nature as it is developing within society.[6]

Licsi Espino's Poetics: Sources, Setting, Effects

The importance of Licsi Espino's poetry lies in the fact that not only is it a rich lode of visual lyrical metaphors about a society, a milieu, in agitated and often violent flux, not only does it make statements about the human condition in a forthright historical context, but it also stands out as a self-evident negation of 'apolitical' literature in this country. (But since we insist on a sociological reading of all literature as a 'social product', 'apolitical' turns out to be a virtually meaningless term, to be understood only in the sense of 'withdrawn', 'unconcerned', 'aloof', 'alienated' attitudes or worldviews that may convey an 'absence' of 'political consciousness' or 'conscious politics', but are in fact every bit as touched with politics as those views expressed in a Licsi Espino poem on peasant revolts or a beggar under the Quiapo Bridge.)

One of the most versatile poets in the country today who writes in Tagalog and English, Spanish as well as in other Philippine languages, Licsi Espino defies strict classification. A periodization of his poetry would show that beneath the overall mantle of 'modernist' appended to his name by literary critics like Almario, he has actually undergone the ascending stages of historical consciousness from an early romanticism and naturalism in theme to passionate engagement with historical-political themes. These include the Katipunan and the 1896 Revolution, the war for independence against American colonialism, the student demonstrations of the sixties and seventies, martial law, the new 'social cancer', Aquino's assassination, etc.

We are concerned with the latter period of Licsi Espino. Here, aesthetics and politics fuse: the poetic imagination is fleshed out with a consciousness of history and a partisan concern with social issues; almost every imagery is an allusion to a political event, or to an ideological point of view that the poet either takes for himself or sees in the welter of events and the movement of people in his time.

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[6] Darko Suvin, "The Mirror and the Dynamo," in Lee Baxandall's RADIQAL PERSPECTIVES IN THE ARTS, Penguin Books, 1972, p. 74.

'Modernist', the omnibus descriptive for a writer who writes in the contemporary period, who does not follow the 'traditional' rules found in the old vernacular literatures, who writes about the alienation of his 'modern self', who experiments with form (and sometimes with content, as witness the disembodied dadaist poetry or computerese-simulation poetry of word-montages, for instance), applies to Licsi Espino only in the sense that he follows the 'established' norms of free verse, but even this is evident only in his poetry in English. He refuses to do away with rhyme and meter in most of his Tagalog poetry. 'Modernist' was applied to Espino's early poems which featured a startling use of metaphors by which stereotypes about romantic love and genre themes are banished. 'Modernist', however, loses significance in the light of his multi-form poetics, and more important, his political themes and ideological commitment which are expressed in both traditional and modernist techniques.

The poems analyzed in this paper appear in several of his anthologies, namely: *Sa Paanan Ng Parnaso* (1965), *Makabagong Panulaan: Mga Hiyas ng Parnasong Pandaigdig* (1974), *Mga Tulang Apro-Asyatiko* (1975), *Dalitan at Tuksuhan* (1979), *Punlay at Punglo* (1980), *Ritmo ng Lingkaw: Mga Bagong Tulang Premyado at Iba Pa* (1980), and *Ang Panulaan ng Aprika at Timog-Silangang Asya* (1981).[7] Not included in this study are his poems in other languages such as English, Spanish, and Ilocano.

In his foreword to the poet's *Sa Paanan Ng Parnaso,* the Marxist critic E. San Juan Jr. writes:

> One of the outstanding qualities of Espino's Tagalog poetry is a form or structure which embodies an intense experience and a consciousness which find meaning in the force of symbolisms and the dramatic narrative method of the poem.[8]

Perhaps no other early poem of Licsi Espino's can bear witness to this critical judgment than the landmark *Ang Daigdig Ng Sining* (The World of Art) which came out in 1965. According to the poet and critic Mangahas, the poem stood out among its contemporaries on account of its innovative meter and caesura.[9] Coming from a critic who would later distinguish himself for poems on political activism and for literary criticism with a pronounced orientation towards Marxist aesthetics, this formalist

[7] At the Feet of Parnassus, Modern Poems: Gems from the World's Parnassus, Afro-Asian Poems, Songs and Teasings, Seed and Bullet, Rhythm of the Scythe: New Prize-winning Poems and others, African and Southeast Asian Poetry. All translations into English were done by the author of this essay.

[8] Federico Licsi Espino Jr., SA PAANAN NG PARNASO, Quezon City, Journal Press, 1965, p. 3.

[9] Rogelio G. Mangahas, MANLILIKHA: MGA PILING TULA, 1961-1967, Manila: Pioneer Printing Press, 1967, p. 41.

observation on Licsi Espino's poem was, to say the least, interesting: even the most erudite formalism could not have possibly done justice to *Ang Daigdig Ng Sining* because the "innovation" (which was not really a striking or radical departure from traditional Tagalog prosody) of meter and caesura actually paled beside the revolutionary (in the sense of new) *sensibility* of the poem which couches metaphors in philosophical irony. Here is the poem:

ANG DAIGDIG NG SINING

Ang daigdig ng sining
Ay bayan ng San Roque na puspos ng hiwaga —
Doo'y nakakikita
Ang bulag at pusikit na isip at haraya.
Ang daigdig ng sining
Ay bayan ng San Roque na puno ng misteryo —
Doo'y nakaririnig
Ang binging guniguni ng awit ng salteryo.
Ang daigdig ng sining
Ay bayan ng San Roqueng lipos-kababalaghan —
Ang pilantod na diwa
Doo'y nakaiindak, doo'y nakasasayaw.
Ang daigdig ng sining
Ay bayan ng San Roque na batbat ng himala —
Ang piping kaluluwa
Doo'y nakaaawit, doo'y nakatutula.[10]

THE WORLD OF ART

The world of art
Is San Roque, steeped in wonders —
There, the blind, dark
Mind and imagination see.
The world of art
Is San Roque, full of mystery —
There, the deaf phantasm
Hears the music of the psaltery.
The world of art
Is San Roque, filled with riddle —
There, the hobbled muse
Can dance and wiggle.
The world of art
Is San Roque, awash with miracles —
There, the mute spirit
Can sing, can write a poem.

In Philippine folklore, the mythical and apocryphal town of San Roque is preserved in song. Seemingly a nonsensical song, it turns out upon closer analysis to be a social archetype of the absurd, the surreal, the unnatural:

[10] In Virgilio Almario's WALONG DEKADA NG MAKABAGONG TULANG PILIPINO, Manila: Peco, Inc., 1981, p. 251.

DOON PO SA AMIN

Doon po sa amin, bayan ng San Roque
May nagkatuwaan, apat na pulubi.
Nagsayaw ang pilay, nakinig ang bingi.
Nanood ang bulag, umawit ang pipi.

IN THE TOWN WHERE WE LIVE

In the town where we live, named San Roque,
Four beggars decided to have fun one day,
The cripple danced, the deaf listened,
The blind man watched, the mute one sang.

The very structure of the song has been a model for many a 'take-off'—variation-on-a-theme—in song and poetry, the latter especially, both in a funny and mock-serious vein. The most recent, and arguably one of the most successful adaptations of them all, is a poem by Teo Antonio also titled *Doon Po Sa Amin,* which tells about a town named Panique where

Ang pulis ay pilay, ang meyor ay pipi,
Gobernador ay bulag, and hukom ay bingi.[11]

The policeman's crippled, the mayor's mute,
The governor's blind, and the judge is deaf.

San Roque, as far as poets like Antonio are concerned, becomes a social metaphor. In the real world, it is a political phenomenon. In a third world society like the Philippines, San Roque (Paniquesque) politics is not at all uncommon. Thus in Antonio's poetry, the politics of the perverse is converted into the picaresque. On the whole, however, San Roque as social metaphor may be open to at least three levels of interpretation. One is as pure and simple folk nonsense rhyme, involving the conversion of the commonplace into an absurdity, or the juxtaposition of the natural and unnatural, the familiar and the unexpected, the bizarre and the comic, with transcendental humor as its chief purpose.[12] Thus the four disabled types may represent no actual social archetypes at all, but are mere distortions of reality designed to elicit laughter (unfortunately at the expense of society's disabled), perhaps in times past to spice up traditional folk gatherings. The second interpretation delves into the meaning of the conversion and juxtaposition: why let the cripple dance, the blind watch, the deaf hear, the mute sing? A liberation-of-the-spirit of the 'damned' is suggested here, an affirmation of the capacity of the 'diminished human being', the underprivileged, the physically incapacitated, to transcend his

[11] Teo Antonio, BIRO-BIRO KUNG SANLAN, Manila: Tagak Series, 1982, p. 17.

[12] In Philippine literary history, (*vide* Maramba and Lumbera), there is ample mention of various song types applicable to different social functions and purposes: lullabyes, harvest songs, drinking songs, even songs for the street blind. *Doon Po Sa Amin* may be a descendant, a variant.

limits and find fulfillment in being able to "will' himself to do what is normally impossible for him to do. But this, while being the positive interpretation of the folk song, is self-defeating idealism and perpetuates the *illusive* quality of idealism and idealist art. This, in fact, may be an inaccurate interpretation in the context of *Doon Po Sa Amin,* going against the folk ethos surrounding the very invention of San Roque. The third interpretation may be closer to the actual context in which the San Roque archetype (and the song itself has become a prototype) has been understood. 'Things are not always what they seem'. It is as social criticism—light-hearted originally, it seems—that the San Roque phenomenon has been understood by writers. Another variation worth mentioning here is an early play, a 'dark comedy', by novelist Ninotchka Rosca entitled *Komedya Sa San Roque,* where the extreme dimensions of society's moral infirmities are explored. San Roque becomes a generic concept, a negative paradigm, an identification tag, and while in Rosca's play, social psychosis (a complicated mesh of individual dementia and bureaucratic evil) takes the place of the most negative connotation of San Roque's four disabled, the absurd characters of Rosca's play, near demonic in their absurdity, underscore the perceived perverse aspects of a 'blind, crippled, deaf and mute' human order where injustice reigns. (Again, how do we explain to society's handicapped that we mean no injustice by this social metaphor?)

Now to Licsi Espino's *Ang Daigdig Ng Sining.* The just interpretation of the poem seems to lie between the second and third levels discussed above. This is so because the poem has fallen into the trap of the San Roque archetype (or rather, the song prototype): ambiguity.

If we apply the second interpretation to the poem, then we mean that the poet intends to use San Roque unconventionally (against, that is, what is recognizable and identifiable in literary or folk symbology), and proffers it as an alternative society, where the trammeled imagination (but trammeled by what? Censorship? Inhospitable milieu?) can give itself free rein. In other words, the world of art is a condition of freedom for self-expression: it does not matter if the artist, any artist at all, is 'political' or 'apolitical'.

