

THE PHILIPPINES Q^UARTERLY

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CROSSROADS OF '71 BY ALEJANDRO MELCHOR THE PASION AND THE SEASON OF LENT BY ARMANDO D. MANALO
THE PHILIPPINE FOREIGN TRADE ZONE BY TEODORO PEÑA THE FILIPINO BELEN BY MONINA A. MERCADO MAYON
COUNTRY BY VICENTE RIVERA IFUGAO RICE TERRACES BY LINA ESPINA MOORE YOUNG FRESH FACES A
PICTORIAL THE FILIPINO WOMAN BY LETICIA RAMOS SHAHANI THE CURIOS AND THE COMMERCIAL BY LUISA
H.A. LINSANGAN THE FLAVORS OF A FILIPINO CHRISTMAS BY DOREEN FERNANDEZ



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THE COVER. Detail of the Crucifixion from the Pilapil version of the *Pasion*, also known as the *Pasion Henesis*. Illustration was done by an unknown artist.



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THE CROSSROADS OF '71

By ALEJANDRO MELCHOR





Historians have observed that we are still too close to the nineteenth century to write its history, and certainly too involved in the twentieth to even understand it. It is a *caveat* worth remembering in any discussion of Philippine relations with socialist countries. Events and policies seem to pile up willy-nilly on each other: our own internal difficulties, the experiences of Egypt and Burma in dealing with Soviet bloc trade and invasion of Czechoslovakia on the one hand, the need to open our doors to all nations and all sources of trade and assistance, the development of national pride, the stimulation of new ideas, and similar non-material benefits on the other. So many have in fact taken the easy way out in discussing the subject by seeing only one side, in an effort to understand an issue far too complex for easy ways out.

There is no need to build a case for seeing both sides of the issue, for surely that is one of the ground-rules of any discussion. There is

a need, however, to identify the most basic principles which guide the subject. Of these principles, surely the most basic and immutable is that of national interest.

National interest raises a number of questions: Whether the establishment of relations with some or all of the socialist countries will redound to the nation's economic development, or strengthen its defenses, or raise the educational level and cultural life of Filipinos, or contribute to increased harmony between nations living in a one-world community, or, just as well, and regardless of immediate economic and cultural benefits, ultimately represent threats to the national security and to the cherished values of Philippine society.

FOREIGN POLICY OPTIONS

In relating herself to other nations four options are available to the Philippines. The first

**"IT IS A MATTER OF THE HIGHEST
URGENCY FOR THE PHILIPPINES
TO REFORMULATE ITS NATIONAL
PURPOSES ANEW"**

is special relations with any one of the great powers; the second, neutrality, or no alignment with any great power; the third, open relations with all great powers, or a multi-alignment and the fourth, is special relations with her neighbors in a cooperative alliance of source land. These four are not necessarily mutually exclusive, but each would constitute a major orientation of policy if consistently followed.

Exigencies of history plus the search for identity has led the Philippines at one time or another to fluctuate from one to the other of these options. Every now and then Filipino leaders talk of a Pan-Malayan Union, a Malaya Irredenta, or a Maphilindo. The latest expression of this idea is regional cooperation or ASEAN, ASPAC and others. Apolinario Mabini, who was in charge of the foreign affairs of the first Philippine Republic at its founding in 1898 wanted to open relations with all countries at once. In 1937 Emilio Aguinaldo favored the neutralization of the country.

Apparently, the same motive lay behind all of these proposals - the search for the best means to ensure the independence of the new nation. Mabini thought that by establishing relations, recognition of the fledgling Republic was implied. He also believed that direct, bilateral understandings with as many countries as possible would forestall their getting together and acting in concert against our interests. Aguinaldo proposed neutrality at a time when the threat of Japan and Occidental powers hung in the air. Neutralization of the Philippines, he thought, would make the great powers oppose the attempt by any one of them to dominate the Philippines.

In point of fact the only option exercised by the Philippines since formal independence in 1946 was the first one of special relations with one great power, i.e., with the United States. So far we have clung to this policy with a view to safeguarding our integrity and freedom.

Yet our original impulse, our primordial desires, lay in other directions. Bonifacio described our historical relations with our neighbors as one of friendliness, a positive attitude to have relations with all. Our ancestors traded actively with all who came to trade: with Siamese, Chinese, Japanese, Indian and Arab merchants; they drew from the cultures of all these people, and learned from them many things. We learned and benefited even from those who came at first as enemies. Our people never rejected anything just because it was alien and strange. Our culture was permeable; our personality, hospitable. Partly for this reason, we survived every assault; indeed, we thrived in the face of destructive infringements on our integrity.



It appears now that we were right in our primordial urges. Exclusive relations with one part of the world may have served us well when there was no viable and visible alternative, but in a world grown infinitely more plural and complex our basic character is perhaps the better guide. We were brought back sharply to ourselves in the Bandung Conference of 1955, when it began to dawn upon us that we stood the risk of isolating ourselves from the rest of the Afro-Asian world if we were to continue blindly adhering to the tenets of the cold war. Co-existence as a new fact of life began to surface in the consciousness of men. Little did we know that during those years portentous moves were afoot to shatter the monolithic structure of the Communist world. Destalinization, the Third Party Congress, and Khrushchev were to create a rift in Sino-Soviet relations that would radically alter the nature of international communism, just as De Gaulle and the

European Common Market would change the character of the Western Alliance.

Marshal Tito, whose country like the Philippines feels the hot breath of great powers down its back, expressed the spirit of co-existence thus:

Yugoslavia's foreign policy is....based on the people's determination to safeguard the hard-won independence of the country, on their profound desire to help protect mankind from a new war, opposition to any increase in international tension and desire to help establish active co-existence between states with different social orders, for the Yugoslavians hold that there is no other way to avoid a new world war.

FOREIGN POLICY AND NATIONAL PURPOSES

There is no need to belabor the point that our special relations with one particular world power served our purposes well. But it is in the nature of such relations that they become, in time, restrictive especially in the light of expanding opportunities as well as needs. Economically, we became overly dependent on a few markets for our primary products, and on a few suppliers of our needs for manufactured goods. We were unable to re-structure our economy. Remaining largely an agricultural export commodity economy, as well as a supplier of unprocessed materials to the factories of the developed countries, we are reaping today the meager fruits of a narrow policy.

Bound as we are to these few lifelines we are unable to move freely, for fear of losing our tenuous hold in our sources of

foreign exchange. In effect, our dependence on sugar, copra, and mining products keep us in bondage. We cannot bring about a change in our values, our habits. Private ownership of agricultural land is an obsessive desire for most of us. Industrialization remains a remote and inaccessible goal.

Breaking out requires the transformation of our entire system. The starting point here is its direction -- where do we wish to go?

RETHINKING OUR PREMISES

It seems to be a matter of the highest urgency, therefore, for the Philippines to reformulate its national purposes anew, and having them in mind, to revise its relations with the world. It was, as we saw, somewhat premature at the beginning of this century of hope for an accommodation with the entire world, when our security and our freedom first had to be established.



Unquestionably we are now bothered by other questions today, although they remain at the base of our problems. We are now concerned with other isms than mere survival. The whole world is moving toward a world culture based on free and open relations with one another. We should aspire toward getting into this mainstream of social and economic freedom. We want to join other nations in their march toward economic plenty through a free and profitable exchange with one another. Economic development is one of our primary and urgent goals today; it entails, firstly, a faster pace of the production of goods and services and secondly, the making available of these

things to the vast mass of our citizenry. Along with this, we desire a stronger unity, identity and integration of our people as a nation. Overall, we want modernization to spread throughout our social system, so that the various elements making our society, traditional as well as new social institutions, shall contribute to our purposes, and in doing so, share in the enjoyment of those things our system produces and which conduce to happiness.

An integrated social and national purpose demands an integrated and masterful strategy for our foreign policy. But a foreign policy is much more than a set of blueprints for action: it is above all a state of mind, a set of attitudes rooted in the matrix of an ideology, comprehending an entire people's history and traditions, present needs, and a vision of future greatness.

A new foreign policy for the Republic calls for a single-minded resolve on our part to make our foreign relations serve our purposes exclusively, and not those of any other country. For this is what we have been doing in the past, on the ground that this other country has been ally and brother, and so we have been as one. A decision of this type is really a decision to get out of the constraints and the self-delusion of past policies, into an altogether different world. It is a world into which we were headed at the turn of the century, but from which we were deflected by an interregnum of wars and colonial adventures.

THE BRAVE NEW WORLD OF THE SEVENTIES

Now we are ready to resume where we left off. And it is time that we do. For there is a new international equation shaping up in our region, as well as everywhere else. The parameters of that equation are being taken up by nations who have the courage and the vision to play the new international game. It is a

game open to anyone, a game which a nation can play in order to maximize its "gains" and minimize "losses" in its relations with other nations.

The new international game is one where the rules are vastly different from those of the immediate post-World War II era, the era of the 1950's. At that time we had the spectre of the threat of a new war, of cataclysmic proportions, hanging over the heads of mankind, a war between two principal antagonists, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. All other countries would have been ranged on one side of the other of that dreaded contest of two social systems.



The early 50's presented man with impossible alternatives, so that in that decade the entire world moved away from that game, with considerable relief. Khrushchev's era, particularly the Third Party Congress of 1956, ushered in the new international game in which we find ourselves today. For those events introduced a new pluralism in international power politics. Just as the monolithic world of Communism soon differentiated into many nationalist Communist movements, or deviations if you will, the monolithic world of the Western democracies also broke into many pieces, as England weakened as an imperial power, and France and other Western nations asserted their independence from the leadership of the United States. At that time the moral leadership of the U.S. also began a self-destructing course with that country's growing embroilment in the Vietnam adventure. Vietnam in perspective showed us the growing power of nationalist movements, whether Communist or

non-Communist, and the potential moral strength of such movements vis-a-vis great power chauvinism. In fact, Vietnam, Cuba, Palestine and similar happenings show us the way to the probable form in which the international game is likely to be played in the remainder of this century.



The new world of the 1970's presents the small and medium-sized countries of the world with the opportunity to remain viable, independent and self-respecting entities in the flux of competition. The ingredients of this situation are before us. To begin with there are now not only two behemoths vying with each other as in the 50's; there are now four, and possibly five, with the re-emergence of Japan as a great power, and China in the next ten or twenty years. India is also likely to become more involved in international affairs as domestic problems come under control. Furthermore, it is not probable that any of these great powers can conspire with each other for the purpose of dominating the planet; on the contrary, there is a greater probability that these powers will try to enlist other nations to assist in their rivalry with one another. So far we hear only of a *detente*, not of an alliance. The probability of an American-Soviet collusion is no better than a Soviet-Chinese alliance; there are growing signs that Japan will no longer be content to play second-fiddle to the U.S., and China will probably not relish the interference of any other great power in Asian affairs.

On the other hand, each of these superpowers look toward the developing nations as their most promising partners in political and economic relations in the

future. The reasons are not so difficult to find. The developing countries of the world, the Philippines included, have most of the world's natural resources in their hands; they also have the manpower and the markets for a future technological advance. Above all, the developing peoples are evolving a new ideology distinctly their own, which will soon vie for supremacy along with the aging national drives of the great powers. It is not an idle statement to say that the world of the twenty-first century belongs to the Third World, which is now about to take off into a higher level of development. The Japanese Matsumoto says, in an interesting document called "Southeast Asia in 2020" that:

The 21st Century belongs to Asia; fifty years from now, in the year 2020, Southeast Asia will have surpassed the U.S. and Japan to become the World's richest economy."



The strategic, political and economic importance of Southeast Asia is recognized by the Soviet Union, which in recent years have made heady incursions into the region. This great power, which used to be almost a total stranger to Southeast Asia, is now making her presence felt. She is now an important trading partner of India, Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia. She has opened diplomatic relations with most of the countries of the region except the Philippines, Taiwan and South Vietnam. This course is likely to bring her into a collision course not only with the U.S., but with Japan, which is also heavily committed to the region, and soon with China, which has always considered Southeast Asia as part of its sphere of influence.

THE RULES OF THE INTERNATIONAL GAME

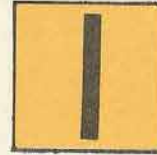
The issue we face revolves around the second to the fourth options that are available to us. These three are not mutually exclusive; they are not necessarily incompatible with each other, for underlying all three is the act of liberating ourselves from the traditional restrictions that made us automatically align ourselves with only one major power in all matters.

We seek a viable alternative under which we shall no longer be bound to restrict ourselves, even against our best interests; instead we shall be able to act with dignity in accordance with our national purposes, and where these coincide with one or another great power or power bloc, then we should be glad to align ourselves accordingly, but without permanent commitments. Thus where it is not wise to align ourselves with one or the other, we shall be non-aligned and neutral. But where it is necessary to side with anybody, we should be able to do so, again without fear of permanent commitment. The alternative that opens the most attractive possibilities, therefore, is a flexible, self-regarding one under which we retain the utmost degree of freedom in making choices. This could very well be a studied combination of all three options.



he questions that confront us now are: What will constitute the criteria for choice? What should be our fundamental premises for action in all regional and international issues? The most fundamental one is obviously whether the choice redounds to our advantage, or not. Advantage, here, is to be construed in terms of our national purposes. Economic advantage is preponderant, but not over-

whelming. There are, as we said, many other purposes.



It has been twenty-five years since we laid down the premises of Philippine foreign policy; twenty-five years later, under entirely different environments and conditions, these premises are still there, questioned in a number of circles, modified in certain instances, but in the main still unchanged, still making virtues out of former necessities.

We seem, in short, to have lost the spirit of adventure shown by the greatest leaders of our revolutionary period who were the first to bring into the region the ideas which were to subvert colonial rule and replace it with independent national sovereignties.

It seems that the Philippines has long put off a decision; we have delayed too long. Meanwhile our neighbors, who should be following our lead, are instead responding properly to a changed environment. The Philippines is the earliest to attain independence in the region, yet we are one of the last to act. The spectacle of a timid and fearful Philippines is damaging to our self-esteem, to our image as a champion of freedom and of nationhood, and to our conception of ourselves as a people who have the courage and the ability to make the most of opportunities available to us, who have the skill, in fact, to create these opportunities out of unpromising situations. The youth who will inherit this country after us are understandably derisive of our hesitancy. We cannot blame them for imputing to us a lack of courage, at the least, and worse, of subservience to our former colonizers.

The PASSION

and the
Season
of Lent

UNIQUE VERSI-
FIED STORY OF
THE CHRIST CON-
TAINS ELEMENTS
OF FOLK RITUAL

By ARMANDO D. MANALO





B

y and large the introduction of Christianity into the Philippines in the 16th Century met with only minor resistance. But the acceptance was far from total. If the Spanish missionaries succeeded in Christianizing the Filipinos, it is just as true to say that the Filipinos succeeded in Filipinizing Christianity.

The early missionaries may have been imbued with the noble purpose of "saving"

the Filipinos from devils and other spirits of the false other world. But they were also eminently practical men who realized that to ensure acceptance of the Christian religion they had to make compromises with existing Filipino mores and rituals.

So it is that Catholicism as practiced by Filipinos acquired features unique in the entire realm of Christendom. It should be explained that these unique features do not concern doctrine, which the Filipinos accepted despite a far-from-solid grasp of it. Rather they concern rituals and social practices peculiar to the 16th century Filipinos. As a scholar has said, the Spanish missionaries poured the substance of Catholicism into the framework of traditional Filipino rituals.

Because they remain congenial to the Filipino temper, these rituals persist to this day. Among these, two are most commonly noted. The first is the long Christmas season marked by the institution of the nine-day *simbang gabi* or pre-dawn mass. The second is

the Lenten season which is characterized by the *pabasa*, or the reading of the *pasion* continuously for the entire length of Holy Week.

The reading of the *pasion*, which may be described briefly as the versified story of the passion and death of the Christ, is a universal practice among Filipino Catholics. The *pasion*, however, is not read but chanted and it is the chant which is the direct legacy from the religious practices of the 16th century Filipino. It continues to be chanted in all the churches of the land, with the inevitable mutations brought about by time. In a few places, notably in Manila, the *pasion* is no longer chanted but sung to the tune of the pops.

The *pabasa* is the Filipino leaven to the severity and austerity of the high holidays. Although it is devotional in intention, the chanting of the *pasion* adds that touch of festivity which in other Catholic countries would be regarded as alien to the occasion.

In the villages, the center of the Lenten observance is the *bisita*, small but solidly constructed edifices which serve as outposts of the more imposing town churches. Since the Lenten season usually coincides with summer, the *bisita* which has room for congregations of less than a hundred is too hot and cramped for purposes of the *pabasa*.

It is the custom therefore to build a temporary shed near the front door of the *bisita*. A shed generally has a table on which is placed a crucifix, as well as a bench where the singers sit in relay while chanting the holy story.

The *al fresco* setting attracts crowds in the late afternoon when the sun is cooler, and in the evenings when soft drinks are served. In the old days, the singers and selected guests were offered sarsaparilla. As a concession to modern times, however, and sarsaparilla having gone out of fashion, guests today are served iced Cola drinks instead.

