

THE
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COVER. The creature with the sawed-off body is the Manananggal, a creature of the Philippine lower mythology, taken from a series of paintings on the subject by the late Carlos V. Francisco, the Philippines' foremost muralist.

LAND REFORM

A TEST OF WILL

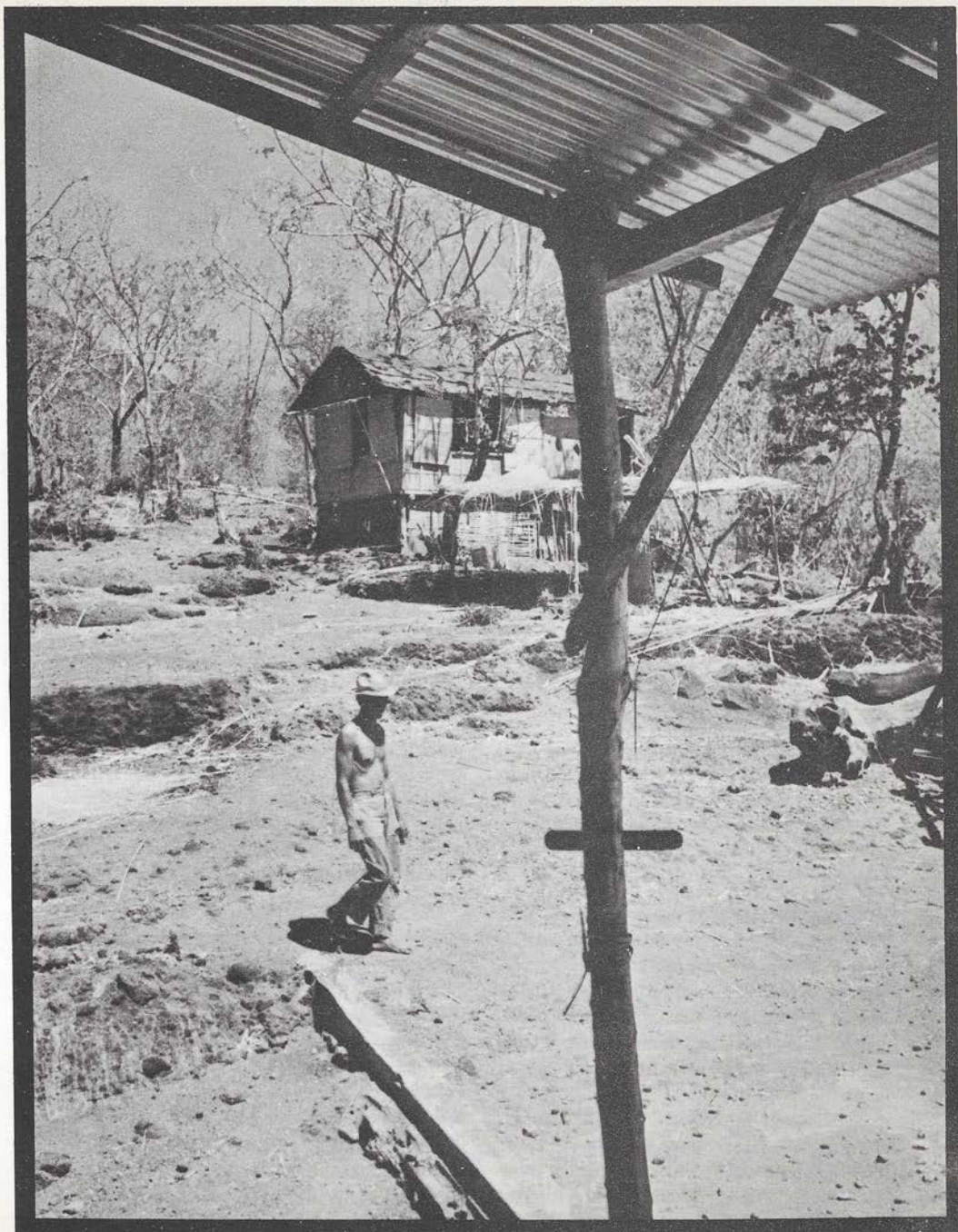
BY BLAS F. OPLE

Can democracy be grafted on to a feudalistic frame, the petrified remnants of centuries of injustice? What happens when democracy is superimposed on such a society, the basic feature of which is the unchanging dichotomy between a privileged few and the underprivileged many; the basic compulsion of which is precisely antidemocratic?

Answering these questions in the early nineteen fifties, the *New Fabian Essays* cited the example of the Philippines to show that democracy will accommodate itself to the contour of the society on which it is imposed. The effect of such a conjunction, the authors wrote, was to distort and pervert democracy: for the institution of popular suffrage, for example, will merely be used to keep the same people in power – the landed aristocracy – and will in fact tend to legitimize the otherwise naked power of the traditional warlords. It would provide the inherent violence of a feudalistic system with the semblance of democratic legality.

What will decide this issue, ultimately, is the demonstrated capacity of such a society for self-regeneration. And ultimately, the decision will be made in the field of land reform: whether or not Philippine society, in our case, can have the courage and dynamism to bring about basic changes in land tenure and in the social and economic relationships that are fundamentally based on the land.

In the Philippines, more than 40 per cent of our farmers do not own the lands they till; out of five million households, only about 10,000 monopolize the ownership of land. The basic failure of the US colonial tenure in the Philippines, precisely, lay in its decision to perpetuate the feudalism inherited from the Spanish *encomienda* system, characterized by serfdom, now dissembled behind a facade of democratic institutions. Such a system, moreover, would develop a set of habits necessary to its preservation, including the arrogance of rulers and the servility of those ruled.



Cultivators are acquiring initiative as farm operators and becoming more confident and attached to their land.



Beginning in 1966, when President Marcos assumed office, the political will to implement land reform on a meaningful scale became apparent for the first time.

In a recent paper prepared for a Southeast Asia Land Reform Survey Mission which he headed, Secretary Conrado F. Estrella of the Department of Agrarian Reform cogently defined land reform in that context.

He said:

"If we must develop our country we must strengthen the economic position of our farmers. Security, the spur to initiative, resourcefulness and drive, must be returned to the farmer. The scheme that will restore confidence in our farmers, rekindle their waning initiative and widen their limited horizons is land reform."

If land reform, however, is so basic an emancipating factor, does the experience of the Philippine Land Reform Program show this? What is the progress of land reform in the Philippines, against the large and noble vision which inspired its existence? Is Philip-

pine society showing the courage and dynamism to achieve its own regeneration through a self-willed resolute and workable land reform policy? Should we rather believe those who assert that the land reform program has failed entirely or that it has run into a dead end?

Unfortunately, at this stage, nine years after the enactment of the Land Reform Code on August 8, 1963, a clear-cut answer is not yet possible. And yet, this very fact itself argues strongly for hope. Those who say land reform has failed are the ones taking the path of least resistance; they shun the labor of examining a complex subject. The truth is that in spite of clumsy laws, pitifully meager funds, an altogether inadequate administrative machinery, and above all, the continued stubbornness of the landlord class, very definite and real gains have been achieved in land reform.



There is definite evidence that land reform had increased rice production by at least 25%.

The land reform program up to 1965 was clearly a merely token program, designed to impress rather than to achieve results. But beginning in 1966, when President Ferdinand E. Marcos assumed office, the political will to implement land reform on a *a meaningful scale* became apparent for the first time. Up to 1965 land reform rhetoric resembled a mountain laboring and bringing forth a mouse. The mouse was the twelve widely scattered municipalities in Central Luzon that the government then proclaimed under land reform. (On a land reform proclamation, the status of tenancy is immediately abolished, leasehold begins and a package of services such as credit, technical assistance, etc. is supposed to follow.)

In 1966 President Marcos declared the entire second district of Pampanga – consisting of nine towns with the highest tenancy inci-

dence – a land reform area. This was a breakthrough in land reform implementation which was personally gratifying to me because I had strongly advised in favor of this policy, even if majority of those who composed the National Land Reform Council did not yet appear ready for it. In 1970, President Marcos, at the recommendation of Secretary Estrella and the National Land Reform Council, proclaimed the whole of Central Luzon a land reform area. By September 1971, a total of 236 municipalities (as against 12 in 1965) in 20 provinces were legally if not effectively under land reform.

The results do not yet match the ambitious targets of the first Four-Year Land Reform Program ending in 1970, which had programmed 311,000 tenants for conversion to leasehold, or 74.5 per cent of the total palay and corn tenants. But some 200,000 tenants had

In spite of meager funds and the continued stubbornness of the landlord class, very definite gains have been achieved in land reform

been successfully reached. And what is more, there is now definite evidence that land reform had increased rice production by at least 25 per cent, based on careful research conducted by various responsible groups, including the Bureau of Agricultural Economics and the Department of Agriculture and Natural Resources (both of which were originally skeptical of the ability of land reform to contribute to production).