If the third, then we mean that the poet wishes to say that the world of art is the world of illusion, the abode of escape (or Escapism, the more *formal/academic* denunciation of *belletrists/beauxartists* by the politicals) where the *mind/imagination/imagery-creating faculty/spirit/will* can distort reality at will, and the inescapable conclusion is that the poet denounces the world of art as a veritable San Roque of the Absurd, the Irrational, the Irrelevant, and the Anti-Social.

The ambiguity is mainly traceable to the unparallel construction of metaphors. At least one does not belong to this group:

'bulag at pusikit na isip at haraya';
'binging guniguni'; 'pilantod na diwa';
'piping kaluluwa'.
('blind, dark mind and imagination';
'deaf phantasm'; 'hobbled muse';
'mute spirit'.

What does not belong is the fourth construction. The first three do not seem to be inspirational attributes. But the fourth elicits sympathy. It is the Right Stuff, so to speak, of which are made all handicapped men who would rise above themselves and prevail against the odds. The first three archetypes appear to be indulging themselves in the world of illusion; but the fourth affirms the victory of the artistic spirit. Yes, a formalist analysis would have some limited success here, were one to concentrate on the metaphorical constructions. But Licsi Espino's *Ang Daigdig Ng Sining* cannot be taken away from the cultural ethnology, the folk ethos underpinning the very idea of a *San Roque.* In contrast with this poem, the San Roque of Rosca and the Panique (a San Roque clone) of Antonio are more traditional, predictable social metaphors.

(In the light of the foregoing discussion, would Formalism still maintain that the main contribution of *Ang Daigdig Ng Sining* to Philippine poetics was a new meter and caesura?)

The political events of the second half of the decade of the 1960s marked a turning point in the poetics of Licsi Espino. While undoubtedly, the virtuoso (indeed, the virtuous) use of poetic language remained, and continues to be the textual manifestation of the poet's craft, it is his reactions to the social unheaval of his times which redefined the political conciousness of the country's intellectuals, artists, together with a considerable part of the urban and rural masses, that injected a more pronounced political philosophy into the poetry of Licsi Espino. The historical context seeped into the poetic consciousness, and his art was further transformed. But before this happened, the metaphorical language as the vehicle of the poetic imagination was the dominant motif in Licsi Espino's poems, even in those poems which were already projecting a distinct social, historical voice. His contemporary, E. San Juan Jr., would describe his poetics at this particular stage thus:

> Each poem is a field of contention, an arena witnessing the drama of Being-Man, which is the mark of humanity. Achieving a consciousness of depth and scope first requires undergoing a crisis, whose resolution is the successful, finished poem. *Ekstasis* precedes Being-Man. Espino's poetry is outstanding and, to my mind, the poet is at the forefront among the modern poets who are loyal to the judicious handling of poetic language.[13]

[13] "The Drama of Being-Man in the Tagalog Poems of Federico Licsi Espino, Jr.", E. San Juan Jr.'s preface to FLE's *Sa Paanan ng Parnaso.*

The emphasis of the critic is obviously not the social-historical input into the poem but Espino's linguistic craft (thus hews closer to a formalist commentary), but considering that Tagalog poetry was, in the early 1960s, just emerging out of tradition's womb (or cocoon) — during which Alejandro G. Abadilla was the standard bearer for the Tagalog 'modernists' — it would take another leap of consciousness (after the first, which was the revolt of the moderns in form and langauge, *not yet in social content*), for the Filipino poet to arrive at the present stage of poetics, which is Licsi Espino's present situation: the unity of form and content, the aesthetics of social poetry in the concentric context of Filipino-Asian-Third World literature.

At his best, Licsi Espino weds lyricism with a profound awareness of the social dimension, and the effect is a prosody that rises, soars above both didacticism and emotionalism. In the poem *Pahimakas* (Farewell) the poet's technique of run-on metaphorical construction would have possibly gone awry as breakneck adumbration of images in the hands of a less skillful verse-maker. The 'clustering' which seems to be the literary signature of the poet is very evident here, the entire poem-idea centering on the 'chaste principle' mentioned in line 6:

PAHIMAKAS

Kung ang tambol sa dibdib ko ay mahinto na ang ragay
Sa kalabit sa gatilyong di isa at maramihan,
Habang ang paglalandasa'y isang pasilyong luntian
Ng amihang kung sumimoy ay banayad sa tag-araw,
Huwag sanang lilimutin at hayaan mong magnawnaw
Ang malinis na prinsipyong inihasik ko sa linang
ng isipan mong dinilig ng lirit na kalungkutang
Hindi pansariling lungkot na animo'y patak lamang
Sa lumalalim na ilog na lalampas din sa pampang.[14]

FAREWELL

Should the drum cease to beat in my breast
When the triggers, unsolitary, are pressed
While the breeze courses through the greenest
Pavilions, gently wafting in a season of heat,
May you not forget, may you let grow and yield
The chaste principle I sowed in the field
Of your mind touched by raindrops of sorrow
That is never alone, never a lone drop of woe
In the deepening river that shall its banks overflow.

The power of this short poem derives from the dialectical interplay of interior (the poetic reflection, the poet interiorizing memory, effective images, political philosophy) and the exterior (reference to social forces,

[14] Federico Licsi Espino, Jr., PUNLAY AT PUNGLO, Manila: Palimbagang Araro, 1981, p. 3.

literary symbology for the 'historical tide'), and here we come closest to *metaphor as social reflection*: the use of lyrical imagery to serve as the vehicle for an otherwise tract-like perception of the dialectical process in society—the negation of individual solitude by its commonality among a society of individuals, that is to say, the poet's acknowledgment of the collective experience (or the collective social being) giving rise to collective social consciousness. Lyricism—poetic musicality—becomes necessary in a poem to smooth out the 'hard edge' of the language of political and historical perception. History, at any rate, is the proper, and indeed the most significant, material for poetry but is refashioned in its manner of being retold, or illumined.

This poem which opens the anthology *Punlay at Punglo,* in spirit the book's virtual epigraph, makes a statement about the relationship between Self and Society. It in fact practically negates all that has been mystically forwarded both in Art—'the autonomy of the individual spirit'—as well as in History—the theory of the 'Hero'—while at the same time the dialectics between the individual self and social phenomena *flows* (not merely is explained) in the poem. Consider the separate ideas in this single metaphor-cluster which is Licsi Espino's *Pahimakas.* The first says something about individual fear being overcome (or 'silenced') by the pressing of unsolitary triggers (referring to either the mass movement or the armed struggle or both). The second, seemingly sounding 'apolitical' mentions the breeze wafting, in a season of heat, through the green pavilions (rice-fields in full bloom, the lush countryside which, together with *field* three lines later gives evidence of the rural—but certainly not pastoral![15]—setting of the poet's deceptively quiet scenario for revolution) and which, therefore, in the context of preceding and following images, turns out to be 'unapolitical', after all. Then the pivotal sixth line, the third image: *the chaste principle I sowed.* This contains three elements:

a. the political/social/ideological element, 'chaste principle'
b. the motive subjective consciousness of the persona, 'I'
c. the operative metaphorical act that describes the historical action and symbolical setting, 'sowed'

In this particular line, the poet expresses full self-consciousness of his historical act (he even sounds here as if he were himself a proselytizer of men and causes, and the vocative or person being addressed is the other subjective element in the process). Hence, the persona actually talks of two consciousnesses transcending individual solitude and finding fulfillment

[15] cf. Licsi Espino's poetry on peasants and Rio Alma's neo-pastoral poetry. In the former, the social tension is present, testimony to unresolved historical issues in the Philippine setting. In the latter, sheer lyricism, with touches even of eroticism, harks back to a romantic past or dwells on a quietistic, pastoral paradigm.

in merging with the 'larger solitude' of the multitude.[16] The poem thus unfolds outwards, rather than inwards, and triumphs over sheer inscaping, interiorizing, introspectiveness. Out of the psyche flows the reflective stream, the contemplation of history and human life and one's role in it, then the flow joins—but only as a projection of one's subjective commitment (the ultimate limitation of even the most politicized poem that can only *contemplate* on historical action)—the tidal waters of a metaphorical river overflowing its banks. Understood in its proper context, this overflow would have either of two interpretations, both in favor of the river or the 'revolutionary high tide': it sweeps away the rotten and the dead, or it fertilizes the land and helps create life anew for man.

Licsi Espino's *tanaga* poems are less successful as lyrical compositions, but their main purpose, after all, is to ignite instantaneous ideas and images. In his *tanagas*—originally an ancient Tagalog poetic quatrain with monoriming heptasyllabic lines—the poet reverts to traditional form and metaphorical insight, but the content of his *tanagas* has transformed the form into something contemporary, revolutionary even, with a thematic treatment that makes it similar to the 'gentler' *tanagas* of pre-Hispanic origins only in terms of structure. The *tanaga* in Licsi Espino's poetics becomes verily a *taga* (literally, a bladestroke), a cutting aphorism or political witticism that is a capsule commentary on the System against which the poet jousts. (Aside from the celebrated *tanaga* series, the poet has also written verse parodies which, in terms of formal structure, too, are indistinguishable from their 19th century antecedents: *Dalitan at Tuksuhan,* a take-off on a patriotic anti-friar parody written during the colonial period, is reminiscent of the literature of that era.)

Bagong Dinsulan is an early example of Licsi Espino's version of the *tanaga.* It may be described as being too 'open', shorn—like many of his *tanagas*—of this poem-form's original lushness and intricacy of metaphor, especially since the quatrain was sometimes two rhyming couplets each with an independent thought, metaphor or aphorism.

ANG BAGONG DINSULAN

Ang panulat ni Karl Marx
Ay may bagong dinsulan
At ito'y yaong puso
Ng ibong-kalayaan

THE NEW INKWELL

Karl Marx's quill
Has a new inkwell
None other but the heart
Of a bird named Freedom.

[16] This theme, of course, is of recent vintage among Latin American writers and their explicators.

The historian of political theory may well be intrigued by the poet's reference to Marx's 'New Inkwell' as a 'bird named Freedom', when the concept of Freedom was certainly not a stranger to the German philosopher. The poet's association is the result of a synchronic slip: he is referring to the new Marxist literature in his own time and society, because in contemporary Philippine political culture, the 'freedom bird' has become a living symbol of political ideals, such as 'decolonization', 'national liberation', 'emancipation', etc.