The metrics of the *pasion* dictate the manner of chanting it. The first three lines of every stanza are chanted by the first voice

(called a *tipler* in the Tagalog regions), ending in a prolonged sliding tone to cue in the second voice who then takes up the last two lines of the stanza. Every stanza is sung in this fashion.

When the first set of singers tires, another set takes its place. But the reading is exquisitely timed. It ends at precisely three o'clock in the afternoon of Good Friday, at which time tradition says the Christ expired on the Cross.



In the town churches, the *pasion* is read in the high creaky dark choir-loft. Although Church acoustics are generally excellent, filling the spacious interior with the required volume of voice presents a challenge to the lung capacity of the singers, and they were sometimes helped along, before the days of the microphone, by muted accompaniment from the organ.

The ideal pair of *pasion* singers consists of a soprano and a tenor or a bass. But the rule, if it is a rule, is not always observed. It is more often the case that two women singers, one a soprano and the other a contralto, carry the entire load. Such musical terms are at best approximate, since the singers except in the metropolitan centers are untutored amateurs to whom musical terms have no meaning whatsoever. Indeed, as many students of Philippine life have remarked, the *pasion* was chanted by the older women of the villages entirely from memory. Before literacy became nearly universal in the Philippines, there

was no other way the story of the Christ could be transmitted from one generation to the next.

The two-man or, more accurately, the two-woman relay is the simplest form of chanting the *pasion*. In other places, the reading is a full-dress musical offering. Native musical instruments play complicated figurations in accompaniment of the singers. Where this is the case, the participants are usually dressed in the formal attire of the period. In the old days, this meant *camisa de chino* with black scarf and slippers for the males, and *camisa* and black skirt for the females. The wearing of black of course is the sign of mourning for the dying Christ.

The *pabasa* is by no means confined to churches. In certain regions, private residences are the scene of the reading of the *pasion*. Here, the aspect of festivity is even more marked. According to the historian, Dr. Eufonio Alip, the *pabasa* often provides the occasion for verbal jousts involving puns, riddles, parables and allegories.



ow, riddles and parables were a staple of ancient Filipino oral literature. The fact that they were adapted to the Christian ritual is further proof of the Filipinization of many features of Christianity.

In the Lenten joust, visitors from other localities challenge the "home" team. In accordance with the rules the "home" team propounds the riddles. Failure to solve the riddle makes the visiting team liable to

punishment in ways suitable to the penitential spirit of Lent. Thus the losers like the Christ, may be tied to a post and administered lashes, or forced to bear a cross, or even scourged and crowned with thorns.

The point of the riddle or the parable is to test familiarity and knowledge of the *pasion*. Dr. Alip furnishes an example. "The home party," writes the historian, "takes three cigarettes and arranges them in the form of a square with one side (missing) In ordinary language this means, 'Whom do you love best— the father, the mother or the son?' The *pasion* expert signifies that he understands this and drives home the point by reciting (the portions of the *pasion* which relate) the story of the burial of our Lord."

Another favorite riddle has to do with the Last Supper. Again in Dr. Alip's words, "a party takes twelve cigarettes or matches or sticks, places them on the table and asks the opponent what it means (sic). The latter then recites the story of the Last Supper, the treachery of Judas and so on."

The game serves two purposes -- devotion and edification. That it vastly entertained is of course also very much to the point.

Another feature of the Lenten season is the staging of *cenaculos*. These are long, elaborate pageants re-telling the life of the Christ. *Cenaculos* however are seldom seen nowadays; fewer and fewer wealthy people in the towns are willing to play impresario, though amateur actors are always in abundant supply. In some places, touring professional companies used to present the *cenaculo*, usually in the only spacious public place available -- the town cockpit. But these companies have died out too, their function having been usurped by prepared films on the passion of the Christ.

It is the tradition of the *pabasa* that has proved to be more durable. To this day, the reading of the *pasion* is the single most prominent folk feature of the Philippine Lent

which Filipinos of high and low degree observe annually.

The *pasion* is a distinct literary creation. When the Spanish religious missionaries first arrived in the Philippines, they were faced with the twin problems of converting the heathen and catechizing them in the recondite doctrines of the Catholic Church. Since their knowledge of the Philippines languages was abysmally poor, they depended upon specially prepared brief catechetical handbooks in the language of the region to which they were assigned.

We may conjecture that the religious instruction carried on in this manner was a slow and laborious process. Apart from the language barrier, there was a certain amount of religious backsliding among the Filipinos, natural enough among a people who worshipped in a radically different faith. The missionaries had first to learn the languages and then impart the doctrines of the Church orally.

Moreover, the point of the labor of the missionaries was to make the early Filipinos give up their old faiths completely. The history of acculturation shows that this is not always possible and as a result, the pragmatic early missionaries decided to retain features of ancient Filipino rituals on which they engrafted the orthodox Catholic ritual. It was a compromise but in the end a happy one since it enabled both the Filipinos and the missionaries to have, so to speak, the best of both worlds.

As we have seen, some Lenten practices were peculiarly Filipino. When the first Tagalog *pasion* appeared in 1704, it adopted the favored metrical pattern of Filipino verse. There were two reasons for this. The first was political: it made the *pasion* widely acceptable to the masses. The second was practical. Since the *pasion* was meant to be chanted, it had to follow the natural rhythm of the old Philippine chants. Thus, all the *pasions* in Tagalog were written in octosyllabic lines, with five lines to the stanza.



At any rate, the first *pasion* in Tagalog was written by a Spanish priest, Gaspar Aquilino de Belen, and issued in 1704. In the mid-18th century, another Spaniard, Luis Guian, a lay poet, published another version. The first was apparently successful in terms of ecclesiastical and popular acceptance and it became standard until appearance in 1814 of the controversial Pilapil version.

The Pilapil version, otherwise known as the *Pasion Henesis*, enlarged the scope of the narrative by including the Biblical Creation story up to and including the Flood. This portion is a remarkable piece of compression. Including the homilies and moral lessons freely inserted into the text, the entire story of the creation of the universe, of Adam and his children, and of the Flood are told in only 107 stanzas. These are incidentally the only portions of the Old Testament which the Catholic Church thought necessary for the Filipino Catholic's instruction.

The *Pasion Henesis* was followed by another version written by Aniceto de la Merced, also a priest. The latter's text was accompanied by a sharp criticism of the Pilapil *pasion* which challenged the latter on literary, philosophical and doctrinal grounds.

However correct de la Merced's criticism may have been, it is the Pilapil *pasion* which has caught the popular fancy. Its latest edition is dated 1967 and it bears, for

whatever it is worth, the hierarchical imprimatur.

The *pasion* however was not exclusively written in Tagalog. Indeed, the earliest known version is in Ilocano. It was written by Antonio de Megia, an Augustinian friar, at an undetermined date but probably shortly before the middle of the 17th century. The distinctive character of the Megia *pasion* is that, in contrast to all known *pasions*, it is in prose.

Of the *pasions* in other Filipino languages, at least one other is in Ilocano and two are in Pampango. This form of creative activity, however, has died out and the *pasions* in other Philippine languages are mere translations of the Tagalog original.

The *pasion* is not primarily intended to be literature although it has been treated as such by the historians of native verse. As its name indicates, the *pasion* is about the passion of the Christ. The original intention was didactic, or to be more accurate, it was written as material for devotional exercises during the Lenten season.

The devotional character of the *pasion* dictated its unique features. It is a strange mixture of Biblical narrative; doctrine (which critics say sometimes borders on heresy); homilies; and emphatic moral lessons for the instruction of the faithful. In the Pilapil version, the narrative is interrupted at frequent though irregular intervals by an *Aral* (moral lesson) addressed directly to the reader. In the nature of the didactic verse however the *aral* is implicit in the entire *pasion*.

The story of the Christ as adapted by the writers of the *pasion* allowed a certain room for the imagination. Within the set frame of the story of the passion of the Christ, there emerged amplifications of detail and emphases in narration which while not absolutely faithful to the New Testament sometimes revealed unexpected flashes of understanding of the principal characters of the passion story.

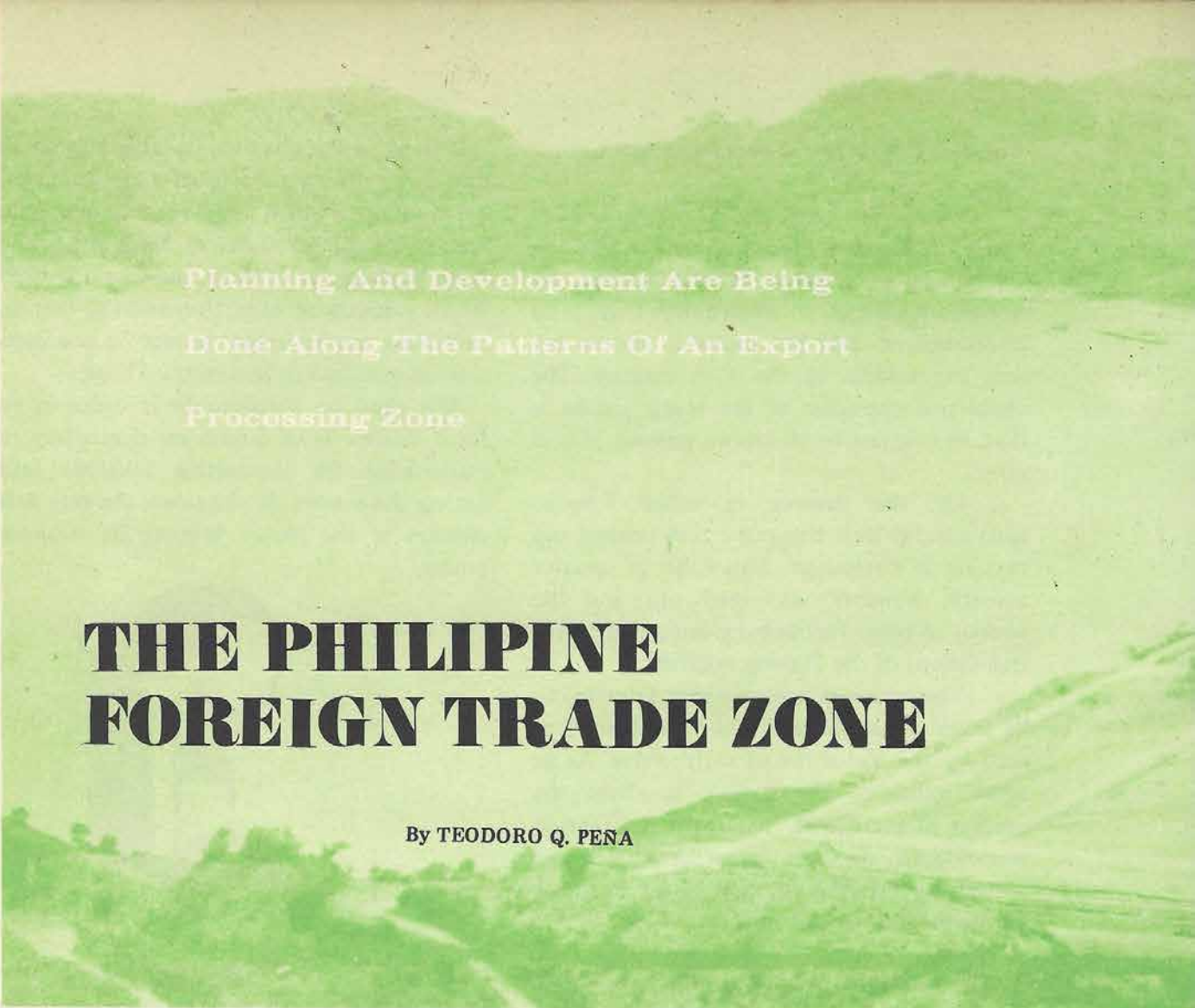
This is all the more remarkable because didactic religious verse is usually an unsophisticated affair in which motive and character are seen in unrelieved shades of black and white. It is the character of Mary, the Virgin Mother, which gains the most in the *pasion* so that her sufferings are enlarged almost to the same scale of grandeur as that of the Christ.

The need to oversimplify in order to enforce lessons is of course an elementary requirement for inculcating religious faith among the masses. In the sense, the very deficiencies of the *pasion* become its strongest points.



It has been said that the weakness of Catholicism in the Philippines lies in the imperfect grasp of doctrine by the people. For reasons stated earlier, the early missionaries probably had little choice in the matter, and the practice was followed with little deviation by their successors. Oral instruction has its points but the fact is that in many if not most rural communities, the *pasion* provided doctrinal instruction in its most assimilable form.

To repeat, the *pasion* has visible elements of folk ritual. Perhaps for this reason, the Bible has not taken the place of the *pasion* in the life of the people, despite the large number of complete translations of the Old and New Testament in the major Philippine languages. On Holy Week, the old *bisitas* still resound to the voices of amateur *tiples* chanting the age-old wonder at the mystery of the passion, death and resurrection of the Christ. ●



Planning And Development Are Being
Done Along The Patterns Of An Export
Processing Zone

THE PHILIPPINE FOREIGN TRADE ZONE

By TEODORO Q. PENA

The lure of maximum profits has always been a critical factor in an investment decision. This is why industrialists and financiers, especially from developed countries, have fielded agents and representatives all over the world searching for investment opportunities which would offer the most attractive returns for their venture capital.

Among developing nations, especially in Asia, there is keen competition for this capital. In an effort to outbid each other, they have offered a variety of investment packages and programs designed to attract the biggest share of foreign investments for their respective countries.

The Philippines, for its part, has consistently offered foreign capital with one of the best

investment climates. In addition to utilities and labor costs which are among the lowest in the world, it offers a stable government and currency system. Since 1946, there has been an unbroken orderly change of government, characterized by elections every two years. Indeed, the Philippines has demonstrated to the whole world that a vibrant and dynamic democracy, if properly handled, can work in Asia.

During the last four years, the Philippine government has adopted economic measures which have considerably improved the climate for investment in the country. In 1967, the Philippine Congress passed the Investment Incentives Act which provides the basic guarantees for all investors in the Philippines and lays out a comprehensive scheme of benefits



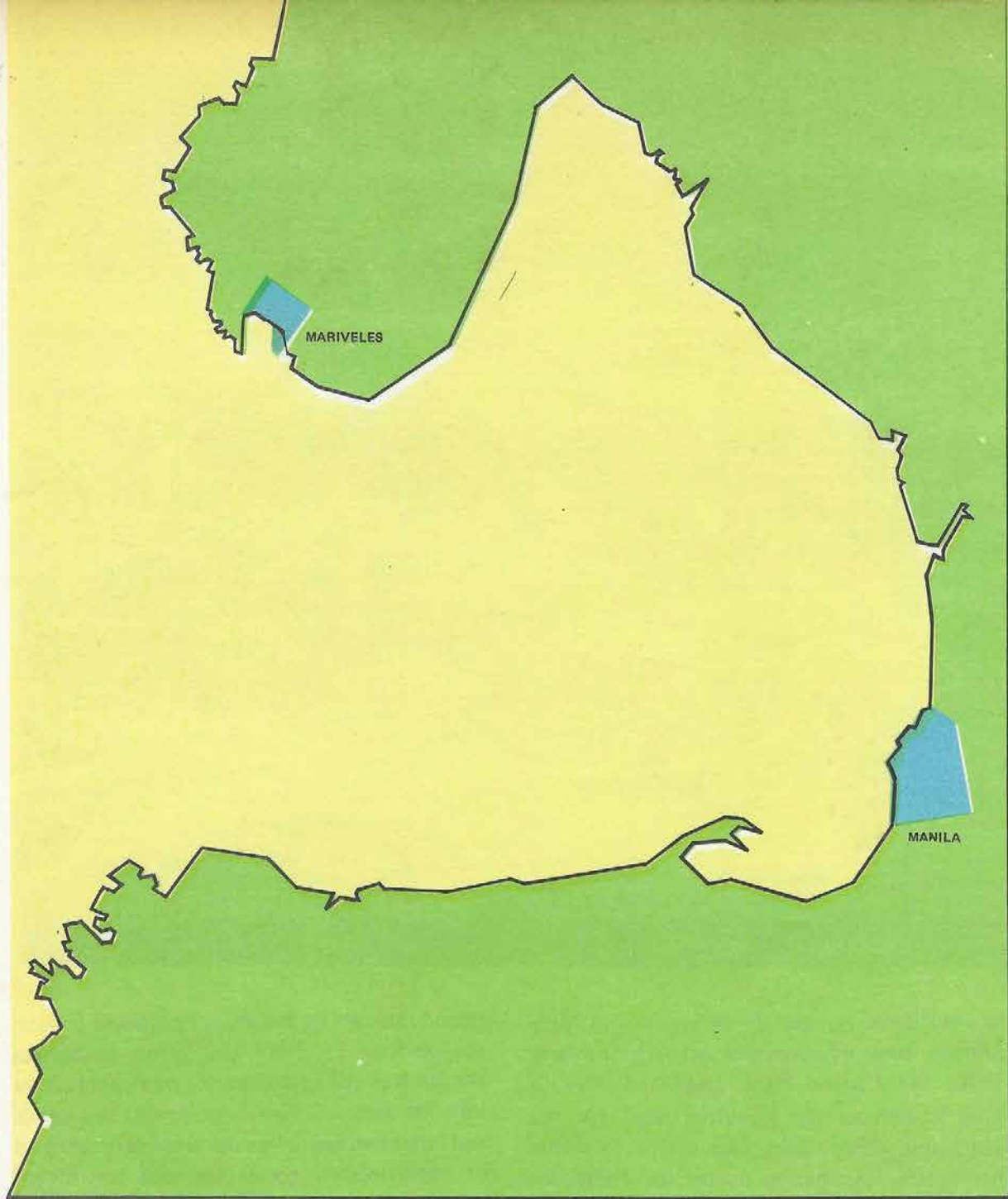
or incentives for certain enterprises in high-priority areas of economic activity. In early 1970, the Central Bank instituted what is now known as the "floating rate" for the Philippine peso; under this system, a dollar has greater purchasing power for Philippine goods and services than ever before. Lately, the Export Incentives Act of 1970 became effective, thereby extending more liberal benefits to export industries.