The BAE studied eleven towns in Central Luzon, two of which were proclaimed land reform areas in 1964, four in 1966 and five in 1969. The findings showed that rice yields per farm in the towns declared as land reform areas in 1964 were significantly higher than those in towns declared in 1966 and 1969. The 1964 batch showed a return per farm of 128.54 cavans for the first crop and 142.32 cavans for the second crop. The 1966 and 1969 group showed a per farm yield of 113.43 and 125.61 cavans for the first and second crop, respectively.

What about yield per hectare? The 1969 group had a yield per hectare of 52.79 cavans for the first crop and 58.51 for the second crop, as against the 50.39 cavans for the first crop and 48.31 cavans in the second crop for the 1966 and 1969 group.

The study also found that the gross farm income of lessees was much higher than those of share-tenants. In the 1964 group, the lessees had a gross farm income of P6,256 compared to a share-tenant in the same group which had a gross farm income of P5,541. Among the lessees, the 1964 group had an income of P6,256 as against the 1969 group, which had only P5,690.

More dramatic were the findings of a Japanese researcher, Mr. Akira Takahashi of the Institute of Oriental Culture, University of

Tokyo. In his study of a *barrio* in Bulacan, he tried to measure the effects of land reform by assessing the conditions in that *barrio* in 1963-1964. Returning in 1971, Takahashi noted significant changes apparently caused by agrarian reform. He wrote:

"Betterment in level of living is remarkable, which may be observed in the construction of new houses, renovation of housing with durable materials, increase in numbers of college student, radio, sewing machine and fighting cock, better clothes, electrification of 11 households out of 51, and others. Motorization of pedicabs is another agent of changes in rural life. *Karitelas*, once common means of transportation as well as important source of cash income for villagers has been replaced by motorbikes, and now accessibility from the town-proper to *barrios* is considerably improved. Common use of motorized pedicabs in commuting to town, *barrio* kids frequently spending centavos for candy at *sari-sari* stores, men and women speculating in daily *buweteng*, "bar" and kiosks along *barrio* roads . . . these scenes also indicate steady increase of money circulating in rural area . . .

"In short, cultivators are acquiring initiatives as farm operators, becoming more confident about their positiveness in farm management, and know that intensified labor and care will be rewarded at the time of harvest. They are getting more independence from both *proprietaryo* and village community, and are more attached to their land."

What is reassuring is the strong will for the correction of faults that has marked the conduct of land reform. For example, utilizing defects, failures and weaknesses experienced in the first Four-Year Land Reform Program, the government under the spur of the rising power of peasant organizations succeeded in enacting the Omnibus Amendment to the Land Reform Code. The amendment accom-

plished the following innovations:

1) It created a stronger, more responsive machinery in the form of a Department of Agrarian Reform, replacing the cumbersome and clumsy machinery that was the National Land Reform Council.

2) It provided for the total abolition of share-tenancy by converting all share-tenancy relations into leasehold.

3) The lessees' rights of preemption and redemption were strengthened.

4) The Court of Agrarian Relations was authorized to fix a provisional rental to be paid by the lessee to the landowner - removing an old obstacle to a speedy shift to leasehold.

5) Personal cultivation was removed as a ground for the dispossession of a tenant. This used to provide a strong and insurmountable advantage for landlords.

6) Lessees, previously denied access to irrigation systems, are now allowed to undertake the management and maintenance of such systems.

7) More funds were provided for land reform, allocating P50 million a year up to 1974, to come out of the proceeds of the stabilization tax.

Beyond leasehold lies what is known as the amortizing ownership and then full ownership. Significant is the fact that from 1971 to March 1972, the Land Bank of the Philippines acquired and negotiated an area of 26,000 hectares with an estimated cost of P104,404,807, involving some 9,453 beneficiaries. In acreage, this represents an increase by 22,371 hectares or an increase of 550 per cent over the acquisitions of the Land Bank at the end of the first program period in 1970.

To be sure it is not yet certain that all these gains add up to a firm assurance that the land reform program will succeed or that all tenant farmers will be emancipated and the social structure based on the land will be reformed. But compared with the government's achievements in other areas, there is definitely a basis to hope that in the field of land reform the results measure up to the resources that have been employed in their behalf. If the government shows a stronger political will and the farmers a rising capacity for concerted action, through agrarian unions as well as cooperatives, the pace of land reform will be considerably quickened. What is being tested is the will of the entire society, but particularly of its leader strata, to achieve a social regeneration.

What is being tested in the matter of land reform is the will of the entire society to achieve a social regeneration

It was, in the words of Secretary Estrella, whose leadership had been an important factor, "giving a new mandate to land reform." Accordingly, the newly created Department of Agrarian Reform has promulgated a new four-year program, starting in fiscal year 1972 and ending in fiscal year 1975. The ambitious target of this new plan is to fix the lease rentals for the 584,860 tenants still to be reached by land reform, thus facilitating their effective conversion to leasehold, by means of which they become the managers and operators of their own farms.

The outcome of this effort in the end will either bear out or refute the proposition that democratic forms cannot be successfully imposed on a society with a feudalistic base. The success of land reform will demonstrate, as nothing else can, the validity of our hopes in the ability of this society to connect itself - to strengthen itself. If this is so, the government cannot afford anything less than the most resolute and sustained confrontation of this challenge. ●

THE PHILIPPINES: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

BY O.D. CORPUZ

The pervasiveness of contemporary history and the dramatic impact of current events upon the politics of nations normally relegate the past into the background of our consciousness. The past may be forgotten or ignored particularly when documented historical material is scarce or when the formal histories are inadequate. This is the case with the Philippines. Nevertheless, past events have helped determine the direction and framework, in subtle and enduring ways within which present institutions evolve and present events occur.

Almost every other country in Southeast Asia has a wealth of annals or dynastic histories upon which to rely in a reconstruction of its past. This is because some degree at least of political or administrative integration had

been attained in these countries before the arrival of the westerner.

It was not so in the Philippines. Up to the mid-sixteenth century the inhabitants of the archipelago lived in widely scattered and almost isolated communities. The isolation is suggested by the fact that 80 and more dialects exist in the country today. The people were predominantly of Malay stock, migrants from Indonesia and Malaysia. The relationship between the human settlements and the natural environment determined technology. The instruments of livelihood were determined by the sources of food: the river, the lake, the coastal water, and the strip of land that lay alongside. The "backyard" of these settlements was the forest or mountain or brush and bamboo thicket that lay behind, all

of which provided materials for clothing, shelter, and tools, in addition to small game for meat. The flimsy but picturesque and airy bamboo and grass or palm hut is still the archetypal dwelling in the Filipino countryside. There were no heavy tools and machines. Pre-Western Filipino architecture therefore does not include the temples, churches, and other large, heavy structures made of such materials as stone, which are found over wide areas in other Southeast Asian countries.

The general absence of temples and churches for public worship also suggests the level of religious development. The exceptions were in Mindanao and Sulu, where Islam had already established a foothold. Throughout the rest of the archipelago, however, there was a system of belief in signs and omens, and in a world that was populated by spirits of exotic animals; spirits resident in hills, trees, and other features of the natural environment; personified forces in the lightning and thunder; and gods that gave success or failure in the harvest, in the hunt, in personal undertakings such as marriage, and in community enterprises such as tribal wars. Over all of the lesser spirits and supernatural beings there was one supreme Being, who was sometimes called "*Bathala*." The people also had notions of an afterlife. Thus when Christianity came to the archipelago, these beliefs in a supreme Deity and a life after death were the crucial points of contact between the indigenous beliefs and the new faith.

The absence of public buildings in the strict sense, such as town halls or specialized buildings for governmental administration, indicates the low level of political development. The Muslim inhabitants of the southern islands, who had rajahs or sultans in some places were again set apart from the rest of the population. But in the other communities the chief figure was the *datu*, generally a son or other blood relative of the founder of the settlement. The settlement in fact was not a "political" society, but a kinship group. The community was called "*barangay*," named after the boat that brought the original migrants from their homes in Malaysia and Indonesia. Each boat carried an extended-family group, con-

sisting of the head and his immediate family, as well as the families of his children, his brothers and sisters, and the aged kinfolk. In some parts of the country during the Spanish regime the people of the towns still referred to each other as "*cabanca*," meaning "boat-companion." Interpersonal or social relations in such a community tended to be informal, and government was based on kinship rule and custom, rather than on enacted law and administrative regulation. Moreover, the values governing social relations and individual behavior were the values of the kinship group. To this day, parents of the bride and bridegroom in some parts of the Philippines call each other not "in-laws," but "members of the same house"—in Iloko, "*abalayan*." The *datu*s were traditional leaders, not rulers in the political sense. And certainly they were not kings or princes, as some of the early Spanish chroniclers thought them to be—an error due to the transfer of concepts from the political experience of Europe. The *barangay*, essentially a group of extended families, proved to be a durable institution. It was preserved intact as the basic unit of local administration throughout the period of the Spanish occupation, from 1565 to 1898, when the headman, called the *cabeza de barangay*, was the lowest, but a crucial, administrative figure.

