

The Tagalog comprise one of the eight major Philippine ethnolinguistic groups. Tagalog is believed to be a contraction of “taga-ilog,” from “taga,” a prefix signifying place of birth or residence, and “ilog,” river. Thus the word means “river dwellers,” a direct reference to the riparian civilization of this group.

For centuries, Tagalog has referred to the natives of the provinces of Aurora, Bataan, Batangas, Bulacan, Cavite, Laguna, Manila, Marinduque, Nueva Ecija, Occidental Mindoro, Oriental Mindoro, Quezon, Rizal, and certain parts of Zambales and Tarlac, and of the cities of Cabanatuan, Caloocan, Quezon, Pasay, Manila, Tagaytay, Cavite, Trece Martires, San Pablo, Lipa, Batangas, and Lucena. However, with the massive migration into Metropolitan Manila and other urban centers of people from all walks of life from the regions, the intermarriage between Tagalog and non-Tagalog in the 20th century, and the spread of Tagalog-based Filipino as the national lingua franca, it has become more difficult to define who is Tagalog, especially in the urbanized areas.

The people inhabiting the territories mentioned above speak a language called Tagalog, which is descended from the Austronesian (Malayo-Polynesian) stock. Through centuries of trade and intermarriage with the Chinese and of living under the Spaniards and the Americans, the basic Malay vocabulary of Tagalog has incorporated or adapted words from Chinese, Spanish, and English. In Manila—which has been the melting pot in the last century of Filipinos speaking other Filipino languages, and the political, religious, economic, social, and cultural center of the country—a lingua franca which derives much of its structure and vocabulary from Tagalog began to take shape in the last two or three decades. This language called Filipino, which assimilates words from the languages both local and foreign at a very fast rate, has spread throughout the country because it is the language of radio, television, film, *komiks*, and popular magazines. As of 1990, there were 42,928,699 Filipinos, age 5 and above, or 71 percent out of the total population of 60,684,887, who could speak Filipino. (*Report of the National Statistics Office* 1990).

For centuries, the Tagalog have inhabited territories endowed with good natural resources. Almost all provinces, except for landlocked Nueva Ecija, have coastal areas or are islands. The Central Plains of Luzon, containing Bulacan, Bataan, and Nueva Ecija, have arable flatlands which can be irrigated by the various river systems in the area. The area covering Rizal, Laguna, Batangas, Cavite, and Quezon has flat arable lands as well as lakes, hills, and craters. Laguna de Bay (pronounced Ba-i), measuring 922 square kilometers, is the largest freshwater lake in the country, while Taal Lake measuring 19 kilometers from east to west and 24 kilometers from north to south is the mouth of an active volcano. The Sierra Madre mountain range runs from the Central Luzon to the Southern Tagalog provinces. Other mountains are Banahaw, Macolod, Makiling, Malepunyo, San Cristobal, Nasugbu, Pico de Loro, and San Pedrino. The island of Mindoro is bisected into eastern and western parts by a mountain range, the highest peaks of which are Abra de Ilog, Calavite, Mount Baco, and Mount Halcon. The island of Marinduque has flatlands except for the rugged terrain towards its center. Rainy months during the southeast monsoon are from June to October and dry months from November to April (*Duyan* 1989:1-2).

The Tagalog, as an ethnolinguistic group, are no longer homogenous as they must have been in earlier times. The culture of the Tagalog has been affected by distinctions in urban and rural levels of socioeconomic development, especially in the last two centuries. Moreover, the presence in the National Capital Region of Filipinos from all regions and all social and economic backgrounds has led to the development of a culture that is more general than regional, especially in Metro Manila.

History

The Tagalog are of Austronesian ancestry. The prehistoric Tagalog journeyed in outrigger boats called *balangay* or barangay to the archipelago after the last glacial period, from 5,000 BC to 400 AD (Bellwood 1978). They probably settled in the coastal and inland areas around the Manila Bay and gradually populated the Pasig River territory. From there, they steadily expanded and occupied the river valleys of Laguna de Bay.

Another group of these Proto-Austronesians may have landed in the Batangas region, spreading west and south towards the Bondoc peninsula, and north towards Quezon. By the 16th century, the region around Laguna Lake and the areas of Batangas and Mindoro were among the most populated areas in the islands (Mangahas 1986:485). Novaliches in Rizal and Marilao in Bulacan were also the sites of early Tagalog settlements.

