

ESSAY

As expository prose, the essay is a most versatile genre, ranging in tone from the intimate and conversational to the clinically analytical and scientifically rational. It uses narration, description, and humor to impart either factual information or insights into human experience, or both. The structure is either loose or compact. There is no limit to its range of subject matter and purpose. Styles are as diverse as the personalities of the essayists, because every essay draws upon its author's judgments and concerns, values and tastes. The term *sanaysay*, the Tagalog word for the essay, was coined by poet and critic Alejandro G. Abadilla in 1938 to mean "*pagsasanay*" (exercise) or "*pagsasalaysay ng isang sanay o nakasulat na karanasan ng isang sanay sa pagsasalaysay*" (the narrative of one accustomed to writing or the written experience of one accustomed to narrating). In Cebuano, it is called *gumalaysay*.

Essayist and fictionist Genoveva Edroza Matute (1984:100-104) defines the *palagayan/impormal* or the informal essay as the "creative expression of one's insight into personal experiences (or on something read, seen, or heard) or of one's observation of any one of the myriad objects surrounding us." The *maanyo/pormal* or the formal essay is about "grave topics that should be discussed with appropriate seriousness, based on research and a thorough analysis of data on which the writer's conclusions are founded. It is tightly and carefully structured." On the other hand, Abadilla (1950: iii) offers the following classifications of the essay: the critical, satirical, political, social, historical, philosophical, didactic, spiritual, biographical, inspirational, reminiscent, literary, and humorous. Any two or more of these types may elide into each other into an essay with a mixed mode. The essays written in Tagalog, Spanish, English, and the other languages may be divided into the informal and formal essay. Both will be discussed historically in the first part of this essay; the critical essay or the critique, will be discussed in the second part.

The Formal and Informal Essay

The Spanish conquest of the Philippines was begun by Miguel Lopez de Legazpi and Fr. Andres Urdaneta in 1565. By 1604, the Jesuit chronicler, Fr. Pedro Chirino would note that "the Filipinos write so well in Spanish, like us, and even better." It was during this period that the Spanish missionaries published meditations, translations, studies on the Philippine languages, and explanations of Christian tenets. Juan de Oliver's *Declaracion de los mandamientos de la ley de dios*, (Declaration of the Commandments of God's Law), circa 1583-1591, is an explanation in Tagalog of the Ten Commandments of God for the use of Franciscan friars. Its striking feature is that Christian tenets are explained through native beliefs. Dominican friar Francisco Blancas de San Jose wrote *Arte y reglas de la lengua tagala* (Grammar and Rules of the Tagalog Language), 1610, which is the first attempt to codify the rules of writing and speaking Tagalog.

The first essay ever written by a Filipino is probably Tomas Pinpin's preface to his book, *Librong Pagaaralan nang manga Tagalog nang Uicang Castila* (A Book for the Tagalog To Study the Spanish Language), 1610, which is also the first published work by a Filipino. In the preface, Pinpin gives praise to the Lord for the conversion of the Tagalog and asks his fellow Tagalog to dedicate themselves to learning Spanish the better "to be like the Spaniards" and practice one's religious obligations. Providing an insight into the psychology of converts, Pinpin says:

... at yayamang naman tayo,y, manga casama na,
nang manga Castilang, dating manga Christiano at paran
yysa na ang loob nating lahat na manga Christiano, ay
diyata magpilit tayong magaral, nang canal manga uica.
Di baquin ang ybang manga caasalang, at caanyoan nang
manga Castila, ay inyong guinalologdan, at guinagagad
din ninyo, sa pagdaramitman, at sa panandataman, at sa
paglacadman, at madlaman ang magogol, ay ualarin
hinahinayang cayo dapouat mamochamocha cayo sa Castila.
Ay aba, ytopang ysang asal nacatotohanan sa pangongosap
nang canila ding uica ang di sucat ibiguing camtan?

and since we are now fellows to the Spaniards,
Christians before ourselves, and bound to them by the same
sentiment, having as Christians the same origin and end,
then we should apply ourselves to learning their language.
Is it not that the other customs and ways of the Spaniards
have pleased you, that you imitate them, 'whether in dress,
weaponry, and gait, and though much is spent, you do not mind
it at all so long as you will look like the Spaniard. Then,
would not the learning of their own language mean much more?

The learning of the Spanish language, with the aid of grammar and vocabulary manuals, opened up several avenues for the expository prose in Spanish written by Filipinos: the *memorias/apuntes* (memoirs), *reseñas* (resumes), *informes* (accounts), and *memoriales* (reports to evoke response from the authorities). Either official or private in nature, these essays covered topics such as politics, religion, economics, and so on. The first newspaper *Aviso al Publico*, 1806, contained editorials, columns, and features.

The essay in the vernacular was developed for religious purposes. The *pagninilay/omameng* is a reflective or meditative discussion preceding each didactic narrative used in novenas. A theme is discussed for each day of the novena; for example, grace, love of God, or the fires of hell. Fr. Mariano Sevilla translated a novena to the Virgin Mary, entitled *Flores de Maria o Matiquit na Bulaclac Na sa Pagninilaynilay sa Buong Buan nang Mayo ay Inihahandog ng mga Devoto cay Maria Santisima* (The Flowers of Mary or Beautiful Flowers Which Are Offered to the Most Holy Mary During the Meditations in the Whole

Month of May), circa 1867.

In Ilocano, Jacinto Kawili wrote poems and essays on the Catholic faith, the first being “Kabibiag ni Apo Jesucristo” (Life of Our Lord Jesus Christ), circa 1770. In Tagalog, Fr. Modesto de Castro published *Platicas doctrinales* (Sermons on Doctrine), 1864, a collection of 25 of his sermons. Likewise in that year, he wrote and published the work for which he is best known, *Pagsusulatan ng Dalawang Binibini na si Urbana at ni Feliza* (Letters Between Two Maidens Urbana and Feliza), a forerunner to the Philippine novel, but also considered a collection of essays in epistolary form.

Because it contains admonitions on social behavior, morals, and religious principles, the book leans more toward the expository than the narrative. A third book, *Exposicion de las Siete Palabras en Tagalog* (Exposition on the Seven Words in Tagalog), was an exposition on the seven last words of Christ on the cross.

During the last quarter of the 19th century, the discursive, argumentative, and didactic literature that the missionary writers had propagated for their proselytizing purposes began to serve the Filipino intellectuals well, for they used the same form to consolidate the archipelago into one nation against the common colonial master. The essay, in both Spanish and the vernacular, became the natural venue for the Propaganda and Reform Movement, which required a means by which issues could be logically presented, Spanish abuses exposed and condemned, and the people sufficiently provoked into action.

The strong nationalistic sentiments produced not only more editorials, columns, and feature articles, but also letters, diaries, sermons, speeches, travelogues, *papeles volantes* (loose sheets) and *prosa poetica* (poetic prose). The Propaganda Movement may be said to have begun at the turn of the 19th century, with Luis Rodriguez Varela’s *Proclama historica que para animar a los vasallos a que defienden a su Rey del furor de su falso amigo, Napoleon, primer Emperador de los franceses* (Historic Proclamation Exhorting the Vassals to Defend Their King Against the Ire of the False Friend, Napoleon, First Emperor of the French), 1809, which began to express an emerging Filipino consciousness. A model of “pulpit oratory” was Fr. Pedro Pelaez’ *Colecciones de sermones* (A Collection of Sermons), 1869. Pelaez was the leading exponent of the secularization of the Philippine parishes, and he published his articles of protest in the Madrid newspaper, *El Clamor Publico*. However, his follower, Fr. Jose Burgos, is better known for the work *Manifiesto de los leales filipinos en defensa de su honra y fidelidad* (Manifesto of the Loyal Filipinos in Defence of Their Honor and Loyalty), 1864. Impulses of protest began with an early figure in the Propaganda Movement, Gregorio Sancianco, who was the first Filipino to write a treatise on Philippine problems, *El progreso de Filipinas* (The Progress of the Philippines), 1881. The book urges the improvement of government policies, especially regarding the imposition of taxes. It makes an impassioned defence of the small farmer, whose apathy caused by abuse and exploitation, is often mistaken for indolence. This later

became one of Rizal's sources for his own essay, "Sobre la indolencia de los filipinos" (On the Indolence of the Filipinos). 1890.

A conscious attempt to grapple with the concept of "Filipino" is found in Pedro Paterno's series of works, 1887-1892, which exalt the people's prehispanic civilization. *La antigua civilizacion Tagalog* (Ancient Tagalog Civilization), 1887, depicts the people as highly civilized even before the Spaniards came; *El Cristianismo en la antigua civilizacion Tagalog* (Christianity in Ancient Tagalog Civilization), 1892, equates indigenous religious beliefs and practices with Christian doctrines and rituals. Other books by Paterno are pseudo-ethnographic studies of Filipino marriage customs, morality, and the Tagalog political structure. The best features of Paterno's rhetoric are contained in his inspiring inaugural speech of the Malolos Congress on 15 September 1898.

The literature of the Propaganda Movement was essentially a profession of adherence and loyalty to Spain, an appeal to Spain's sense of justice and its manifest destiny, and a strong protest against friar rule. Since it was addressed to the Spanish government, and since its writers were in exile in Madrid and Barcelona as "filibusters," most of it was written in Spanish. Marcelo H. del Pilar's *La soberania monacal en Filipinas* (The Monastic Sovereignty in the Philippines), 1888, analyzes the power of the friars in the economic, political, and religious levels. Earlier in his career, he also wrote nationalist tracts in Tagalog when he addressed himself to a large non-Spanish readership.

Rizal delivered his first political speech when Juan Luna and Felix Resurreccion Hidalgo won in an international painting contest in 1884 in Madrid. He published his articles in the Movement's periodical, *La Solidaridad*, 1889-1890. His versatility is seen in his combative "La verdad para todos," (The Truth for Everybody), his bitterness in "Ingratitudes" (Ingratitudes), his socio-anthropological opinion in "La indolencia de los filipinos" (The Indolence of the Filipinos), and his acute sense of history in the prophetic "Filipinas dentro de cien años" (The Philippines Within a Century). His satirical essays include "La vision de Fray Rodriguez" (The Vision of Fr Rodriguez), "Por telefono" (By Telephone), and "Una visita del SeiFior a las Filipinas" (A Visit of Our Lord to the Philippines). At del Pilar's request, Rizal wrote "Sa mga Kababayang Dalaga ng Malolos" (To My Young Countrywomen of Malolos), 1889, praising Filipino women for their courage and urging them to continue their struggle to free themselves of the yoke of ignorance imposed upon them by Spanish rule.