FOREIGN TRADE ZONE LAW

But perhaps the most significant piece of recent legislation is Republic Act No 5490 establishing a foreign trade zone in Mariveles, Bataan, and creating the Foreign Trade Zone Authority as the implementing body. Authored by Congressman Pablo Roman and

signed into law by President Ferdinand E. Marcos on June 21, 1969, the statute authorizes the tax-free and customs duty-free importation into the zone of capital equipment and goods and commodities to be converted into finished or semi-finished goods for sale to foreign markets.

Contrary to popular belief, the Zone is not, at this stage, being developed in the model of a Hongkong freeport for trading in tax-free commodities; planning and development are being done along the patterns of an export processing zone, where tax and duty-free raw or semi-processed materials are assembled, manufactured, or manipulated into semi-finished or finished goods for export. Under this system the Zone could be used by foreign investors as a convenient base for



supplying their markets all over the world with inexpensive quality products.

AREA AND LOCATION

To most foreigners, perhaps, Bataan is nothing more than a historic peninsula made

famous by an epic battle in early World War II. Looking at the Philippine map, one sees Bataan jutting out like an over-sized peanut from the belly of Central Luzon into the sea, and reaching halfway across towards Cavite and Batangas, thereby creating the largest,

most beautiful natural bay in Asia -- Manila Bay. At the Southernmost tip of this peninsula, opposite equally historic Corregidor at the entrance to the Bay, is a little, well-protected harbor known as Mariveles Bay. Embracing the shores of this is the Foreign Trade Zone reservation.

The Zone is composed of almost 600 hectares, nestling at the foot of the 4,600 feet high Mariveles mountains. In fact, most of the reservation are mountains and hills, leaving a picturesque valley of some 250 hectares available for development into an industrial estate.

EXTENT OF DEVELOPMENT

Development work on the Zone has been in full swing since January 1970. Center of the work is Phase I -- an 80-hectare portion earmarked as a light industrial estate, and which includes 10 hectares for all administrative and service facilities of the Zone. By December 1971, the entire Phase I would be completed, equipped with power, water, communications and other facilities and infrastructure necessary in a modern industrial area. Upon completion of Phase I, two million cubic meters of earth would have been moved, and about fifteen kilometers of roads would have been laid.

Last month, the first factory buildings would have been constructed on 25 hectares of this area, which is already provided with the essential facilities and services. For Phase I alone, the Authority projects 100-120 factories by 1974, with an employment potential of US \$150 million.

FACILITIES

Facilities for a low-cost housing complex will be provided on a 100-hectare beautifully rolling site, adjacent to the Zone and overlooking Mariveles Bay. This area was set aside by Presidential proclamation. All employees and workers in the Zone would be given preference in accommodation in this housing projects. The Government Service Insurance System and the Social Security

System have joined hands to accelerate development of this modern housing complex.

Sufficient water and power would be available for the Zone. A 75,000 KVA Thermal Plant scheduled for completion in mid-1971, and another 150,000 KVA Thermal Plant to be operational in late 1973 will supply the power requirements of the Zone. An abundant water supply will come from an existing dam which will be improved, deep wells, and river resources that abound in the immediate area.

Initially, wharves inside the Zone with three berthing facilities (1,280 ft. marginal and 380 ft. lateral) equipped with six 30-ton cranes, will handle all import-export activities of the FTZ. By 1973, up to five more berthing facilities in a modern pier complex located one kilometer outside the Zone would meet any other shipping requirement of importers and exporters.

INDUSTRIES ADMISSIBLE

Any Filipino citizen or business organization, or foreign citizen and business association duly authorized to engage in business in the Philippines, may apply for the privilege of setting up an enterprise in the Zone.

Two general types of enterprises may be allowed to operate within the Zone -- export enterprises which produce goods for export, and service enterprises which provide ancillary services (insurance, banking, communications) for exporters. The following light industries are admissible as export enterprises to Phase I of the Zone:

1. Ceramics Manufacturing
2. Confectionery Manufacturing
3. Cosmetics
4. Electronic & Electrical Products
5. Food Manufacture and Processing
6. Furniture
7. Garments
8. Handicrafts
9. Knitted and Woven Goods

10. Leather Products
11. Light Metal Products
12. Office/Business Machines
13. Optical Products
14. Paints/Oils/Waxes
15. Pharmaceuticals
16. Plastic Products
17. Precision Machinery & Instruments
18. Rubber Products
19. Synthetic Textile
20. Threads and Yarns
21. Woodcrafts
22. Other light labor-intensive and export-oriented industries.

ADVANTAGES OF LOCATING IN ZONE

There are numerous advantages and benefits which may be derived by industries which shall establish within the Zone:

1. Tax-free and customs duty-free importation of merchandise of every description. In the language of the law, these merchandise shall enter the Zone "without being subject to the custom and internal revenue laws and regulations of the Philippines . . ."

2. Long-term lease on land for industrial sites. The law requires that land within the Zone, "shall at all times remain to be owned by the Government . . ." The Authority intends to lease industrial lots of export enterprises for a period of 15 years, with provision for a ten-year renewal at the option of the lease, or a total lease period of twenty-five years.

3. Low rental rates on industrial lots. If an application is approved on or before December 31, 1971, lease rental payments will start only in 1974. Hereunder are the actual rates:

- Jan. 1, 1974 - Dec. 31, 1976 - P4/sq.m. per year
 Jan. 1, 1977 - Dec. 31, 1980 - P5/sq.m. per year
 Jan. 1, 1981 - Dec. 31, 1985 - P6/sq.m. per year

Jan. 1, 1986 - Dec. 31, 1987 - P7/sq.m. per year

These rates are lower than those in similar Zones in Southeast Asia.

4. Application of guarantees under the Investment Incentives Act. These include the following:

- a. Repatriation of investment
- b. Remittance of earnings
- c. Remittance of payments for foreign loans and contracts
- d. Freedom from expropriation except for public use upon payment of just compensation.
- e. No requisition of investment except in the event of war and national emergency.

5. Admission of 100 per cent foreign-owned companies. For purposes of admission into the Zone, nationality is not a barrier. They can enjoy benefits that are allowed by the FTZ law (R.A. 5490). If said companies would want to enjoy privileges offered by the Export Incentives Act (R.A. 6135), they should first qualify under the rules of the Board of Investments.

6. Priority in Central Bank dollar allocations for importation of materials. Per agreement with the Central Bank, all Zone export enterprises are given priority of dollar allocations for import requirements as long as said importations have a turn-around period not exceeding 120 days.

7. Financial assistance for self-constructed factory buildings. Per agreement with the Development Bank of the Philippines, the latter will extend loans for the purpose of factory-building construction of applicants endorsed by the former. These loans are for 10 years at 11 per cent interest per annum. Up to 75 per cent of collateral value would be allowed by the DBP. The collaterals are the buildings to be constructed and the lease contract between the applicant and the FTZ Authority.

8. Low-cost housing facilities. As mentioned earlier, employees will be accommodated in a housing area. This will be developed by the Social Security System and the Government Service Insurance System and then sold to Zone workers at low cost.

9. Simplified import-export procedures. Minimum documentation would be required.

10. Availability of FTZA-constructed standard factory buildings at low cost.

11. FTZA assistance relative to manpower training and supply. Everytime an applicant is approved and skills required are known, the Manpower Development Council assists both the Authority and the applicant with the recruitment, training and placement of workers.

12. Complete infrastructure including cheap power and water facilities.

13. An integrated system of trucking and warehousing facilities to facilitate movement of raw materials and finished products to and from factory buildings and unloading areas.

14. FTZA assistance relative to development of foreign markets and promotion of Zone products. This will be done upon mutual agreement between Zone enterprise and the Authority.

CLIMATIC CONDITIONS IN ZONE

Investors can be assured that Bataan is an ideal location for their business. It is barely 2-2 1/2 hours boat ride from Manila. Besides, weather conditions there are typical of the fairest in the country.

Mean temperature of Mariveles is 27°C (80.6°F), assuring balmy climate all year round. Dry season is from November to April and wet season is from May to October. Average annual rainfall is 100 inches, with the heaviest rains falling in June, July, August, and September (See tables below).

Westerly and southwesterly winds prevail from June to September. Northeasterly winds blow from February to May.

Maximum tide variation is only 3.29 feet, thus ensuring easy mooring for ships.

PREVAILING WINDS

June - September	Southwesterly
October - January	Northeasterly
February - May	Southeasterly

MARIVELES MEAN MONTHLY RAINFALL 1969

January	1 inch
February	1 "
March	1 "
April	1 "
May	7 inches
June	14 "
July	21 "
August	23 "
September	18 "
October	7 "
November	5 "
December	1 Inch

Total . . . 100 inches

Mean High Water (Sept., 1969)	9.45 ft. above o tide staff
Mean Low Water (Sept., 1969)	6.94 ft above o tide staff
Mean Highest Water (Sept., 1969)	9.89 ft. above o tide staff
Mean Lowest Water (Sept., 1969)	6.60 ft. above o tide staff

It is also reassuring for investors to know that transacting business with the Foreign Trade Zone Authority is not a problem. As a matter of policy, the Authority does not let red tape hamper its operations.

Applying for admission into the Zone, for example, is quite a simple procedure. The applicant simply has to accomplish the forms required, and in the evaluation of its application, close coordination with the technical staff of the Authority can be maintained to expedite official action.

Under this setup, the Authority is committed to bring about the early completion of Zone development in all aspects.

The Filipino

REVIEW

By MONINA A. MERCADO



It evolved as teaching aid and inducement for church-going: a tangible visual depiction of the mystery of the Incarnation



HERE IS an old Christmas legend from the Tagalog provinces which tells of a girl who once lived in a remote and distant farm. Her name was Maria and she grew up to be 10 years old without ever having gone away from the farm to the big town.

One Christmas Eve, her father and mother finally took her with them on the long trip to town to sell some of their fruits and vegetables in the marketplace. They quickly sold their harvest and happily decided to stay on till the Midnight Mass to thank the Christ Child for their good fortune.

Wonder after wonder unfolded before Maria during the Midnight Mass, but the greatest of them all were the figures on the altar: a lovely lady in a robe of blue; a handsome man with a staff, angels flying about, shepherds with their sheep, the three kings in purple, emerald and gold.

When the Mass was over, Maria's father and mother took her by the hand as they joined the long line of people moving towards the altar up to the figures which had caused her so much awe. As Maria came near them, she

was so small she could see only what was in front of her -- and in front of her was this beautiful child lying on a pile of straw. His arms were raised towards her and as she came nearer, she looked right into his eyes. His cheeks were chubby and rosy, his hair curly and brown and one of his feet, escaping from his small sheet, seemed to invite Maria's caress.

She reached out to touch his foot, murmuring happily all the while: "Your cheeks are redder than my tomatoes, your eyes rounder than my beans. Your hair is curlier than my lettuce, your legs chubbier than my camotes. Your hands are prettier than . . ."

But Maria was being shoved ahead, the people were impatient and as she moved to go, she only had time to see a smile begin on the child's face and to hear a coo rise from his throat.

The people following her saw the smile too and heard the coo. There was commotion and excitement. The priest was called and told of the miracle. Maria was pointed out to him as the girl who made the child smile.

The priest led Maria back to the altar. As



soon as she saw the child, Maria began her paeon again: "Your cheeks are redder than my tomatoes, your eyes rounder than my beans . . ." Hardly had she finished the first sentence when the child smiled again, coos rising joyfully from his little throat.

The priest made her repeat her prayer so that the people could hear and as Maria's small voice rang around the altar -- "Your hair is curlier than my lettuce, your legs chubbier than my camotes . . ." -- they all saw that the lady in the robe of blue, Mary the mother, was also smiling.

THIS PIOUS legend distills an enduring Christmas tradition in Catholic Philippines: the depiction of the Nativity scene is what is known as the *belen*.

Belen is the Spanish name for Bethlehem and there are several explanations as to how it came to be used in the Philippines as the generic term for the Nativity scene. Since most of the depictions included the hilly countryside of Bethlehem and a representation of the town itself with its houses, doubtless to recall to mind the innkeepers who had no room for Mary and Joseph that night, it seemed natural to call the entire scene after the birthplace of Christ.

Another origin of the generic name may be the refrain of a *villancico* -- "*Vamos a Belen*" -- which was sung during the Christmas season and particularly during the veneration of the Child Jesus after Midnight Mass. *Vamos a Belen* could have been taken literally as the faithful wended their way to the Nativity scene at the altar.

Belen as the term for the Nativity scene is peculiar Philippine usage. In Spain, the term is *nacimiento*; in Mexico, from where the custom came directly to colonial Philippines, the name is *pesebre*. Elsewhere in Europe, the terms are *creche* in France where it is a prevalent and well-loved feature of Christmas, *krippe* in Germany, *jeslicky* in Czechoslovakia and *presepe* in Italy where the first Nativity

scene, according to religious tradition, was created by St. Francis of Assisi in the town of Greccio.

As with many other rituals and traditions of Catholicism in the Philippines, the *belen* evolved first as a teaching aid and as an inducement for church-going. It was a tangible visual depiction of the mystery of the Incarnation, one of the most difficult and abstract doctrines of the Church. The missionaries made much of the human drama in the *belen*, using the characters, the scenery, the very atmosphere with great theatrical effect.

Many of the first *belens* used at churches came from Spain or Mexico where fanciful tradition dictated that the scenery be peopled with as many characters as possible: choirs of angels wreathing the skies and tumbling on the roof of the cave where Christ was born, shepherds trooping down the fields, the three kings and their entourage of blackamoors, peasants in various mundane activities such as fishing, baking bread, weaving, washing clothes in a flowing stream, children playing about, even Herod and his soldiers peering from his castle in a great geographical transposition from Jerusalem to Bethlehem. In their sermons, the priests urged the faithful to find themselves in this throng witnessing the birth of Christ: was one as worshipful as the angels? as generous as the shepherds? as heedless as the innkeepers? as hard as Herod?

Theatrically, during the nine pre-Christmas Masses, the figures of Mary and Joseph were prominently displayed just by themselves on the altar. Only during the late afternoon and early evening of Christmas Eve were the other figures added, the entire scenery unfolding for the first time in the season to those in attendance at Midnight Mass.

Traditionally, the Midnight Mass began a few minutes before twelve, so that the priest intoned the *Gloria* at the stroke of the hour. As bells rang and the choir sang, the figure of an angel travelled (through nearly invisible

strings) from above the altar to some distance just above the manger to shower the Infant Jesus with flowers. Almost simultaneously, a large star also travelled (again through strings) from the choir, down the aisle of the church, to rest just above the Nativity scene.

At the end of the Midnight Mass, the faithful were invited to venerate the Infant Jesus. In some churches, they approached the *belen* itself. In other churches, the priest took down the figure of the Infant Jesus from the crib and held it as the people approached one by one to kiss the feet, usually heavily anointed with perfume. The choir sang *villancicos* to the rhythm of tambourines and castanets throughout this ritual of veneration.

The *belen* held the place of honor in the churches till the end of the Christmas season, which was – and still is – January 6, the feast of the three kings.

From churches, the *belen* came into the homes. It is claimed by some religious historians that the transition was made through the *panunuluyan*, a Filipino version of the Mexican *posadas* which was first introduced here by homesick galleon crewmen. The *posadas* or *panunuluyan*, however, did not catch on widely; today it is known only in certain towns in the province of Cavite, where it was originally begun by the Mexican sailors.

The *belen* therefore could just have made the natural transition to homes, perhaps as an inspiration of a pious churchgoer, perhaps on the suggestion of the parish priest who carried a nostalgia for this Christmas tradition from the old hometown in Spain or Mexico.

While figures of the *belen* in churches were usually life-size, again in the tradition of the *nacimiento* in Spain, those for the home measured only several inches, the bigger ones ten inches in height, the smaller ones as little as three inches. Nevertheless, there were truly grand *belens* in the homes. Among the most famous of these was the Nativity scene owned by the Cacho family, then of Intra-

muros. The depiction filled an entire room of the Cacho home.