The benevolence of nature and tropical geography, without the threat of severe winters or parched summers, limited the requirements of life, and, therefore, the development of technology. Production was for consumption, and the individual economies of the dispersed settlements were each self-sufficient; therefore they did not produce surpluses. The plains of Panay island, and perhaps also the lowland area around the bay of Bai in what is now Laguna province, were exceptions, producing surplus rice. But of course there was no system of currency. This economic self-sufficiency and absence of surpluses removed the basis of exchange and limits transport, communication and technology.

Contacts between *barangays* or tribes were necessarily limited. They took the form of chance encounters or conflicts between indivi-



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duals of different settlements, and hostile expeditions when the signs and omens were right. To mitigate what would have been a state of permanent conflict and wearying tension, the *barangays* developed rituals and devices for preserving the peace and for averting or minimizing conflict. The mechanisms consisted principally of respect for someone else's person or domain, great caution between strangers, and polite forms of language and honorific address. Ignorance or non-observance of these mechanisms between residents of different *barangays* was an offense that led to reprisal. Inter-*barangay* relations were therefore largely polarized, from ritualistic politeness on the one hand, to violence on the other. The Filipino dialects to this day abound in these politeness, and Filipinos still speak to strangers in a language that goes to great lengths to avoid hurting anyone's feelings. This is frequently misconstrued by foreigners, especially direct and forward Westerners, as deviousness or servility.

Let us turn back to the economy of the separate settlements. Self-sufficient economically, and having the same commodities of livelihood, the communities did not enter into an exchange economy. What rare exchange there was among them took the form of rudimentary barter. However, there was a more frequent barter trade with alien visitors to the archipelago. Contact had been established with Islamic and Indian elements long ago, and transactions must have taken place. Dealings took place with other Malay peoples. The other direction of limited exchange was from the North—China. There are records of contact with China in the years 982, 1372, 1406 and 1410. Yet these transactions with foreigners had economic significance only for those of the visitors who had come specifically for exchange. The local inhabitants viewed the visits merely as welcome but infrequent diversions, for the peoples of the archipelago did not generally have the specialized culture of the fruits of the soil. Nor were these barter transactions of primary importance to the visiting traders themselves, for the islands lay at the end of the long sea route from India

and beyond, with several countries of more developed culture and industry along the way. The same situation existed with the land-and-sea route from the North. As for the east of the archipelago, the vast Pacific Ocean was an almost complete barrier.

This barrier was crossed in 1521 by the vanguard, as events proved, of systematic European expansion in Asia. The Portuguese explorer Ferdinand Magellan, in the service of the king of Castille, reached the archipelago in that year to prove his theory that the earth was round. He was killed by the natives when he took sides in an intertribal war near Cebu. The survivors of his command continued west and returned to Spain, and thus were the first men to circumnavigate the earth. Five more expeditions were dispatched by the Spanish crown to reap the fruits of Magellan's epochal voyage. The first four were disastrous failures. The last, setting out from Nueva España (Mexico) late in 1564, reached Cebu in February of the next year. It was under the command of Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, who was appointed governor and captain-general of the expedition as well as of the territories which he was to annex to the Spanish crown. With him, besides his crew and troops, were six friars.

Several Cebu *datus* received Legaspi well, whether in friendship or in awe of the strangers with the big ships, fine dress and splendid arms. They acknowledged subordination to him as well as the sovereignty of Spain. Legaspi established his headquarters here, awaiting reinforcements against the uncertainty of venturing on to the other islands. In 1570, however, an exploring detachment sailed north and reached a town called Manila. During a fight between the explorers and the inhabitants, the settlement, which was defended by a palisade along its river front, was burned. The long-awaited reinforcements arrived in mid-1570 and 1571, and Legaspi decided to leave the Visayas for Manila—already an important town, perhaps because it was a Muslim outpost. This time the chiefs of Manila gave way to the foreigners, and acknowledged Spanish sovereignty. On June

3, 1571, the Spaniards declared Manila a Spanish city, giving it the name "Distinguished and Ever Loyal City."

With the passing of Manila to Christian hands, the northward expansion of Islam into Luzon was arrested, and the Muslims were to be contained in Mindanao and Sulu. At the same time, the Spaniards obtained an excellent central base for the colonization of the rest of the archipelago. The native settlements were brought under Spanish rule easily, although the process took almost a century owing to the small number of colonizers and the distance of the islands from Spain. Spanish resources by this time were in fact already overextended in America. But diplomatic tact, the drama of religious ceremony and the decisive factor of firearms, besides the disunity and inferior culture of the natives, combined to bring about the establishment of Spanish rule.

Only Mindanao, under the Moros, as the Spaniards called the Muslim Filipinos after the Moors in Spain, held fast. Christian settlements and armed outposts (*presidios*) were organized in Mindanao as a brake to attacks by Muslims. But the latter crossed the frontier lines easily; in their speedy sailboats (*vintas*) they carried out lightning raids that reached out as far as northern Luzon. Occasional treaties between the Muslim sultans and the Spanish king in the eighteenth century defined jurisdictional boundaries and developed a system of passports. But the requirements of a holy war against the unbelievers, and the tempting profits of capturing Christian slaves for sale, could not be contained. The victims, the Christianized Filipinos, had been gathered by the Spaniards away from their small ancestral settlements to live in larger *pueblos*. This only made it easier for the Muslims, who terrorized the coastal *pueblos*. Their successes were broken only after the nineteenth century was well under way. By then, steamboats had arrived in the Philippines, and the Muslim *vintas* lost out.

The integration of the non-Muslim Filipinos into one administrative entity was therefore the first significant consequence of Span-

ish rule. Where the integration was incomplete, as in the case of the Muslim Filipinos, it became a problem after Spanish rule was ended. The American colonial administration (1898-1946) had to wage the costly "Moro wars" in order to bring Muslim Mindanao under U.S. sovereignty. The Muslim population also had to be treated differently from the Christian Filipinos. Since independence, however, a policy of full political equality to the Muslims, as well as a recognition of the special requirements of their culture, have led to a faster political integration than ever before.

The Filipinos were organized, for the purposes of local government, into towns (*pueblos*) and provinces (*alcaldías*, sometimes called *corregimientos* or *commandancias* when they had military officers as provincial governors). But municipal organization was a sharp and radical change from the pattern of dispersed settlements of the pre-Spanish period. It required a drastic, often painful, wrenching of the natives from their old homes. The new pattern was based on the requirement that the Filipinos were to be resettled and brought "*debajo de las campanas*"—literally, "under the bells." This referred to the process and spirit of Spanish colonial town-making, which required that in every town there must be, in addition to the civil administration, the system of ecclesiastical administration. A parish church for the new townsfolk was therefore in the heart of the town plan, and the residential sites of the subjects were laid out in a regular grid pattern, which was defined by streets radiating from a town plaza or square in the center. The parish church and the town hall (*casa tribunal*) stood by the plaza. The Filipinos were now gathered together, to live within hearing of the great church bells that tolled the hours of worship and prayer.

The old *barangays* and their members were brought bodily into the new scheme of municipal organization. The folk of the *pueblo* were divided into *barangays*, each under its own head or *cabeza*. This traditional leader therefore became an administrative function-

nary of the colonial regime; his position remained hereditary, as before. The *cabeza's* chief responsibility was to collect the levies, called *tributos*, from each adult member of the *barangay*, and to see to it that the personal labor services—called *polos y servicios*, a system of forced labor for supposed public purposes—were rendered. In recognition of this service and of his social status, the *cabeza* was exempted from the *tributo*; first sons were given the same exemption. The *cabezas* of the town collectively made up the *principalia*, or leading citizens. From among them the *governadorcillo* or "little governor" was chosen as town head.

The *principalia* as a local aristocracy became a durable social institution. The *cabezas* and the *governadorcillo* did not count for much in the eyes of the Spanish colonial community. They were ill recompensed for their onerous responsibilities, terrorized by the Spanish friar who was the parish priest, and victimized by the Spanish provincial governor and his retinue of fellow Spaniards. In the eyes of their fellow natives, however, their sociopolitical status remained as exalted as before, and some of them succumbed to temptation of emulating their Spanish superiors, indulging in graft—on their own account. Their role in the large society of Filipinos and Spaniards was that of political shock absorbers and cultural middlemen. It turned out to be an important role. The demands of the Spanish officials and friars were transmitted to the masses of the Filipinos through the *principalia*. Since these demands were invariably burdensome and vexatious, the *principalia* justified them to their own people; in turn, they represented the natives' difficulties to the rulers. It was a natural process, and there was nothing high-flown and noble about it. To preserve their status with the masses below, the *cabezas* and *governadorcillos* sought in effect to moderate the regime's impositions. To preserve their prerogatives in the colonial order, they cooperated and collaborated. The outcome was a *modus vivendi* between the native community and the Spanish community. In practice, the Filipino masses complied incompletely or

only externally—evaded where possible—the rigorous exactions of the colonial order. The friars and officials of the regime tried to get more compliance, but accepted what they in fact got. It was not a perfect relationship, but it could have been much worse. The Spanish occupation rested, and lasted, on this equilibrium.