Graciano Lopez Jaena's speeches and articles were collected in the book *Discursos y articulos varios* (Discourses and Various Articles), 1891. First and foremost an orator, Lopez Jaena wrote articles which were sometimes as florid as his speeches. However, they also reveal an eclectic knowledge of the Philippines, such as his survey of its agricultural products and a proposal for an arts and trade curriculum. There is a treatise on the imposition of tribute, another on the corruption endemic in Philippine political institutions. In an 1884 article, he remarks on the peculiar

logic of the Filipino people thus: “It is a country where the *paraos* walk, house building begins with the roof; the feet are always held higher than the head, etc., etc.” (Alzona 1974:121).

Other essays in Spanish during this period were Antonio Luna’s “Impresiones” (Impressions), 1891; Jose Felipe del Pan’s “Hay que vivir!” (We Have to Live!), 1884; Carlos Peñaranda’s “Prosa” (Prose), 1893; and E. Polo de Lara’s “Tipos y costumbres” (Types and Customs), 1897.

The revolutionary movement against Spain produced literature meant to rally the people to arms; hence, it was written in the native languages. Andres Bonifacio’s Katipunan manifesto, “Ang Dapat Mabatid ng mga Tagalog” (What the Tagalog Should Know), 1896, follows a neat syllogistic structure but is nevertheless imbued with a strong emotional appeal. It calls for his fellow Tagalog to awaken themselves and rise to action in the pursuit of national freedom. He wrote the first primer on the 10 duties of the members of the Katipunan Movement called “Katungkulang Gagawin ng mga Anak ng Bayan” (Duties of the Sons and Daughters of the Nation), circa 1893.

Emilio Jacinto wrote clear, precise, forceful essays for the Revolution. He provided the pragmatic, simple, and lucid style needed to attract followers to the ideals of the Katipunan. *Liwanag at Dilim* (Light and Darkness), 1896, is a collection of Jacinto’s essays, the most famous of which is “Ang Ningning at ang Liwanag” (Glitter and Light). The others in the same collection are “Ang Kalayaan” (Freedom), “Ang Tao’y Magkakapantay” (People are Equal), “Ang Pag-ibig sa Bayan” (Love for Country), “Ang Bayan at ang mga Gobiernong Pinuno” (The Country and the Government Officials), “Ang Maling Pagsampalataya” (False Belief, and “Ang Gumawa” (Work). Other essays, not in this collection, are “Pahayag” (Statement), “Sa Mga Kababayan” (To the Citizens), and “Ang Kasalanan ni Cain” (Cain’s Sin). *Kartilya ng Katipunan* (Primer of the Katipunan), 1894, was acknowledged by Bonifacio as superior to his own, and so was used as the Katipunan primer.

Apolinario Mabini lived through both the revolution against Spain and the Filipino-American war. “El verdadero decalogo” (The True Decalogue), 1898, which he translated himself into Tagalog as “Ang Tunay na Sampung Utos” (The True Ten Commandments), expressed a concept of a Filipino government. His “Ordenanzas de la revolucion” (Ordinances of the Revolution), 1898, was used by General Emilio Aguinaldo as a basis for the program of the revolutionary government established on 12 June 1898.

The Filipino-American war began almost immediately after the Filipinos had won their independence from Spain. The nationalist tradition in writing in Spanish ‘ begun by the Propaganda Movement, was fueled by this turn of events. Defiance of the new enemy ran high and was expressed in historical accounts, memoirs, and biographies of patriots. Mabini’s memoirs, *La revolucion filipina* (The

Philippine Revolution), published in 1931, was written while he was in exile in Guam from 1901 to 1903. A chapter of it recounts the rise and fall of the Philippine revolution. General Artemio Ricarte's *Apuntes historicos de la insurreccion por los asociados al Katipunan* (Historical Memoirs of the Insurrection by the Katipunan Members), later published as a book, *Himagsikan Nang manga Filipino Laban sa Kastila* (The Revolt of the Filipinos Against the Spaniards), 1922, was written while he was confined in the Bilibid Prison, 1904-1910. Other memoirs were General Santiago V. Alvarez's *Ang Katipunan at Paghihimagsik* (The Katipunan and the Revolution), 1927; Emilio Aguinaldo's *Mga Gunita ng Himagsikan* (Memoirs of the Revolution), published in 1964, and translated into Spanish as *Reseña veridica de la revolucion filipina* (True Account of the Philippine Revolution), 1899; Felipe Calderon's *Mis memories sobre la revolucion filipina* (My Memoirs About the Philippine Revolution), 1898; Mariano Ponce's *Cartas de la revolucion*, 1897-1900 (Letters of the Revolution, 1897-1900); and Isabelo de los Reyes' *Sensacional memories sobre la revolucion filipina* (Sensational Memoirs About the Philippine Revolution). Pio Valenzuela, Jose Alejandrino, and Gregoria de Jesus also wrote their own memoirs. Biographies were written by Manuel Artigas, Teodoro M. Kalaw, Rafael Palma, Mariano Ponce, Jaime C. de Veyra, and Epifanio de los Santos. Kalaw's romanticized biography of Gregorio del Pilar may be considered the most literary of the crop.

An essay aptly depicting the temper of the *ilustrados* at the height of the Filipino revolutionaries' victory and showing the generation gap at the turn of the century is "Venerables Puputs" (The Venerable Puputs), 1898, by Manuel S. Guerrero. It is an anticlerical piece in the tradition of Rizal's, Lopez Jaena's, and Marcelo H. del Pilar's satires. It pokes fun at colonial mentality and religious fanaticism as personified by two spinsters and a married woman well-placed in society. Serving as foil is the married one's 15-year-old granddaughter, a free spirit who finds these three religious devotees laughable.

Isabelo de los Reyes began writing during the time of the Propaganda Movement, and then continued writing well into the American colonial period. Like Pedro Paterno, he used history to express his nationalism; but, unlike Paterno, his historical accounts were more carefully and accurately researched. His books consist of *Historia de Ilocos* (History of Ilocos), 1890, two volumes of *El folk-lore filipino* (Filipino Folklore), 1889, *Las Islas Visayas en la epoca de la conquista* (The Visayan Islands at the Time of the Conquest), 1889, and *Historia de Filipinas* (History of the Philippines), 1889.

Isabelo de los Reyes, who wrote in both Spanish and Ilocano, founded *El Ilocano*, in 1889, the first regional paper established by a Filipino. It published articles in both Spanish and Ilocano. Among the notable essayists who wrote in Ilocano during the last two decades of the 19th century were de los Reyes, Ignado Villamor, Claro Caluya, Mena Pecson Crisologo, Fr. Justo Claudio Fojas, Fr. Mariano Dacanay, and Canuto Ruiz Medina. Their topics ranged from folklore to local history and sociopolitical issues.

An attempt to capture the vigor of theater life in Manila is the series of articles published by Juan Atayde, entitled *Los teatros de Manila* (The Theaters of Manila), 1892. It gives cursory descriptions of the architecture of particular theaters (e.g., the theaters of Binondo and Tondo), drama and musical societies, and some performers both local and foreign, both laudable and eccentric.

The essay in Spanish continued to enjoy great popularity from 1900 to about a decade after World War II. Subjects were on folklore, literature, social, political, and religious problems. It was a formidable tool for forming public opinion. The more significant essayists of the older generation were Rafael Palma, Fernando Ma. Guerrero, Cecilio I. Apostol, and Trinidad Pardo de Tavera. They were followed by Vicente Sotto, Epifanio C. de los Santos, Teodoro M. Kalaw, Jorge Bocobo, and Claro M. Recto. Patriotic writings continued to appear in the papeles volantes of Anacleto Ramos and in newspapers like *El Renacimiento*, *La Vanguardia*, *La Opinion*, *El Mercantil*, *El Debate*, and other magazines.

The newspaper *El Ideal* published a series of articles alternately written by Jaime C. de Veyra and Mariano Ponce, who both wanted to promote a national consciousness. These articles, written 1911-1912, ranged over topics of social, historical, and political interest; these were later compiled in a book called *Efemerides filipinas*, 1914. Another columnist, Teodoro M. Kalaw, wrote columns later compiled into *Dietario espiritual*, 1930, which discussed the methods and ideology of American colonization among others. His “Cinco reglas de nuestra moral antigua” (Five Precepts From Our Ancient Morality), 1935, and *Hacia la sierra del zar* (Towards the Land of the Czar), 1908, are of considerable literary merit. Kalaw was also associated with the controversial editorial of Fidel Reyes, “Aves de rapiña” (Birds of Prey), 1908.

Along with patriotic works, scientific essays were written by Trinidad Pardo de Tavera and Manuel Guerrero, technical essays by Leoncio Gonzalez Liqueste, philosophical essays by Kalaw and Manuel Ravago, and journalistic essays by Pedro Aunario. In the 20th century, outstanding writers on the Spanish legacy were R. Palma, who wrote “El alma de España” (The Soul of Spain). 1900; Macario Adriatico, “Voto por el intercambio de ideas” (I Vote for the Exchange of Ideas); Tirso de Irueta Goyena, “Por el idioma y cultura hispanos” (On the Spanish Language and Culture); and Benigno del Rio.