By tradition, the *belen* in the home was set up on Christmas Eve, the ritual unvarying in certain families. It was always the mother who arranged all the figures and to her also belonged the honor of placing the Christ Child in his crib at midnight. When visitors called during the Christmas season, particularly the godchildren, they were led first to the *belen* and offered the Christ Child to kiss.

Strangely, very few *belens* were carved by Filipino artisans during the more than two centuries, in the 1600 and 1700s, when religious sculpture was at its height.

Antique collector Manuel Morato discovered a complete antique *belen* made in Bicol, a truly rare find. The figures were carved in an informal manner from soft wood and were brightly painted, standing only four to five inches tall, an indication that they were meant for the home.

Among the most charming features of this *belen* were a group of worshipful peasants, dressed as Filipino country folk. The women were in *baro't saya*, the men in *camisa chino*. On their heads, some of the women carried pots; these contained food for Mary and Joseph, according to pious legend. But perhaps the most endearing figures were some of the men, carved in an attitude of awe, their mouths open, and holding their hands up in wonder. One of these awestruck figures was depicted astride a horse.

IF the complete *belen* was not a popular subject for the early Filipino carvers, the image of the Infant Jesus was. Some of the most exquisite religious figures of that period were statues of the Infant Jesus, particularly those made from ivory. These remarkable statues ranged from 16 inches in length, almost the size of a newborn babe, to miniatures measuring only three inches from head to toe. The bigger statues were meant for veneration in churches, while the smaller ones

were for the home.

Executed in the baroque style, the ivory statues of the Infant Jesus were meticulously detailed down to the fingernails. The eyes, half closed in sleep, were made of glass and were fringed with tiny lashes. Many of the statues have upraised hands, as if begging to be carried or -- if pious belief is to be considered -- as if raised in blessing. Invariably too one foot is lifted, usually the left, and this is the part of the image which is annointed with perfume and offered to the faithful to be kissed. Some of these statues, still existing today, have brown toes stained from the many kisses and touches of the people; some of them also have stained undersides from having been held by the many, many hands of priests through the years as they were offered for veneration.

Collectors of religious statuary say that it is very easy to tell if a statue of the Infant Jesus was carved by Filipino artisans. Usually, these statues had Oriental features: slanting eyes, high cheek bones, a slim body, a general expression that is sad and almost adult. In contrast, the statues carved in Spain were invariably Murillo babes: chubby, curly-haired, rosy-cheeked, with large dark eyes, round limbs and a rounded body.

Around the image of the Infant Jesus, Christmas tradition has also evolved in some Filipino families and communities. In some towns, the image of the Infant Jesus is carried by sacristans from house to house on Christmas day. To announce the progress of the visit, one sacristan constantly rings a bell and the expectant children know exactly where the Infant Jesus is. The entire family meets the image at the doorway, places it in a position of honor and one by one kisses it. After this short veneration, the head of the family slips some money beneath the satin cushion on which the image rests.

In some homes during Christmas time, only the image of the Infant Jesus instead of the *belen* is accorded the place of honor. Usually

this is a most remarkable image, an antique that has been with the family for generations, executed from ivory and decked with jewels. One such treasure, still intact today, belongs to an old family in Pagsanjan, Laguna. The baroque image of the Christ Child, only about six inches in length, is dressed in gold cloth traced with diamonds and pearls and rests on satin sheets covering an ornately carved manger.

The tradition of the *belen* is shared by Filipino Catholics with the Catholics of Spain, France, Italy and Germany in Europe, with the Catholics of Mexico, Brazil, Colombia, Venezuela and Peru in South America.

The most lavish and elaborate Nativity scenes are to be found today in Italy, where the custom reached its height during the 17th and 18th centuries. The figures -- some of them life-size -- were carved by noted artists and usually depicted the people in the costumes and manners of the period.

According to authorities, the most famous Christmas crib in the world, "truly a work of art and one of its kind," is in the Basilica of Saints Cosmas and Damian in Rome. It was created in Naples in the 17th century for the Cataldo-Perricelli family who later presented the scene to the Order of St. Francis. The entire display is 45 feet long, 21 feet wide and 27 inches high and contains hundreds of wooden hand-carved figures portraying the various phases of 17th century Neapolitan life.

Again, according to authorities, the finest collection of Nativity scenes may be found at the Bayerische National Museum in Munich, Germany. The Metropolitan Museum in New York owns an Italian Nativity scene, called the Rossellino group, which was in use even before 1478.

In the Philippines, some of the finest figures from Nativity scenes made in Spain and South America may be found in the collection of Luis Ma. Araneta.

Mount Mayon Soars Commandingly

1. MAYON COUNTRY

By VICENTE RIVERA

The Albayano is home when he first glimpses the sharply-tipped cone of Mt. Mayon, and that comes almost as soon as he reaches the borders of the province. There are many ways of reaching Albay province -- by bus, train or airplane from other parts of Luzon; by ship and aircraft from the Visayas and Mindanao. But it is always the sight of Mayon Volcano which first announces the traveler's arrival in the province, and the sight of it is always somewhat unbelievable, as though the mountain were glimpsed only by the inner eye of the imagination.

But Mt. Mayon is real enough; indeed its presence all over the region is pervasive. There is almost no corner of the province from which the mountain is not visible. And each time, Mayon presents a fresh aspect, a line, color, mood or dimension never apprehended before. For the native, the mountain becomes a part of life as soon as he becomes aware of its towering grace and limitless reach. Forevermore, the mountain looks over his shoulder and runs through his dreams wherever he is in time or place.

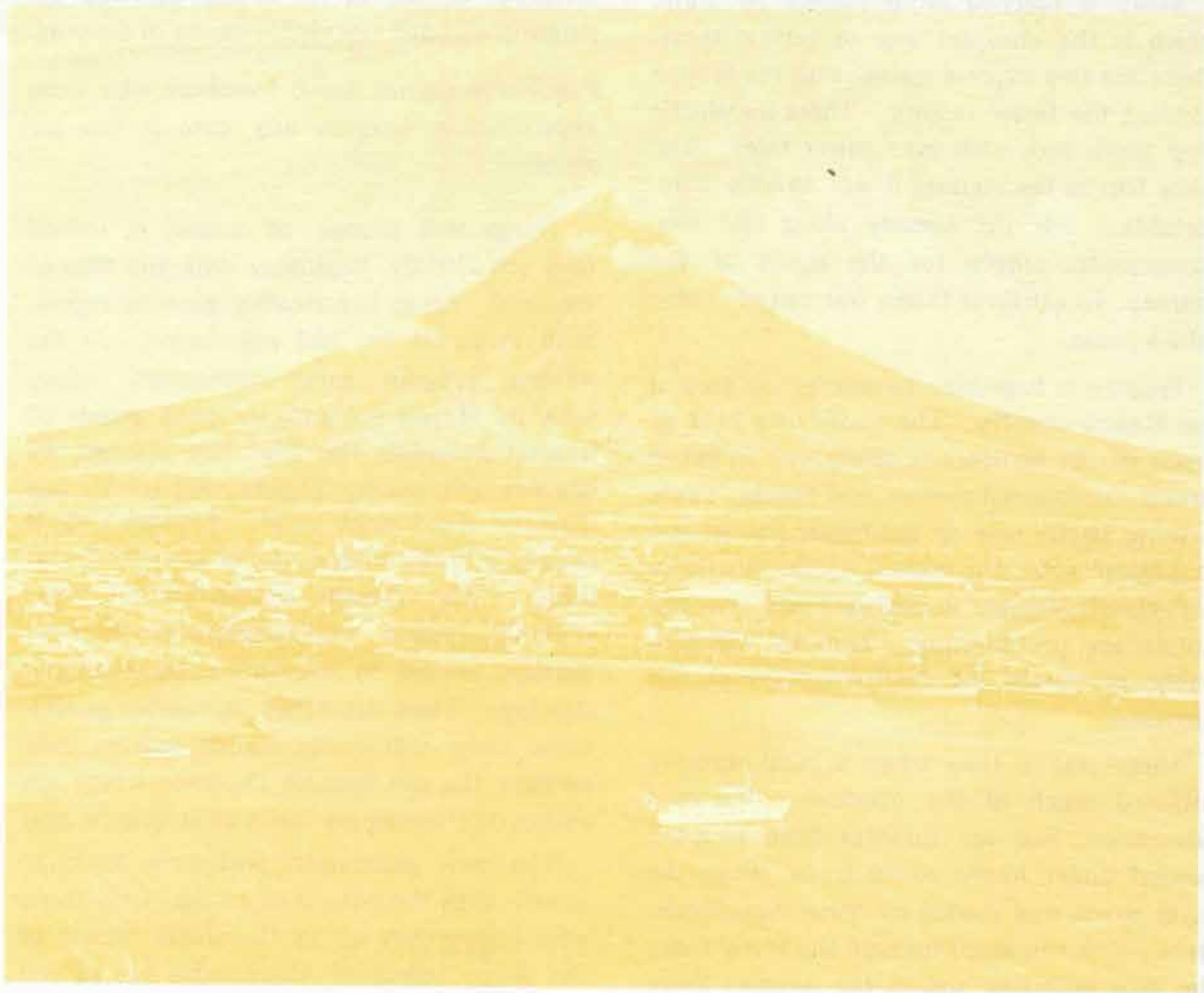
In a real way, Mt. Mayon has shaped the life of the people, defined the region's economy, and even holds the key to the future. It is actually a small mountain, only over 8,000 ft. high, but in a province where

mountain ranges are low-slung, Mt. Mayon soars commandingly, not to say majestically.

It is high enough to challenge venturesome climbers and to vanish in the mists of clouds which sometimes wrap the upper reaches of Mayon often enough to frustrate camera enthusiasts.

Mt. Mayon is still an active volcano, thus touching its beauty with a hint of tragedy. In 1814, the volcano erupted with such fury that it buried the town of Cagsawa, which used to flourish at its base. Today, the only trace of that town is the steeple of the church. The survivors of that eruption built a new town farther away, on a low ridge. They built a new church on a hill overlooking the new town. It was said that the young girls of the town labored shoulder to shoulder with the men in building the town and the church, and exhibited such courage and vigor that the townspeople named the new town after them, calling it Daraga, or, in the vernacular, maiden.

Since that time, Mt. Mayon has erupted roughly every ten years, but it has never again revealed its brutal side. Rather, its periodic eruptions are in keeping with its majesty. The glowing crater, the fireballs tossed in the air, the redhot lava flowing down its slopes, the shower of ashes carpeting



rooftops and fields and streets, are somehow subtly controlled to make a good show, but not to alarm, much less to strike fear into the people. Only those who live at the base of the mountain would think of going away when Mayon flexes its muscles. But the rest of the populace take the pyrotechnics in stride, and are often bemused commentators, explaining the mountain's temper tantrums to visitors.

The people of Albay have reason to value Mayon Volcano. In its more active past, the volcano had laid down thick layers of volcanic ash and lava which time had mixed well with the soil, making the Albay earth one of the most fecund in the country. Green rice paddies pattern the plains and valleys, while the

mountains are lush with trees and vegetation. Abaca for a time was the province's main commercial product, exported for the fine and sturdy rope made out of its fibers. But the emergence of synthetic fibers has curtailed the abaca industry. The chief agricultural product now is rice. The province's storehouse of timber, once profitable, has been depleted by indiscriminate logging. Two metallic minerals give the province a peripheral mining industry. These metals are copper and titaniferous magnetic sand.

The entire province has a land area of 255,257 hectares. About 83.2 per cent of the vegetative cover is cultivated. Open lands, brushlands, swamps and marshes have a land cover of 13,529 hectares.

Albay is reached from Manila by train, which is the cheapest way of getting there. There are two express trains, with the Mayon Limited the faster facility. There are whistle stop trains too, with even lower fares. The train trip is fascinating, if not exactly comfortable, but the scenery along the way compensates amply for the rigors of the journey. To get there faster, one can of course take a plane.

Progress is beginning to change the face of the Mayon country. The small-town look of much of the province is giving way to paved streets, commercial centers, and hotels. There is more bustle now in the bigger towns, and in Legaspi City, the capital of the province, high-rise buildings, including fairly modern hotels, are proliferating. Tourism will probably accelerate the modernization of the province.

There was a time when a rural serenity suffused much of the province. My own hometown, just ten minutes from Legaspi, nestled under hoary acacia trees. Even the main street was shaded by these magnificent trees. You can stroll through the town under the lacy branches, and in the summer there is added color from the fire trees in bloom, a faint fragrance in the air from the lemon trees, and in the center of the town, the shrubs and flowering plants provide splashes of color. In the summer, the lazy hum of cicadas is everywhere, and under its numbing rhythm the whole town comes to a standstill in the early afternoon.

There is a curious relaxed quality in the land which has been transfused into the people. Even now, with the people of Albay quickening to the pressures of progress, the quality remains strong enough to give the impression of ease, of life lived in easy stages, no hurry to it. Perhaps, it is the reason why in Albay, the social exigencies which had pressed hard on people in Central Luzon, for example, had not unduly ruptured the pace of life. For a long time, at least within my

memory, people in the region survived apparently without any visible means of support.

Families sustained those members who were unproductive, and in any case it was no problem.

Things will change, of course, as indeed they are already, beginning with the face of the land. Albay is a steadily growing region, both in commerce and population. As the tourism program gains momentum, Albay with its Mayon volcano, its many points of interest including the Tiwi Hot Springs, its beaches and nearby islands, will get its fair share of the tourist trade. Legaspi City is already a burgeoning center of commerce and trade. The present population of some 650,000 people will conceivably increase, perhaps swelled by migrants as the economy develops. Then the Albay that earlier generations knew will slowly vanish, leaving only perhaps the old Spanish churches which are among the remaining relics of a bygone age.

The new generation will have little to mourn with the passing of an era. Only those who had grown up in the shady streets of the sleepy towns of Albay, who had known their neighbors like members of their own families, who had lived days of eternal summers will know and feel the loss of an innocent time.

One thing will not change. Mayon Volcano will be there for a long time. Unless it kills itself in one final glorious outburst, Mayon will continue to exercise its dominion over the land, infusing the people with its special witchery which, perhaps, more than anything else accounts for the serenity of the land despite the periodic visit of typhoons and man-made cataclysms.

On a clear night, with a full moon low in the sky, Mayon looms over the province with every line of its perfect cone etched clearly, and something more – a living spirit which surely must give the pulse and soul to this province deep in the Bicol heartland. ●

Stairways to the Stars

2. IFUGAO RICE TERRACES

By LINA ESPINA MOORE

The town of Banawe is located in one of the most rugged terrains in the Cordilleras, the mountain chain off-center to the west, traversing from just about where the Central Plains end to the topmost north of Luzon, the main island of the Philippines. It is in Ifugao Province, which at one time was one of the five sub-provinces of the greater whole, the Mountain Province.

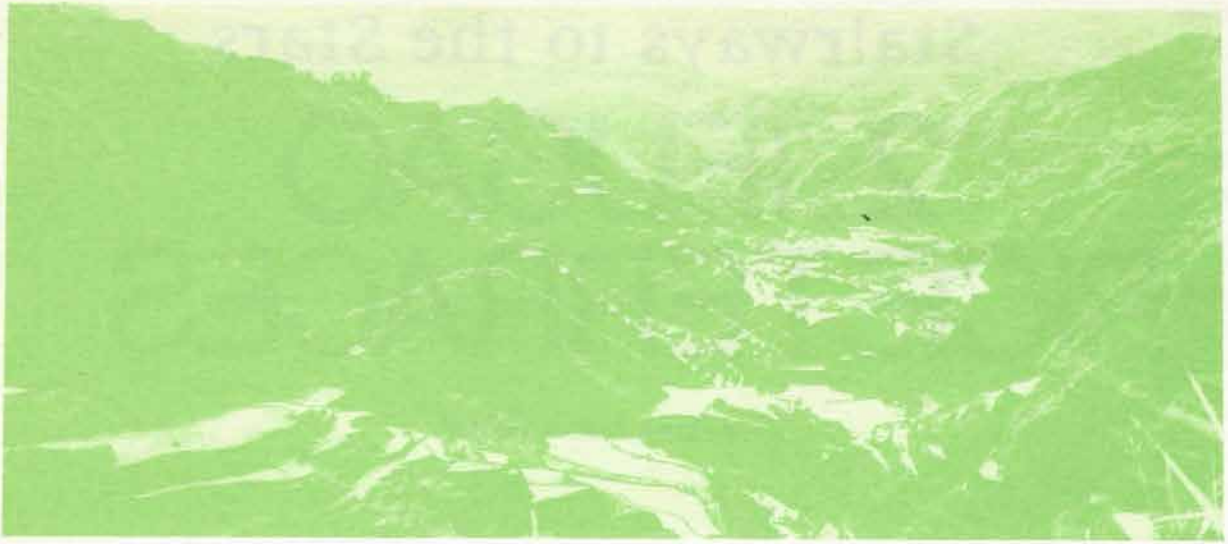
In 1968, the five were turned into four autonomous provinces: Benguet, Bontoc (which retains the name of Mt. Province), Kalinga-Apayao and Ifugao. The original Mt. Province was a creation of the early American administration to consolidate the process of government among the mountain tribes, drawing the geographical boundaries by ethnological groupings. It was Benguet for the Kankanaïs and Ibalois, they were of the mild and good nature; Bontoc, sub-province for the fierce Bontoc tribes; Kalinga for the Kalingas with the river culture; Apayao tribe of the cold mountains and searing-hot valleys; and Ifugao for the terrace builders and woodcarvers.