For their part, the ordinary people were of no consequence to the Spaniards except as the source of revenue. The avenues of social mobility were closed. Politics was not available to them. Education was rudimentary and intended for nothing but unquestioning acceptance of the friar's interpretation of Christian faith and morals. Economic entrepreneurship was impossible in the provinces; government policies reduced them to stagnation until the late eighteenth century. In the cities the Chinese, who had been coming in increasing numbers as resident craftsmen and traders, monopolized the service trades. Indeed a perverted system of values developed in which assignment to menial tasks in the service of the friar or of some Spaniard was accorded social distinction—but even these lowly services were reserved for the families of the *principalia*. The colonial order froze the Filipino masses to permanent impotence.

Some degree of rationalism in governmental administration and some liberalism in philosophical outlook reached Spain with the accession of the Bourbons to the monarchy and through the delayed arrival of the French Enlightenment. Eventually these reached the Philippines. But here again the local *principalia* practically monopolized the opportunities for advancement that were offered by limited economic progress. Higher education was available later on only in Manila or abroad, and starting with the 1880s only a few leading Filipino families—now called the "*ilustrados*"—could take advantage of it.

Under the American regime later on, avenues for social advancement through economic activity and education were finally opened. But again the effects were restricted to certain classes. Opportunities are available only to those who are able to take and use

them—in this case, the *principalia*. This situation was even more prevalent in politics. The first elections under U.S. rule were town or local elections. This meant that local issues were to predominate, that local interests were to come to the fore, and that local techniques were to come into play. Most important of all, it meant that at this time when the foundations of Filipino political leadership were being established, those foundations were constituted by the leading families of the *pueblos*. The resulting organization of national politics in the Philippines turned out to be essentially based on local foundations and on the same class structure developed under Spanish rule.

The consequences of a consistently broadening range of educational and economic opportunities in the last half century were becoming evident in the 1960s. A middle class had made its appearance, growing from an ever-increasing body of professionals and business proprietors or executives. Personal achievement through merit and energy, rather than one's family status, was becoming increasingly recognized as a social value. When this value becomes strong enough to contend with tradition and social status, and when the middle class will exert influence as a class in the political system, Philippine politics will acquire a new character and spirit.

The tributes and labor services of the Filipinos were the chief economic support of Spanish rule in the Philippines until almost the close of the eighteenth century. The Spaniards were essentially a nonproducing class in the colony's population. They were priests, soldiers, and officeholders or aspiring officeholders and their families. Besides, arrival in the colony seemed to transform every Spaniard into a nobleman, an *hidalgo*, who disdained manual work. Thus their presence led to a significant change in the native economy. The Filipinos now had to produce not only enough for their own subsistence, but an increment for the support of the newcomers. But their earlier farm plots were now inadequate, as were their methods and tools, and so they learned or were taught cultivation, espe-

cially of rice, in laid-out paddy fields. A modest technological transformation was to take place.

Yet an export economy did not develop. The Filipino subjects produced only what was necessary to cover their tribute obligations and to meet the quota of provisions that they were to sell to the government supply stores. There was no incentive for them to produce more. The government purchases of provisions (*reales compras*) were forced upon the Filipinos at prices fixed by the government buyers, so that the purchases were called by the Filipinos *bandalas*, because the whole process seemed to be the work of vandals. In the matter of payment of the tribute, the natives were regularly cheated by the Spanish assessors and collectors.

As for the Spaniards, the experience in America was significant. There, mines and plantations were granted or assigned as private property to Spaniards. The resulting abuse of native labor led to the death of thousands of Indians. Conscience-stricken, the Spanish monarchy prohibited mining operations in the Philippines, as well as further residence of Spaniards in the provinces. These decisions, acts of humanitarianism, mitigated the shock of colonialism and softened the encounter between the native and Hispanic cultures by reducing the range of contact between the colonial subjects and rulers. But they also arrested economic development. The prohibition against taking up residence in the provinces, relaxed in 1642 and 1696 revoked later in the eighteenth century, operated to concentrate the Spanish community in Manila, with the obvious exception of the priests and provincial government officials. The Manila Spaniards obtained provisions from the nearby provinces, and their other requirements from the Manila Chinese. The latter lived in a segregated quarter, called the Parian, built under the guns of the city walls. For its luxuries and dollars, however, the Spanish colony relied on the Manila galleon that normally made a yearly voyage to Acapulco. An excellent work is available on this remarkable enterprise. Many of the galleons were built in the Philip-

pinos, some in the Visayas, others near Manila. Fine timber stands were felled by forced labor for this purpose; their sails were woven by the weavers of the Ilocos, their cables and rigging furnished from the *abaca* (Manila hemp) of the Bikol provinces of southern Luzon. Aside from this labor, the famous trade had no impact on the native economy. In Mexico, as a matter of fact, the Manila galleon was known as the *Nao de China*. The galleons loaded the silks and wares previously brought to Manila by the Chinese traders, took them to Acapulco, and returned with silver; European goods and mail for the Spanish colony; and personnel, supplies, and correspondence for the church and the government. Most of the treasure was taken back to China on board the Chinese trading junks.

It was not until the 1780s that commercial-export agriculture in the strict sense appeared, and that land began to be systematically cultivated for the production of surpluses for trade. The occasion was the shipment to Spain, in 1783 or 1784, of the first cargo of export tobacco and indigo from the Philippines. The tobacco was valued at 150,000 pesos, and it was followed by subsequent shipments. By 1795, 1,297,772 pesos had been remitted to the mother country. The event is significant. Originally, the function of land in the economy was limited to the culture of food crops for the consumption of the natives. With the beginning of Spanish rule, this function was expanded to produce provisions for the Spaniards and commodities for payment of the natives' tribute and other contributions to the regime. Now, for the first time, land became a factor of production in the national economy's new industry: commercial agriculture.

The shipment of tobacco was made possible by the establishment, in 1782, of the government tobacco monopoly. The growing of the weed was prohibited except in certain assigned localities, such as those in the Cagayan Valley and in what is now Nueva Ecija province. In effect, fairly large-scale specialization in agriculture was successfully introduced. Specialized cultivation of sugar and *abaca*

began almost at the same time. The demand for these products came from European trading companies that had become interested in the Philippines' agricultural potential since the British occupation of Manila (1762), although they had to resort to bribes and other subterfuges to escape the legal restrictions on foreign traders. Finally, specialized export agriculture led to a demand at home for staples, such as food crops and especially rice. The expanded demand for agricultural products, both for the home and foreign markets, led to a demand for land and its cultivation.

The earlier function of land scarcely related it to economic development. There were, roughly, four types of landholders: (a) the natives, whose possessions were undefined by boundaries; (b) the religious corporations and charitable organizations, which were assigned land grants by the crown for their support; (c) Spaniards who were likewise assigned grants as a reward for services rendered to the crown; and (d) the Spanish royal estate. A fifth category was the *pueblos*, which were assigned commons or lands whose products were for the benefit of the *pueblo*-residents as a whole. All other persons (the other foreigners and especially the Chinese) had no rights of ownership.

The religious orders, charitable groups, and Spaniards were originally assigned *encomiendas*. This assignment or grant consisted in the right to collect the tributes of the natives living within the boundaries of the grant. The word "*encomienda*," however, was commonly used to refer to the land itself, and it was not difficult for the grantees or *ecomenderos* to regard the land as their own. But so long as there were no remunerative markets for surplus produce the *encomenderos* had no interest in increasing production beyond what was necessary to meet their own needs. Hoarding was an alternative possibility, but it was hardly practical. The products of the *encomienda* lands, chiefly rice, could not be shipped out. Lading space in the annual galleons was so precious that bulk cargoes that returned little profit in relation to volume were dismissed in favor of the porcelain, silks,

and jewelry from China. And the Chinese had not come to trade their valuable cargoes for rice; they wanted Mexican silver. For immediate and local profits, in any event, the *encomenderos* had only to cheat the native cultivators through intimidation, arbitrary prices, and the use of crooked weights and measures.

The *encomienda* grants were for limited periods but were repeatedly extended for the religious orders and the chief charitable organizations. Somewhere along the way, probably starting late in the eighteenth century, *encomenderos* became owners, and not merely holders, of the plantation-sized tracts. The rest of the land not assigned to the natives was administered for the king as a proprietor, and the tributes were collected for his own personal account—that is, separately from the account of the government itself. Our knowledge about the natives' landholdings is very limited. A Spanish author writing just after 1800 warned that all the lands of the natives were being acquired by the Chinese mestizos. This group was made up of the children of Chinese fathers (usually Christian, either for reasons of faith or business convenience) and Filipino mothers. They inherited their fathers' proverbial business talents, and were assimilated into the local population easily through their mothers. In any event, when outlets for agricultural surpluses were opened, the religious corporations and the Filipino-Chinese mestizo families had plantation-sized holdings, which it was now in their interest to exploit fully. Backward technology kept production down, but farm-size and business interest made possible the steady accumulation of handsome corporate and family fortunes.