Columnists were Jesus Balmori, Antonio M. Abad, and Benigno del Rio. As American rule became more firmly established, contrary positions were taken by the writers in Spanish. Pardo de Tavera’s essays and speeches, such as “El legado del ignorantismo” (The Legacy of Ignorantism), 1920, had for their counterpoint the anti-American essays of Kalaw, Palma, and Irueta Goyena. Adriatico’s speeches stirred his audience, as did those of Sergio Osmeña, Manuel Quezon, and Claro M. Recto. Some of the more representative essays are Recto’s “El Castellano como factor de nuestra nacionalidad” (Spanish as a Factor in Our Nationality); Palma’s “Alma Mater,” 1930; Epifanio C. de los Santos’ “Filipinos y Filipinistas” (Filipinos and Filipinists), 1909; Vicente Sotto’s “Una rapida

vuelta al mundo” (A Rapid Change in the World), 1930; Jose G. Reyes’ “Ideales de humanidad” (Ideals of Humanity), 1933; and Luis Guzman Rivas’ “Pigmeos” (Pygmies), 1940.

The best essays in Spanish were those that exalted the virtues and heroism of the Filipino race, defended the hispanic legacy, and prophesied the coming of the new colonial masters. But with the entrenchment of Americanized culture in the country, literature in Spanish declined.

Journalism generated articles that were either informative or polemical in intent. Pamphlets, monographs, lectures, and speeches were also published as essays. In Tagalog in 1910, Carlos Ronquillo serialized the results of his research on Philippine folklore in the newspaper *El Renacimiento*. Writing in the same vein was Sofronio Calderon, who wrote of prehispanic culture in “Dating Filipinas” (Ancient Philippines), 1907. Lope K. Santos published in monograph form a philosophical and moral tract called *Hindi Talaga ng Diyos* (Not God’s Will), 1912, which expressed his antifeudal and anti-obscurantist beliefs. *Muling Pagsilang*, 1901-1910 and *Lipang Kalabaw*, 1907-1909, were weekly outlets for the Tagalog writers who published their poems, essays, and *dagli* (vignettes or sketches). Other periodicals followed: *Telembang*, *Siling Labuyo*, and *Buntot-Pague*, 1914. Literary organizations were formed, the first being Aklatang Bayan, 1910. Its members, besides being fictionists or poets, or both, were also literary critics and essayists. These were Rosauro Almarino, Faustino Aguilar, Lope K. Santos, Benigno Ramos, Patricio Mariano, Leonardo A. Dianzon, Iñigo Ed. Regalado, Pascual de Leon, Rosalia L. Aguinaldo, Julian Cruz Balmaseda, Pedro Gatmaitan, Carlos Gatmaitan, Carlos Ronquillo, Antonio K. Abad, Sofronio G. Calderon, Patricio Dionisio, Valeriano Hernandez Peña, Francisco Laksamana, Severino Reyes, Engracio L. Valmonte, Nemesio Caravana, Amado V. Hernandez, Jose P. Laurel, Gonzalo Cue Malay, and others.

In the other Philippine languages, a number of essayists during the first three decades of the 20th century wrote quasischolarly studies of their own languages. In Ilongo, an anonymous article describing the Ilongo language, “Ang Bisaya Malulut kag Matam-is Cid Pamation” (Visayan is Soft Because Very Sweet to the Ear). appeared in the Ilongo newspaper *Makinaugalingon*. Two leading Ilongo writers of that period who wrote on the same topic were Serapion C. Torre and Delfin G. Gumban. Others tried their hand at the philosophical essay, such as Policarpio Y. Cuanico’s “Sulat kay Kamatayon” (Letter to Death), 1939, in which the persona observes that Death is a happier state than life because “. . . those who are rich . . . live in abundance and bliss because they depend on the poor whom they pressure and oppress” (Hosillos 1992:225).

In Bicol in the 1920s, Luis Dato and Fr. Luis Dimarumba demonstrated an interest in their own language. Dato, in his work, “Kasagkoran nin Bikol na Pagtitinkopan kan Taramon sa Ilawod asin Habagatan Kaining Kaporoan nin Pilipinas,” (Bicol Represents All the Languages From North to South of This Archipelago of the

Philippines) concludes that the three progressive Philippine languages, namely, Iloco, Tagalog, and Bisaya, will finally meet in the Bicol area, the middle ground, and this would result in the formation of a truly national language. Fr. Luis Dimarumba's article, "Ka Ke Ki Ko Ku/Ca Ce Ci Co Cu" advocates changes in Bicol orthography, such as from c to k. An exchange of letters between Fr. Dimarumba and one Fr. Eutiquio Revatoris on this subject was published in the Bicol newsmagazine, *Sanghiran nin Bikol*. This indicates that a debate occurred between adherents of purism and those who would opt for linguistic modernization. Antonio Salazar describes the dynamism of the language by likening it to the many moods of a person.

The Bicol essayists wrote other types of essays with a strong Filipino consciousness in the periodicals and in the *Bikolana* magazine. Casimiro E. Perfecto wrote historical essays. Francisco Celebrado wrote patriotic editorials, whereas Mariano Villafuerte wrote philosophical and reflective essays. Patricio M. Janer, a prolific essayist, wrote social criticism in a passionate vein, using literary devices like dialogue, rhetorical questions, or a lyrical style to convey the urgency of his themes.

In Cebu, newspapers carried commentaries on local politics, history, culture, places, and personalities. Essayists from the 1920s to 1940 were Vicente Sotto, Filemon Sotto, Vicente Rama, Tomas Alonso, Vicente Flores, Marcos Trinidad, and Maria Kabigon. Essays and articles compiled in books were Vicente Sotto's *Mga Handumanan sa Sugbu* (Reminiscences of Cebu), 1926; and Pantaleon V. Kardenas' *In Memoriam*, 1937, and *Naglantaw sa Kagahapon* (Looking Towards the Past).

Ilocano newspapers encouraged essays of various types: lyrical, satirical, and political. Notable essayists of this period were Camilo Osias, Mariano Gaerlan, Hermogenes Belen, Mauro Peña, Agapito Kuramen, Buenaventura Bello, Leon Pichay, Florencia Lagasca, Santiago Alcantara, and Mena Crisologo.

Pampango essayists wrote in the same vein as all the other vernacular writers. Zoilo Hilario, also a poet, was inclined toward the historical essay, such as "Tarik Soliman," in which he questions the Spanish historians' account of Rajah Soliman's death in the Battle of Tondo of 1571. Other essayists from 1921 to 1941 were Serafin D. Lacson, Felix B. Bautista, Eligio G. Lagman, Silvestre M. Punsalan, and Jose P. Fausto.

From 1901 to 1946, the English language was imposed upon the Filipino people through popular education; hence, it became the language of the educated, especially of the intellectual elite. Students were introduced to the essays of American and British writers like G.K. Chesterton, William Hazlitt, Charles Lamb, James Thurber, Robert Benchley, E.B. White, Jonathan Swift, Francis Bacon, and others.

The *College Folio*, the literary magazine of the University of the Philippines, which first came out in October 1910, contained 18 pieces; of these, 13 were essays. Among the essayists in this first issue were Fernando Maramag, Tarcila Malabanan, and Jorge B. Vargas.

The informal essay in English began with Alejandrina Santiago's idyllic portrait of Iloilo in "A Call," 1918. Other topics of the early essays were various aspects of nature, clean living, and the need for virtue. The style tended toward sentimental idealizing that was also characteristic of the fiction and poetry of that period.

The first anthology of familiar essays was *Dear Devices*, 1933, which included Antonio and Ariston Estrada, F.B. Icasiano, A.E. Litiatco, Amador Daguio, Pura Santillan, Amando Dayrit, Lydia Villanueva, Alfredo Q. Gonzalez, and Estrella Alfon. Of these authors, according to critic and literary historian Mona Highley in 1941, Antonio Estrada had possibly the best style.

Inspirational essays were written by Jorge Bocobo, Mauro Baradi, and Zoilo M. Galang. Conrado Benitez and Leandro H. Fernandez wrote historical essays for the *Philippine Review*, a monthly magazine in both Spanish and English. Philippine political and cultural independence was a topic of great concern for many of these writers. Following the tradition of the 19th century Propagandists, who refuted foreigners' disparaging remarks about the Filipino race and culture, Pedro de la Llana, in "The Preservation of White Prestige," 1930, takes to task an American journalist's assertion that the Malay race is inherently inferior to the white. Other essays affirming the Filipino national identity amid the onslaught of foreign cultures are Amador T. Daguio's "The Old Chief," 1933, and "The Malayan Spell and the Creation of a Literature," 1934; Arturo B. Rotor's "Notes on Contemporary Art and Culture," 1936; Mauro Mendez's "Problem for Narcissus," 1936. Parallel to this concern was the anxiety of some writers about the decline of independent and critical thinking among students. Such was the theme of Bocobo's "College Uneducation," 1928, Vicente M. Hilario's "Producing a Crop of Soft Brains?", 1930, and F. B. Icasiano's "On Finding Our Feet," 1929. On the other hand, the absorption of an Americanized outlook is evidenced by Juan Collas' informal essay, "The American Flapper," 1922.

Other essayists who were educated exclusively under the Americanized curriculum were Gabriel A. Bernardo, Pedro de la Llana, Cristino Jamias, Eliseo Quirino, Vicente M. Hilario, Mauro Mendez, I.V. Mallari, and Carlos P. Romulo.

Fernando Maramag was probably the most respected essayist of the period, having dominated literary criticism from 1910 to 1930. He also wrote political essays as editor of *The Rising Philippines*, which was the first publication of English-reading Filipinos, and wrote editorials for the *Tribune*, till his death in 1936. An editorial in the first issue of the U.P. Writers' Club journal, *Literary Apprentice*, 1929, affirmed the profound influence of Fernando Maramag on the journal's editors, likening his influence on them to that of Cecilio Apostol on the writers in Spanish.

Encarnacion Alzona, Maria Paz Mendoza Guazon, and Honoria Acosta Sison wrote on the Filipino woman, on women's suffrage, and history. A long autobiography by Emilia Malabanan appeared in the *Herald Mid-week Magazine*, 1941. Maria Luna Lopez's essays, written between the 1930s to the 1970s, were compiled in a book *Sand in the Palm and Other Essays*, 1976.