But Licsi Espino is certainly not one-track-minded about his political symbology. He straddles the old and the new, tradition and revolution, and the inkwells of his art appear to be inexhaustible for the bright reason that he draws from the distant as well as recent past. In his *tanaga* which he titles *Dalawang Sisne* (Two Bards) the poet pays tribute to tradition and change:

Kudyapi ni Balagtas,
Makinilya ni Aga,
May kani-kaniyang tunog
Kayganda sa tainga.

Balagtas' cither,
Aga's typewriter,
Each has a timbre
Both sweet to the ear.

Curiosly, though Balagtas in Philippine literature is a representative of the traditional style, he is only formalistically so: it has been pointed out by critics like Lucila Hosillos that the metrical tale *Florante at Laura* contains an anti-colonial sentiment, or what may be interpreted as a form of proto-nationalism, such that the story is not entirely about the triumph of love, but is also about colonial politics and man's struggle for justice.

On the other hand, Abadilla's "rebellion" was an individualist secession from the conventions of Tagalog prosody and poetic sentimentalism. Another way of putting it would be that Balagtas was traditional in form and content but progressive in orientation (if we are to accept the political symbolism read into *Florante at Laura*), while AGA was radical in form and even content (rejection of sentiment, emphasis on the subjective world-creating Ego), but was 'reactionary' in orientation, since he did not address himself to the social realities of his time. [In contrast, writers like Salvador P. Lopez and A. B. Rotor were critical of the 'uncommitted' Filipino writers of their time, who chose to write about the 'moonlight in Manila Bay' while the peasants, oppressed and hungry, were restive throughout Central Luzon.] But this categorization of AGA may run the

risk of simplism because his rejection of traditional poetics was—the social alienatedness apart—a step towards freeing Tagalog poetry from the strictures closely adhered to by the 'Old Guard' and opening up new possibilities for dynamic expression in the poetic medium.

It may be asked then, in the case of Licsi Espino's *tanaga* poems, which is the decisive attribute, form or content? At first glance, it would seem that the traditional form he uses serves merely as a means for the content which is contemporary aphorism, vision or commentary. But is this really so? What, after all, was the basis for the efficacy of the ancient *tanaga?* As constructed in its ancient form, the *tanaga* was a complex statement, a distillation of folk wisdom captured in snappy, measured and rhyming verses.[17] It may be argued that it is less the form than the content (or 'spirit') of the *tanaga* which Licsi Espino wishes to capture in his version. But—and here is the crucial point—the *tanaga* is nothing if not a strictly structured quatrain, combining the rhyme-meter framework and the pithy philosophy maintained by oral tradition, and thus we conclude that to argue about the primacy of either form, or content, in the ancient (as well as in Licsi Espino's) *tanaga* misses the point: we are talking about a *social form* and a *social content.* Here is perhaps the outstanding exception to the earlier formulation that in the sociological approach to literary analysis—but indeed, the process itself of literary *creation*—form becomes secondary to content. The *tanaga* is only one of numerous ancient art forms in Philippine and world literature which have become a veritable repository of a people's culture. The *tanaga* might as well be a *time capsule.* It contains, in four heptasyllabic lines, the heart and mind of forebears, and this means not only the wisdom, but also the structured musicality. It is interesting to note what Caudwell thought of such verse forms:

> Poetry is one of the earliest aesthetics of the human mind. When it cannot be found existing as a separate product in the early art of a people, it is because it is coincident with literature as a whole; the common vehicle for history, religion, magic, and even law. Where a civilized people's early literature is preserved, it is found to be almost entirely poetical in form—that is to say, rhythmical or metrical.[18]

It would follow from such a formulation, then, that natural predilection for poetics is part of 'racial memory', but if such memory exists, we may assume that it progressively recedes with the passage of time, unless there

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[17] An example: *Ang tubig ma'y malalim / malilirip kung libdin / itong budhing magaling / maliwag paghanapin* (Though the water be deep / one can always fathom it / the really difficult thing / is finding a trusty heart (Tagalog *tanaga* from Bienvenido and Cynthia Lubera's PHILIPPINE LITERATURE: A HISTORY AND ANTHOLOGY, Manila: National Book Store, 1982, p. 9).

[18] Caudwell, *op. cit.,* p. 19.

is a very efficient retrieval and preservation, or unless poets of the new age, like Licsi Espino, decide to revive those poetic forms that presumably form part of that memory, that heritage. How successful is the modern *tanaga* of Licsi Espino? Of late, he has been concentrating on a series of these short poems which are undisguised polemics against present conditions in his country. Here are four examples from "*Sari-saring Karamdaman: Mga Makabagong Tanaga*" (Types of Diseases: Some Modern *Tanagas*):[19]

ISPAT

May ispat daw sa baga
Ang sinisanteng piyon
May ispat sa kalul'wa
Ang nagpatanggal na don.

SPOT

A spot in the lungs, they said
Of the kicked-out laborer;
A spot in the soul, so dead,
Of the filthy rich employer.

KANSER

Buwaya sa katihan
Oo nga't palasimba,
Talamak na ang kanser
Sa budhi't kaluluwa.

CANCER

This land-based crocodile
Is oft, in church, a presence;
But cancer, all the while
Infests his soul and conscience.

SAKIT NG LIPUNAN

Iyang kanser sa dugo,
Hindi nakakahawa,
Ang kanser ng lipunan
Laganap kapagdaka.

SOCIAL DISEASE

Blood's cancer, fortunately,
Has no danger of contagion;
But the cancer of society
Spreads like conflagration.

MIKROBYO

May mikrobyo sa pulmon
Ang obrerong pumanaw
May mikrobyo sa budhi
Ang among di dumamay.

MICROBE

His lungs were microbe-ridden,
This worker who is dead.
His soul is microbe-laden,
This boss with heart of lead.

These poems may be said to have the didactic tone or flavor of folk wisdom. One is reminded of the somber philosophies of English poet Alexander Pope in his *Essay on Man* and *Essay on Criticism*. What Pope did for the English couplet,

> giving (it) its greatest possible finish and brilliancy . . . (to become) a bright and sharp-edged tool, excellent for satire or for turning aphorism. . . .[20]

Licsi Espino may well have done for the ancient Tagalog quatrain. In this particular set of *tanagas,* there are three general characteristics: 1) strict observance of the seven-syllable rule, 2) irregular rhyme patterns

[19] Licsi Espino, PUNLAY AT PUNGLO, p. 11.
[20] Emile Legouis, A SHORT HISTORY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE, Oxford: University Press, 1934, pp. 200-201.

as against the traditional monorime, and 3) the use of metaphor for *political* aphorism. Compared with the almost contemplative nature of the ancient *tanaga's* proverb-complex, Licsi Espino's aphorisms appear here as 'unsubtle', 'open', and 'graphic'. These short poems are works of social analysis (a hazardous term to employ here, as the quatrain can be very limiting). *Ispat* and *Mikrobyo* are trenchant observation on class stratification and economic inequalities. *Sakit ng Lipunan* and *Kanser,* almost synonymous poems, speak more generally about injustice in society without specific reference to social classes, although the latter refers to a popular symbol for (usually) upper-class greed and predatoriness, the crocodile.

An interesting aspect of Licsi Espino's art is his criticism of the atavistic elements of the religious worldview, in particular that of the devotional, prayerbook-and-scapular medieval Catholicism introduced and cultivated by the colonial Spanish-Roman church in the Philippines. The explicit criticism of religious obscurantism in some of his poems is a direct influence of Marcelo H. del Pilar's 19th century polemics against it, especially as manifested in the propagandist's parodies of Spanish 'friarocracy' in colonial Philippines.[21] That the degree of submission to the medieval religious mythology is an index of the general cultural underdevelopment of a people subjected to colonization, seems to be the underlying thesis of Espino's anti-religious poetry.[22] He threads this theme through several centuries of Philippine history, and in the present time, the System's institutional mechanisms and human accomplices have taken the place of the calluous colonial friars. This point is dramatically limned in the poem *"Payo Sa Isang Pasyente Sa Charity Ward"* (Advice to a Charity Ward Patient):

Habang namumukadkad ang mikrobyo
At nagkukulay rosas ang ulser mo sa sikmura,
Bilangin mo na ang patak ng rosaryo
At makipag-usap ka na sa mga anghel,
Pagka't mas malayo ang botika sa kampusanto
At bingi ang mga doktor
Sa tagulaylay ng pagdaralita.
Malaki ang nagagawa ng pananalig
Ngunit huwag mong isipin

Na ang isang "Ama Namin" at isang
"Aba Ginoong Maria"
Ay makagpapatikom sa rosas ng karamdaman
Sa muling pagkabuhay ng araw

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[21] In fact, Licsi Espino's *Dalitan at Tuksuhan* is a modern progeny of del Pilar's satirical *Dasalan at Tuksuhan,* and still harps on the anti-friar theme.

[22] A talk with the poet, reveals, however, that he believes himself a devout Christian. Some of his poems express an intense level of 'non-institutional' religiosity. In fact, Licsi Espino fuses religious thought and political belief in his adherence to 'Christian Socialism'.

Bukas ng umaga.
Makararaan ka sa butas ng karayom,
bakit hindi?
Ngunit huwag mong isipin
Na sa dambuhalang gusaling ito
Na amoy-antiseptiko at amoy-kamatayan
Ay may isang anghel na nakaputi
Na magpapagaling sa iyo.[23]

The poem thus begins with a double irony:

Habang namumukadkad ang mikrobyo
At nagkukulay-rosas ang ulser mo sa sikmura . . .

While the microbes bloom like flowers
And the ulcers turn rosepink in your belly . . .

that reiterates the theme of one of the *tanagas* earlier cited. The succeeding lines employ irony in the most elegiac of tone, depicting the absurdity that brings out in stark relief the relationship between poverty and disease:

Bilangin mo na ang patak ng rosaryo
At makipag-usap ka na sa anghel,
Pagkat mas malayo ang botika sa kampusanto
At bingi ang mga doktor
Sa tagulaylay ng pagdaralita.

Count now the rosary's beadfalls
Time to converse with the angels
For the pharmacy's farther than
the graveyard
And the doctors can lend no ears
To the sad songs of poverty.

The poet begins to give counsel on faith, but aborts it after a line, taking up again the cautionary comment on doctrinaire 'faith':

Malaki ang nagagawa ng pananalig
Ngunit huwag mong isipin
Na ang isang "Ama Namin" at isang
"Aba Ginoong Maria"
Ay makapagpapatikom sa rosas ng karamdaman
Sa muling pagkabuhay ng araw
Bukas ng umaga.

Faith can accomplish much
But do not think
That one "Our Father" and one
"Hail Mary"

[23] Licsi Espino, RITMO NG LINGKAW, Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1978, p. 7.