Long before contact with the Europeans, the ancient Tagalog actively traded with the Chinese and other Asians as proven by tradeware excavated in Manila, Laguna, and Batangas. An early Chinese chronicle dated 982 AD reported that there were Arab traders regularly calling at Ma-i, possibly Mindoro, on their way to Canton (Mangahas 1986:484). The well-known chronicles of Chao Ju-Kua described the island of Ma-i as being located north of Borneo, with high mountains and flatlands intersected by small rivers, a rich soil, hot climate, and fertile fields more productive than anywhere else.

The community unit of early Tagalog society was the barangay, named after the boats in which the Tagalog migrated to the islands. The barangay was a settlement composed of about 30 to 100 families. Situated on the banks of rivers or seacoasts, each barangay was an autonomous unit, although they were near enough to each other to facilitate mutual assistance.

The formally acknowledged leader was the *datu*. Chosen for his age, his knowledge of the community's customs, his bravery, affluence, and physical prowess, the datu had jurisdiction over military, spiritual and social affairs. Among the Tagalog datu were: Lakan Tagkan of Sapa (now Santa Ana); Rajah Matanda and Rajah Soliman of Manila; Rajah Lakandula of Tondo; Datu Ladia of Malolos; Gat Pagil of Sampaloc (now San Pablo, Laguna); Gat Pulintan, Gat Sungayan, and Gat Salacab of areas in

present-day Batangas.

Heads of families and elders of the community acted as an advisory council. When disputes arose, the council of elders would listen to arguments and examine proofs presented by representatives, usually relatives, of litigants. Judgments and decisions were made after careful deliberation and a consensus reached by the group.

Precolonial Tagalog society had four classes: the datu or chieftain and his family; the *maharlika* or free men, the vassals serving the datu as warriors; the *aliping namamahay* or debt peons; and the *aliping saguiguilid* or slaves. The *maharlika* was privileged, for they were exempt from paying *buwis* (tribute). They were also not obliged to serve the chief but often joined him in war. They were recompensed with a share of the spoils if triumphant. The *aliping namamahay*, so-called because they had their own houses, paid half of the produce of their lands as *buwis* to the chief or the *maharlika* they served. They rowed for their master in trips and helped in farming, fishing, and building houses. The *aliping saguiguilid* lived in the master's house, could marry only with his permission, and could be bought or sold. They received no pay although their master could bestow a piece of land as incentive. Persons became slaves as punishment for crime or for failure to pay debts or as captives of war.

Social status was inherited; upward social mobility was possible though difficult. Usury disabled the lower classes from rising to a higher status. Slaves could buy their freedom, marry a free person or be freed by their masters. In general, people married those from their own class.

In 1570, Miguel Lopez de Legazpi who had been in Cebu since 1565, planned to attack Manila. He then sent Martin de Goiti and his nephew Juan de Salcedo to travel first to Mindoro and then to Batangas. After engaging the Batangueño in battle, Goiti and Salcedo retreated to Cavite. They then proceeded to Manila where they fought and defeated Rajah Soliman. Triumphant, Goiti reported back to Legazpi who then decided to transfer his government to Manila in 1571.

From 1571 to 1576, the Spaniards proceeded to conquer adjoining towns and regions. Salcedo met fierce resistance from the people of Cainta and Taytay in Rizal and Majayjay in Laguna. In 1587, Soliman's son Magat Salamat, and Lakandula's nephew Agustin de Legazpi led an alliance which included native chiefs Joan Basi of Taguig, Omaghican of Navotas, Phelipe Salalila of Maysilo, Malabon as well as the leaders of Pandacan, Catangalan, Castilla, Candaba, Bulacan, Bangos, and Cuyo (Constantino 1975:87). By the 1600s, the Spaniards had succeeded in establishing their colonial power, with the walled city of Intramuros as their center. Spanish power radiated from Manila to all points in the archipelago.

During the 16th century, the Spaniards established the *encomienda* system in which early conquistadores were given jurisdiction over an *encomienda*, natives numbering from 50 to 70,000 and residing in a particular territory or the area assigned to a conquistador to rule and tax. An *encomendero* collected tribute from the inhabitants

of his area and in exchange for spiritual and temporal services, such as the building of churches and the maintenance of peace and order. In 1572, the earliest encomiendas were distributed to Juan Pacheco Maldonado in Bay, to Juan Gonzalez de Pedro in Majayjay, and to Juan Gutierrez in Mirabago. By 1591, Taguig, Taytay, Morong, and Parañaque had also been similarly divided.