Maria Kalaw's language was straightforward and emotionally restrained, even when she was writing about the homesickness of the scholar in America. Lydia C. Villanueva's flippancy echoed that of the French and English authors. Platon Callangan was influenced by Hazlitt. Mangahas and Amando C. Dayrit wrote good-natured satires. Although Salvador P. Lopez was better known for his scholarly and urbane essays, he also dabbled in personal essays in his early years. Two examples are "A Little Child Smiled at Me," 1935, and "Leaves from a Poet's Vacation Journal," 1932.

In 1935, a new Tagalog writers' organization, Kapisanang Panitikan, was founded. Salvador Barros, a founding member, proclaimed themselves to be both *sakdalista* (an allusion to the radical peasant movement bearing this name), because they were rebelling against the literary standards of the old, established writers, as well as *aristokrata*, because they were ready to face unpopularity for the sake of their literary convictions. Other founding members were Alejandro G. Abadilla, Teodoro A. Agoncillo, Clodualdo del Mundo, Brigido Batungbakal, Epifanio Gar. Matute, Teo S. Buhain, and Fernando B. Monleon. Others who soon joined them were Nieves Baens del Rosario, Macario Pineda, Anacleto Dizon, Pablo Clorioso, Apolonia Arriola, Cenoveva D. Edroza, Jesus A. Arceo, Cresencio C. Torres, Manuel Car. Santiago, Gonzalo K. Flores, Manuel Principe Bautista, and Ruben Vega. Besides fiction and poetry, they also variously wrote feature articles, editorial columns, and formal, informal and critical essays.

By the 1950s literature in Spanish had begun to decline. Some representative essays of this period were Enrique Lumba Fernandez "Hispanofilia filipina" (Philippine Hispanophilia), 1954; Manuel Briones' *Discursos y ensayos: Temarios y vida filipina* (Speeches and Essays: Philippine Themes and Life), 1955; Vicente Guzman Rivas' "En España son así" (It's That Way in Spain), 1959; and Encarnacion Alzona's "El legado de España" (The Legacy of Spain), 1956. Recto's "El monroismo asiatico" (Asiatic Monroism), 1929, was thought to be the pinnacle of Philippine prose in Spanish until the publication of *The Recto Valedictory* in 1985. This book, which carries an English translation by Nick Joaquin, is a compilation of Recto's speeches on the Spanish heritage in the Philippines. He had intended to deliver these in Madrid in 1960 but death stopped him in Rome. In the 1960s, the straightforward, almost belligerent style of Guillermo Gomez Rivera, best illustrated by his "Filipino: Origen y connotacion y otros ensayos" (Filipino: Origin and Connotation and Other Speeches), 1966, contrasted strongly with the impeccable language and serene style of Fernandez Lumba and the flowing lyrical prose of Nilda Guerrero Barranco, as seen in her *Nostalgias*, 1969.

A literary history tracing the development of Hispanic culture in the country from the 17th to the 20th century is Jaime de Veyra's *Hispanidad en Filipinas* (The Spanish Influence in the Philippines), 1961.

In English, the essay as a genre eventually merged with journalism, especially with the feature article, reportage, and the opinion column. Francisco B. Icasiano, using the byline Mang Kiko for his column *My Nipa Hut*, wrote with gentle humor about Chinamen, handbags, and barrio life. Francisco Arcellana's column, *Through a Glass Darkly*, was a cross between the personal essay and literary criticism. Juan T. Gatbonton's column pieces written from 1954 to 1958 and compiled in *Little Reports*, 1986, were modelled after E.B. White's *Notes and Comment in The New Yorker* and showed the author's sundry preoccupations, ranging from nuclear disaster, national politics, to clock watching. Amando Dayrit in his column, *Good Morning, Judge*, satirized current events both major and minor. Emilio Aguilar Cruz wrote historical and cultural vignettes, compiled in *Maynila and Other Explorations*, 1978. Napoleon G. Rama's editorials have been compiled in *A Time in the Life of the Filipino*, 1990.

Nick Joaquin, using the pseudonym Quijano de Manila when he wrote as a journalist, practically started a whole genre with his reportage and character sketches, using fictional elements and devices like characterfiction, dialogue, atmosphere, and a classical plot. This tradition of reportage was continued by journalist/poet Jose Lacaba Jr. in his *Days of Disquiet, Nights of Rage*, 1986, and journalist-fictionist Ninotchka Rosca in the years just before Martial Law.

Nick Joaquin also wrote popular essays on culture and history, such as "La Naval de Manila," 1943. This expressed a theme that would surface again and again in his literary works: that Filipino identity could be defined only if its hispanic heritage were acknowledged. Younger generation historian Ambeth Ocampo, in his column, similarly presents historical anecdotes in a popular style; these have been compiled in two books *Looking Back*, 1990, and *Rizal Without the Overcoat*, 1990.

Editorials or feature articles with a literary quality were written by poet/essayist/fictionist Alfredo Navarro Salanga, whose essay collection, *My Personal Chronicle: 1971-1987*, 1990, consists of his column pieces which appeared in various dailies and magazines. Equally versatile is Alfred Yuson, whose collection *Confessions of a Q.C. House-Husband and Other Privacies*, 1991, celebrates both the quirks and the ordinariness of life with a gentle wit. Conrado de Quiros' *Flowers from the Rubble*, 1990, and *Dance of the Dunces*, 1991, reveal a deep sense of humanity in a lyrical style. Other essayists who use to advantage their literary inclinations are Gregorio Brillantes, Amadis Ma. Guerrero, and Adrian Cristobal.

Following in the tradition of Salvador Lopez's and Claro M. Recto's political analyses with nationalistic overtones are Renato Constantino's *The Filipinos in*

the Philippines, 1966, *Insight and Foresight*, 1977, and *Neocolonial Identity and Counter-Consciousness*, 1978; Fr. Horacio de la Costa's *The Background of Nationalism*, 1965, and *The Birth of a Nation*, 1965; Luis Teodoro Jr.'s *The Summer of Our Discontent*, 1990; Petronilo Bn. Daroy's *Against the National Grain*, 1966; Jose Ma. Sison's *The Struggle for National Democracy*, 1967; Amado Guerrero's (pseud.) *Philippine Society and Revolution*, 1971; Amando Doronila's editorials; Onofre D. Corpuz's two-volume *The Roots of the Filipino Nation*, 1989; and Vivencio Jose's scholarly works on the educational system, folklore, and history. Recto's book of essays *My Crusade*, 1955, includes the piece, "Our Mendicant Foreign Policy," now a classic nationalist critique of postwar Philippine-American relations.

Covering both the domestic and public spheres were the women columnists. Pura Santillan Castrence's column *Woman Sense* consisted of insightful comments on domestic affairs and current trends. Carmen Guerrero-Nakpil's *Woman Enough and Other Essays*, 1963; *A Question of Identity*, 1973; and *The Philippines and the Filipinos*, 1977, dealt with Philippine history, culture and politics. Kerima Polotan Tuvera in *Author's Choice*, 1970, wrote with acerbic wit about the hypocrisies of press people and politicians, and the varying roles of woman as family driver, mother, and mother-to-be. Other essayists are Gilda Cordero Fernando, who edited *Being Filipino*, 1981; Mariel N. Francisco and Maria Fe C. Arriola, who did *A History of the Burgis*, 1987; Luningning Ira, who wrote *Streets of Manila*, 1977; and Felice Sta. Maria and Corazon Alvina, who co-wrote *Halupi*, 1989.

Sylvia Mayuga's first book, *Spy in My Own Country*, 1981, records with vivid immediacy the images of the Martial Law period. *Her Earth, Fire and Water*, 1992, recounts the end of the Marcos regime and other concerns of the 1980s. Rosario A. Garcellano's *Mean Streets*, 1991, consists of travel essays, character sketches, nostalgic pieces, musings about casual encounters, and articles about women and womanhood. Marra Lanot's *Dream Sketches*, 1991, is a collection of what Nick Joaquin in his Introduction calls "the journalistic profile." Some of her subjects are presidential daughters, show business personalities, and female models of courage. Barbara C. Gonzalez's *How Do You Know Your Pearls Are Real?* 1991, is a collection of narrative essays on personal and domestic relationships from a self-sufficient woman's point of view. Asuncion David-Maramba's *View From the Middle*, 1991, begins with "A Call to Closet Nationalists," triggered by the Aquino assassination, and ranges over a variety of commonplace topics that represent Filipino culture. Doris Trinidad's *Looking Glass*, 1991, and Zeneida Amador's *Exits and Entrances*, 1991, are collections of their column pieces, which are insightful pieces on ordinary experiences.

Specializing in travel and autobiographical writing is Cristina Pantoja-Hidalgo, who has compiled her essays about experiences in various countries in three books: *Sojourns*, 1984, *Korean Sketchbook*, 1987, and *Five Years in a Forgotten Land*, 1991. Dolores Feria's two books of essays are *The Long Stag Party*, 1991, and *Red Pencil, Blue Pencil*, 1991. These consist of travel writing, book reviews,

commentaries on the educational system, and feminist studies.

Three other journalists who have made their mark as feature writers are Ceres Doyo, Jo-Ann Maglipon, and Neni Sta. Romana-Cruz. Doyo specializes in investigative reporting; Maglipon merges political analysis with human interest; and Sta. Romana-Cruz's subjects range from the domestic to the political.

Food and culture critics Doreen G. Fernandez and Edilberto Alegre have collaborated on a series of books on Philippine cuisine: *Lasa*, 1989, 1989, 1990, which is a three-volume survey of Philippine restaurants; *Sarap*, 1988, a survey of Filipino dishes; and *Kinilaw: A Philippine Cuisine of Freshness*, 1991, an exhaustive study of one kind of dish, covering its history, geographical range, types, condiments, and so forth. Similarly, Arnold Azurin writes about Filipino culture, society, and politics in his collection, *Just Vexations*, 1990.

Essayists writing in English but based in Cebu are Simeon Dumdum Jr., who is also a poet, and Resil B. Mojares, who has done much to sustain Filipino awareness of the history, culture and literature of the southern Philippines through his columns and his scholarly studies.