Can shut close the roseate disease
When the sun rises anew
Tomorrow morning.

Why the aborted counsel on faith? Was it deemed unproductive, thematically and logically? The indecisiveness of the line makes it rather out of place in the poem. It does sound unproductive, thematically and logically, because the whole point of the poem is the inutility of religious faith relying solely on prayer and miracles to reverse the process of social neglect, helplessness of the poor, and inevitable death. Now if the poet had continued on the theme of 'faith', it would have to be constituted as something more efficacious than mumbled faith, no matter how fervently done. At any rate, the handling of these particular lines, apart from the incongruity of the first, is quite remarkable. The metaphor-*cum*-irony is striking: flowers shut at night, open again in the morning, a symbol of hope, of life continuing, among other things. But here is one flower that needs to be shut close when the new day dawns: the roseate disease gnawing away at the patient's innards.

In the final thematic section, the poet repeats the pattern of the preceding section: a rhetorical statement that borders on an optimistic note, but which finds no elaboration, promises no relief for the addressee. There is only the poet's admonition not to put one's faith in one of the System's instrumentalities, and the poet proceeds to convert into one imagery religious and secular symbols in an unrelenting whipsnap at the System:

Makararaan ka sa butas ng karayom,
bakit hindi?
Ngunit huwag mong isipin
Na sa dambuhalang gusaling ito
Na amoy-antiseptiko at amoy-kamatayan
Ay may isang anghel na nakaputi
Na magpapagaling sa iyo.

You can pass through the needle's eye,
why not?
But never think
That in this monstrous building
Antiseptic-reeking, redolent of death,
A white-clad angel
Will cure you at last.

For a Filipino reader, it is rather easy to accept the validity, the genuineness, of the situation being described by the poet. It is recognizable: the charity ward patient in a setting like the Philippines has become almost a social archetype, to be associated with indigence, segregation, classification, stratification, the hospital system, social neglect and 'distance', etc. With

this poem, Licsi Espino gives substance to the proposition that a poem has a definable and definite *social function* of imaginative description and analysis. Much shorter than a tract or even an abstract, the poem *Payo Sa Isang Pasyente Sa Charity Ward* moves us to think and feel, even *educates* us about social processes, and is therefore a social document that happens to be an organic part of Social Reality: it is a *reflection on it* and a *product of it.*

EPILOGUE: Licsi Espino's Poetics and the Social Imagination

Georg Lukacs, in an essay 'The Intellectual Physiognomy of Literary Characters', quotes Heraclitus, the Greek philosopher:

> Those who are awake have a world in common, but every sleeper has a world of his own.[24]

In being an 'artist engagé', in identifying himself as a social partisan in the Philippine class struggle, in writing about the aspirations of the workers, peasants, and activist intellectuals, Licsi Espino practices the aesthetics of the *social imagination*: his artistic introspection becomes a means for concretizing his vision and interpretation of external reality. The groundwork for this thorough reflection on society is prepared through a familiarity with Philippine history, culture, literature, as well as a grasp of political philosophy.

Thus it is that in a Licsi Espino poem, that is, a poem of his dealing with the Human Condition in the context of Philippine history and society, we find the consummation of the creative process as the inseparability of *aesthetic contemplation* and *agonistic commitment*: the poet in Federico Licsi Espino is also a *social warrior*. His allusions to, and his self-identification with, Philippine-Asian-Third World reality, put him in the mainstream of national-liberation literature. Thus it is that a finished Licsi Espino poem is not 'free' of the poet, does not and cannot enjoy an 'independent existence' open to all possible sorts of interpretations, does not float around as a metaphysical product of idle reflection, because it is a people-oriented, socially partisan statement of the poet about his time, place and circumstance, as well as—and this is no less important—his role (or his perception of it) in history.

Federico Licsi Espino's latter period of aesthetic engagement with Philippine reality (artistically interpreted by him and by other writers as a social landscape of surrealistic dehumanization-of-man by exploiting-man) concretizes the relationship between art and man as an interdependence struggling towards the fullest human liberation. This cannot be stated more

[24] Epigraph to his article, in Lee Baxandall, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

beautifully than by Christopher Caudwell in the final two paragraphs of *Illusion and Reality,* in words which must rank among the most lucid and moving ever written by anyone:

> That everything which comes into being must pass away; that all is fleeting, all is moving; that to exist is to be like the fountain and have a shape because it is the texture of reality. Man is drawn to life because it moves from him; he has desires as ancient and punctual as the stars: love has a poignant sweetness and the young life pushes aside the old; these are qualities of being as enduring as man. Man too must pass away.
>
> Therefore the stuff of art endures as long as man. The fountain dwindles away only when men are rent and wasted by a sterile conflict, and the pulsing movement of society is halted. All this movement is creative because it is not a simple oscillation but a development unfolded by its very restlessness. The external simplicities generate the enrichment of art from their own bosoms not only because they are eternal but also because change is the condition of their existence. Thus art is one of the conditions of man's realization of himself, and in its turn is one of the realities of man.

The heroics of Caudwell can only be approximated, then finally equalled, when poets like Federico Licsi Espino, Jr. or his literary progenies shall have attained to that state of social being and consciousness where poetry can be written in a condition of freedom. When, that is, human freedom shall have been more reality than illusion.

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THE PABASA OF SAN LUIS, BATANGAS

LINETTE RIVERA-MIRANO

The *pabasa* (chanting of the passion narrative in Tagalog) is an important religious, social and musical practice in the town of San Luis, Batangas. First, it is a devotional practice associated with the Lenten season. It gives this period of the Christian calendar a uniquely solemn color. Secondly, it is an event that requires the work of a complicated social machine. Each component of this machine must function smoothly in order for the *pabasa* to be carried out successfully. Many of the social relationships that exist in San Luis are, therefore, called into play when a *pabasa* occurs. Finally, the *pabasa* is also a complex form with its own logic and style. The pleasure of both the singer and the listener results from the fulfillment of the formal code of the *pabasa*. It is, therefore, an important means of artistic expression in the town of San Luis, a coastal town in the Southeast portion of Batangas province.

This paper is an attempt to describe the practice of the *pabasa* as it exists today in San Luis with the hope that it will serve as a record of a cultural form that reflect the values of a seriously threatened yet valid way of life.

In writing this paper, the writer has observed and recorded six *pabasa* over a period of five years (1979-1983). Five of the *pabasa* took place in the town proper while the sixth took place in the barrio of Bonliw. The writer has also included various details concerning the town and its people which might be helpful in understanding the setting behind the practice.

The Town

San Luis is a town two and a half hours away from Manila with a population of roughly 13,000. It is a small town, living in the shadow of two bigger neighbors. The only large public structures that exist are the church, a small municipal hall, and the two schools in the area—a public elementary school and a cooperative high school owned and run by the lower middle-class families of the town.

San Luis is closely linked to the two major towns of the area. Culturally and historically, it is a satellite of Taal, to which it once belonged.[1]

[1] San Luis became a separate town only in 1918.

Although Taal is in decline today, the former capital of Batangas is still looked up to as the mother town where the great houses and families of high social standing live. It is also the center of the embroidery and garment export industry which provides the women of San Luis with their source of income.[2]

The town is also bound by economic ties to Lemery, the prosperous market town of the district. Lemery is the trading center for the fishing and livestock industry, again the major source of income for the town's small farmer and fisherman.[3] These towns, aside from sharing the same *pabasa* style with San Luis, provide the bigness that is absent from the small, sleepy town that is San Luis today.

Aside from fishing, farming and embroidery, important sources of income from the *maglalako* (itinerant vendors) of the town who travel as far as Bohol, buying and sell mosquito nets, blankets, jewelry, etc. More recently, many *maglalako* have switched to selling sweepstakes tickets. Numerous homes have been rebuilt on commissions from winning tickets. These occupations are of major importance becouse fishing and farming, the traditional male occupations are unstable and the market for fish and livestock fluctuates. Thus, while the male occupations are highly seasonal and involve a great deal of risk, the traditional female occupation, fine embroidery, provides many families with a small, reliable income they can fall back on in lean periods.

Like many towns in the Philippines, San Luis is conservative and traditional in its values. Many folkways and beliefs that have disappeared from larger, more progressive and industrialized towns are not merely preserved here but are still part of a vital way of life. The *alay* (Marian

[2] San Luis is a traditional source of hand embroidered *barong tagalogs*, and lately, finished children's dresses, gloves and other fine sewn garments exported to Japan and the United States. Manila based local firms distribute the unfinished materials already cut and stamped, to middle women in the town. These are generally women past the childbearing age who have the time to travel into the interior barrios, further distributing the pieces to younger women who remain at home with young children. The latter, working in their free time, are paid by piece. The female children help with the simpler work—sewing sequins and buttons, growing more proficient as they grow older.

[3] The fishing industry is manned by owners operating their own bancas. Individual families own one or two *bancas*, medium distance boats) manned by members of the family or neighbors (3-4 men to a boat). The owner provides nets, gasoline and kerosene lamps and feeds all the *mamamante* (fishermen) breakfast as fishing is done from early evening till dawn. The fish are transported to the Lemery market and sold to market vendors by women called *rigaton*. The owner of the *pante* (type of banca used) then subtracts expenses and divides the remainder among all concerned. Similarly, cattle are not raised in big ranches. A small farmer will own one or two cows which he raises and sells himself. This is the primary sources of Batangas beef. Finally, land is divided into small, owner-tilled farms and plantel to rice and lately, sugar. In the harvest season, groups of farmers band together, working each other's land and moving from one field to another until each member's land has been harvested.

mayflower rituals), *pabasa, babang luksa* (rituals for ending the year-long period of mourning), *pangangaluluwa* (All Souls Day carolling) and traditional Christmas carolling are part of the common yearly cycle of activities practiced by the townspeople. The older generation, those in their 40's and 50's, keep the ways strong and alive. However, most of the younger people, in their 20's and 30's, do not know how to chant the *pabasa* and are only familiar with the new religious songs written and sung the performance of which lasts at least 18 hours. It is usually performed during the mass. One can foresee a time 15 to 20 years hence when the whole *pabasa* tradition will die out, despite its frequent performance today. Thus, there is a need to document this important form.

The Pabasa

The *pabasa* is a complex of activities centering around the chanting or singing of the text known as the *Pasyong Pilapil,* a nineteenth century Tagalog verse narrative of the life of Jesus Christ.[4] It is sung in private homes in three different settings.

The *sukbot* is a surprise visit to a householder for the purpose of singing the pasyon. This is done during the lenten season and is a light, almost informal practice involving very little expense. The guests or serenaders may bring their own food, although the house-holder will often hurriedly prepare a light refreshment. Often the last 20 pages of the text will be sung.