Consolidated, the tribes take one specific name — Igorot. According to Dr. Trinidad Pardo de Tavera, eminent scholar at the turn of the century, the word Igorot is composed of the root word *golot* meaning mountain chain and the prefix *i*, meaning “people of” or “dweller in.” Which makes the Igorot, (Ygolote/Igorrote in old Spanish orthography)

“people of the mountains.” The Ifugaos were called *igorotes de Quiangan* or *igorotes Ifugao* by Father Juan Villaverde (1897) who was the first known student of their religion and customs. Dr. H. Otley Beyer, said that the Ifugaos were the “true Igorots.” He married one of them.

The over-all area of the huddled mountain provinces is extremely rugged. Mt. Pulog in Ifugao, along the boundary of Benguet, around 9,000 feet above sea level, is the second highest peak in the Archipelago, the higher one being Mt. Apo in Mindanao. The





Benguet pine and the various scrub oaks in the rain forests which are the natural florae in much of the higher lands, do not grow far beyond the 8,000 feet level, so that Mt. Pulog vegetation is mostly cogon grass and short, fine-leaved, thin-stemmed bamboos.

The pagan belief is that when Igorots die, their spirits rise to dwell in Mt. Pulog among the willowy bamboos. In contrast, the plains of Kalinga and Apayao are said to be the hottest areas in the Philippines, hot enough for even its cultivated fields to spawn malarial mosquitoes and wild enough for wild boars in its forests and crocodiles in the rivers.

Characteristic of a people living in this kind of terrain which offers very little of the ease of agricultural production and none of the fishing of the tropical lowlands, the Igorot is tough, hardy, ingenious, highly individualistic. He resisted successfully three centuries of Spanish colonization and the early American colonizer did not find him easy to handle either. Whether the mountains made him so, or he survived the mountains because he was so, bear little meaning now as means of travel and communication, literacy, the English language and Christianization have made inroads into the fastnesses of mountain and minds.

Enough, perhaps, that in time immemorial, the Ifugaos built the world-famous rice terraces which is billed in Philippine travel brochures as

the Eighth Wonder of the World. Other countries have other "eighths" but what matters? True enough that the Ifugao rice terraces are a wonder to behold, being without doubt, a monument to the ingenuity of man, an ingenuity backed by character, because it is only the man of character who can carve chains of mountains into shelves with nothing but the crudest tools, to give him sustenance in life, rungs and rungs above the nomad agriculturist and the hunter. On a plane, one can see with the sweep of the eye, the vast expanse of the Ifugao terraces: Mayoyao, Burnay, Mangan, Lagawe, those in the roadless reaches and the most extensive and famous of them all which is Banawe. The sight is awesome.

The use of these irrigated paddies enabled the Ifugao to occupy the same land for more generations than other mountain people. This is probably why he has long turned to other things less primal than subsistence, and other things is woodcarving. Of the tribes, he is the sculptor and it is a dismal Ifugao who cannot take in hand a piece of wood, crude tools and create the likeness of his women with cheeks of summer avocados, breasts and stomach, full, promising; the likeness of his god - authoritative, quick to anger, hungry for appeasement; the likeness of himself - man.

The marker of the Philippine Historical Commission found at the entrance of mid-town Banawe states that the Terraces are from two to



three thousand years old. This was the appraisal of Dr. H. Otley Beyer, eminent anthropologist who spent a lifetime of research among the mountain tribes. This has been disputed by subsequent anthropologists, geologists and historians with Dr. William Henry Scott bluntly stating that there just is no way to determine the precise age of the Terraces. What is certain is that it was there deep into pre-historic times. Diggings, artifacts and Spanish documents attest to that. But the building of terraces is a continuing process, and terraces built twenty years ago are no younger looking than terraces already existent within the tribal elders' unremembered past.

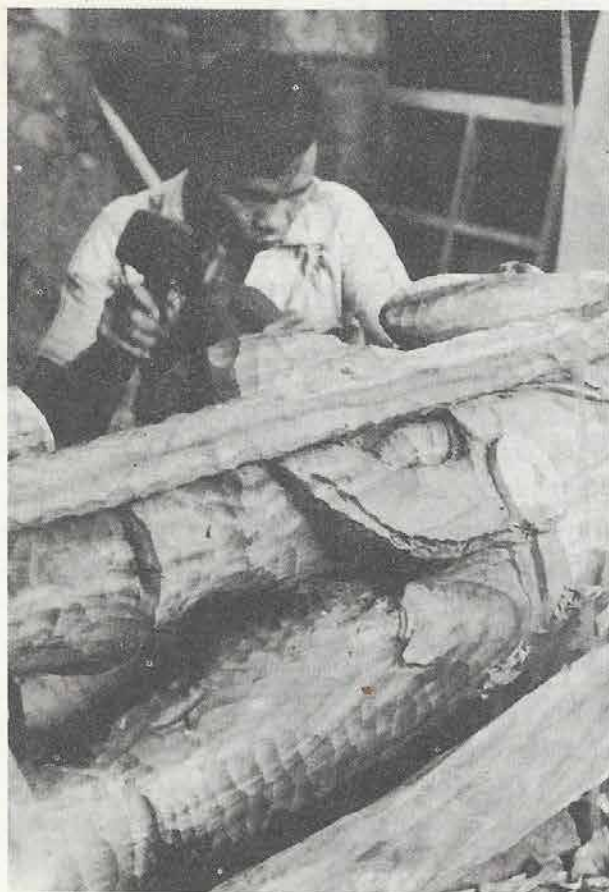
Cultural relations are traced however, between the Ifugao terraces to that of ancient Nepal in the Himalayan terrain, the Malay peninsula and those of Indonesia where an ethnic group in Karduluk, Madura are also known for being sculptors and woodcarvers. Yet, the legends told around the campfires are decidedly modifi-

cations of Chinese folklores and Biblical stories.

Indeed, among the terraces, they still build campfires and with the elders presiding, they still carry on late into the night, sipping rice wine, telling stories, sorting gossips, recalling tribal wars, fanning the embers of ancient tribal alliances, and talking politics too, since that has now invaded the consciousness of the Ifugao.

Women still carry babies slung across their backs, cradled in home-woven clothes of primary colors while they go about their farm and household chores. They still have the mummies of their dead wrapped in blankets and shelved onto rafters of their homes. They still follow the prescribed rituals coaxing or pacifying the characters of the spirit world with betel nut tobacco, rice wine, cakes and meats. A scrutiny of their religion reveals that rice-growing, prosperity and/or fertility determine the emotion and forms of ritual which involved head-hunting in the past. The present-day Ifugao denies this, not in embarrassment for a rather bloody past as he is a Christian now, but because in the last few generations he has forgotten. But a casual ritual of sacrificial nature performed by any woman when she first goes to the fields for planting and transplanting involves offering of rice cakes and other native foods, which is said to be the modification of the original ritual of the offering of human flesh. The specification of a woman may have a bearing on the original symbol and inducement of fecundity; as it is also true that the Ifugao and all the other Igorot sub-nations believe that the most effective *mambubunungs* (priestess-doctors) are women.

Men still stride the mountains in their roles of farmers, men and bucks. The spear is yet a common sight, clutched sure and tight wherever they go. But no longer is it used for hunting or warring. It is still curved, honed and polished to bring out its fatal beauty, but if a tourist wants it, the ex-warrior may sell it, for he can always make another. Dispose of it together with the others he has made for the day - the steel and iron pieces of little knives, sickles, bolos and machetes; carved wooden pieces, Indonesian



classics, Continental baroque, modern Scandinavian lines, Chinese profiles, name it. The dealers of artifacts and handicrafts in Baguio and Manila show him pictures of what they want, drawings, diagrams, written specifications. Like all artists, he may or may not come up with the orders and like any artist, he cannot see the logic of standardization.

Barely a year ago, the Government built a Youth Hotel and a first-class hotel in Banawe, overlooking the Terraces. The amenities of civilization are offered for dollars and pesos. It is a boon to tourism in this area, world renowned as it is, but which hitherto had nothing to offer more than primitive facilities.

The Ifugao terraces is worth a visit for its beauty and wonder value. The traditional touring months are from November to May, for the rest are months of rain and fog. The fascination of the terraces is enhanced during the hours of nine in the morning and three in the

afternoon, or the hours when the sun is at an angle that brings out the lights and shadows which are the essences of perspectives. And colors, too. For when the terraces are bare, which means between harvest and planting seasons, the skies are reflected on the terrace waters: the gentle blue of early morning, the sparkle of sunlight at noon, the warm colors of the later afternoon, the purple, blues and grays of early evening. The clouds would be there, too, and maybe, birds on the wing and the green of vegetation on the higher mountains. When the seedlings are transplanted, the terraces turn chartreuse, which is the color of newly transplanted sheaves; light green, emerald, viridian, ripening, golden ochre - as the season advances.

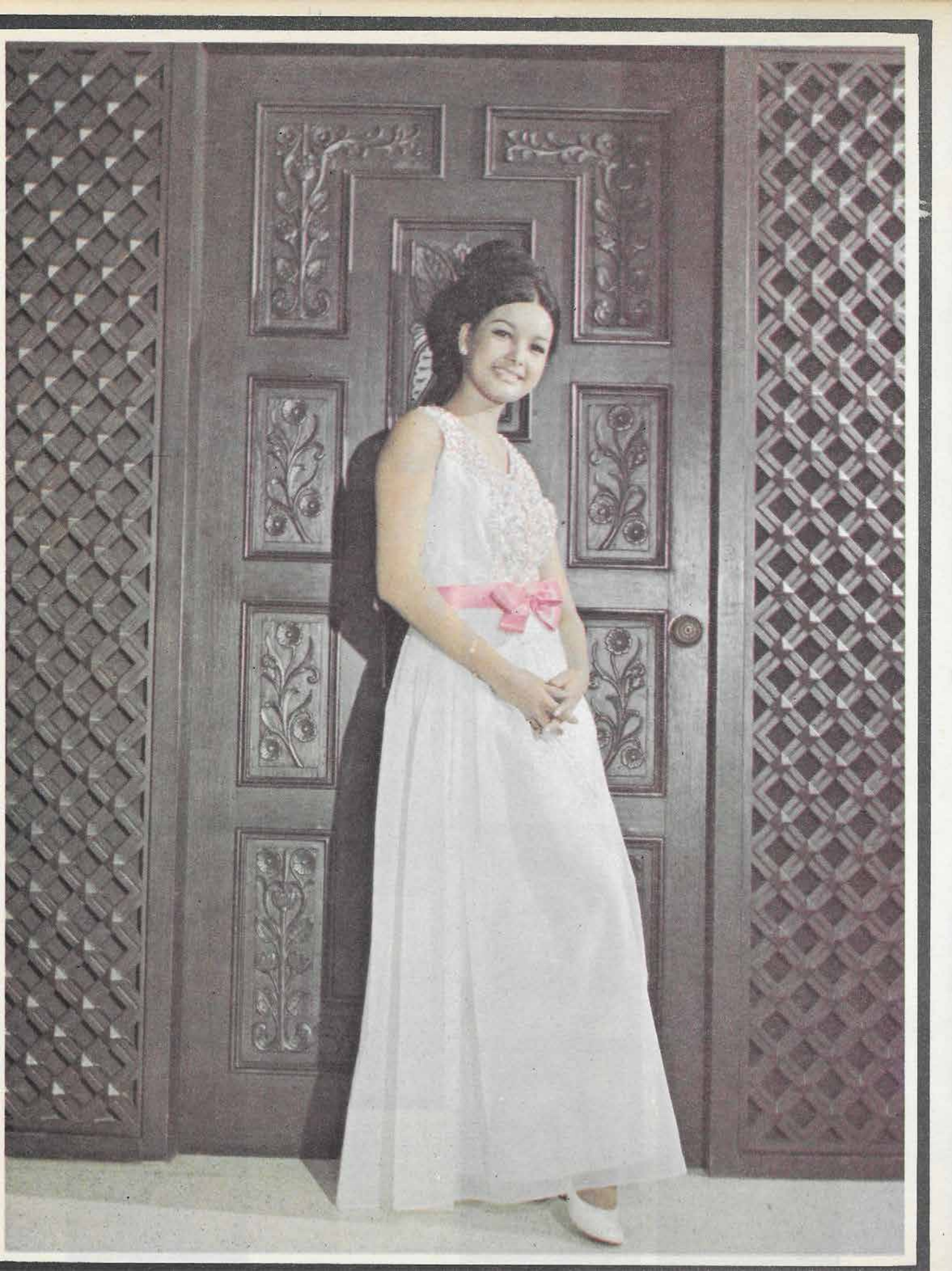
It is at this time when the *cañao* sounds hit the skies, staccato beats of primitive percussions, gongs and drums which have been mute for many months. And chanting, too, echoing among the terrace walls, rising originally from the indentations of *sitios* among the giant stairways to the stars, half-hidden by groves of betel nut palms, avocados and the ceremonial plant, the red *dangla* which is the *ti*, important too in the ceremonies and rituals of the Polynesians. Yet, as in anything else, the values start from oneself, and with that, there can be no compromise.

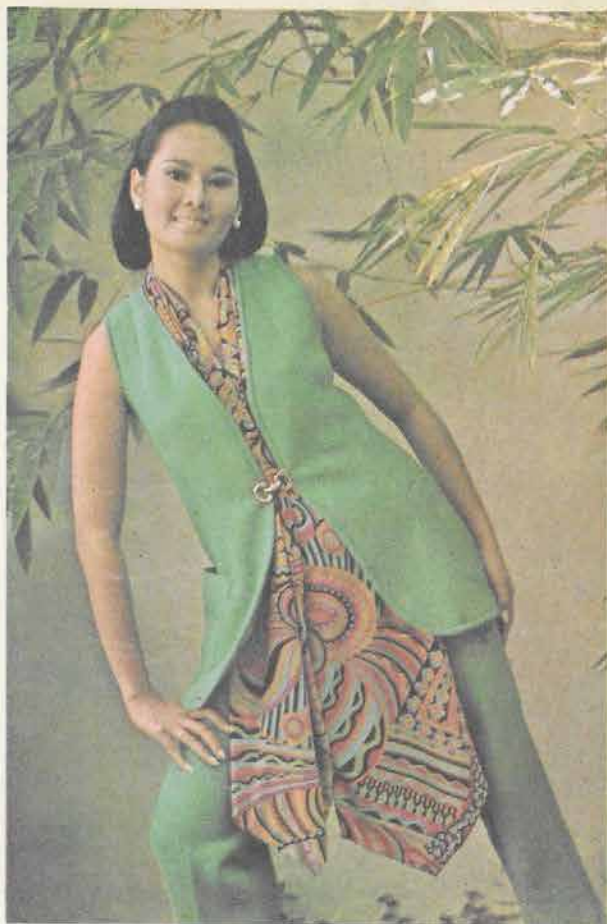
So, in Banawe, it is also good to be up with the sun, to see it when it rises beyond the terraces to the east. It is usually veiled with a curtain of mist because the dawn vapors among the highland fields do not lift until the sun is high enough to bring its warmth to the terrace waters. Among nearer hills, one may see the slow rise of thin, curling smoke from the early cooking fires. A cock's crow, a child's distant laugh, a somnolent, half-hearted little bark from a little dog. Then you may hear another sound, a sound that you have always with you but seldom hear. But now you do. Because of the silence and peace of the morning, you hear your heart beat. You give thanks for hearing your heartbeats in the beautiful setting of a proud, splendid past.

YOUNG FRESH FACES

THE YOUNG
FILIPINA HAS
LITHENESS AND
A GRACE OF
MOVEMENT

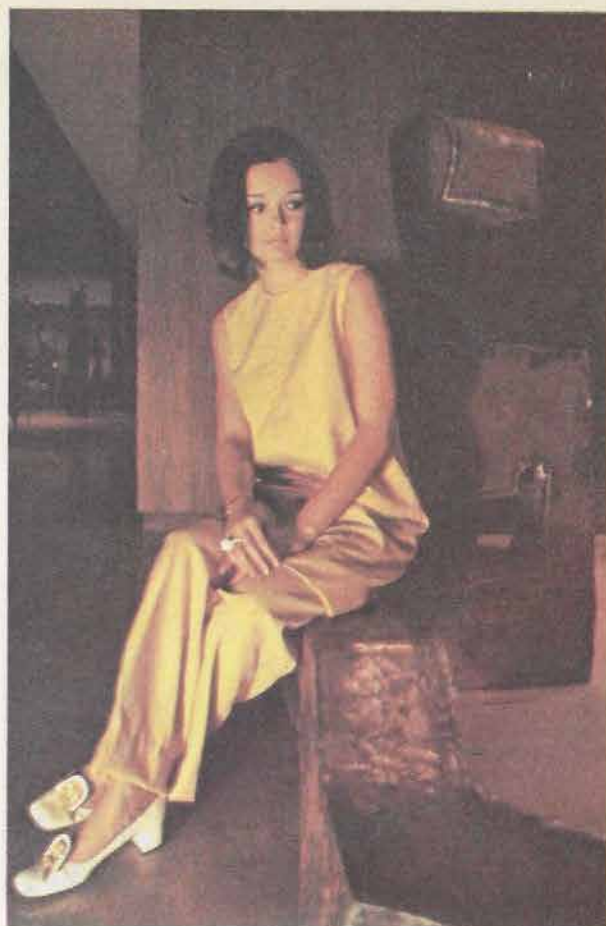






They belong, these young pretty faces, to Manila's golden girls, most of them tall and springy, all of them with smiles in their voices. With dark eyes a-sparkle and gold-brown legs swinging, Manila's young women are catching many a visitor's eye and providing day-to-day momentum to the oft-repeated phrase, voiced by foreigners, "We've never seen so many pretty girls in such numbers before."