Current essayists in Cebuano are Martin Abellano, whose essay collection is *Sentido Komon* (Common Sense); Flaviano Boquecosa, Francisco Candia, D.M. -Estabayan and others. In Pampango, books recently published are Vicente B. Catacutan's *Ing Familyang Cristiana* (The Christian Family) and Vedasto D. Ocampo's *Ing Capampangan, Napun, Ngeni, at Bukas* (The Pampango, Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow). Some of the numerous Ilocano essayists since post World War II are Marcelino Foronda Jr., Hermogenes Belen, Benjamin Pascual, Narciso Capusan, Juan Hidalgo Jr., and Paul Zafaralla.

In Ilongo, an interest in the local language and culture is sustained by Santiago Alv. Mulato, Conrado J. Norada, Loreto Angayen, Raymundo Defante Sr., and, until his death, Ramon Muzones. Abe S. Gonzales, Inocencio Ferrer, Ariston Echevarria, Antonio H. Joquiño, and Eddy La. Gonzales are some feature writers and columnists. Besides essays, Ernesto Nietes also makes up proverbs and epigrams. Columns in the *Yuhum Magazine* are Candido J. Oller's *Palihug, ang Sinamak* (Pass the Vinegar, Please) and Bel Sobrevega's *Langkay sa Kabuhi* (Meat of Life).

In Tagalog, Clodualdo del Mundo Sr. and Antonio B.L. Rosales were columnists of *Liwayway* magazine. Their essays advocated the more creative use of the Tagalog language. The 1940 Commonwealth Literary Awards in the Tagalog essay category were given to Jacinto Suban, for their collections *Salawikaing Tagalog* (Tagalog Proverbs) and Pablo R. Clorioso, for *Saan Kabataang Pilipino?* (Where to, Filipino Youth?) During the Japanese Occupation, English was discouraged. The two English-language magazines with literary sections, *Pillars* and *Philippine Review*, were issued monthly, whereas *Liwayway* and *Taliba* magazines were weeklies. Hence, some writers in English turned to Tagalog for their medium. Some of these were Lina Flor Trinidad,

Hernando R. Ocampo, Lydia Villanueva Aguilar, Paz Latorena, Tarroso Subido, Emilio Aguilar Cruz, Maria Luna Lopez, and N.V.M. Gonzalez. Iñigo Ed. Regalado, Alejandro Abadilla, Ildfonso Santos, Juan Laya, and others who were already writing in Tagalog continued doing so.

In 1950, Alejandro Abadilla compiled representative Tagalog essays in ***Mga Piling Sanaysay*** (Selected Essays), more than half of which were taken from ***Liwayway*** magazine during the Japanese period. Prewar essays are “Durungawan” (Window) by Manuel Principe Bautista and “Alaala ng Taglagas” (Memories of Fall) by Pedro S. Dandan. Essays written between 1945 and 1950 are “Ako’y Makabago” (I Am Modern) by Rufino Alejandro, “Sa Pagsilang ng Isang Buhay” (The Birth of a Life) by Liwayway Arceo, “Pangangarap” (Dreaming) by Brigido C. Batungbakal, “Ako’y Isang Tinig” (I Am One Voice) by Genoveva Edroza (Matute), “Sa Paglilihi” (To Pregnancy) by Alfredo S. Enriquez, “Pangarap ng Kabataan” (Dream of Youth) by Pablo R. Glorioso, “Panggising ng Kalikasan” (Awakening Nature) by David Mamaril, “Ang Siste Nito” (There’s the Rub) by Macario Pineda, “Diwang Kayumanggi” (Brown Spirit) by Narciso C. Reyes, and “Ang Orasan, ang Tao at ang Panahon” (The Clock, the Person and the Time) by Vito C. Santos. Other essays in this collection are by Epifanio Car. Matute, Manuel Principe Bautista, Teo S. Baylen, Mabini Rey Centeno, Lina Flor (Trinidad), Eleuterio P. Fojas, Juan C. Laya, Silvina C. Laya, Clodualdo del Mundo, Gemiliano Pineda, Cornelio S. Reyes, and Ildfonso Santos. At about the same period, Gemiliano Pineda compiled his own essays in the book ***May Landas ang mga Bituin*** (The Stars Have a Pathway).

Epifanio Gar. Matute was popular for his astute eye for the ordinary and his lighthearted humor, especially evident in his radio series “Kuwentong Kutsero” (Rig Driver’s Tales). In his satirical essay, “Sanaysaging,” a word he coined to mean “an essay on the banana,” he ranges through the national problem of hunger and neocolonialism, as represented by the United Fruit Co, in a self-mocking tone. His “Ang Pagpupulis-Trapiko ay Isang Sining” (The Art of Being a Traffic Policeman) shows his eye for detail in his description of the policeman that he calls “diktador ng mga sasakyan” (dictator of vehicles).

A nationalist consciousness typical of the Philippine essay runs through Genoveva Edroza Matute’s three anthologies, ***15 Piling Sanaysay: Kasaysayan, Pag-aaral at Pagsulat ng Sanaysay*** (15 Selected Essays: History, Study and Writing of the Essay) 1984; ***Akoy Isang Tinig*** (I Am One Voice), 1952; and ***Maiikling Kuwento at Sanaysay ng Tatlo*** (Short Stories and Essays of Three), 1988. Her futuristic essay in epistolary form, “Liham sa Kabataan ng Taong 2070” (Letter to the Youth in the Year 2070), 1970, depolres the preference for English over the national language but ends on the optimistic note that the tide will inevitably change. “Ako’y Isang Tinig” (I am the One Voice), 1950, defines the writer’s voice as “the voice in the wilderness.” Even her travel writing ultimately focuses on the Philippines by comparing it with all the other countries that she has been to.

Essay writing in Tagalog was further encouraged by the contest called Patimpalak-Bognot sa Sanaysay which was begun in 1952. Winning entries were “Isang Panimulang Pag-aaral sa Pinanggalingan ng Wikang Pilipino” (An initial Study of the Roots of the Pilipino Language) by E. Arsenio Manuel, “Lupang Baog: Ako” (Sterile Land: I) by Florencio N. Garcia, and “Saan Patungo ang Langay-Langayan?” (Where Goes the Swallow?) by Buenaventura S. Medina Jr. Other contests followed. The Kapisanang Aklat, Diwa at Panitik (KADIPAN) sponsored an interuniversity contest for the Tagalog section of college papers. Efren R. Abueg, as a student representative for Manuel L. Quezon University, won for “Ang Ating Nasyonalismo” (Our Nationalism) in 1957, and Rogelio Sicat, representing the University of Santo Tomas, won for “Ang Trahedya ng Manunulat sa Pilipinas” (The Tragedy of A Writer in the Philippines) in 1963. The Palanca essay category in Pilipino began in 1979, with winners Virgilio S. Almario for “Mga Talinghaga sa Panahon ng Krisis” (Metaphors in a Time Crisis), Alice Guillermo for “Ang Kaisipang Pilipino Batay sa Sining Biswal” (Filipino Thought Based on the Visual Arts). and Anselmo Roque for “Sa Ibabaw ng Kapirasong Lupa” (Upon a piece of Land)

Lamberto E. Antonio’s *Rebanse: Sanaysay at Kuwento* (Return Match: Essays and Storied), 1991, contains essays and short stories written by the author for his newspaper columns from the 1970s to 1991. The essays recall his childhood in his hometown of Cabiao, Nueva Ecija; recount episodes in his life marked by rain and flood; and discuss the author’s various interesting acquaintances, friends and relatives. Similar to these are Ligaya Tiamson-Rubin’s personal essays on her native Angono on *Sining at Kultura sa Bayan ng Angono* (Art and Culture in Angono), 1992.

May Awit ang Bakal (Steel Has a Song), 1976, edited by Jess Calixto, contains samples of writing by the working class. “Ang Paggawa at ang Manggagawa” (Work and the Worker) by Jake Gregorio, in a light vein, describes the behavior of workers and classifies them according to the degree by which they get their hands dirty while at work. “Ito ba ang Katotohanan” (Is this the Truth?) by Linda Esguerra (pseud. Karlorelex) compares the lifestyles of the rich and the poor and rejects the prevailing belief that all people are created equal. “Nasa Diyos ang Awa, Nasa Tao ang Gawa” (God Dispenses Mercy, the Person Does the Work), by Nestor Loraya, asserts a worker’s philosophy of self-reliance.

The Martial Law period, imposed by Ferdinand Marcos 1972, produced prison literature. *Pintig (Life Pulse in Cold Steel): Poems and Letters From Philippine Prisons*, 1979, and *Pintig 2: An Anthology of Prose and Poetry From Philippine Prisons*, 1985, contain manifestos, personal essays, journal entries, and reflections by political detainees. Fr. Edgardo Kangleon’s essay “A Moment of Uncertainty,” was found inside the seams of his clothes after he died in a car accident in mysterious circumstances.

The piece is a detailed account of the mental and physical torture he underwent,

the luxuries he was rewarded with after his forced confession, and the guilt he suffered for what he perceived to be his cowardice. The narrative is interspersed with reflections that consistently express sympathy for the downtrodden and skepticism of the ruling class hegemony. Other personal reflections are by Fr. Jeremias Aquino, Fr. Edicio de la Torre, and Doris Baffrey. A moving piece is Rene J. Marciano's "Marahilbukas" (Perhaps....tomorrow), which follows one detainee's stream of consciousness as he waits vainly for his family during visiting hours. Three essays by Satur Ocampo demonstrate his ability for incisive analyses, whether speculating on the possibility of being released from political detention, or marking the ninth year of his incarceration. Similarly analytical is Fr. Karl Gaspar in his essay, "Institutionalized Violence: The View From the Belly of the Beat."

A new form of autobiographical writing is testimonial literature, the only sample thus far being *Sa Tungki ng Ilong ng Kaaway: Talambuhay ni Tatang* (At the Tip of the Enemy's Nose: The Autobiography of Tatang), 1991. Testimonial literature is the transcribed version of a tape-recorded account of a worker or peasant. He represents the masses whose history has been silenced by the ruling class' own version of history. The first-person point of view guided by a political consciousness that is anti-imperialist, promasses, and liberating.