Due to the expense involved in holding a full scale *pabasa,* many householders today will merely hold a short reading that may last 4 to 5 hours. The singers read the last 30 or 40 pages of the *pasyon* and a more elaborate *merienda* (late afternoon meal similar to brunch) than that involved in the *sukbot* is prepared for the guests.[5] The *Pabasa* may begin at about 2:00 p.m. and end in the early evening. Thus, the meal served includes a heavy *pancit* (noodle dish), fancy bread and soft drinks.

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[4] Perhaps the most influential of the various 18th and 19th century pasyon texts, the *Kasaysayan ng Pasiong Mahal ni Hesukristong Panginoon Natin* (Manila: Aklatang Lunas), is also called the *Pasyong Henesis* due to the fact that it also includes episodes from the Genesis of the Old Testament. No other text is used by the readers of the *pabasa* in this area although other *pasyon* texts such as the *Candaba* and *Trunkales* pasyons are known to a few old *mambabasa.* See "Christ in the Tagalog Pasyon", unpublished thesis by Elena Rivera (U.P. 1976), for accounts of the various *pasyon* texts.

[5] The practice of singing the last few pages of the *Henesis* is a common one. Of the five *pabasa* heard by this writer, three were short. The text is read from the top of the page desired. It is possible to begin at any point, whether it is at the beginning of an episode or not, although some prefer to begin at a specific spot, such as *"Ang Pagkabuhay ni Hesus"* (The Resurrection of Jesus). The reason, why it is the last rather than the first few pages of text that are read has been explained as *"para makatapos"* (so we can finish).

The most elaborate celebration is reserved for the full length *pabasa,* the performance of which lasts at least 18 hours. It is usually performed during the season of lent as either a special thanksgiving, or in commemoration of an important event (a graduation, wedding anniversary, a child's birth) or as part of a yearly *panata* (vow). Outside of lent, it may also be held during wakes for the dead.

All the occasions mentioned above may also be a pretext for holding a short *pabasa.* However, the more important the occasion and the more significant the event, the more elaborate the *pabasa* will be. Thus, extremely important celebrations will feature full-length *pabasa.*

The host of the *pabasa* has three main responsibilities. He must personally invite the singers from distant barrios to participate. He must also provide the transportation for these singers, sending or hiring jeeps or *bancas* (boats) to ferry them to the celebration. Finally, he must feed and house all the singers and guests for the duration of the celebration. The most elaborate and expensive preparations in the *pabasa* are those involving the entertainment and feeding of all the participants. Preparations begin on the day before the actual singing starts. The householder will usually provide a large pig plus the *recado* (garnishings) to go with the dishes served. However, many gifts of goats and chickens from the householder's relatives, godparents and godchildren are usually received. The more elaborate the feast is to be, the more numerous are the gifts.

There is also a large number of people involved in the preparations. One group of men, for instance, is involved in building a temporary bamboo structure outside the house which will serve as the eating area. Another group of men traditionally work butchering the animals, preparing them for cooking. Cooking goes on throughout the day, until the dawn of the *pabasa* itself. Simultaneously, the women concern themselves with preparing the table appointments. The householder often does not own enough of these to go around, so much of the silverware, holloware, etc., are loaned by relatives and close neighbors. On the day of the *pabasa,* these women divide themselves into two groups, one to serve at the table and one to wash the dishes. Eating is done in numerous shifts as not all the guests arrive at the same time. Thus, there is a ceaseless setting of the table, clearing away the dishes and washing them in preparation for the next round of diners. There will be guests fed at four formal meals and one *merienda* during the celebration proper but the householder must also be ready with supper the night before the actual *pabasa* to feed all those involved in the preparations.

Thus, we must take note of the special nature of the celebration. Many of the feasts involving this kind of preparation are celebrations of

a personal nature—weddings, birthdays, etc., but while the host is responsible for calling together all the elements of the feast—food, entertainment, etc., many of the components are provided by people who are also "guests" and who have contributed a goat, eggs or labor in one form or another. Thus, there is a real communal aspect involved, even in what appears to be a purely personal celebration.

The singing of the *pabasa* begins after lunch and usually lasts until the dawn of the next day. It takes place in the *sala* (sitting room) of the home. A table is set up in the middle of the room. Around this table, the singers will seat themselves. *Pasyon* books are laid out on the table as well as native cigarettes and soft drinks for the singers' consumption. A religious image either belonging to the host or borrowed/rented for the occasion may also be found in the room. The singers need not face the image. In the more formal, elaborate *pabasa,* males may be segregated from the female singers, sitting on opposite sides of the table.

Eating does not take place in this singing area. The guests may eat at an adjoining room or, more likely, they may do so at the specially built eating area outdoors. Thus, the singing itself takes place in a quieter atmosphere than is possible near the crowded, busy, eating space.

There are not too many people inside the *sala* besides the singers. Usually, these consist of women and children. The men generally sit outside or in the veranda of the house, talking, eating or drinking. Many other guests, both invited and uninvited, all of whom take part in the eating, usually peep into the house from the windows (if the *pabasa* takes place on the ground floor) or listen from afar. The host will sometimes provide a loudspeaker for the benefit of those who cannot enter the house. Thus, the audience for the *pabasa* may be described as a constantly shifting mass of people, seated or standing inside or outside the house. People move about freely, eating, drinking, conversing and, at times, listening. It is rare for a guest to stay for the whole reading unless he has come from very far. Otherwise, he stays long enough to eat one meal, socialize a bit and listen to the singers.

In recent times, the *pabasa* has been aired on radio the whole of Holy Week. For five days, groups of *mambabasa* (*pabasa* singers) take turns singing the *pabasa* non-stop. Avid listeners sometimes leave their transistors on the whole day, listening to the broadcast.

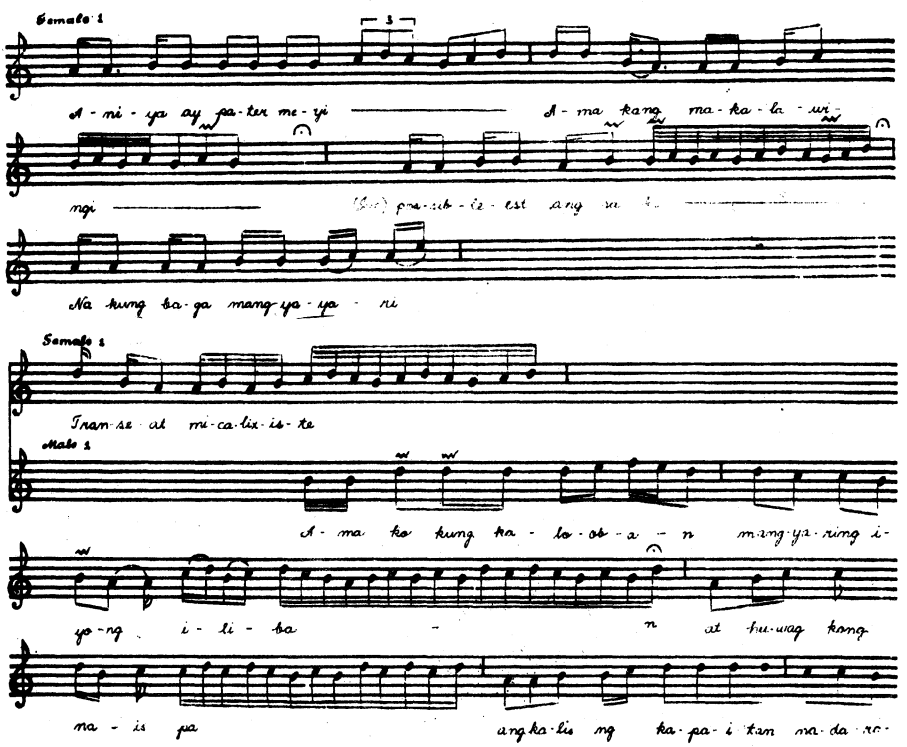
The Music

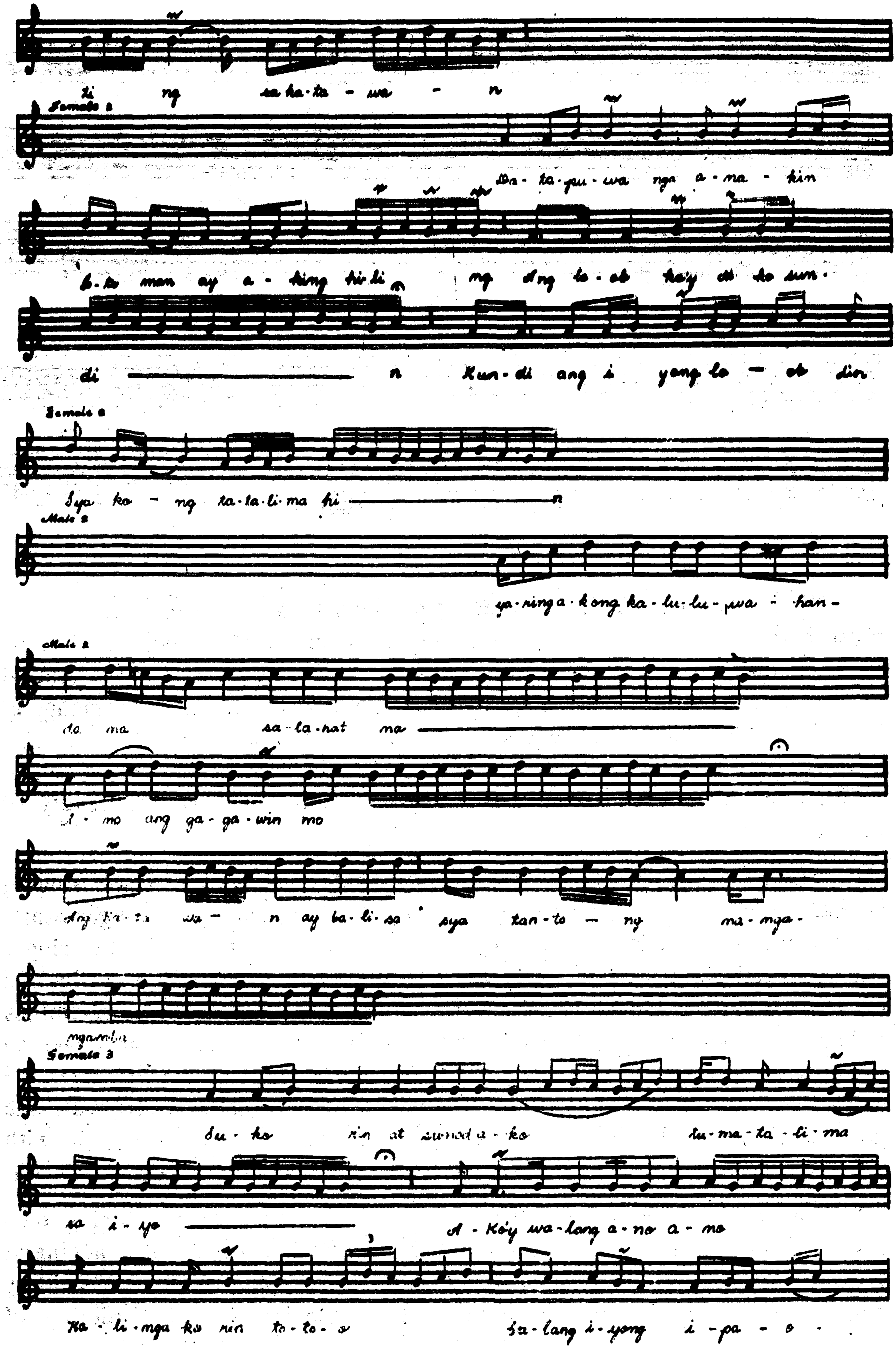
The singing of the *pabasa* is a collective effort of from as few as six to as many as 24 individuals at a time. The whole group expends its energy with the aim of completing the chanting or singing of the whole