While this remark may seem, at first, to be gross exaggeration, such connoisseurs of beauty among Manila's visitors as portrait painters, fashion designers and make-up artists, have offered to clarify the point. The young Filipino woman, they point out, is more often than not blessed with a small frame and a dainty bone structure. A good look at the young women going to and from work, at the students in the many universities, at the

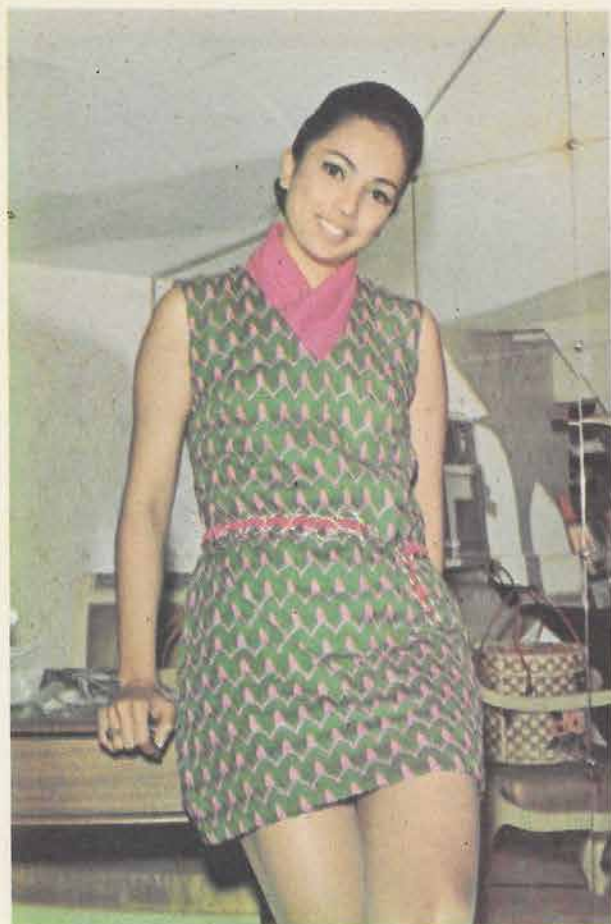


young wives shopping in supermarkets and department stores, lunching in the city's restaurants, getting in and out of cars at some private party, will show that the observant foreigner is right: eight out of ten young Filipino women, 16 to 25, are good-looking.

What is it about the young Filipino woman that earns her the reputation of being good looking?

First of all, she has a litheness and a grace of movement, an innate sense of rhythm that often lands her, without benefit of modeling-school lessons, on the fashion-show ramp. While Manila's fashion-show set of young girls has toured the world's fashion capitals and received due recognition, most of these girls had not gone through the usual modeling-school routines.

Her small-boned figure and her good legs are other factors in the young Filipina's



favor. Her smooth complexion, bronzed by the sun, her dark eyes and hair, give the impression of vibrant gaiety, an effervescence not only of youth but of deep-seated optimism and joie-de-vivre.

Another interesting comment about the young women of Manila is that they present such a varied wealth of good looks. "They look so different, one from the other, yet they're all so pretty!" a tourist usually says.

They are the Spanish-type beauties, with their large dark eyes fringed heavily with very dark long lashes. There are paler-looking girls, with high cheekbones and doe eyes. There are those with a sprinkling of freckles that proclaim Irish or American blood somewhere in the ancestral background. One can, in fact, look around the room at a party and see at least a dozen types, each one good-

looking in her own kind of way.

It is also possible that a great part of the charm of the Filipina, which may be difficult to convey through photographs or mere measurements, is her femininity, which never fades nor falters.

In spite of incursions into the man's world, there is still a definite shyness and lack of aggressiveness that makes even the most successful career woman winsome to a man's eyes. Strangely enough, it is a fact that most Filipinas still are shy. This vulnerability in the face of modernity has won her plaudits instead of censure.

Her ability to blush is not the least of the lovely facts about her, vying with slim waist and delicate wrists. Many a man who has wooed and won a girl cherishes this blush through all the days when figure might change, hair fade, and features age. ●

*The Filipina has been occupying a high position
both in the home as well as in the community*

LIBERATING THE FILIPINO WOMAN



By LETICIA RAMOS SHAHANI



Women have been capturing the headlines lately due to their "liberation movements" which have sprung in several countries of the world. It looks as if society, and with it, the men, are beginning to sit up and take notice. Is there a handwriting on the wall to warn us that the old order of men-women relations is crumbling and that it should be replaced by a more equitable system for the women?

With the exception of a few societies -- and these are the ones still untouched by the modern world -- it must be admitted that women in most parts of the world have played far too long a subordinate role in a male-dominated society. Men, women themselves, and, consequently, society, have taken it for granted that it is the women who must stay at home, look after the men, raise the children,

stay in the background, look pretty and, through it all, remain stupid and unquestioning. The cry among intelligent and mature women in many parts of the world is not that they should replace men. They are far too sensible to realize that this cannot be done for the simple reason that men and women have complimentary – not superior or inferior – roles in life and must cooperate with each other in building society. Furthermore, nature has seen to it that, exceptions apart, men and women have specific functions in the procreation of their kind.

What women are demanding is that, where their talents and skills are equal to those of men, they must be accorded equality in rights and opportunities – both in law and in fact. To date this has not happened, and a United Nations report which was issued in final form last year confirms this situation. The report, entitled *Participation of Women in the Economic and Social Development of Their Countries* and based on the replies of 77 Member States of the United Nations and 36 non-governmental organizations, arrives at these disturbing conclusions: (1) although many countries have accepted in their constitutions and laws the fundamental principle of equal rights for men and women, in *actual fact* women do not enjoy equal rights and opportunities in such areas as employment, education, family law, access to executive and policy-determining posts, etc.; (2) although the role of women in economic and social development is publicly recognized and officially acclaimed, their actual participation is limited and restricted in many ways; (3) the division of the labor market into the “male sector” (finance, banking, science, technology, engineering, law, etc.) and the “female sector” (middle-level personnel, teaching, nursing, secretarial and clerical work, the salary scale of which is lower than the male sector) prevents women from entering other types of work for which they are otherwise qualified and also stop them from occupying top-level

and executive posts.

The United Nations report goes on to observe that measures which are taken to increase the participation of women in national life are prompted “not so much by the desire to bring about a fundamental change in the role of men and women in society, but rather by the realization that over-all development requires a greater utilization of the potential labour force.” It seems inevitable, however, states the report, that sooner or later women’s increasing participation in the economic and social life of their countries and their consequent emancipation will force society to adapt itself to the changing role of women. The United Nations report emphasizes that “serious efforts to find ways and means to cope with this problem are urgently needed.” In the meantime, “increasing numbers of women find themselves in an ambivalent position: on the one hand, their active participation in the economic and social life of their countries is stimulated, while on the other hand it is subject in practice to limitations and discriminations.”

It is this wide discrepancy between the rights of women as pronounced in the law and these rights as exercised in fact that is, in the main, responsible for the agitation of women in many parts of the world. Women’s liberation movements, particularly in the United States and England, are gathering in strength. It would be unwise to laugh them off as exercises in absurdity and futility. Do not women, after all, constitute half of the world’s population and should not their voices be heard – and heeded?

What of the Filipino woman?

Filipino women have been occupying a high position not only in the home but in the community and professional world as well. Think of our pre-Spanish priestesses or *katalonans*, our heroines of the Spanish revolution, the women leaders of the Japanese occupation and our present crop of women.

public figures. Our laws have accorded the Filipino woman many rights in such areas as suffrage, employment, civil law and education. As early as 1937, our women were given the right to vote. And these rights seem to be quite well-deserved. The energy and activity of Filipino women continue to amaze Westerners and our fellow-Asians; it is, they say, a rare phenomenon both in Asia and the West. So is the right of our women to control almost absolutely the family purse strings and budget.

A perusal of our revised Civil Code reveals that the status of Filipino women in relation to our civil law is a strong one. Her consent to marriage, for instance, must be freely given (Article 53). Another factor which makes her position high in society is the fact that she retains ownership of the property which she brings to marriage, as well as property acquired by lucrative title, by right of redemption or that which is purchased with her exclusive money (Art. 135). This is known as

“paraphernal” property which a married woman of age may mortgage, encumber, alienate or otherwise dispose of without the permission of her husband and appear alone in court to litigate with regard to the same (Art. 140). Should she die childless, the property reverts to her parents and her sibling group.

As regards the conjugal property, her equal rights therein are respected. All property of the conjugal partnership of gains is owned in common by the husband and wife and although the husband is the administrator of the conjugal partnership, he cannot dispose of the real property of the conjugal partnership without the consent and approval of his wife. Upon the dissolution of the marriage or of the partnership, the net gains obtained by either spouse during marriage for their joint benefit are divided equally. (Arts. 142, 143, 165, 166).

Should her husband die before her, her right to inherit as well as that of her legitimate children are explicit in the revised Civil Code.



She has a share in the "legitime", which is that portion of the decedent's estate reserved solely by law for compulsory heirs. (Art. 887).

What about the responsibilities of husband and wife in the marriage relationship? The Civil Code stresses the importance of the family and the uniqueness of the marriage relationship. The husband and wife are obliged to live in mutual respect and support. For his part, the husband is responsible for the support of the wife and the rest of the family. These expenses shall be met first from the conjugal property, then from the husband's capital and lastly from the wife's paraphernal property. (Art. 111). In keeping with the Filipino tradition that the mother is the "queen of the home", the Civil Code gives the wife the responsibility and right of managing the affairs of the household. (Art. 115). It is further stipulated therein that she may purchase the necessary things for the support of the family with the conjugal partnership being bound thereby and may borrow money for this purpose, if the husband fails to deliver the proper sum. There is, however, a safeguard for the husband who has a luxury-loving wife. The Code stipulates that the purchase of luxuries by the wife is voidable, unless approved by the husband or unless it is charged against her paraphernal property.

The Filipino wife is also accorded the right to exercise any profession or occupation or engage in business. The primacy of the husband as the head of the family is, however, still asserted in that the husband has the right to object to his wife's working outside the home on condition that: (1) his income is sufficient for the family and (2) his opposition is founded on serious and valid grounds. (Art. 117).

The provisions of the Civil Code concerning the rights and responsibilities of married women are a reflection of the customs and traditions affecting our women. Perhaps a few observations will help to explain the sense of

responsibility and discipline which continues to characterize Filipino women. In our rural areas, girls at an early age learn to undertake household responsibilities -- cooking, marketing, cleaning the house, and taking care of younger brothers and sisters. This shapes their character and orientation. Rural boys, on the other hand, are free from familial obligations until they are through with school or become involved in economic activities. This situation is partly responsible for the early distinction made between a "man's world" and a "woman's world" which is carried on into adult life.¹ The training received in childhood and adolescence therefore adequately prepare the rural wife and mother for the very busy life she has to lead. The rural housewife is busy practically every minute of the day. She not only looks after a large family (normally consisting of seven children), but also helps to augment the family income through planting, gardening, poultry-raising, weaving, etc. In contrast, men devote themselves mainly to economic activities and are generally under-employed during the off-planting-and harvesting season.²

In the urban areas, a similar pattern prevails. The women also manage to run a home and work at an outside job. As professionals, they predominate in fields as pharmacy, optometry, chemistry, teaching and nursing. In recent years, they have also ventured in some low-paying jobs which had previously been reserved for men; women have now become bus conductors and inspectors, street sweepers, paper garbage collectors, and elevator inspectors and have proven themselves capable and efficient in these occupations.

Yet for all the rights and responsibilities which are accorded the Filipino women by our laws and which custom and tradition allow her to exercise and enjoy, the Filipino

¹Robert Fox, "Men and Women in the Philippines," *Women in the New Asia*, UNESCO, 1963, p. 350.

²*Ibid.*, p. 361.

family and society may still be described as "patricentric." This means that the father is the head of the household, and "nearly all positions of authority within business, the professions and government are held by men

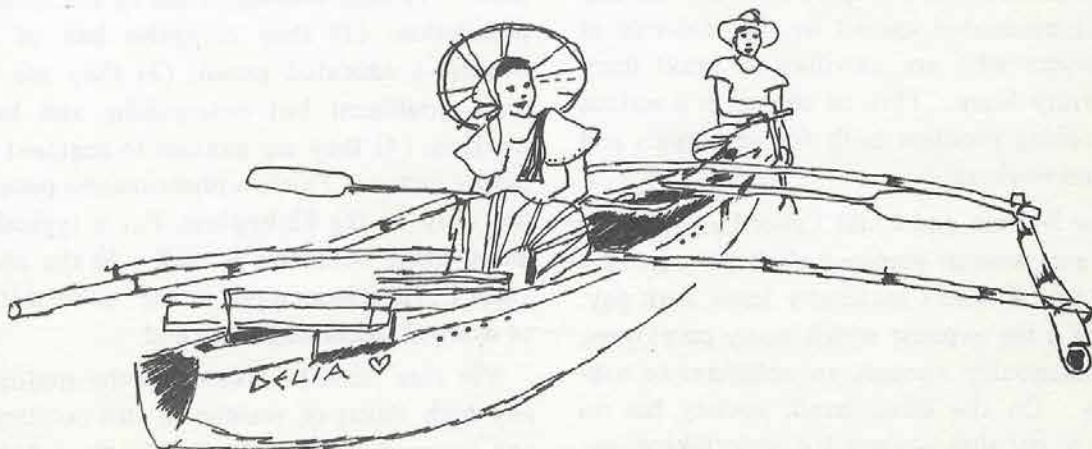
. . . Leadership has been a traditional male function and it remains so. Family decisions may be arrived at by consensus, the opinions of the mother and adult children being carefully considered, but the decision will be formulated and voiced by the father.⁴ The provisions of the revised Civil Code attest to the patricentric character of our family system.

But whether we like it or not changes will come to modify the familial structure of our society which heretofore has helped to give our country a sense of stability and well-being. These changes will come about, as has been stressed by the United Nations report referred to earlier, not so much because there is a desire to bring about a fundamental change in the role of men and women in

society, but rather by the realization that if national development must succeed there must be a greater utilization of the potential labor force, half of which are women. As a corollary, it might be said that women's liberation movements are not so much the battle of the sexes but rather a vigorous assertion that women must no longer be treated as second-class citizens by the very societies which need their talents and skills.

And there are elements worth watching in our society which will bring about even greater changes in the role of the Filipino women, who constitute half of the country's population and comprise one-third of the nation's actual working force. On the other hand, half of the unemployed in our rural areas are females, half of whom are under twenty.

With the increasing modernization of the country, more women are entering the field of industry. In what areas of industry do women predominate? A survey of the Greater Manila area conducted in 1968 by the Women's



and Minor's Bureau of the Department of Labor revealed that manufacturing particularly the textile industry, (23 per cent), commerce (20.5 per cent), and transport, storage and communication (19.5 per cent) ranked first, second and third, respectively, in relation to the total number of employees of 320 establishments. The survey further disclosed that of the total (5,988) female employees, 64.3 per cent are single, 33.2 per cent are married and 2.4 per cent are widowed or separated. The survey concluded that single women have more employment opportunities than those married in all types of industry with the exception of the furniture and fixture establishment where the married outnumber the single.

It will be noted that the percentage of working married women is still comparatively high -- about 1/3 of the total number of women workers. On the other hand, the percentage would increase were it not for the fact that many employers regard married women as poor investments because of the maternity leaves which the law demands must be granted them.

Indeed, according to Mrs. Carmen Herrera Acosta, director of the Women's and Minors' Bureau, the most common complaint of married women seeking employment is that they are discriminated against by the majority of employers who are unwilling to grant them maternity leave. This, of course, is a serious and vexing problem both for employers and women workers.

Our Woman and Child Labor Law provides that any woman employee shall be granted a total of 14 weeks maternity leave with pay. This is a big expense which many employers, understandably enough, are reluctant to subsidize. On the other hand, society has no right to penalize women for undertaking one of the most critical roles in life - to carry a human foetus and to give birth to a child.