These holdings were the antecedents of the haciendas or plantations, which have figured so prominently in rice and sugar culture in the Philippines. They are analogous to the *fincas* of Spanish America. The friar estates, as the holdings of the religious orders were later called, also loomed large among social problems, especially those arising from landlord-tenant relations. Where their estates were non-agricultural, as when they comprised towns, the

friar orders became *rentiers*. When the estates were agricultural, the friar orders sometimes administered them direct, but usually the land was leased out to the leading or more enterprising Filipino and *mestizo* families of the nearby towns. The lessees were called *inquilinos*; they did not till the land, but had the estates worked by cultivators, called *kasama*. The estate owners collected rents from the *inquilinos*; these rents were deducted from the crop, and the balance was divided equally between the *inquilinos* on the one hand and the *kasama* on the other. As land values gradually rose, the religious orders raised the rent, the *inquilinos* charged the increment against the crop, and the tenants' share was reduced. The latter, who produced the crop, did not progress with economic growth, but the noncultivators prospered. Landlord-tenant relations outside the friar estates, and especially those relating to division of the crop, continued to be a vexing social problem until the 1960s. The *inquilinos* later became important elements in the *ilustrado* class that developed among the Filipinos in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Philippine export agriculture moved at a faster tempo by the beginning of the nineteenth century. It will be useful to recall that western Europe was then just beginning its industrial revolution, to give added energy to the outpost of imperialism that had already been established in China and Southeast Asia. The United States, although still largely an underdeveloped country itself, was emerging as a leading maritime power in the Pacific and Far East.¹⁰ The result of all this was the build-up of pressure for the opening of the Philippines to world trade. The port of Manila was actually opened in 1789 to shipping of all nations dealing in goods of Asiatic origin. European goods were forbidden, but the colonial officials either were lax or allowed European trade for a consideration, for European and U.S. shipping had been calling regularly at Manila as early as the 1790s. The restrictive policy was not tenable, and it gave way to the complete opening of the port of Manila in the 1830s.

Hidalgo's art offered a distinct contribution to the Propaganda Movement

R. Hidalgo

The latter part of the nineteenth century in the Philippines saw many young men traveling to Europe. Students and artists joined with those who were escaping the restrictive atmosphere of the country, and the Propaganda Movement found many of its most ardent supporters among this group.

Among them were Rizal, the Lunas, Del Pilar, Lopez-Jaena, Paterno and Felix Resurreccion Hidalgo. Born of a well-to-do family, Hidalgo's life seemed to run more smoothly and with less frustrations than most. His artistic talent was recognized early, and although his own family seemed to have preferred that he study law, this recognition resulted in his going to Europe, where he thrived in the ambience of freedom, culture, and patriotism fostered by time and company.

He had garnered prizes and medals easily in the Philippines. It was the same in Europe, where he received distinctions and honors. Classic subjects worked in classic style gained him recognition surpassed only by Juan Luna. In the brief while that his family in the Philippines was unable to send him financial assistance, relatives in Spain helped out. Even when he did have to suffer some difficulties he was not alone, for many of the Filipinos in Europe were going through worse times.

Luna and Hidalgo gained recognition for the Philippines in the Continent and the active propagandists did not ask much else from them except that they give time and effort to their talents.

In 1912, after more than 30 years abroad, Hidalgo returned to the Philippines. His family, whose fortunes had been regained, tried to keep him, but he left for Europe after six months, taking the trans-Siberian way. He died of illness shortly after arrival in Barcelona.

Hidalgo was an indefatigable painter, and produced many works, the majority of which reflect the European style and subject matter. The few times he chose to paint Philippine subjects, the sentiment and interpretation were infused with classic romanticism. Aside from the full-size paintings which grace many of the collections in the Philippines, these studies provide valuable though not total substitutes for works destroyed in the 1945 Liberation of the Philippines, and for other masterpiece housed in museums and collections abroad.