The abuses of many encomenderos, however, led to the abolition of the encomienda system and its replacement by the *governacion-provincia-pueblo-barangay* structure. In this system, a governor general appointed by the King of Spain had jurisdiction over all conquered lands, called *governacion*, divided into *provincias* headed by a Spanish *alcalde mayor* or, if the area was unpacified, a *corregidor*. A province was subdivided into *pueblos* or towns, headed by a mayor called *gobernadorcillo* or *capitan municipal*. The towns were subdivided into the *barangay* or *barrio* governed by a *cabeza*. Only the positions of *gobernadorcillo* and *cabeza* were open to natives and mestizos. Both officials were supposed to be elected by the *principalia*, but in many cases, the Spanish parish priest controlled the election results (Cruz 1986: 498-499).

In 1582, the enlarged province of Manila with Tondo as capital included Morong (now Rizal), Laguna, Tayabas (now Quezon), Batangas, and Mindoro. Pampanga, Bulacan, and Bataan were also attached later. Most of these areas became provinces and stayed as such during the American colonial period.

The Spaniards classified colonial society according to blood into: the *peninsulares*, the Spaniards born in Spain; the *insulares* or *criollos*, the Spaniards born in the Philippines; *mestizos* or persons with mixed parentage, subdivided into *mestizos sangleyes* (half-Chinese and half-native) and *mestizos Españoles* (half-Spanish and half-native); and the *indios* or the pure native Christianized Filipino.

Throughout Spanish rule, the centers of colonial government were the *pueblos*, where the natives were gathered and where stone churches, conventos, *casas reales*, and *tribunales*, were built through the levying of taxes and forced labor. Through the same means, bridges, roads, watchtowers, and forts were erected in many Tagalog provinces. During the Manila-Acapulco trade period, galleons were also constructed and repaired in Cavite and other shipyards.

The imposition of an hacienda system where vast, undeveloped lands were transformed into plantations was met with resistance from the Tagalog natives. In the 18th century, oppressive and arbitrarily increased taxes, tributes, exorbitant rents, forced labor, and personal unpaid services led to agrarian unrest. In 1745, the Batangueños in Lian and Nasugbu decried the usurpation of their land by the Jesuits who also charged them fees for the wood, rattan, and bamboo they gathered. At about the same time, the peasants of Bulacan were also cheated of their lands and denied access to the river by the friars. In various hacienda towns, among them Bocaue and Sta. Maria, peasants called *colonos* were press-ganged and recruited into the hacienda of Pandi-Lolomboy managed by the Dominicans. In 1745, Joseph de la Vega led 1,000 men in a revolt which spread from

Cavite and Tondo to Laguna and Batangas. The uprising was directed against both the Dominicans and the Sangley mestizos of Biñan, Laguna.

From the 1820s, many *tulisan* (social bandits) emerged. These “outlaws” were often those who suffered abuses in the hands of the Spaniards, left the pueblo, and went back to the mountains, occasionally launching attacks on the Spanish and their military. Because they often took from the rich to give to the poor, they were sometimes regarded as heroes of the masses. The most famous bandit leaders were: Luis de los Santos and Juan Upay in Cavite; Blas Tapia, Balong Tansanio, and Juan Buenaventura of Laguna; Bertrocio and Iscong Turoy and Nicolas de la Cruz of Batangas. There were also several *tulisan* in Makati and Pasay.

The peasant struggle took on a religious character with the organization of the Cofradia de San Jose, led by Hermano Pule (Apolinario de la Cruz) of Lucban, Tayabas. Established in 1841, it was a reaction to the prejudice of the Spanish church against natives. It quickly spread to Laguna and Tayabas, and later proclaimed Hermano Pule “King of the Tagalog” (Constantino 1975:140). Hermano Pule was beheaded by the authorities, the cofradia’s remnants fled to the mountains of Tayabas and Laguna and reorganized themselves in groups called *colorum*.

The Cavite Mutiny in 1872 was one of the first revolts led by workers. The *huelga* or strike was a culmination of a series of events: the reduction of salaries of shipyard workers; the withdrawal of exemption privileges from taxes and forced labor of artillery workers; and the lower ranks and salaries of soldiers. The failed mutiny resulted in the implication of the Filipino priests Gomez, Burgos, and Zamora, who were active in the secularization and Filipinization of the clergy. Accused of being agitators, the priests were executed by means of garrote. Their death marked the birthing of the movement towards nationalism among the mestizo and native classes.