For the sake of our women and of our future generations, working women in our

country must be provided with the necessary facilities which will enable them to combine their responsibilities at home and at work. Without these, there can hardly be any success in resolving the demands of home and career. Such facilities do not mean only maternity leaves but also the establishment of day-care nurseries, the access to family planning information and materials, the observance of the eight-hour labor law etc. These measures become more imperative due to the fact that an increasing number of married women will be entering the labor market because of two over-riding factors: (1) the need to augment the family income due to great economic need; and (2) the high percentage of girls and women enrolled in our school and colleges, the female school enrollment in the Philippines being 49 per cent in relation to the total enrollment.

The problem is recurrently brought out that there are too many married women in government positions and that their recruitment for these posts must be restricted and limited. This facile and condescending solution is, to say the least, unrealistic and discriminatory. There must be no mistake about it - Filipino women are to stay in the field of employment, whether it be in manufacturing, medicine, the sciences or diplomacy simply because: (1) they constitute half of the national population; (2) they comprise half of the country's educated group; (3) they are not only intelligent but enterprising and hard-working; (4) they are anxious to augment the family income. This is a phenomenon peculiar not only to the Philippines, but is typical of many other countries as well. As the sociologist David Riesman put it, the "privatization of women" is coming to an end.

Yet care must be taken that the traditionally high status of women in this country is not lowered as they move into the employment field because of the nation's adverse social and economic conditions.

Take, for instance, the case of the more than 2,000 female bus conductors who service

the Greater Manila area. In a survey undertaken by the Women's and Minors' Bureau in 1968 it was found out that in the 16 bus companies surveyed, 31 percent of their women conductors worked 16 hours daily and 22.8 percent, 19 hours daily. This is a violation of the Woman and Child Labor Law as well as the Eight-Hour Labor Law. In addition, women were not allowed to sit while on duty even if the bus was empty or had few passengers. Several of the bus companies studied did not provide dressing rooms for women. As for the Minimum Wage Law, the survey stated that although the average earning of a bus conductor is P10 daily, her average working time, on the other hand, is 16 hours a day. But working women cannot be too choosy about their job conditions nor too demanding about their rights, given the high rate of unemployment and the spiraling cost of living. And employers are only too aware that these women are in no position to bargain.

There are therefore, several areas where the

status of the Filipino woman needs to be carefully studied. Another one of these is the position of the unmarried mother. This is a problem which must be met full face because of the considerable increase in our population of the number of unmarried mothers and children born out of wedlock. Their increase should be viewed as part of the breakdown of many of our social and ethical values in the face of increasing industrialization and urbanization and the economic pressures experienced by the majority of our citizens. Already the Department of Social Welfare has devised a program of assistance for unmarried mothers and their children.

At this year's session of the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, the Commission recommended for adoption by the United Nations Economic and Social Council two resolutions on the unmarried mother. The first resolution urged Member States of the United Nations to take adequate measures of social assistance in favor of the



unmarried mother and the child born out of wedlock. The Philippines voted for this resolution but, given the provisions in our revised Civil Code, was obliged to abstain on the second resolution which recommended the elimination of prevailing legal discrimination against the unmarried mother. The latter resolution, among other things, called for: (a) the transmission of the mother's name if only maternal filiation is established; (b) full parental authority of the unmarried mother over the child, in all cases, as an automatic consequence of the fact of birth; (c) upon the establishment of parental and maternal filiation, maintenance obligations on the part of the parents which should be the same as if they were married; (d) no discrimination against persons born out of wedlock in all matters of inheritance; and (e) appropriate measures to be provided by the government to compensate for the lack of the father's contribution to the maintenance of the child if it is not possible to establish paternity. While our revised Civil Code provides for measures called for in (a) and (b) above, it does not provide for those mentioned in (c), (d) and (e). The resolution also urged Member States of the United Nations to obtain a greater comprehension by society of the problems of the unmarried mother "with a view to doing away with prejudice against her and to secure the acceptance of her and her child on an equal footing with other families."

According to Justice Lourdes Paredes San Diego of the Court of Appeals, who has represented the Philippines with distinction at the Commission on the Status of Women, the time has come for a serious study of our existing laws affecting unmarried mothers and further review of the status of children born out of wedlock. Their status, both legal and social, still remain inferior to that of their legitimate counterparts. For instance, although children born out of wedlock are entitled to inherit from their parents, they do not enjoy the right to use the surname of the

father, by the mere fact of birth. This is because proof of paternal filiation must still be established, but our rules of evidence make this extremely difficult, and more often than not, the child cannot prove his case. Thus the burden of support – moral and financial – falls solely on the unmarried mother.

More than a century ago, in 1863, men of learning were seriously debating in London whether women should be allowed to take the entrance examinations for the University of London. At that time, a physiologist solemnly declared before the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science that although it was still a disputed point whether the female brain was capable of the same power of thought as the male brain, he was convinced that there would be less illness among the women of the upper classes if their brains were more regularly and systematically exercised. Another expert assured the meeting that if girls were encouraged to use their brains their excitement would not produce insanity. Girls at a village school, he pointed out, had been taught botany by a university professor and they were reported to be unusually intelligent, orderly and neat in their appearance and were in special demand as nursery maids!⁴

These patronizing male attitudes, all too familiar to women the world over, no longer holds true now that the demand is for the skills and talents of women be utilized in all endeavours to create a more humane and dignified existence for all. I think that men will discover – to their delight – that if women were given the full recognition of their ability and capacity to participate in the special enclaves which men have created for themselves, women will make better wives and mothers and more interesting companions. ●

⁴ Kathleen Lonsdale, "Women in Science: Reminiscences and Reflections" *Impact of Science on Society*, UNESCO, Vol. XX, No. 1, p. 49.

THE ASSORTMENT OFFERED THE TOURIST
IN MANILA IS WIDE AND LAVISH

THE CURIOS AND THE COMMERCIAL

BY LUISA H. A. LINASUGAN





Religious figures, some of them quite intricately carved, are available in many stores

"DOLLARS DON'T grow on trees," may well be the complaint of the tourist in Manila, but far from being discouraged by the high cost of authentic souvenir items, the remark is apt to be made in the face of a truly and varied rich assortment which makes choice a difficult matter. There is everything any one might want to buy and take home — ranging all the way from dolls and place mats, pearls and pre-Christian earthenware, intricately embroidered shirts and ball gowns, luxurious table cloths and drapery materials, to antique *santos* (images of saints, angels and the Holy Family) and Philippine period furniture, hand-made gold and silver jewelry, beautiful carved trays and trinket boxes of Philippine hardwood, buttons and belts of mother-of-pearl, and even such rare items as tektites and pre-historic bead necklaces and bracelets.

The assortment offered the tourist in Manila is undeniably wide and lavish but more distinctive is the fact that quality materials and skilled craftsmanship go into the making of high-grade products which makes the local consumer as enthusiastic a buyer as the tourist in search of souvenirs to send or take home. There are actually no Philippine-made "souvenirs" which cannot also be found in Philippine homes. The *barong Tagalog*, which the male tourist proudly displays to family and friends when he gets home is the same garment

which is to be seen on Filipino men in church, at parties, in offices and on the streets. The delicately embroidered table cloths which the woman tourist eyes so longingly at a display window is more likely to be similar to what a Filipino housewife lovingly spreads on her table when she entertains her friends.

At the bigger establishments mailing facilities have been made available. The same is true in the bigger hotels where one may also find dress and tailoring shops accepting orders for *ternos*, *kimonas*, *balintawaks*, (three different styles of Philippine feminine wear), *barong Tagalog*, and even cocktail dresses, daytime frocks and pant suits of Philippine embroidered fabrics. In these specialty shops one can have the garment of one's choice made in a day or two, with prices ranging from about seventy pesos or ten dollars for a *barong Tagalog* of the simplest design to five hundred pesos or a little over seventy dollars for an all-embroidered pant suit or evening gown.

The piña cloth, the fine, almost silky fabric made from the fiber obtained from pineapple leaves, has long been famous for its exquisite appearance and surprising durability — and of this beautiful fabric the tourist has a wide choice of handkerchiefs and scarves, doilies and place mats, table runners and elegant

dinner cloths for a service for eight or twelve, stocking cases and purses, cosmetic and tissue bags – for as little as fourteen pesos (about two dollars) or as much as seven hundred pesos (or about a hundred dollars).

As lovely as the piña cloth is the more colorful jusi which is available in all colors and all the varying shades of each color, sometimes shot with silver and gold for evening wear. Here again the tourist has a choice of garments or fine table linens.

In contrast to the piña and jusi, both delicate and sheer, is the Lepanto fabric woven in the region from which it got its name. The Lepanto fabric industry, started after World War II by an enterprising American lady, has gone into the manufacture, by hand, of dresses and shirts, neckties, belts and evening gowns in addition to the usual stock of towels and table cloths, napkins and drapery materials. In colors typical of the mountain region from which it comes, Lepanto fabrics also make good upholstery materials, bedspreads and floor mats.

From the same place, the Mountain Province, also come other fabrics, closely woven and thick, much less expensive than the Lepanto cloth – and these, loosely referred to as Ilocano and Igorot fabrics, go into the making of bed coverlets, table runners, bathrobes, kitchen towels and similar materials. Closely allied to these, but as expensive as the Lepanto fabric, is the Ilocano and the Igorot death blanket – a long narrow strip of hand-loomed material in lovely colors and geometric patterns used by certain tribes in wrapping up their dead before burial. A death blanket measuring about two feet wide and ten feet long costs about ten dollars or seventy pesos.

Hablon, a dressy fabric with a high-grade sheen so that it is almost iridescent, is a comparative newcomer in the Philippine fabric market. As popular with Filipino women as it is with tourists, hablon is hand-loomed in the southern Visayan provinces and has been introduced to the foreign market by way of

Philippine fashion shows staged in various fashion capitals. A cut of hablon for daytime wear would cost the tourist about six dollars, a bigger cut of the same material shot with silver or gold and intended for after-dark wear would cost about fifty per cent more.

Lower priced goods of more or less the same dress and household variety are also to be found in almost every shopping arcade or in any of the numerous stores lining up both sides of Mabini Street which has long been known for tourist trade. There is raffia, ramie and abaca fabrics such as *saguran* and *pinok-pok*. Shopping bags, dressy purses, skirts, place mats and table runners are made from these comparatively inexpensive fabrics and may be had for as low as a dollar or two (the price for a set of six luncheon mats) to ten or fifteen dollars (for a *barong Tagalog* of ramie).

WOOD PRODUCTS are as varied in style, size and price as the fabric goods and the tourist not traveling by boat still finds it worth his time and trouble getting the items he chooses shipped to their destination through any of the various cargo shipping lines. There are, as previously mentioned, antique *santos* and furniture, which may be picked up at antique shops all over the city and cost anywhere from a few dollars to several hundreds. There are also the cheaper wood products of contemporary design – in beautifully grained hardwood (such as *kamagong* which generally comes in black or charcoal brown, but which sometimes may be had in a fascinating double tone of black and ivory) – catering to almost every taste. Salad bowls and snack trays, cigarette cases and lamp bases, letter openers and pencil holders, trinket boxes and buttons and buckles, shoe horns and beer mugs. Lower priced yet are the Igorot wood products consisting of nut crackers, book ends, paper weights and ash trays – all generally of a risqué variety and eliciting many a chuckle, most popular of which are the nut crackers shaped in the figure of a woman with Herculean strength in her shapely legs and those book-

ends of placid, content, fulfilled women of wood, inscribed with the words, "*dahil sa iyo*" or, "Because of You."

Shellcraft products are as popular as woodcraft goods and here again the country offers a fascinating variety: low-priced necklaces and chain belts (costing about a dollar), plant holders, snack trays, trinket cases, earrings and brooches, hair clips and old-world combs, cuff links and buttons, salt and pepper containers, nut and bonbon dishes. Capiz, limited in use in the pre-World War II days, to window sashes and screens, has come into its own -- in Tiffany style lamps colored and stained in the manner of the stained-glass master's original works, in brilliantly glowing panels which make colorful room dividers, in fashionable shoe heels and buckles, in almost any decor item one can think of.

Then there is metalcraft which boasts of a rich assortment: Moro brassware in the form of trays and plant pots, lamps and candle tables, bases of all sizes and shapes, knife blades and the traditional *kris* (a Moro weapon with a wide, waved blade), varied trinkets including charms and amulets, candleholders and drinking jugs; silver filigree jewelry (earrings, rings, brooches and hair ornaments, cuff links, studs and belt buckles) and sterling silver flatware (all the way from exquisite demitasse spoons, and pickle forks to serving pieces); gold tambourine necklaces (distinctively Spanish-Philippine in mood and style), combs, and other forms of jewelry.

In more recent years some collectors' items have found their way into the tourist market. Available in most hotel shopping arcades, and in some districts of the city even in smaller stores and sidewalk stalls, are small earthenware jars and celadon pieces dating back to the fifteenth century or earlier, all unearthed in excavations in regions around Manila. With these may also be obtained other artifacts: pre-Christian glass beads, prehistoric amulets, bone bracelets and necklaces, stone-age im-

plements.

For those interested in contemporary Philippine culture the art galleries offer works of the better artists -- paintings in different media, collages, prints, sculptures. There are also inexpensive recordings of good Philippine music, all the way from folk songs to concertos and cantatas.

Of course one cannot overlook the wide miscellanea of the cheaper-priced, regular tourist-trade items which do not cost more than a dollar (or seven pesos). These include carabao horn letter openers and shoe horns, coconut-shell dress buttons and coin-banks, palm fans and buri handbags, abaca hot plate mats and shopping carry-alls, beaded and unbeaded abaca slippers and belts, vari-colored G-strings and shoulder bags fashioned from these, baskets and hats, bread trays and wooden tumblers, key chains and eyeglass cases, napkin rings and glass coasters.

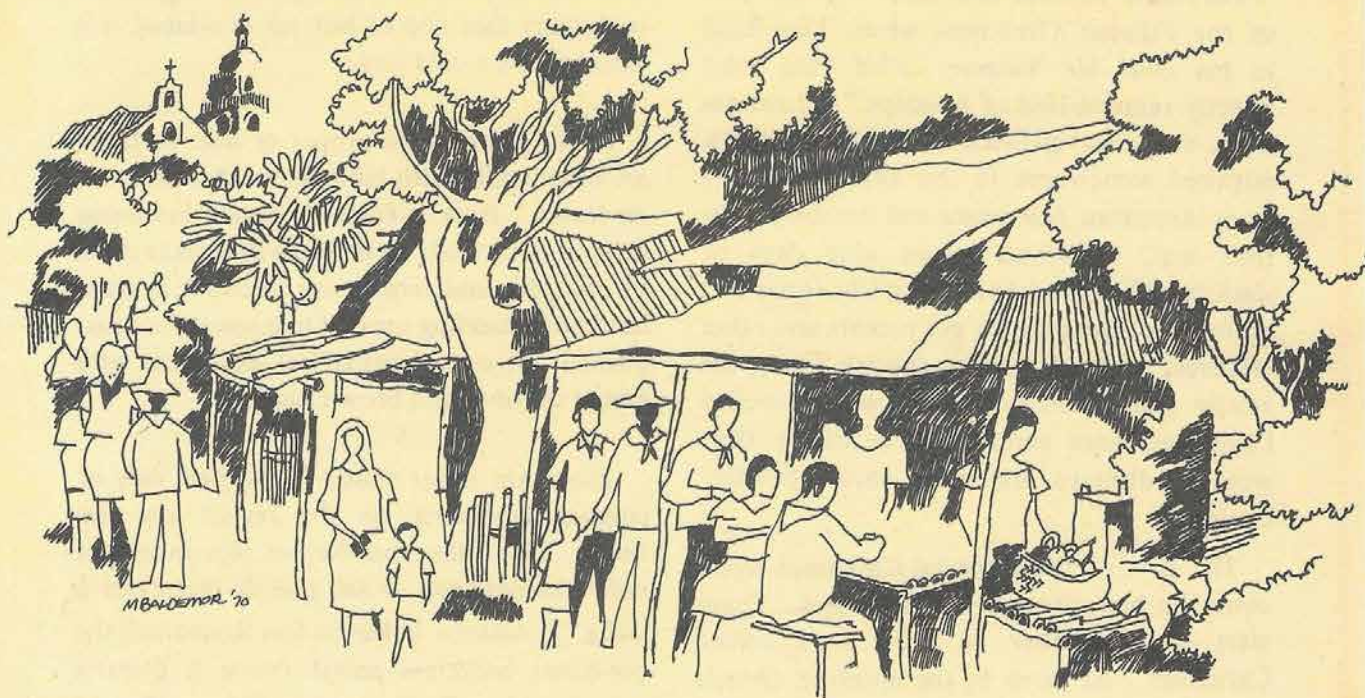
With the increase in tourist trade and the local consumers' enthusiasm for their own locally produced goods, it is to be expected that the quality of the items now available will be further improved and that new ideas will insure further expansion of the "souvenir" market.