Gay liberation has found a representative writer in Tony Perez, whose book *Cubao 1980 at iba pang mga katha* (Cubao and Other Works), 1992, includes, besides short fiction and drama, three letters addressed to X, Y, and Z. For X, the author defines homosexuality and homosexual relationships, thereby shattering stereotype notions. The most poignant piece is his letter to Z, an AIDS-stricken friend, whom he assures that, notwithstanding the Bible's hostility to homosexuals, there is a place for everyone in Heaven, because souls in the afterworld have no gender.

The Critical Essay

The Spanish friar Gaspar de San Agustin recorded the first statement of literary criticism made by a Tagalog in his book *Compendio de la lengua tagala* (Summary of the Tagalog Language), 1703: "magaling datapoua hindi tola" (It is good but it is not poetry). This was in reference to the poetry of Padre Francisco Blancas de San Jose published in *Memorial de la vida cristiana en lengua tagala* (Guidelines of the Christian Life in the Tagalog Language), 1605. In mid-18th century, there were two commentators on the state of Tagalog poetry: Melchor de Oyanguren, who wrote *Tagalysmo elucidado, y reducido (en lo posible) a la Latinidad de Nebrija* (Tagalismo Elucidated, and Reduced (When Possible) into the Latin of Nebrija), 1742, which confirms the quoted statement in San Agustin's book; and Agustinian friar Francisco Bencuchillo, who wrote *Arte poetico tagalo* (The Art of Tagalog Poetry), 1750, and published in 1895, which is a more detailed study of Tagalog poetry.

In the early 19th century, a Filipino priest, Aniceto de la Merced, wrote *Manga Puna* (Criticisms), which pointed to certain errors in doctrine and weaknesses of style in *Pasiong Mahal*, 1814. Self-styled Spanish scholars, such as Sebastian de Totanes, Vicente Barrantes, and Toribio Minguella, wrote critical commentaries of Philippine literary forms. Barrantes' *El teatro Tagalo* (Tagalog Theater), 1889, provoked vehement refutations from the propagandists in Madrid, foremost of whom was Jose Rizal, who published "Excmo. Sr. D. Vicente Barrantes" (His Excellency, Sir Vicente Barrantes), 1889, in *La Solidaridad*. Minguella, in "Estilo Poetico" (Poetic Style), 1878, criticized the *korido* for lack of truthfulness, declaring that its contents should be based on correct theological doctrine and on the lives of real historical personages or saints.

Barrantes was again aroused to make his anti-Filipino sentiments known when he criticized Rizal's *Noli*, which he denounced as full of lies. Spanish friar Jose Rodriguez, in his "Caiingat Cayo!" (Take Care!), accused the novel of being heretical. Marcelo H. del Pilar produced a satirical response, called "Caiingat Cayo" (Hunt for the Eel), 1888, in which he affirmed the truthfulness of Rizal's novel. V. Carai likewise refuted Rodriguez's claims in his essay, "M.R.P. Padre Jose Rodriguez," 1890. Ferdinand Blumentritt, an Austrian scholar, defended the novel by citing the oppressive conditions in the Philippines. Hence, literary criticism was based on the concept of literature as a "mirror of life" and a "guide to life."

Jose Rizal and Graciano Lopez Jaena are credited with being the first Filipino critics of Philippine visual art. Their critiques were in the form of speeches delivered at a banquet honoring Juan Luna and Felix Resurreccion Hidalgo for winning awards at the 1884 Madrid Exposition.

Rizal also wrote reviews in French of Pierre Corneille and Alphonse Daudet. A paper that he delivered in German, "Tagalische Verkunst," before the Sociedad Etnografica in Berlin, 1887, was a definition of Philippine poetry: its rhyme and meter, its stanza form, and how it is sung or declaimed. He subsequently translated this paper himself into Spanish, called "Arte Metrica del Tagalog."

During the first decade of the 20th century, despite the transition from Spanish to American colonialism, verisimilitude and didacticism continued to be the guiding principles of literary criticism. The Tagalog newspaper *Muling Pagsilang*, 1901-1910, was an outlet for the critical essay. Many critiques were also delivered as lectures or speeches in conferences. Commenting on Lope K. Santos' *Banaag at Sikat* (Glimmer and Light), 1906, Tagalog critics Macario Adriatico, Gabriel Beato Francisco, Manuel B. Francisco, and Godofredo Herrera debated on the timeliness of the Socialist program suggested by the novel. Similarly, the didactic element was the focus in Ubaldo Manapat's critique of *Anino ng Kahapon* (Shadow of Yesteryears), 1907, by Francisco Laksamana. In the longest critical essay written during that first decade, Rosauro Almario did a more systematic study of Faustino Aguilar's *Busabos ng Palad* (Slave of Fate), 1909. He evaluated the novel using the criteria of "organic unity, interest,

and verisimilitude.” Patricio Mariano cited the novel’s achievement in unmasking society, whereas Gonzalo Cue Malay focused on the characters as victims of society’s ills. In general the critical essay of this period was marked by the tendency to be polemical, rhetorical, and personal.

The second decade saw the critics paying more attention to the rhetorical elements of a literary work. An exchange of ideas between Carlos Ronquillo and Rosaura Almario focused on the diction, metaphor, and imagery of Almario’s own novel *Nang si Eba Ay Likhain* (When Eve Was Created), 1913. Beginning in 1914, a question arose as to whether the “epilogue” attached to a novel was also literary criticism. Julian Cruz Balmaseda, in “Matapos Basahin” (After Reading It), his epilogue to Precioso Palma’s novel *Ipaghiganti Mo Ako* (Avenge Me), 1914, believed there was a distinction, whereas Carlos Ronquillo, in “Ang Mga Panghuling Salita” (Afterword), his epilogue to *Nang si Eba Ay Likhain*, believed that the epilogue’s function was to analyze and evaluate the work. Other epilogists/critics were Honorato de Lara, Teodoro E. Gener, and Remigio Mat Castro. This two-fold role of the epilogue established the tendency in literary criticism at this time to heap lavish praise on the work or, at least, to overlook its flaws. For example, in his epilogue to Rosalia Aguinaldo’s novel *Mutyang Itinapon* (Exiled Sweetheart), 1922, Dionisio San Agustin notes the inconsistencies in characterization but concludes that the novel’s value lies in the “nobility of thought” personified by the characters. During this period, therefore, and on to the 1940s, didacticism continued to be the overriding concern, and this resulted in criticism that was highly impressionistic.

In the 1930s, the criteria of form and universalism began to be used to measure literary works. Deliberate avoidance of authorial comment, emotional restraint, and the preference for artistic unity rather than a florid style were standards that were held up by older generation writers, such as Lope K. Santos and Precioso Palma, and systematically applied by younger generation writers led by Clodualdo del Mundo in his column *Mula sa Parolang Ginto* (From the Golden Lighthouse) and Alejandro Abadilla in *Talaang Bughaw* (Blue List). The school of formalism was represented by the writers’ group Panitikan, 1935, led by Teodoro A. Agoncillo, Brigido C. Batungbakal, Pablo R. Glorioso, Clodualdo del Mundo, and Alejandro G. Abadilla. The most prolific and active critic of this generation was Agoncillo, whose critique in 1936 of Santos’ *Banaag at Sikat* demonstrated the critical principle that ideology and idea must be expressed through literary elements and devices. However, subjectivism was not totally discarded, as shown by his discussion in the same essay of what made the character Filipino. Writing on the same novel, Juan C. Laya declared that its value lay in its content, although its long-winded speeches weakened its artistic merit.

Another example of the dichotomy between subjectivism and formalism in literary criticism is Nieves Baens del Rosario’s critique of Valeriano Hernandez Peña’s *Ang Kasaysayan ng Magkaibigang si Nena at si Neneng* (The Story of the Friends Nena and Neneng), 1940. She praises the novel for three reasons: its didactic element, emotional restraint, and realism.

In Bicol, literary criticism in the 1920s was being published in the newsmagazine *Sanghiran nin Bikol* and in the *Bikolana* magazine by writers like Mariano Nicomedes and Mariano del Prado Goyena. Nicomedes' "Hayokong na Pinagpagalan Dapit sa Paagi nin Pagsarambit sa Bikol" (A Short Essay on How to Write Poetry in Bicol) offers a definition of poetry in Bicol, which he calls the *sinarambit*. Goyena's "Siisay si Rizal?" (Who is Rizal?) is a review of Pardo de Tavera's "El caracter de Rizal" (The Character of Rizal).

The first few issues of the Hiligaynon magazine (then called *Ang Bisaya sa Hiligaynon*), 1934, showed the essayists' keen interest in literary theory and its application to their own literature. Lorenzo Fajardo Dilag's "Ang Aton Manunulat kag Ila Sinulatan" (Our Writers and Their Writing), 1934, used samples of Ilongo writing to define story-writing technique, to distinguish between the long and the short story, and to do an influence study of established Ilongo writers and their followers. This triggered a response from Lerio Pama, who wrote "Langkoy Sabat kay Dilag Fajardo" (In Reply to Dilag Fajardo) and Delfin Gumban, who wrote "Kon sa Akon Lamang" (In My Opinion). In turn, Dilag Fajardo tried to extricate himself from this debate by protesting in yet another essay, "Paathag kay G. Lerio kag kay G. Delfin Gumban" (Explanation to Mr. Lerio Pama and Mr. Delfin Gumban): "My critique was not whimsical but, as usual, based on what is right, guided by things which serve as my criteria to strengthen my critique. I did not condemn or praise the writing of Mr. Delfin Gumban" (Hosillos 1992:213).

Literary criticism in Spanish was represented by Fernando Ma. Guerrero, Pardo de Tavera, Cecilio Apostol, Jaime de Veyra, and Epifanio de los Santos, who uniformly affirmed their pride in Philippine literature. Twenty years after Rizal's defense of Philippine theater in reply to Barrantes's disparaging remarks, Wenceslao Retana affirmed his contentions and provided more concrete proof in *Teatro en Filipinas* (Theater in the Philippines), 1909, a survey of Philippine theater forms. Epifanio de los Santos' "Nuestra literatura a traves de los siglos" (Our Literature Through the Ages), 1914, is one of the first surveys of Tagalog literature.