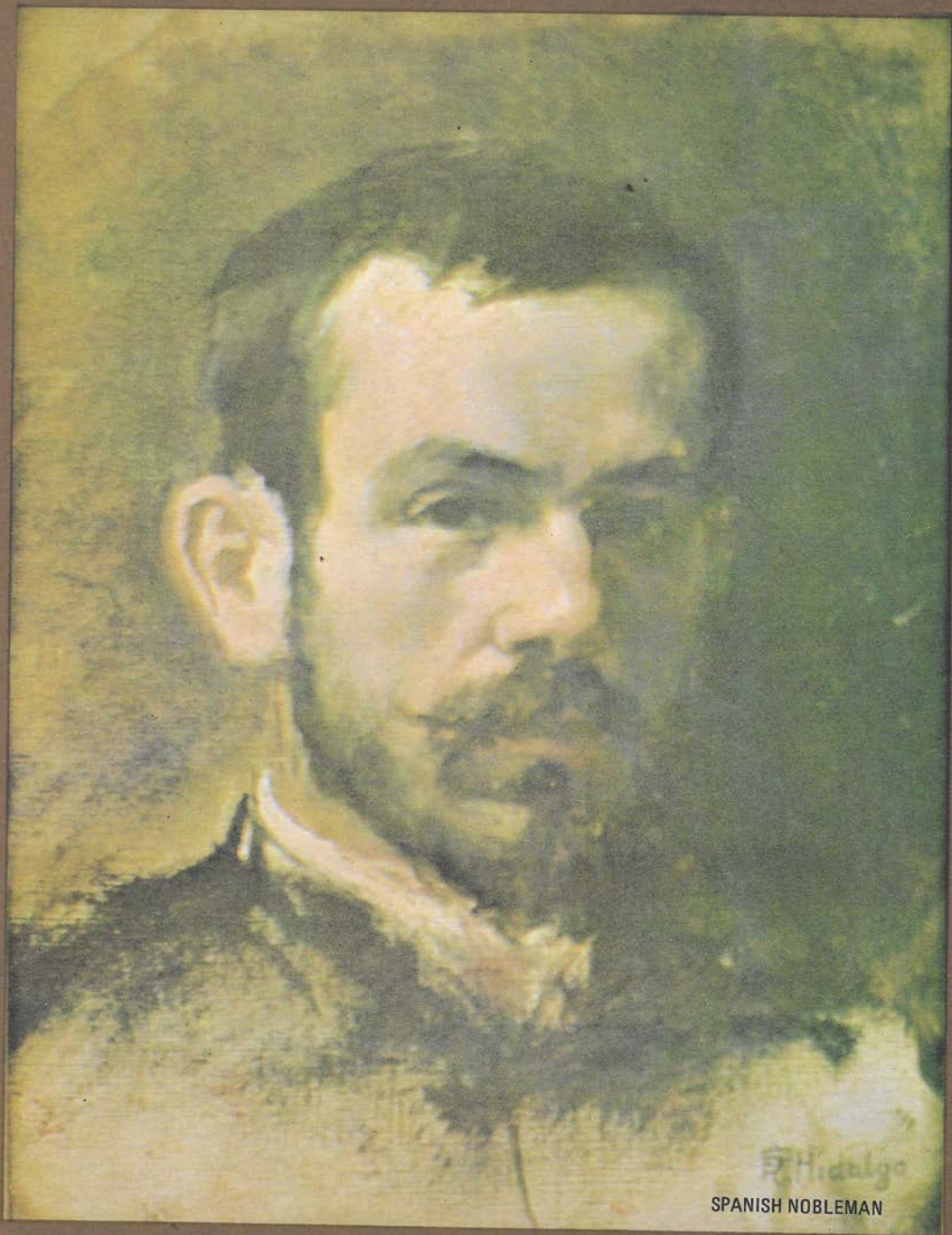
EL ASESINATO DEL GOVERNADOR BUSTAMANTE Y SU HIJO



LA BARCA DE AQERONTE



LADY BY THE DOORWAY



SPANISH NOBLEMAN



LA MODELO



An academician,
Hidalgo was
hardly touched by modern
influences





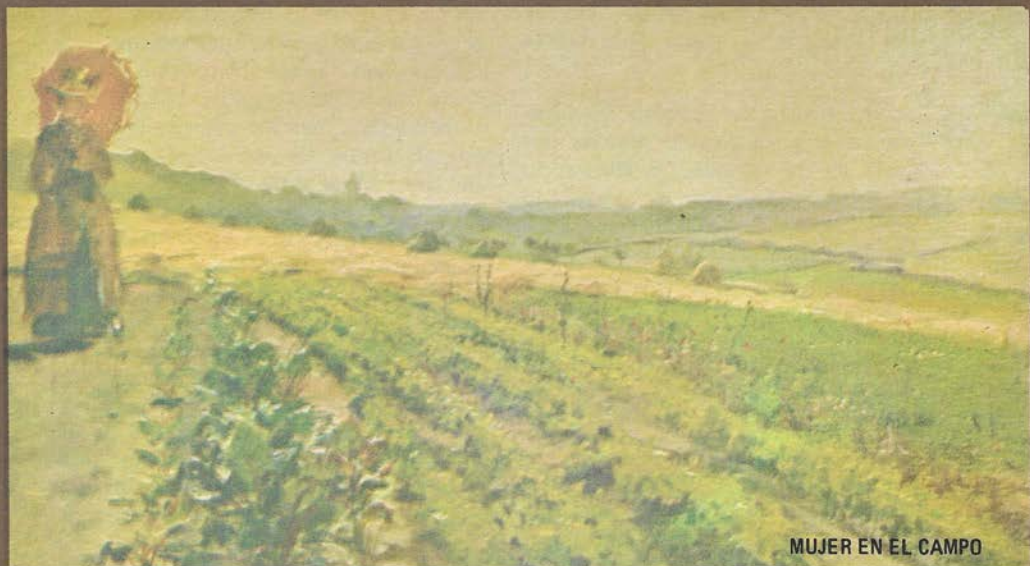
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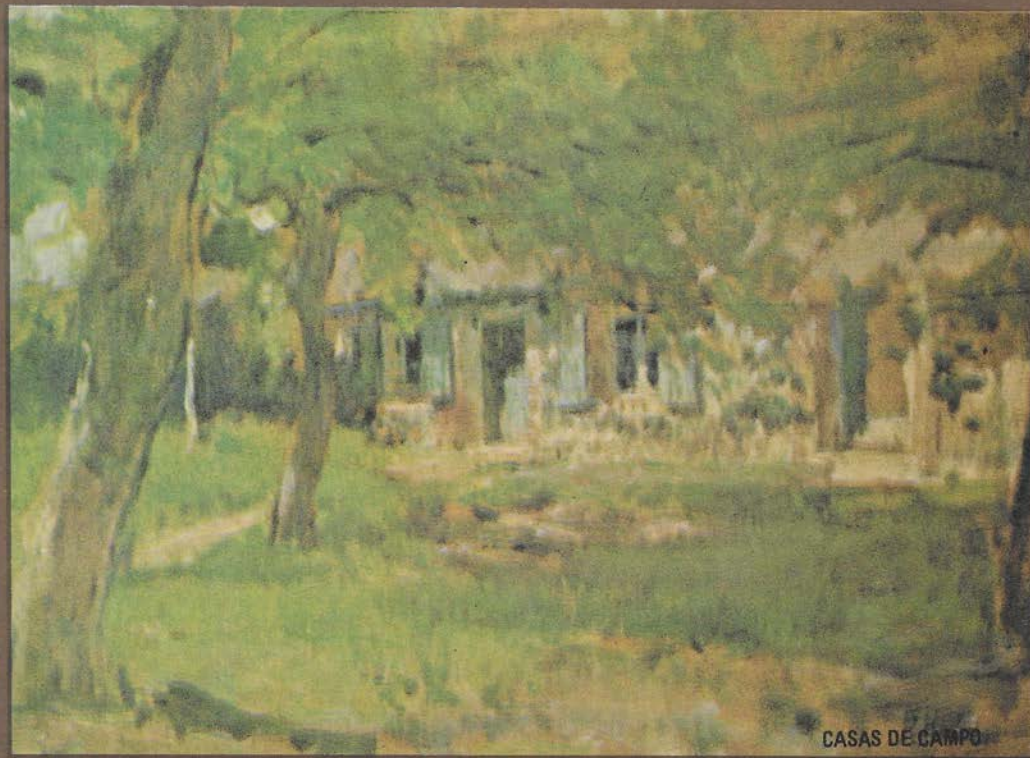
AFUERAS DE PARIS



RETRATO DE MERCEDES MARTINEZ



MUJER EN EL CAMPO



CASAS DE CAMPO

Hardly any Filipino grows up who does not have an *aswang* or two lurking back there in his childhood.

One of the commoner species of *aswang* he will remember surely lived in a *balete* tree that grew by the roadside. On the way to school, he always took care to cross over to the other side of the road on approaching the tree to avoid being snatched by the *aswang* that lived there. Very likely, too, it stood in front of an old run-down house with bats for its only tenants, and this added to its forbidding appearance. After dusk, nothing in the world could possibly have enticed him to play hide-and-seek in its vicinity.

But there are more fanciful *aswangs*. In San Fernando, Pampanga, a rice-producing province in Central Luzon, they tell of *aswangs* with armpits from which swords of fire lash

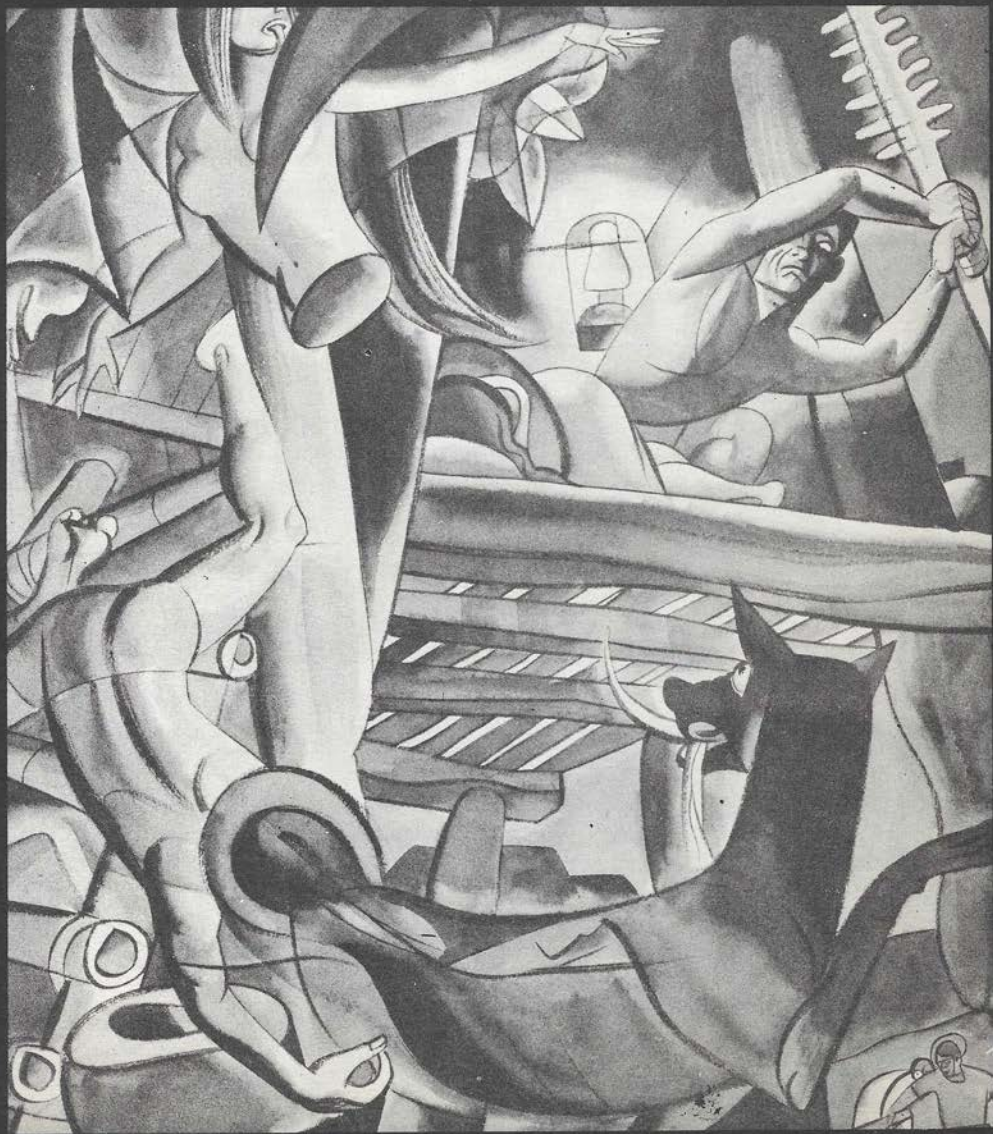
out. In Capiz, which has, warranted or not, gained the reputation of being home to many *aswangs*, the *aswangs* are peculiar. At the stroke of midnight, they leave the lower parts of their bodies, from the waist down, in their hideouts, usually the premises of cemeteries. The upper halves of the *aswangs* then fly off in search of newly dead. The Capiz *aswangs* live off the livers and gall bladders of fresh corpses and that is why wakes must be held through the night to guard the dead from the *aswang*. The way to kill them would be to locate the lower halves where they are left behind and sprinkle salt on to the gory surface of the waist. This done, one may safely hide behind some rock and watch as the upper halves of the *aswangs* return from their nocturnal excursions only to streak off suddenly in anger and in pain, never to return. When this happens, the *aswangs* give off eerie