CHRISTMAS FEASTING AND THE FOOD IS VIRTUAL PART
OF FILIPINO CHRISTMAS

The Flavors Of A Filipino Christmas

By DOREEN G. FERNANDEZ



I'm dreaming of a green Christmas," once wrote a Filipina in New York. In the cold and snow of the 1966 holiday season, she thought of the Filipino Christmas and its traditions: the native carols, the *media noche*

after midnight Mass, the *Misa de gallo*, and of course the food: "It was not really the choir voices nor the whispered prayers of our elders that kept us awake. It was something else—it was the promise of the piping hot *puto bumbong* being prepared by the vendors along the way home that kept our spirits up, our appetites whetted, and hence, our senses disquieted. The sweet lavender rice sprouting out of little bamboo tubes, topped by a generous sprinkling of grated coconut meat and brown sugar was part of our Christmas delight."

Christmas feasting and food is a vital part of the Filipino Christmas, which Jose Rizal in his *Noli Me Tangere* called "the most sweetly remembered of holidays." Christmas trees, cards, and gifts are borrowed traditions, acquired somewhere in the 1920's and 30's from American colonizers and teachers. Before that, Christmas meant nine days of *simbang gabi*; midnight Mass on Christmas eve; *aguinaldos* from parents, godparents and other relatives; and of course special food, the smells and remembering of which spelled Christmas more surely and excitingly than window displays and early carols possibly could.

The first of these special Christmas treats could be had after the dawn Masses. These start on December 16, nine days before Christmas. At three in the morning, church bells wake the sleeping houses, and drowsing children are bundled up warmly to accompany their elders to a Mass that is a proper prelude to the excitement of Christmas. Church-bound feet shuffle in the dusty streets, and noses sniff at the cold night air that has begun to hint at tantalizing smells from wayside stalls. The church is warm and lighted, and in it drums, trumpets and violins sometimes play; and the recessional after Mass has been known to be accompanied by *paso dobles* and even by the Merry Widow Waltz!

The churchgoers spill out onto a church *patio* redolent with the tempting smells of

food cooking. Along the streets leading to the church are the *bibingka* stands, makeshift lean-to's made from bamboo poles and an old blanket or coconut leaves, with a *dulang* in front serving as counter. Here are cooking the flat, soft rice cakes in their fragrant banana leaves — on charcoal, of course (Filipinos swear anything else just won't do) — with "fire above and fire below." Sometimes there is a bit of native white cheese on it; sometimes a salted egg, but always there is freshly grated coconut meat to sprinkle on it, while it is hot and moist, and golden. With the customary free cup of hot tea or *salabat*, it is ambrosia on a cold night.

In the churchyard proper or near it, there are other stalls, with tables covered with banana leaves. Here is found the *puto bumbong* already described: cylindrical rice cakes made of *malagkit* and *pirurutung* steamed in bamboo tubes standing upright in a special cooker; pushed out onto banana leaf and eaten with grated coconut and brown sugar.

There are other things to be had too, of course, depending on the region and the times. The folks from Negros remember hot native breads: *pan de sal*, *pan de seosa*, *pan de leche*. Cebuanos in Barrio San Roque call the pre-dawn breakfast *painit* (since it literally warms one up), for which they gather to have hot sticky chocolate, *potomaya* (*malagkit* cooked with coconut milk), *suman bodbod* (sweetened *malagkit* wrapped around in coconut leaves), *biko* (more *malagkit* cooked then molded on a plate), and *bibingka*.

In Pampanga, acknowledged to be the region with the richest gastronomic traditions, the post-*Misa de Gallo* specialties included *putong sulot* (similar to *puto bumbong*), and especially *putong lusong* eaten with *panara*.

Putong lusong is a white, anise-flavored rice cake cut in thick trapezoidal wedges.

Panara is a little pastry filled with grated *upo* or green papaya sauted with garlic, chopped onion, cooked pork and shrimp, and seasoned with salt and plenty of black pepper. This is wrapped like a turnover in a dough of *galapong*, *anisado wine*, and *achuete*; then fried in hot fat in a large *kawali* right in front of the buyer. It comes sizzling out of the pan and is laid on the banana-leaf-covered tables to cool.

"They were hot!" remembers Enriqueta David Perez, culinary expert and writer, "yet one could hardly wait to pick them up. So I would take two pieces of *puto* and use them to pick up my *panara*. The *puto* would also serve to absorb some of the oil. The combination was perfect: the hot, peppery *panara*, the white soft *puto*, and a little grated coconut making a little juice on the tongue. And tea with *pandan* and no sugar – hot and fragrant."

All the different varieties of *puto* seem to be an important part of the native Christmas, and preparations always started way ahead. E. Aguilar Cruz, writer, painter and gourmet, remembers that a signal part of his childhood Christmas involved the grinding of rice in a stone mill to make the *galapong*. Round and round went the mill, till one felt one's arm would drop. Familiarity with the task told one exactly at what point it would be hardest to turn, and one approached it with trepidation as well as excitement.

Other Christmas *putos* include the *putong puti*, a more modern version using baking powder; brown-colored *cuchinta* which is colored with lye; and *putong natok* made of ground corn and young coconut.

The next step in the Christmas feasting is of course the *media noche* or *noche buena*, the meal after the Christmas eve midnight Mass. "Be good or you'll have no *media noche*!" was a very effective threat for yesterday's children.

What one has at this traditional family feast (not usually shared with outsiders) depended on one's region and family practices. A friend from Vigan, Ilocos Sur, remembers that an important part of her celebration was the preparation of *tinubong*. This consisted of a half-cooked *puto* mixture poured into long bamboo tubes, and left to cook in coals while the whole town went off to the Midnight Mass.

When they returned, the coals were dying down, the bamboo was charred, and the *puto* was cooked. The long tubes were then cut up and distributed. The lazy could buy them at stores in 10-centavo, 20-centavo, and even 50-centavo (for the greedy) lengths. For her the sound that brings back Vigan *media noches* is definitely the cracking of hot, charred bamboo tubes in hands eager to get at the *tinubong*.

In Laoag, Ilocos Norte, on the other hand, the traditional delicacy is *tupig*. Writer Benjamin Pascual remembers that the whole town would prepare it "or risk the wrath of the children." Preparations began before daybreak on December 24, and children woke up to the sound of the townswomen pulverizing the *malagkit*: "the rhythmic thuds of thousands of wooden pestles against thousands of mortars in the town became one huge



throb of gaiety . . . comfortable in three-layer clothes, . . . we youngsters sat on our haunches to watch the alternately bobbing women. Our purring cats made warm cushions on our laps."

This variety of *puto* was flavored, with molasses which had been stored in cans long before this day. "When the can was not closed tight, lizards burglarized it and feasted and then drowned in sweetness . . . The upper layer of molasses thus had to be scooped off, and this task fell to us children. For all the exertions of plunging a crowbar into the asphalt-tough molasses, we enjoyed the work because we were free to sample the sweet . . ."

The next step was the grating of the coconut to be mixed with the dough, and here again the children involved themselves: "Mites as we were, we demanded that we grate the coconut meat. Not that we liked the assignment, for it could chafe our tender hands, but that we enjoyed riding on the wooden seat of the borrowed grater, which had been shaped like an alligator -- others like a horse or a dog -- out of a tree trunk."

Finally, the dough was wrapped in several layers of dark green, mature banana leaves and buried in a huge mound of burning rice chaff. "The mound lay in an open space, a sort of community oven for several neighbors. The virtue of rice chaff is that it does not burst into flames, but smoulders in a leisurely way . . . the *tupig* thus can be baked unhurriedly and evenly just as good as in an oven."

In memory and actually it was delicious, the writer says, and the housewives' praise of their recipes was rapturously echoed by those who sampled them: "Once you taste it, you won't know east from west." The children ate as much as they could hold, their "gluttonous bites . . . like the big morsels thieves swallow, as the saying goes in our town."

Besides *tupig*, a Laoag *media noche*, Mr.

Pascual tells us, included more rice cakes, called *patupat* or *linapet*, wrapped in the young, lemon-yellow shoots of the banana plant; trout fry (that travelled upriver from the China sea just at that time) cooked like *tamales*, and fresh garlic leaves cooked *pinakbet* style.

The Filipino *tamales* -- another traditional Christmas delicacy -- are quite different from the Mexican, being made basically of rice, coconut milk, achuete, and ground toasted peanuts, with slices of pork, chicken, duck, shrimps, ham, etc, depending on the region and the availability. Novelist Lina Espina Moore, whose childhood was spent in Cebu, remembers *tamales* of two kinds, either sweet or pepper-hot, both wrapped in corn-husks. The famous *tamales* of Pampanga are wrapped in layers of banana leaf; and the Christmas *tamales* of Sorsogon took three days to make.

The main dish of the midnight meal seems to have varied with each family's traditions. "*Cocido*," says Mrs. Perez very definitely. "Oh, I could hardly wait for Mass to be over, so that we could have the *cocido*. It was the usual old-fashioned recipe, with *jamon china*, *chorizos de Bilbao*, *morcillas*, beef, *kenchi* with marrow bone, chicken, pork, cabbage, pechay, carrots, potatoes, onion, tomato sauce, and a thick broth, and served with eggplant sauce."

"*Nilagang manok*," says Amelia T. Valencia, society and food editor, "*Pesang manok*," says another; and "*Lechon*, of course," adds a third. But almost everyone says: "And of course, *jamon en dulce*." Obviously a tradition inherited from Spain, this is salted Chinese ham (also called *jamon Piña*, because of the brand; or *jamon en funda*, because it comes in a cloth sack), cooked in sugar, white wine, beer, pineapple juice, and fragrant spices -- notably cloves -- with a crisp, shiny sugar glaze seared in by a hot *sianse*. Few Filipinos can think of Christmas without remembering rosy-red slices of ham with their translucent strips of fat topped by a thick and



delicious sugar layer.

Aside from the above, a number of other dishes of Spanish persuasion are traditional in the urban *media noche*: *galantina*, cold galantine of chicken; *relleno*, fat capon stuffed with an assortment of riches, depending on family practice and budget—*foie gras*, truffles, ground pork, olives, pork sausages, Spanish, sausages, etc; and *queso de bola*, the hard, cream-colored Edam cheese with the bright red rind, that to many families was a treat reserved only for Christmas.

Besides these, there were usually *acharas* of all kinds, sweet native pickles made of young papayas and other vegetables, cut into flowers, stars, butterflies, and other fanciful objects; and a plethora of desserts: *suman*, a sticky, sweet rice cake with a topping of brown sugar and coconut milk; *leche flan*, caramel custard in a burnt-sugar syrup; *macapuno en dulce*, strands of pale, translucent coconut cooked in syrup; *santol* preserves, with that sweet-sourness that the Filipino palate cannot resist; *masapan de pili* and *suspiros de pili*, candies made of the rich pili nut; and *jalea de ube*, a thick sweet pudding made of the purple yam.

Since the above occasionally appeared at town *fiestas*, even more of a treat were the

imported items that appeared only at Christmas: the fragrant apples and Mandarin oranges; the walnuts, pecans and brazil nuts; the brown, sticky *castañas*, the bunches of grapes fresh out of their sawdust packing; and those unforgettable *turrone de jijona* and *turrone alicante*. These Spanish delicacies came in flat round tins or in wooden boxes that were a ritual to open. They were so hard that they had to be hacked on a wooden cutting board with a very dull knife, and were given out in thin slivers and slices, hard enough to break one's teeth. But they were delicious, and their mixture of honey, almonds, and the paper-thin wafer covering (like a communion host), seemed made only for Christmas, no other season being worthy of them.

Breakfast the next day invariably started with hot, thick Spanish chocolate, the thickness and the flavor depending again on the family taste and budget. Mr. Cruz (to whose memories of Christmases in Pampanga we are much indebted), remembers that the particular mixture presented something of a social dilemma. If one used pure cocoa without an additive of ground peanuts, the chocolate would lack flavor. If, however, one used too much, it would mean that one was a poor



man, and could only afford a poor man's mixture! And so it was something of a social nicety to find the exact proportion of ground peanuts to mix into the chocolate.

With this rich, savory drink were usually served slices of *queso de bola* and *ensaymadas*, those unique pastries that make expatriate Filipinos wax nostalgic. Their sweet, light dough and butter-sugar topping go perfectly with the saltiness of the cheese and the heavy sweetness of the chocolate; and dunking them was not considered bad manner.

Mr. Cruz believes that the *media noche* was, for the urban Filipino, the most important part of the Christmas festivity; and the Christmas day (breakfast and luncheon) was the more important for the Filipino in the rural areas. In either case, however, this was the day for children to see their relatives and godparents, give the ritual greeting (kiss on the hand, or hand on the forehead), and receive gifts of money, sweets, toys, or religious objects. In Manila, Carmen Guerrero Nakpil remembers going to visit aunts in whose homes were "laid out on the dining room table . . . an assortment of sweetmeats, some brought from Bulacan and Pampanga and even Spain and America, but mostly prepared in their own family kitchen. There were towering *castillos* (veritable monuments of candied pastry), pastillas wrapped in decorated tissue paper, newly-unwrapped *tamales* and all man-

ner of candies and bon-bons. These were pressed upon us with great insistence . . ."

Mr. Cruz remembers that Christmas day was memorable for the shiny, new, copper one-centavo coins from uncles and *ninongs*, that made the pockets bulge and sag; and also for the *pastillas de leche* mentioned above, made of fresh carabao's milk, and wrapped in *papel de Japon* of all colors, laboriously cut out into designs and mottoes; and the *dulces de Magalang*, the different and many-splendored sweets that are the specialty of that town.

This was the day to have *Brazo de la Reina*, a *merengue* roll with a syrupy, egg yolk and butter filling; *tocino del cielo*, tiny and wickedly rich caramel custards in miniature cups; *merengue* sweets that were chewy inside and crisp outside - "wrapped in paper," someone remembers, "only at Christmas time." The Ilocos region had *abrillantados*, crystallized colored coconut candy rolled in fine white sugar. Other regions or families had *calamay*, or *pinipig pudding*, or *yemas*.

The Christmas noonday meal, which may not be taken with the family, or with relatives, or with one's grandparents, depending on familial custom, differs widely in different regions. It might be *pinapaitan* in Abra (a peppery dish of goat variety meats); *embutido* (ground pork roll) or *morcon* (stuffed beef roll) in a Manila household; it could be *Bam-i* in a Cebuano home (chicken, pork, dried shrimps, mushrooms, and two kinds of noodles; and legend has it that only a Cebuano can cook it properly); it may be *pancit molo* in a Visayan home (hearty soup of chicken, shrimp and dough-wrapped pork balls), *sincuchar* (beef variety meats) or *kilawin* of goat's meat in an Ilocano home. Whatever it is, it is the family's favorite dish, or the best it can afford, or something the family has traditionally served on Christmas day, usually one that has kept the ladies of the household busy with its preparation days, or

even weeks, before.

The Filipino today has borrowed and adapted much from the foreign cultures that have touched his own native one. A 1970 Christmas table in a Filipino home could include fruitcake as well as *puto*; champagne rather than *salabat*; Christmas cookies and *pastillas de leche*. The children may believe in Sta. Claus and still press their godparents' hands to their foreheads. If at all possible, however, there is always a celebration. In 1896, Filipino hero Jose Rizal, at that time exiled in Dapitan, killed a small pig and a hen, and was sent a leg of ham by his mother. In the 1940's, in the midst of war, families made do with *camote* and *kamoteng kahoy*, but still had sweet cakes for Christmas.

The Filipino celebrates Christmas joyfully both as a Christian feast and as one for the family. If he is lucky, it is also a feast full of memories, for although the traditional Christmas is fading away, a fortunate few still remember "... the thud-thud of kitchen knives on cutting boards all over the neighborhood ... anise seed on white rice bread ... smoke from pig roast in the neighborhood, fragrant with fat drippings ... winey scent of day-old boiled chestnuts ... apples just unwrapped ... *milagrosa* rice coming to a boil ... newly cut Edam ... the burnt edges of rice cakes fused with the banana leaf ... hot tea ... roasted cocoa beans ... cinnamon and cloves ..." and all the other smells, sounds, sights and flavors of a native Christmas.

GLOSSARY OF KITCHEN FARE

Achuete - annatto seed.

Aguinaldo - gift given during the Christmas season.

Basi - wine made from sugarcane.

Camote - sweet potato.

Castañas - chestnuts, usually boiled.

Dulang - low bamboo bench or table.

Galapong - rice flour.

Kamoteng kahoy - arrowroot.

Kawali - native frying pan, similar to the Chinese wok.

Kenchi - beef shank.

Lechon - roast pig.

Malagkit - a sticky, glutinous rice variety.

Morcilla - Spanish blood sausage.

Misa de gallo - literally "Mass of the cock," the 4 a.m. Christmas season Mass.

Nilagang manok - boiled chicken.

Papel de japon - tissue paper.

Pesang Manok - Chicken stew.

Pinakbet - vegetable dish from the Ilocano region, made of eggplants, bitter melon, okra, and bagoong (salty shrimp sauce).

Pinipig - young rice grains, pounded flat; made into sweets, or toasted and eaten with hot chocolate.

Pirurutong - a dark, violet-colored rice variety.

Puto - rice cake.

Salabat - ginger tea

Sianse - metal turner.

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