It shows the development of Tagalog poetry from the early native songs, to Spanish forms like the *duplo*, *awit*, *korido*, *loa*, *pasyon*, and dramatic verses of the *komedyas*, to Francisco Baltazar's lyrics and the poetry of the Propaganda Movement. Jaime de Veyra's *La hispanidad en Filipinas* (Hispanidad in the Philippines), 1951, includes a history of Philippine theater and a description of Filipino hispanic literature, especially of the late 19th century. It mentions the various forms of Philippine theater, such as the *moro-moro*, and makes commentaries on Rizal's *Junto al Pasig* (Beside the Pasig), Retana's *El teatro en Filipinas*, Reyes' *Walang Sugat* (Not Wounded), Tolentino's *Ayer, hoy y mañana* (Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow), Buenaventura Rodriguez, and Antonio Abad's *Dagohoy*. Fernando Ma. Guerrero's "La formacion de una poesia tipicamente filipina" (The Formation of a Typical Filipino Poetry), 1924,

argues that Philippine literature cannot be written in any foreign language, but must be written only in the native languages. In the same vein, Manuel Briones' *Discursos y ensayos* (Speeches and Essays), 1954, contains the speech "La afirmacion de lo filipino en la literatura or medium of expression, of this idea or feeling, but the Philippine reality, the block carved from the native quarries; in a word, the indigenous and national context."

A generation of critics writing in Tagalog in the decades before World War II published their essays in the series of the Institute of National Language. Among these essays are "Tinging Pahapyaw sa Kasaysayan ng Panitikang Tagalog" (A Glance at the History of Tagalog Literature), 1938, by Lope K. Santos; "Ang Tationg Panahon ng Tulang Tagalog" (Three Periods of the Tagalog Poem), 1938, and "Ang Dulang Pilipino" (Philippine Drama), 1947, by Julian Cruz Balmaseda; "Ang Lakan ng mga Makatang Pilipino na si Balagtas at ang Kanyang 'Florante'" (The Prince of Philippine Poets Balagtas and His "Florante"), 1938, by Hermenegildo Cruz; "Si Valeriano Hernandez Peña at ang Kanyang *Nena at Neneng*" (Valeriano Hernandez Peña and His *Nena and Neneng*), 1940, and "Ang Pagkaunlad ng Nobelang Tagalog" (The Development of the Tagalog Novel), 1938, by Iñigo Ed. Regalado.

As the American educational system produced students who were more steeped not only in the English language but in American and British literary criticism, criticism in English began to be written. In 1910, the first issue of the *UP College Folio* contained a study of the metrical romance by Wilfrido de Leon, the *comedia* in Zambales by Alejandro Dumlao, and the *carrillo* by Frank X. Memije. In a later issue in the same year, Maximo Kalaw described "real Philippine literature" as the blending of the native, Spanish, and Saxon elements. His study of the *awit* in a 1912 essay analyzes its place in the national literary tradition and the quality of its rhetorical devices. Fernando Maramag, who dominated the field of criticism from 1910 to 1930, stressed the need for standardizing the criteria for criticism, in an essay "A Call for Critics," 1912, which used criticism itself as its subject matter. His subsequent essays are demonstrations of critical practice, such as "The Poetry of Rizal," "Juli-A Review," "Juan F. Salazar," "Balagtas," and "Guerrero—Poet and Patriot."

The movement for independence stimulated an interest in the expression of Filipino culture and identity in art and literature. Jorge Bocobo wrote "Cultural Independence of the Philippines," 1925, in which he predicts that great Filipino literature will be written in a Philippine language, although in his time, he knows that "this sounds like heresy." Casiano T. Calalang, in "On Story Settings," 1927, urges fictionists to turn to the countryside for their setting, instead of focusing on city life. Amador T. Daguio's "The Malayan Spell and the Creation of a Literature," 1934, criticizes the writers' penchant for using American models and suggests a return to native tradition for inspiration. Pedro de la Llana, in his collection *A Book of Comment and Criticism*, 1926, includes two essays on the subjects of "sane criticism," and iconoclasm in criticism. I.V. Mallari was an

active art critic.

Ignacio Manlapaz's art and literary criticism, from 1929 to 1933, consisted mostly of epigrams inspired by quotations from various European and American authors. His pronouncements were soundly trounced by Salvador P. Lopez and Federico Mangahas. Manlapaz replied with the two essays, "These Cockeyed Leaders" and "This Should Finish Them," which were in turn answered by Mangahas.

Manlapaz, along with Arturo Rotor and Francisco B. Icasiano, was also one of the earliest who began writing music criticism in the 1920s. In the 1930s Felipe de Leon wrote a column called "Musical Corner" and after World War II resumed his music criticism in his column *Music and You*. Others who wrote about music were J. Mauricio Pimentel, who had a column during the pre-World War II years in the paper, *La Vanguardia*, and composers Antonio Giodina and Hilarion Rubio. Articles about dance during the pre-World War II years were written by A.V.H. Hartendorp.

In the field of visual art, Aurelio Alvero, aka Magtanggol Asa, Lydia Villanueva Arguilla, and Romeo V. Tabuana produced brochures describing paintings for art exhibits. Debates between conservatism and modernism also occurred in art criticism, with Salvador Lopez, Victorio Edades, Jose Garcia Villa, Federico Mangahas, and A.B. Saulo taking the modernist position and Guillermo Tolentino and Ariston Estrada taking the conservative position. Galo Ocampo and Martino Abellano took the middle ground. Emilio Aguilar Cruz and Carmen Guerrero Nakpil later joined the ranks of the modernists.

Lopez and Leopoldo Y. Yabes were two outstanding literary scholars of that generation. In his book, *Literature and Society*, which won the 1940 Commonwealth Literary Award for the essay in English, Lopez advanced a literary theory of social consciousness that has become a dominant school of thought in Philippine letters. On the other hand, Yabes pioneered in the study of Philippine ethnic and regional literature, first with his article on *Lam-ang*, 1934, and then with *A Brief Survey of Iloco Literature*, 1935.

Serving as counterpoint to the school of socially conscious literature led by Lopez was Villa's "art for art's sake" poetics. The debate between the two began when Villa first set into writing his aesthetics in his "Explanation," an accompanying piece to his "Poems for an Unhumble One," 1933, in the *Philippines Free Press*. Lopez countered with "On Villa's Poetical Credo," 1933, *Philippine Magazine*, criticizing Villa's excessive indulgence in linguistic idiosyncracies. In his subsequent essay, "The Poetry of Jose Garcia Villa," while admitting that Villa's poetry had the "sincere and passionate expression which is at the heart of all poetry," Lopez still maintained that it was characteristically "effete and bloodless."

Federico Mangahas, in his "What Good Are Writers?," 1939, challenged writers to

dwell on “economic inequality and oppression,” and Manuel Arguilla unwittingly agreed with Mangahas’ call when he retorted that the writers needed no prodding, for they were already writing with a social consciousness. Arturo B. Rotor elaborated on Lopez’s theory of literature, revealing his proletarian sympathies in “Writers Without Readers,” 1939, and “Our Literary Heritage,” 1940. As a result, a spirited debate took place which led the Board of Judges for the Commonwealth Literary Awards to declare that a writer was worthy of recognition only if his work used as reference “the social matrix in which our humanity exists . . .”

Two leading critics who refused to subscribe to “proletarian literature” were Francisco Arcellana and A.E. Litiatco. Arcellana’s column, *Art and Life*, in *Herald Midweek Magazine*, consisted of personal thoughts on literature and criticism; for example: “Orientation is a function of discovery in the sense of Consciousness, Awareness, Identification—a tremendous Consciousness, a terrible Awareness, and final Identification.” Litiatco, in his “Dictatorship in Literature,” debunked Rotor’s call for writers to focus on the working class by claiming that to do so would be to write from secondhand experience, since none of the writers he knew belonged to that class.

The World War II period quieted the critics in English somewhat, except for certain sporadic attempts like F.B. Icasiano’s “Fence-Sitters and Intellectuals,” 1943, which tried to adapt to Japan’s program of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere by suggesting a return to “the old ways of the Orient.” However, criticism in Tagalog was encouraged; and it was in the *Liwayway* magazine, 1944, that Iñigo Ed. Regalado and Alejandro Abadilla argued about the definition of Tagalog poetry. Regalado insisted that it had to have rhyme and meter; Abadilla retorted that a poet had the right to choose to write in free verse. Ildefonso Santos, taking a conciliatory position, suggested that it was not the presence or absence of rhyme and meter alone that defined poetry.

Theater merited some attention during these war years from Jose M. Hernandez’s “Filipino Stage Plays—A Criticism,” 1943, which decried the prevalence of slapstick *bodabil* and melodrama; and Amadeo P. Dacanay’s “The Play’s the Thing,” 1943, which described theater as “positively sickening.”

The revival issue of the UP journal *Literary Apprentice*, 1948-1949, carried articles by American critics David Daiches and Edith Sitwell, besides a set of critiques by Arcellana, Manuel Viray, Lydia V. Arguilla, and Angel R. Hidalgo, focusing on the poetry of Jose Garcia Villa.

Post-World War II writers who focused on music were J. Mauricio Pimentel, Rosita Sandejas de la Concepcion, Adela Reyes, and Esther Samonte Madrid. Writing about both music and dance were Morli Dharam, aka Anthony Morli, Rosalinda Orosa, Rodrigo Perez III, Exequiel Molina, Vilma Santiago Felipe, and Leonor Orosa-Goquingco. Anita M. Kane joined this company of writers on dance in the 1960s.

In the 1950s, a lecture series on art appreciation by Fernando Zobel de Ayala introduced Emmanuel Torres and Leonidas V. Benesa as professional critics. Both have sustained the quality of their critical writing through the years. Other art and architecture critics who have emerged in the decades following are Alicia Coseteng, Manuel D. Duldulao, Rod Paras Perez III, Julian Dacanay, Alfredo Roces, Fr. Gabriel Casal, Alice Guillermo, Ramon Villegas, Cid Reyes, Santiago Pilar, Esperanza Bunag Gatabonton, Fr. Jesus Merino, Imelda Cajipe-Endaya, Martin I. Tinio Jr., Fernando Zialcita, Felice Sta Maria, Fr. Pedro Gallende, Paul Zafaralla, Regalado Trota Jose, Marian Pastor-Roces, Lourdes Montinola, and Fr. Rene Javellana. Captain Angel de Jesus, who had been writing since before World War II as a member of the Veronians, an organization of writers, continued writing about art in his columns and published a book on the artist Hernando Ocampo in 1979.