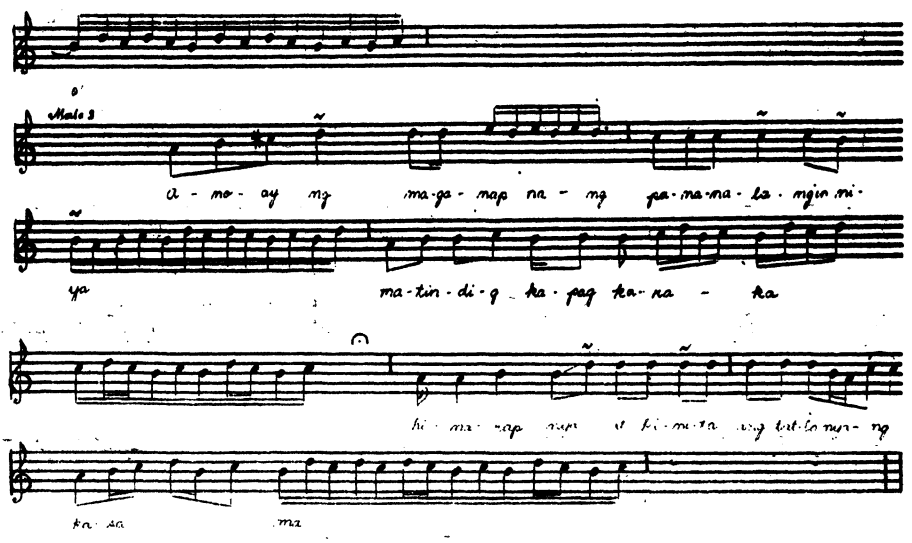
213-page text. Thus, after the final *"siya nawa"* (amen) has been said, such comments as, "ay salamat, nakaraos din." (Thank goodness, it's done at last) may often be heard. The idea of finishing a task may also be perceived in the explanation of why in the short form of the *pabasa,* the last few rather than the first pages of the form of the text must be read — *"di hindi natapos"* (then it wouldn't be finished). The effort, however, does not take the form of choral singing in which all the *mambabasa* (*pabasa* performers) sing simultaneously. The work is divided among all the singers evenly, in the following manner:

The *pasyon* consists of octosyllabic quintillas called *pie* (foot or stanza). Each *mambabasa* sings a single *pie,* men (*bajo*) and women (*tiple*)[6] alternating until all of the singers have sung once. The singing then goes around again and again until the whole *pasyon* has been read. If there are six singers, each *mambabasa* will sing only one in six pie; if there are eight, one in eight, etc. The following example shows a round with six singers.

Example 1




li ng sa ka-ta - wa - n
Female 2
Da- ta-pu-wa nga a-ma- kin
di n Kun-di ang i yong lo - ob din
Female 2
Sya ko - ng ta-la-li-ma hi n
Male 2
ya-ring a-kong ka-lu-lu-wa - han-
Male 2
do ma sa-la-nat ma
I - mo ang ga-ga-win mo
n ay ba-li-sa sya tan-to - ng ma-nga-
Female 3
Su-ko rin at sunod a-ko lu-ma-ta-li-ma
sa i-yo A-Ko'y wa-lang a-no a-mo
Ka-li-mga ko rin to-to-o Sa-lang i-yong i-pa-o-



Thus, the individual does not tire himself out immediately, for he must conserve his strength for the next few days. The singer is usually called upon every day of the holy week to read in various *pabasa* around the area. He or she is also able to show off his or her skill at singing in the *punto* (translation to be discussed later), because he or she can sing alone and not in chorus. The contrast between male and female voices and different female voices is considered the source of much of the beauty of the *pabasa* by its enthusiasts.

Another point worth mentioning about the mechanics of the singing is that there are no gaps between one *pie* and another. As a singer starts to sing the long melisma that marks the last syllable of his *pie,* the singer who succeeds him will enter. Thus, there is an overlapping of male and female voices at the beginning and end of each *pie.* The singing resembles a relay. The singing line is like a baton, held and passed from singer to singer with a point of junction held by two singers at the beginning and end of each *pie.* Second, although the *pabasa* is a collective effort with one group end in view, the individual has a chance to shine through with short burst of artistry, never getting completely lost in the collective act.

We can see that this particular way of ordering *pabasa* singing partakes of an approach very characteristic of the town's social machinery. Like the systems for division of labor found in rice harvesting, embroidery and especially in the mechanism for large celebrations, the ordering of

[6] The terms *bajo* and *tiple* are Spanish for the adult male and treble voices, respectively.

the *pabasa* is essentially that of a collective enterprise which does not suppress the individual's effort or personality but, on the contrary, encourages it to grow and develop within the bounds of the social enterprise.

The Singer

The singer's demeanor during performance is calm, dispassionate and relaxed. There are no contort ions or unnecessary motions of the face. The body, similarly, remains relaxed and still. A common gesture of the female singer is to cover the mouth with her hand or kerchief while singing. This may take the form of propping up the head with a closed fist and forearm. Other singers turn away from the audience, making it difficult to pinpoint who is doing the singing.

The audience inside the singing area, similarly, does not exhibit any outward signs of approval or disapproval. Their faces and bodies maintain the relaxed, calm stance and there is no direct applause or any other form of audience response. Quiet whispers are the only form of sound in this area aside from the singing. The *pabasa* however, can be very moving to the audience. This can only be gleaned from comments made by the listeners in casual conversations that take place outside the listening area or long after the actual event. Such comments as, "napapaiyak ako sa ganda ng *lamentacion* noon" (the beauty of the *lamentacion* or closing section of the *pabasa* made me weep) or "sabik na sabik kaming marinig ang boses noong isang taga-Bauan at napakaganda" (we were very eager to hear the voice of one of the singers from Bauan because it was very beautiful), reveal the ability of the singing to deeply touch the listeners.

Indeed, beautiful voices are very much admired and appreciated by aficionados of the *pabasa*. They can have a profound effect on the listener. Such comments as, "napaibig ako sa boses niya" (I fell in love with his/her voice) or "pinaglihian ko ang boses niya noong buntis ako" (When I was conceiving, I developed an unusual craving to hear his voice) or even, "napapaihi ako sa ganda ng boses niya" (I even lose control of my bladder when I hear his/her beautiful voice) reveal the extent of the enchantment.

When asked about the ideal voice, qualities that are often mentioned are wholeness and clarity. The terms used to refer to the first quality are *buo* (whole) and *hindi paos* (not hoarse). An unattractive voice, on the other hand, is referred to as *basag* (broken) or *paos* (hoarse). *Buo* and *basag* refer to innate qualities of the voice while *paos* may be the result of fatigue after many days of continuous singing.

Terms used to refer to the second quality are, "kailangang malinaw mga salitang binabasa." (The words that are read must be clearly understood).

Thus, what is referred to is the clarity of diction and the ability to make the words of the *pasyon* text understood.

The strength or loudness of the voice is not really an important quality to the *mambabasa.* In fact, a female voice that is much admired, the type called *matinis,* is a high pitched, thin and finely, soft voice.

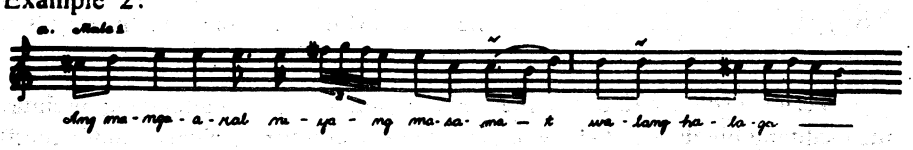
Lung power is only important because it can support or sustain the singer through long passages without breathing. Thus, singers have mentioned that children do not have the capacity ("hindi nila kaya") to sing because their breath cannot sustain them. Despite this, two fine young singers may be found, aged 7 and 8, in the barrio of Bonliw. These young girls are considered strange phenomena, however, and are admired for their rather unusual talent.