THE ASWANG

AND OTHER CREATURES

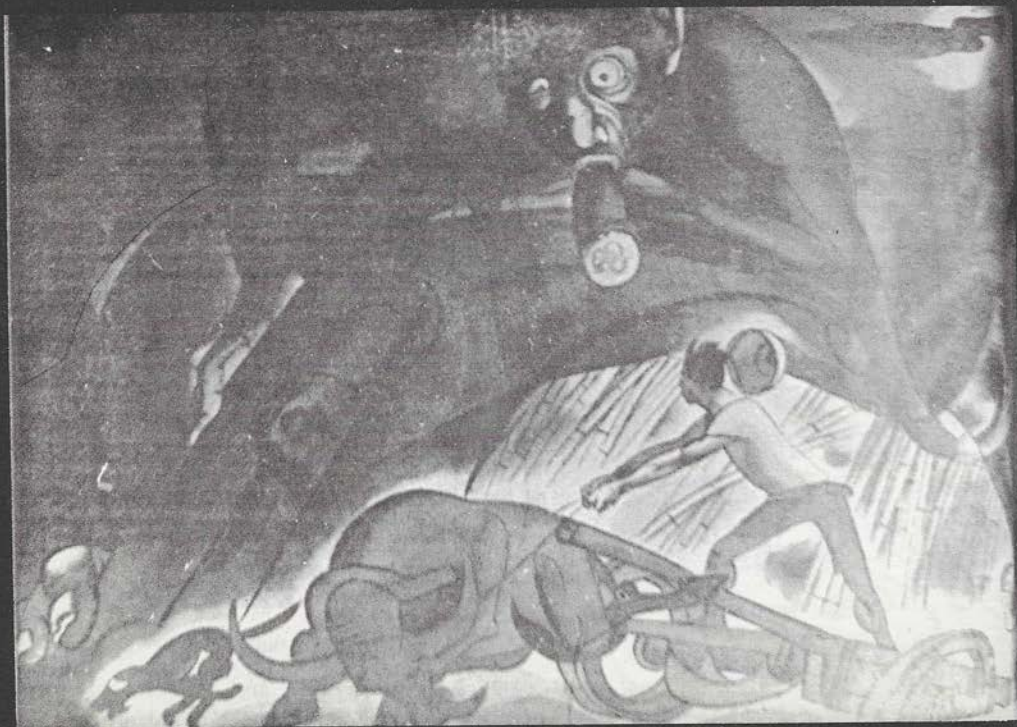
OF PHILIPPINE LOWER MYTHOLOGY

BY NATI NUGUID





The mangkukulam is a witch, plain, bashful and extremely vindictive.



The kapre is a Philippine demon, large, dark and able to assume frightening shapes.

shrieks that can be heard from one end of town to another. If one is going to watch the return of the *aswang* it would be advisable to plug one's ears since people have been known to go crazy from the sound.

In the coconut region of Quezon, *aswangs* are embodied in human beings and what is more, breed *aswangs* generation after generation. The attitude toward them is casual. "Sino, siya? *Aswang* po siya." (Oh, you mean her? She's an *aswang*.) And this said of a neighbor with whom one has daily traffic. Ka Ange of a town in Quezon, an *aswang* if there ever was one, used to steam the best *puto* in town. Her *puto*-making prowess has deteriorated with the years but not her *aswang* powers.

If a member of one's household falls ill and no medicine in the world get him well, the *aswang* had probably cast an evil eye on the hapless one. A safe guess would be that the *aswang* is hanging around nearby. The thing to do would be to call in an *berbolario* to exorcise the evil spirit.

There was a time not too many decades ago when every door in Manila and the surrounding provinces had to be marked with a black cross. The talk was that some vampires were on the prowl and whether one believed in them or not, the sensible thing was to paint the cross on one's door, just in case.

As one grew older, he believed less and less in *aswangs* and other mysterious beings. Eventually these disappeared from one's existence if not from his memory. In times of real danger, however, one comfortably fell back on them, maybe because, beyond the realm of the explainable though they were, they represented a less forbidding evil. For instance, one subject interviewed for this article relates:

"I was quite grown, in fact already in university and no longer believed in anything I did not see or which science could not explain, when the second world war broke out and my family evacuated to a province on the shore of Laguna Bay. Whenever Japanese motor boats were sighted in the horizon, specially at night, the girls and older women in the eva-

cuation town would be sent into the hinterland to hide from the Japanese who were surely coming on raping forays, or so we believed. Earlier, the old town folk had warned the evacuees about the *matanda sa punso*, or dwarfs who dwelled in little earth mounds of which there were a number in the woods. One was not to step on these mounds. One was to show respect to the *matanda sa punso* and ask their permission before passing by. Then the little men would protect us from the Japanese. Since at that time the Japanese were the main enemy, and only too real one did not think of questioning the existence of the *matanda sa punso*. One did not think anymore, in fact. One just followed the leader and called out, "*Matanda sa punso, makikidaan po,*" and jumped to avoid the earth mounds. It did no harm and who knew, it could perhaps save one from a fate worse than death. At any rate, it would not have been wise either, to step on what was surely an anthill."

Better too, an innocent myth to gloss over an ugly truth. Another source of an *aswang* story relates:

"I was sufficiently already of age to smile knowingly and maliciously when I was first told of the devil who had incorporated himself in the body of a black pig one evening to put evil thoughts in the mind of my great grandfather. He was an ecclesiastic who was piously saying his prayers in church that fateful evening when this black pig suddenly materialized in front of the altar.

"My great-grandfather kneeling in prayer became transfixed as he watched the pig grow bigger and bigger in size. Then having given my great-grandfather the evil eye, it disappeared. The poor pious man did not even bother to finish his prayers. Obviously seized by the devil, he went into the room of his housekeepers, two innocent sisters from the town, and relieved himself of his devilry on them. Nine months later, within days of each other, the two innocent women were delivered of babies, both girls, Manuela and Margarita."

There are other versions of devils disguising themselves as black pigs. A former chief of

police in the capital of a Central Luzon province, used to tell his sons that sometimes as he would patrol the outskirts of town a big black pig would dart across the railroad tracks to disappear into the woods. Whenever this happened something dreadful would have occurred in some other part of the town—a woman raped and strangled, a house ransacked, a baby choked to death. The chief of police would organize men to catch the pig but the devil was always faster than the town police.

The black pig that sowed evil in the mind of that pious great grandfather and eluded the net of the Central Luzon policeman is most likely the same as, or related to, the *tikbalang* mentioned by Joaquin Martinez de Zuñiga in his "Historia de las Islas Filipinas", as documented by Blair and Robertson. According to Zuñiga, an Augustinian parish priest reported that his parishioners were "afraid of the *tikbalang*, a kind of ghost which they said appeared to them in the form of an animal or of some unknown monster and forced them to do things contrary to the laws of our religion."

Tikbalangs could also appear as an old man or some sort of cross between a man and an animal. In whatever form or by whatever name, the supernatural beings conveniently explained away many things and were as well a face-saving device in certain situations: the young girl who became pregnant out of wedlock could have been visited by an *aswang*; angry *dwendes* caused the crops to dry up; an eclipse occurred when a hungry dragon swallowed the moon.

Spanish historical writings about the country are in fact replete with accounts of Filipino beliefs in the supernatural and practices based on these beliefs: the wearing of talismans to ward off spirits that cause illness; anointing the bodies with oil preparations for the same purpose; the offering of sacrifice to appease the witches and such who might cast evil spells on anything from the harvests that might then become meager to springs that might as a consequence dry up; bolting windows at night to keep off the vampires.

The early missionaries, in propagating Christianity, relegated to the category of superstitions fomented by the devil and therefore to be banned, those practices that were inimical to the new religion. But certainly it is conceivable that the missionaries' task was facilitated by the widespread beliefs in the supernatural already existing since the new doctrine was based on faith in not only a Superbeing or God but a super being who was at the same time three persons, an Almighty both in benevolence and in wrath, to be revered and to be feared. This may in fact have bolstered predisposition of the people to believe in the supernatural. Hanging the blessed branch above the doorway after it has been blessed on Palm Sunday is certainly not too different from stringing corn husks around the window to propitiate the gods of harvest. At any rate some of the beliefs in *aswangs* and witches have persisted and to this day the *berbolario* who can undo the evil wrought by a witch still does brisk trade in far from benighted *barrios*.

Dr. Maximo Ramos, an educator, has done an exhaustive study of Philippine lower mythology not in the conviction that these beliefs should be encouraged but because he finds in them a rich source of material for grade school literature that catch the attention of children and hold it. He also thinks they are of untold value in the Filipino's efforts to rediscover his own culture and identification.