The dominant literary school in the 1950s was American New Criticism, which entered the country mainly through Filipino scholars sponsored by American foundations. Writers who studied in the writing centers of Kenyon and Iowa were Edilberto and Edith Tiempo, N.V.M. Gonzalez, Bienvenido Santos, and Ricaredo Demetillo. A most influential New Critic even to this day is Edilberto Tiempo, whose "Form in Filipino Fiction," 1953, was one of the earliest demonstrations of this critical method. However, the method drew some complaints for the tendency of some of its practitioners toward rigidity, dogmatism, and esoterics. Jose Luna Castro spoke for others when he remarked in the *Literary Apprentice*, 1955, ". . . it is difficult to read, it defies lay understanding; it is written, one suspects, for fellow critics and the handful of intellectuals on the campuses." In a more caustic vein, Juan C. Tuvera dismissed the recent trends in critical writing as the cultivation of "double-talk to stampede the innocence and the very essence of life out of the present literary scene . . . One must now, like a coldblooded hound, pursue the spoor of the Symbol and, among the under brush of language, track down that villainous Meaning."

Ricaredo Demetillo noted that the history of literary criticism could be seen as the dichotomy between Lopez's and Villa's schools of thought. As a New Critic, he concluded by affirming Villa's aesthetics. Continuing the dialectic begun in the Commonwealth Period, Yabes offered an alternative to New Criticism by advocating a sociological and historical approach, thus locating the literary work within the moment and the milieu.

Classical criticism with a moralistic bent was encouraged by the Ateneo journal *Philippine Studies*, begun in 1953, and led by Fr. Miguel Bernad SJ. In the 1960s a variety of critical schools of thought began to emerge. Patricia Melendrez-Cruz's critiques used the Jungian archetypal approach. A wide range of critical perspectives are exemplified in the Urian Lecture Series, 1969-1971, of the Ateneo de Manila University's Department of Philippine Studies, with critical studies by Amado V. Hernandez, Efren R. Abueg, Petronilo Bn. Daroy, Felipe Padilla de Leon, Teodoro A. Agoncillo, Rogelio C. Mangahas, Virgilio S. Almario, Rogelio R. Sicat, Pedro L. Ricarte, Anacleto Dizon, Pablo R. Glorioso, Nenita O. Escasa, Genoveva Edroza-Matute, Buenaventura S. Medina Jr., and Andres Cristobal Cruz.

Film criticism began to emerge in the 1960s. Delfin F. Gamboa wrote a pioneering series on 16 directors. His series later became a valuable source for film researchers who wanted to know about the creative aspects of Philippine filmmaking. Similarly, Vicente R. Generoso wrote a four-part series, "Movies and Public Interest," 1951, which took to task producers whom he saw as obstacles to the intellectual and artistic development of the Filipino filmmaker. Bienvenido Lumbera's "The Tagalog Film and the Logic of Irony," 1962, was the first critical essay on film published in an academic journal, Ateneo de Manila's *Philippine Studies*. From the mid-1960s, movie reviews by Nestor U. Torre, Behn Cervantes, and Ishmael Bernal began to be published by the daily *The Manila Chronicle*. In the early 1970s, Clodualdo del Mundo Jr. was the first who published his reviews in a more popular medium, the komiks magazine. In 1976, the founding of the Manunuri ng Pelikulang Pilipino, composed of Petronilo Bn Daroy, Pio de Castro III, Justino N. Dormiendo, Mario A. Hernando, Manuel S. Pichel, Nicanor G. Tiongson, Lumbera, Torre, Cervantes, and del Mundo, made for astute analyses of the state of the art. By the 1980s the membership of the Manunuri had swollen to about 21, whose critical articles were anthologized in *The Urian Anthology: 1970-1979*, 1983. Rafael Ma. Guerrero also edited an important anthology of film essays entitled *Readings in Philippine Cinema*, 1982. Film critics in recent years who have published books on Philippine film and filmmaking are Isagani R. Cruz, Emmanuel A. Reyes, Joel David, and Nick Deocampo.

In literary criticism from the late 1960s to the 1970s, Lopez's earlier pronouncements were solidified by Marxist-Maoist criticism. Jose Ma. Sison applied its principles to Filipino literature in his "Message to PAKSA on the Task of Cadres in the Cultural Field," 1971. Using this theoretical framework, Nicanor Tiongson enumerated the specific concerns of the critic in "Ang Paghuli ng Adarna" (Catching the Adarna), 1976, and, on an earlier occasion 1971, continued the tradition of critical debate in an exchange with poet critics Epifanio San Juan Jr. and later, Rolando Tinio. Ricardo Lee's critique of three novels, "Ang Lipunan Bilang Isang Bilanguang Putik: Pahapyaw na Sulyap sa Tatlong Nobelang Pilipino" (Society as a Mud Prison: A Cursory Look at Three Novels in Pihpino), 1971, belongs to the social-realist tradition and expresses the need for a correct ideological framework with which to analyze social conditions. Virgilio Almario's *Ang Makata sa Panahon ng Makina* (The Poet in the Machine Age) 1972, largely belonged to the formalist school.

In the mid-1970s, *Sagisag* magazine was the publishing outlet for the critical and literary essays of Bienvenido Lumbera, Delfin Tolentino Jr., Nicanor Tiongson, Jun Cruz Reyes, Buenaventura Medina, Virgilio Almario, and Fanny Garcia. Essays by Kris Montañez (pseud.) on the literature of the political underground movement and written between 1974 and 1987 have been compiled in *The New Mass Art and Literature, 1974-1987*, 1988. Other critics guided by classical Marxism during this period were Edel Garcellano, Alice Guillermo, Domingo de Guzman, Luis V. Teodoro Jr., and Rosario Torres-Yu.

In the 1970s, writers about Philippine dance who emerged were Isabel Taylor,

Josephine Acosta, and Elizabeth Reyes. Leonor Orosa Coquingco has continued to write, as has Basilio Esteban S. Villaruz, who started writing regular reviews in the 1960s. Writing dance reviews sporadically is Marge Enriquez. In 1983, music critics organized themselves into the Samahan ng Manunuri at Manunulat sa Musika ng Pilipinas (SAMMPI) or Music Critics' Guild. These were Exequiel Molina, Felipe de Leon Jr., Vilma Santiago Felipe, Antonio C. Hila, Fe B. Mangahas, Felicidad Z. Reyes, and Pablo Tariman.

In literature, the variety in critical perspective continues. A mixed mode is Gelacio Guillermo's "Somewhere in the Countryside: Notes on the life, struggles, art, and literature of the peasants in a guerilla front (and how Manila-based artists and writers may serve them)," 1987. It is a series of journal entries that build up toward a literary theory. A definition of a Filipino feminist theory is Elynia Mabanglo's "Ang Babae sa Loob ng Bote" (The Woman Inside the Bottle), 1989, to which Virgilio Almario replied with his essay, "Dula ng Balangkas at Sagisag: Panukalang Sipat sa 'Katipan' ni Mike L. Bigornia" (Drama of Form and Symbol: A Proposed Study of Mike L. Bigornia's 'Katipan'), 1990. Isagani R. Cruz has done structuralist and poststructuralist readings, for which Edel Carcellano took him to task in "Post-EDSA Literature and Marxist Discourse," 1990. A prolific critic is Soledad S. Reyes, who has done studies on popular culture and the Tagalog novel, using poststructuralist and feminist critical methods. *Women Reading ... Feminist Perspectives on Philippine Literary Texts*, 1992, edited by Thelma B. Kintanar, is an anthology of essays by women critics. Resil Mojares has studied the Philippine novel, and Bienvenido Lumbera has examined early Tagalog poetry, both of them contextualizing their subject.

Postcolonial criticism has been written by Bienvenido Lumbera, exemplified in his books *Revaluation*, 1984, and *Abot Tanaw: Sulyap at Suri sa Nagbabagong Kultura at Lipunan* (As Far as the Eyes Can See: A Glimpse and Analysis of a Changing Culture and Society), 1987; by Lucila Hosillos in *Originality as Vengeance*, 1984; and by Virgilio Almario in *Balagtasismo versus Modernismo*, 1984, and *Kung Sino ang Kumatha Kina Bagongbanta, Ossollo, Herrera, Aquino de Belen, Balagtas, atbp. Mga Imbestigasyon sa Panitikan ng Kolonyalismo* (On Who Authored Bagongbanta, Ossorio, Herrera, Aquino de Belen, Balagtas, etc.: Investigations Into the Literature of Colonialism), 1992. Three important anthologies of literary criticism showing different approaches and schools of thought of generations of critics are: *Himalay: Kalipunan ng mga Pag-aaral kay Balagtas* (Gleanings: An Anthology of Studies on Balagtas), 1988, and *Himalay: Kalipunan ng mga Pag-aaral kay Jose Rizal* (Gleanings: Anthology of Studies on Jose Rizal), 1991, both compiled by Patricia Melendrez Cruz and Apolonio Bayani Chua; and *Kritisismo* (Criticism), 1992, by Soledad S. Reyes.

The protean and interdisciplinary nature of the essay is perhaps illustrated in the shift since 1989 of the essay-writing contest sponsored by the Surian ng Wikang Pambansa (later called Linangan ng mga Wika sa Pilipinas, and presently Komisyon sa Wika) from literary criticism to essays in the social sciences. Prize winning

entries, which used to be critiques of specific literary works, now demonstrate the use of Filipino in psychology, anthropology, history, linguistics, economics, and so on. (R. C . Lucero, with notes from R. Mojares, N.C. Tiongson, R. Duque, N. Escasa, E. Tiamson, A.C. Guillermo, B.E.S. Villaruz, B. Lumbera, E. Reyes

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