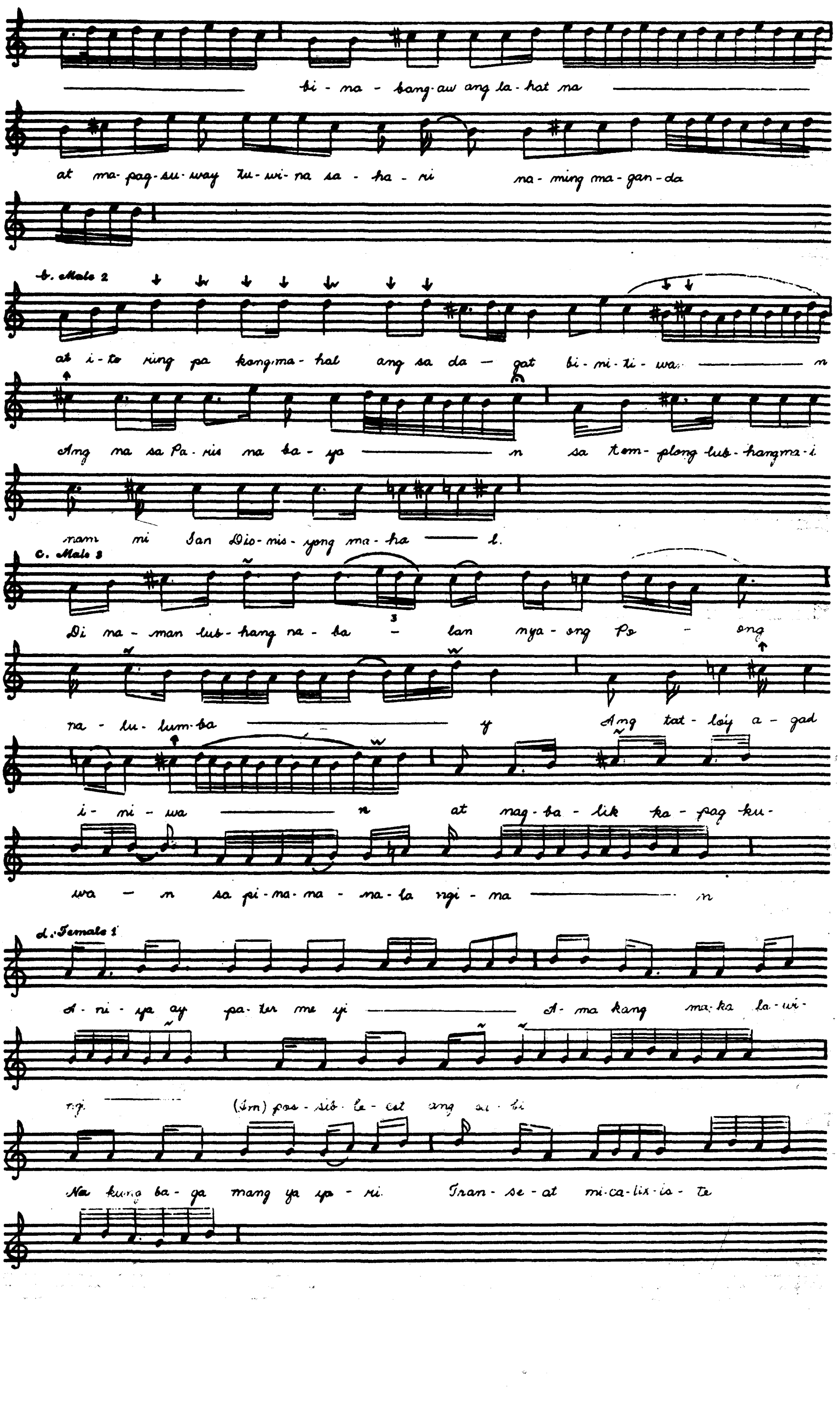
The singing style

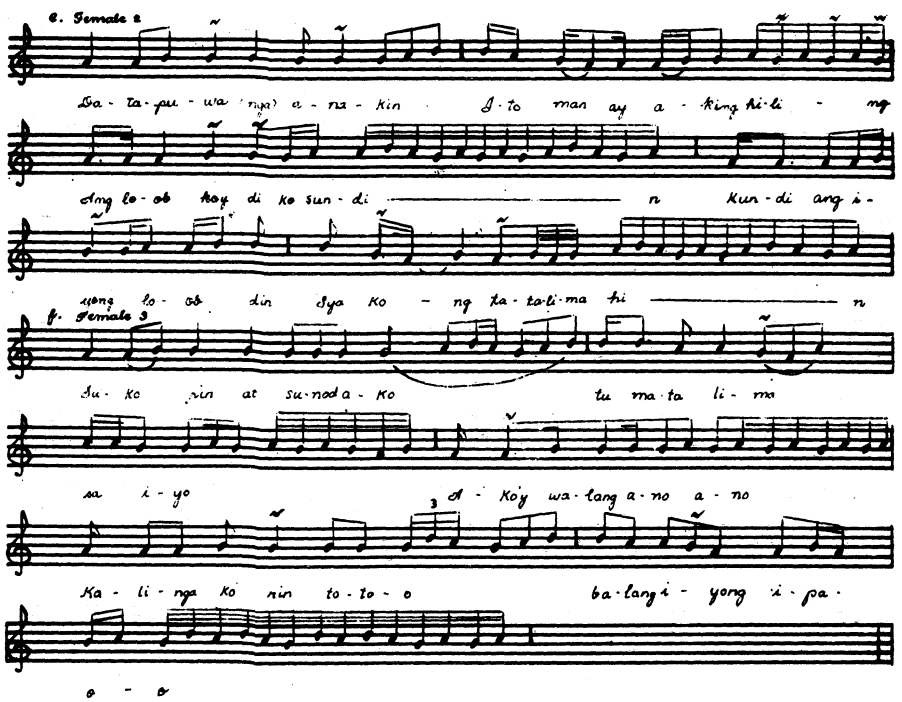
A term often used in connection with the *pabasa* is the word *punto.* Exactly what this means is rather ambiguous as it can be used in many ways. In common parlance, it usually refers to regional speech accents (e.g., *puntong Batangas, puntong Bulacan*). In the *pabasa* context, however, it has several different connotations. For example, it is used to distinguish the different melodies found in other parts of Batangas—e.g., "Ang mga punto sa Balayan, iba-iba, parang mga kanta." (There are various *punto* in Balayan which are like songs). Balayan, a town roughly 30 kms. north of San Luis has a *pabasa* practice which involves fitting the *pasyon* text to all kinds of tunes, both traditional and contemporary. Thus, the *pasyon* repertoire here includes "puntong Farewell" sung to "Aloha Oe" and "puntong Ramona" sung to *Ramona,* a popular song of the 1950s, as well as what might be older *punto-puntong kinalamyas* and *biyolin,* the tunes of which cannot be ascribed to any popular song of recent vintage.

The comment has also been heard, "Ang mga punto ng mga lalaki sa San Luis, nagkakaiba, pero ang sa babae, halos pareho." (The men of San Luis have a variety of *punto* but the women's are all alike.) Perhaps this is a reference to the fact that the women hew very closely to a single melodic pattern when singing their *pie* while the men are freer in putting together the melodic components of each *pie.* The examples below compare three female *pie* with three male *pie.* Notice the single gasic melody that is apparent in the women's *pie* as opposed to the greater latitudes of the male solos:

Example 2:



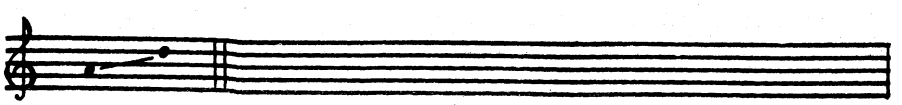

bi - na - bang-aw ang la - hat na
at ma-pag-su-way tu-wi-na sa - ha - ri na-ming ma-gan-da
b. Male 2
at i-to ring pa kong-ma-hal ang sa da - gat bi-mi-ti-wa - n
Ang na sa Pa-ris na ba - ya - n sa tem-plong lub-hang ma-i
nam mi San Dio-mis-yong ma-ha - l.
c. Male 3
Di na - man lub-hang na - ba - lan nya - ong Po - ong
na - lu - lum-ba - y Ang tat - loy a - gad
i - mi - wa - n at nag - ba - lik ka - pag ku-
wa - n sa pi-na-ma - na-la ngi - na - n
d. Female 1
A - ni - ya ay pa-ter me yi - A - ma kang ma-ka la-wi-
(Sm) pos - sib - le - est ang si - bi
Na kung ba - ga mang ya ya - ri. Tran - se - at mi-ca-lix-is - te



On the other hand, *punto* is more often used to describe the style of the singing (the vocal technique, the range of characteristic melodies, the common ornaments, etc.) peculiar to San Luis and its bordering towns.[7] Thus, more often than not, the contention is made, "iisa lang ang punto namin dito" (we have only one *punto* here), despite the many male melodic variations that exist. In this paper, therefore, the latter definition will be adopted.

The following is a general discussion of the *punto* based on all the *pabasas* heard and recorded by the researcher. In many features such as range, progression and phrasing, male and female execution and style vary somewhat and these differences have been noted.

For example, female range is more limited than that of the males. The *pie* sung by the women have a range that spans four notes. In the examples notated, this range is:



The male melodies may have a wider range, although the range of a fourth is also common. The widest range spans the interval of a sixth and may be seen in examples 1b and 2a.

The melodic progression is mainly conjunct although singers sometimes will use the major or minor third and male singers may occasionally attempt a rare fourth.

Each verse line is generally sung to a complete musical phrase. Between the fourth and fifth line of each *pie,* however, the pause is very brief, sometimes practically indistinct. Among females, a verse line is always completed in a single musical phrase. Some male singers, however, occasionally extend the musical phrase well into the next verse line. (Ex. 2a by a four-syllable-long phrase. No matter how short or long the verse. For example, the first musical phrase may be twelve syllables long, followed by a four syllable-long phrase. No matter how short or long the verse line are, however, five musical phrases are always sung per *pie.*

The end of a phrase may be marked with the singer merely taking a breath or he may end with a long melisma like ornament. Usually this consists of a series of upper or lower neighbor tones or both, ending on a slow glide from the lower to the upper neighbor tone.

Finally, certain special sections of the singing must be mentioned. These are performed only by the male singers. The first of these are called *latin.* These Latin phrases inserted into the verses by the author of the *pasyon.* The singers orate or speak these phrases out loudly rather than sing them.

A second special type of section is called *aral* (lesson). This is a reference to the sermonettes in verse found at the end of each narrative vised on the letters "A-r-a-l" by the male singers at the start of the *aral* connection with optional verses not found in the *pasyon* text and improvised on the letters "A-r-a-l" by the male singers at the start of the aral sections. An example of these verses is:

Ang unang "ay" Amang Mahal
at ang "ere", reynang hirang
ikatlong "ay" anak naman
at ang "ele" ay larawan
Aral ito ng Maykapal.

It is also the male singers who do the work of "tinataas ang tono" (raising the pitch) of the singing. This is done for two reasons. First, there is a tendency for the pitch to go down after long, monotonous stretches of singing. Then too, there is the need to revive the flagging interests of the

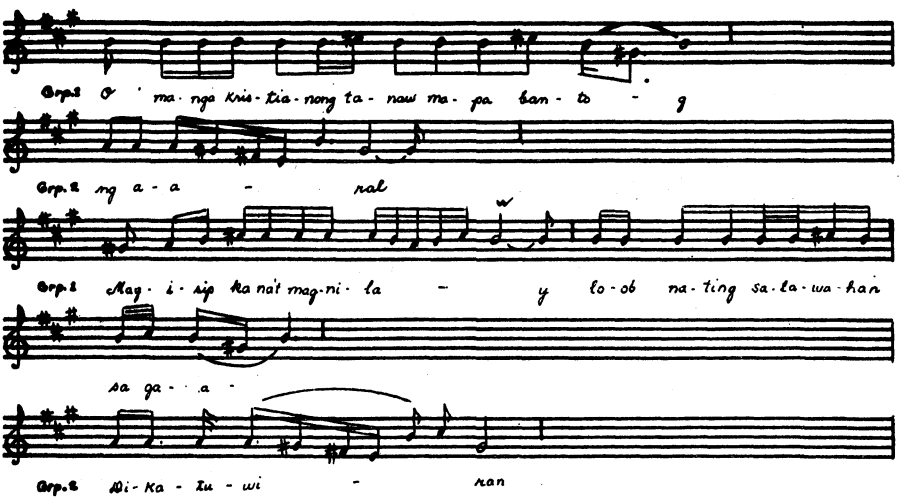
singers who have been singing for eighteen hours at a stretch. Thus, raising the pitch contributes to the excitement of the reading. Put to the test, the singers following the one who has raised the pitch must match the latter's prowess.