In Ramos' book, "Creatures of Philippine Lower Mythology", one finds that there are in fact a whole range of characters beyond *aswang* and *matanda sa punso*, told about by the old folk to the youngsters. He suggests that besides stirring the imagination of children, these mythological characters could be put to good use as educational material: as subjects for art activities; to spice lessons in elementary courtesy (dwarfs and elves for instance must be treated with courtesy if one does not wish to incur their wrath); to arouse interest in music and in literature since there is no dearth of works based on music and folklore by the Shakespeares and the Schuberts of the world.

A GROUP OF WEIRD CREATURES



Dr. Ramos groups Philippine lower mythology characters culled from interviews and existing literature on the subject all over the world as follows:

1. **Demons** are dark and generally huge, solitary creatures capable of assuming various frightening shapes of people and beasts. They live in large trees, particularly the *balete* (*Ficus indica*) and the *kalumpang* (*Sterculia foetida*). Some are headless, others are horseshaped, and a few have magic jewels which they can be made to surrender. They emit smoke or fire from their mouth and cause nightmares or insanity, but they can be subdued by resolute men. The most common Philippine demons are the *agta*, *bangungot* or *batibat*, *kapre*, *pugot*, and *tikbalang*.

2. **Dragons** are medium-sized, but often enormous, creatures which in Philippine folklore appear to have four principal shapes: (1) birdlike, (2) fishlike, (3) crocodilelike, and (4) snakelike. The python and the crocodile were probably considered dragons by the early Filipinos who, contrary to the observations made by the early Spanish chroniclers, revered them while they feared them. The huge *minokawa* and *baconawa* are dragons still considered by some Philippine ethnic groups to be responsible for eclipses by swallowing the sun and/or moon, and they are intimidated into releasing their lunar or solar prey by noise from the earth during an eclipse.

3. **Dwarfs** are runtish, mostly invisible folk resembling men. Their realm is underground. They own gold in jars and in mines. They frequent human neighborhoods, especially those close to anthills. Dwarfs are believed to be the primordial owners of land, and farmers can till the land only if the dwarfs permit them. Such permission is granted after offerings are made to them at different stages in the raising of a particular crop. When offended, dwarfs inflict a long list of diseases, such as a wry mouth, heart disease, blindness, and chills and fever. But they give good harvests when humored. Some of them steal children. They are foiled with salt and spices and certain stratagems. Among the most common Philippine dwarfs are the *calanget*, *lakay*, *matanda sa punso*, *taong lupa*, and *tianak*.



4. **Elves** are mythical beings with high-bridged noses, fair skin and sometimes blond hair. They live in families but rarely in larger groups. They are generally small creatures, though some are tall. They inhabit trees and shrubs and resent intruders. Though pranksters, they are easily offended. Their permission must be sought when making a clearing, for like the dwarfs they inflict a wide variety of ailments when hurt or offended. They are attractive when in human communities and turn suddenly ugly when in their own realm. Some of the most common Philippine elves are the *aghoy*, *encanto* and *encantada*, *kibanan*, *magtitima*, *mahomanay*, *mangmangkit*, *palasekan*, and *tahamaling*.

5. **Ghouls** are rapacious creatures that are said to dwell in large trees, especially trees near burial grounds, for they are believed to feed on human corpses and then get the survivors of the deceased as well. Like carrion birds, they gather around corpses and feast on them; they can hear sounds of approaching death from afar and can replace a corpse with a banana trunk after first making the plant look like the corpse. They turn the corpse into a pig and then eat it. Ghouls are afraid of prickly or sharp objects, fire, noise, and aromatic leaves, such as those of the *sobosob* (*Blumea balsamefera*). The *balbal*, *calag*, *segben* and certain aspects of the *aswang* and the *buso* are the most common ghouls in Philippine folklore.

6. **Giants** are huge but comparatively harmless creatures. They are mostly human in shape, though one is birdlike and another is tailed like a monkey. Muscular braggarts, they are nevertheless cowardly and pathetically stupid. They dwell near human communities and often interact with people, who then often manage to play tricks on them. Many Philippine giants have kindly spouses. Philippine giants are often known by the names that the folk have given them. Among the most common of these are *Angngalo*, *Bungisngis*, *Buringcantada* and *Gisurab*. Giants are especially numerous in Northern Luzon.

7. **Merfolk** are creatures, almost solely represented by mermaids in Philippine folklore, who are attractive maidens with abundant hair above the waist and the tail of a fish below. They live in the sea and in fresh water. When residing behind waterfalls, they have no fishlike features. Mermaids are especially fond of gold and jewelry, and their homes under the sea and their caves behind waterfalls contain plenty of gold and precious stones. They capture children and older people and take them to their realm, but they often drown them. They lure their victims by singing sweet songs or by pretending to drown in distress. When the victim approaches, they cause the water to rise and suddenly engulf him with it. Merfolk have a strong fish smell and those that assume completely human shape can often be detected by this smell. They are afraid of steel blades. The most common Philippine mermaids are the *catao*, *serena* and *ugkoy*.

8. **Ogres** are large, man-eating monsters in basically human shape who, unlike the



Philippine giants, live comparatively far from human habitations. Their aspect is more frightening than that of the giants. Most of the ogres live in trees, but a few dwell in big, well-furnished houses shaped like those in which humans live. Some ogres know the use of tools and are farmers, tilling large tracts of rich land. They can easily change their form and chase their prey consisting of both people and animals. Like the giants, some ogres have kindly wives and have had names given to them by the folk. Like the giants, too, they are bullies but are easily fooled even by the domestic cat. Some can fly and have a keen scent, especially for human victims. As in the case of the giants, there are more ogres in Northern Luzon than elsewhere in the country. Among the most striking Philippine ogres are Aran, the busao, the garuda and the tarabusao.

9. **Vampires** are female monsters disguised as physically attractive maidens by day who marry their prospective victims or the latter's neighbors. They fly out at night in the form of women or birds. They gorge themselves with fresh human blood which they suck through their long, tubular tongue with a pointed tip. They let down their tongue to reach their victims. On their bodies they rub a certain ointment at night to assume their vampire shape and wash it off at dawn to resume their human form, when they become powerless. They can be killed with a steel blade. The Philippine vampires include the danag, the mandurugo and the blood-sucking aswang.

10. **Viscera Suckers** are monsters who look like attractive women by day but at night detach their lower section from the waist down, conceal it, and fly out to suck or otherwise extract the entrails and sputum of their human victims. The viscera sucker is rare in European folklore, but it is among the most widely known mythical creature in Philippine traditional literature. As a rule, viscera suckers marry humans in order to live in human communities though some of them dwell in remote jungles. They are afraid of condiments, light, the sting ray's tail, steel and sour food. Salt and vinegar, sprinkled on the top of the viscera sucker's lower section which it leaves behind when it goes out foraging after midnight, will prevent the two sections from joining, thus killing the monster. The abat, boroka, manananggal, mangalok, wawak and some aspects of the aswang are the most common Philippine viscera suckers.

11. **Werewolves** are monsters shaped like men and women who live in human communities by day and prowl about at night, when they become fierce dogs and boars (but not wolves, since wolves are not found in the Philippines and hence this category of creatures can be designated as weredogs or werebeasts). They attack their victims with great ferocity, sinking their teeth and nails into the body and then devouring the flesh. They are afraid of spices, garlic, sharp steel blades stuck through the bamboo floor, and certain seeds, leaves, kinds of wood, and whole plants. The malakat and some aspects of the aswang are werewolves.



12. **Witches** are men and especially women who look rather plain and bashful. They are extremely vindictive, inflicting great pain by planting objects into their victim's body, but like most African witches, some Philippine witches inflict their bane involuntarily by an innocent word or look. There are certain ways to tell a witch from a non-witch person, such as an inverted image in the witch's eyes. Numerous countermeasures against witches are known, and these have been broadly classified as (1) certain church-related objects or rites, (2) certain plants or parts of plants, (3) certain strong-smelling objects, especially when burned, (4) certain domestic objects, (5) certain acts and (6) certain sea products. The *mangkukulam*, *manggagamod* and some aspects of the *aswang* are the chief Philippine witches.

GLOSSARY

1. *Asuwang* or *Aswang* – an evil character that assumes various forms.
 2. *balete* tree – a large tree with wide massive trunks and spreading roots. (*Ficus indica*).
 3. *Central Luzon* – region in the central part of Luzon consisting of Bulacan, Pampanga, Tarlac, Nueva Ecija and Pangasinan.
 4. *dwende* – dwarf.
 5. *herbolario* – quack doctor.
 6. "*Makikidaan po*" – "May I pass?"
 7. *Matanda sa punso* – little old men who live in earth hills.
 8. *puto* – steamed rice cake.
 9. *Quezon* – formerly, *Tayabas*, a province along the eastern coast of Southern Luzon named after its most famous son, President Manuel L. Quezon.
 10. *San Fernando* – the capital of Pampanga, one of the provinces comprising Central Luzon.
 11. *tikbalang* – a supernatural creature usually of huge and hideous proportions.
-



OPLE



CORPUZ

contributors

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Tikbalang