Thus, while the female singers constantly return the listener as much as possible to the single and, to the writer's mind, basic melodic pattern the *punto,* the male singers who, as a rule are considered "maarte" (showy), add to the color of the reading by varying the melodic patterns to which the *pie* are sung, inserting orated sections that stand out from the *punto* sections, improvise *aral* that show off their skill as versifiers and pull the pitch up to heighten interest at points where it lags.

The Lamentacion

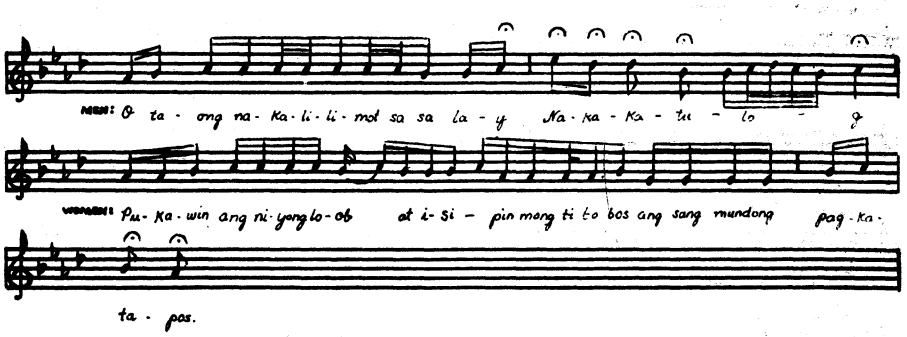
The pabasa may be ended in several ways. In the simplest kind of ending, the whole group may sing the last *pie* in the punto. Twelve or more variously sung *pie* are performed simultaneously.

A more complete ending, however, involves the performance of the *lamentacion* which is also called *sabalan* (exchange or answering back and forth). Unlike the body of the *pabasa,* which is performed by solo singing, this brief 10 to 15 minutes section is sung chorally. The characteristic melody used in this section is noted as follows:



During the holy week of 1983, a group of *mambabasa* from the barrio

of Bonliw were heard by this writer incorporated a new melody into the *lamentacion:*



When asked where the new tune came from, they replied that they had heard it from another group of *mambabasa* from a far off town and had seen fit to incorporate it into their rendition. They did not find it proper to use the new tune in the body of the *pabasa* but its use in the optional *lamentacion* was permissible. It seems that the singing of this additional ending allows the singers to experiment and add new melodies to the otherwise very conservative *punto.*

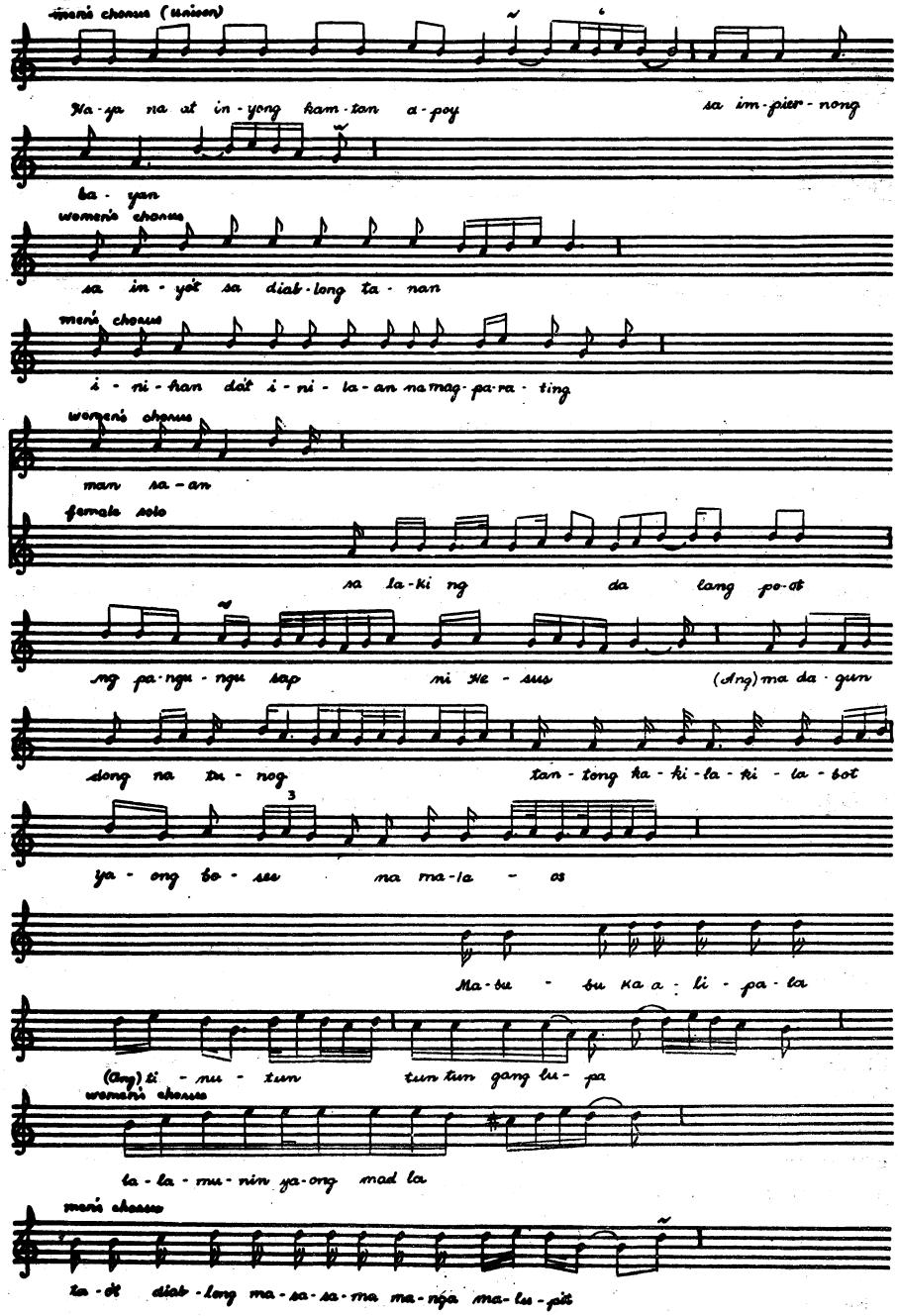
To effect the movement from the *punto* to the *lamentacion* the singers may, after completing the last *pie* in the *punto,* return to the last *aral,* singing it a second time, this time to the *lamentacion* melody. Or, the singers may switch to the *lamentacion* towards the last 2 or 3 pages of the text. Finally, if the singers are very tired, they may even omit a few pages and jump immediately to the end, singing the last few pages in the *lamentacion* manner.

The longest and most elaborate ending, however, would feature both the simultaneous singing of the last *pie* in the *punto* and the *lamentacion* section.

The *lamentacion* section is sung chorally, either in unison or in thirds, with the upper voice carrying the melody. At the end of phrases below is sometimes added. The melody is divided antiphonally or responsorially. The voicing may be done with a solo singer answered by the whole group, two or three singers answered by two or three others, a small group answered by a large one, men answered by women or vice versa.

There are two ways of ordering the singing of the *lamentacion.* The first involves singing the text straight through with the *lamentacion* melody. The second involves the singing of the *lamentacion* melody alternately with

the *pie* in the *punto*. The latter *pie* are sung only by the women. For example:



The *lamentacion* melodies

The *pasyon pie* consists of five lines of verse. Each line is 8 syllables long. In the *punto,* one verse line is generally sung to one musical phrase. In the *lamentacion,* this is not the case.

With the first melody (ex. 3), there are 5 musical phrases set to 5 verse line. However, verse lines 1 and 4 run on into lines 2 and 5, respectively when they are sung. The text:

Oh manga Kristianong tanan
mapabantog ng aral
Mag-isip ka na't magnilay
Loob nating salawahan
Sa gawang di katuwiran

is restructured thusly:

Oh manga Kristianong tanan mapabantog
ng aral
mag-isip ka na't magnilay
Loob nating salawahan sa gawang
di katuwiran.

The singers break off the second and fifth lines leaving one or two of the last words of these lines for the melody. Thus, the text sung to phrase 2 is only 3 syllables long while phrase 5 is only 5 syllables long. The result is that phrases 1, 3 and 4, with more syllables, are sung in a syllabic manner while phrases 2 and 5 are more melismatic in character. Usually, a small group will answer singing phrases 2 and 5. The contrast created in the answering back and forth by the 2 different groups of singers is heightened by the 2 different chanting textures.

With the second melody (ex. 4), the text of the *pie*:

O taong nakalilimot
sa sala'y nakakatulog
pukawin ang inyong loob
at isipin mong tibobos
ang sang mundong pagkatapos.

is divided into 2 distinct sections of 2 phrases each. The first section, sung by the men, is done to the first two lines of verse. The first phrase (A), sung to the 1st and part of the second line of verse is rendered in a clipped,

even, syllabic manner. The second phrase (B), sung to the last word of the second verse line, is done in long held notes.

The second half of the *pie* is sung by the women. The first musical phrase of this section (A1), sung to the third, fourth and part of the fifth line of verse, is similar to the first male phrase while the second musical phrase (B1), sung to the last word of the *pie*, parallels and B phrase. Again, in this melody, differences in vocal color and melodic textures create a contrast between the sections and phrases.

Thus, while there is an ordered structure for *pasyon* singing, there is also considerable leeway given to the possible combinations and recombinations of its components. That much satisfaction is gained by both the singers and the listeners when these components are put together in an acceptable manner can be seen in the ability of the successful carrying off of the *lamentacion* to bring tears to the eyes of both listeners and singers in the early hours of the morning as the *pabasa* comes to a close.

[7] The *punto* found in San Luis is shared by the towns of Taal, Alitagtag, Lemery and Bauan, all is Southwest Batangas.

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