The 19th century saw the rise of the Tagalog middle class. With the opening of Manila as an international port of commerce in 1834 came the expansion of agriculture and commerce. The demand for sugar, coffee, copra, and indigo was met by Chinese or Spanish mestizo or native entrepreneurs, who planted cash crops like sugarcane and coffee and expanded their landholdings by buying lands from peasants or appropriating these through the *pacto de retroventa* or mortgage agreement. Their wealth enabled them to build mansions with expensive furniture and paintings, to dress in expensive clothes and jewelry, to hold the position of gobernadorcillo, and to educate their children in Manila or abroad. From their ranks came the *ilustrado* (enlightened ones) who would clamor for reform.

The reform movement, based in Manila and later in Madrid, was led by Jose Rizal of Laguna, Marcelo H. del Pilar and Mariano Ponce of Bulacan, and Pedro Paterno of Manila, and other ilustrados from different regions. They worked for the reform of the Spanish clergy and the military, representation in the Spanish Cortes, the teaching of Spanish, secularization of the parishes, and Spanish citizenship for the Filipinos. They published periodicals to expose friar and military abuses and to persuade the

Spanish government to grant reforms. The *Diariang Tagalog* first came out in 1882, while the *La Solidaridad* was published in Spain from 1889 to 1896. In the spirit of the movement, 21 young women of Malolos, under the guidance of Teodoro Sandico, bravely and successfully petitioned Governor General Valeriano Weyler for a school where they could learn Spanish. In Tondo, Manila on 3 July 1892, the La Liga Filipina was founded by Rizal, Ambrosio Salvador, Agustin de la Rosa, Bonifacio Arevalo, and Deodato Arellano. While the reform movement was successful in bringing to public attention the plight of the Filipinos, it failed to effect real changes because of Spain's preoccupation with internal problems, the power and influence of the friars, lack of funds, and disunity among the Filipino reformists (Agoncillo 1990:148).

Because of the weakness of the reform movement, the secret society known as the Kataastaasang Kagalanggalang na Katipunan ng mga Anak ng Bayan (KKK) or the Katipunan was organized in 1892 in Manila, to prepare for the overthrow of the Spanish colonial government. From Manila, the Katipunan first spread to all Tagalog provinces, later to most parts of Luzon and the Visayas. Founded by Andres Bonifacio, it had among its leaders Emilio Jacinto, Aurelio Tolentino, Vicente Fernandez, Pedro Cortez, and Antonio Guevara who organized cells in Manila, Morong, and Laguna; Ladislao Diwa, Felipe Calderon, and Julian Felipe of Cavite; Isidoro Torres and Gregorio del Pilar of Bulacan; Galicano Apacible, Miguel Malvar, Felipe Agoncillo, and Ananias Diokno of Batangas; Paciano Rizal and Juan Vicente Cailles of Laguna; and Vicente Leyba, Gregoria de Jesus, and Pantaleon Torres of Manila.

The discovery of the Katipunan led to the "Cry of Pugadlawin" on 23 August 1896. On this day, in Balintawak, the Katipunero tore their *cedulas*, thereby breaking all ties with Spain. Simultaneously, in other places such as Balakbak in Mandaluyong and in other areas in Caloocan, the local Katipunan groups had their own version of the "Cry." The first battle between the Katipunero and the Spanish soldiers occurred in San Juan del Monte on 30 August 1896. Immediately after, the Katipunero set up camp in the hills near Marikina, San Mateo, and Montalban, as the towns of Santa Mesa, Pandacan, Pateros, Taguig, San Pedro, Makati, Caloocan, Balik-Balik, San Juan del Monte in Manila, and San Francisco de Malabon, Kawit, and Noveleta in Cavite simultaneously rose in arms.

In retaliation, Governor General Ramon Blanco and his successors ordered a series of arrests, and executed four members of the Katipunan on 4 September 1896 at the Luneta; the 13 martyrs of Cavite on 12 September; Jose Rizal on 30 December; and many others in Bulacan and Nueva Ecija. The revolutionary forces remained undaunted, and by the end of the year, all of Cavite and most of the towns of Nueva Ecija, Bulacan, Laguna and Bataan had joined the struggle.

Internal conflicts besieged the Katipunan in Cavite, as the rift widened between the Magdalo and Magdiwang factions. Andres Bonifacio got embroiled into this conflict which led to the coup d'etat on his leadership by forces loyal to the Magdalo leader, Emilio Aguinaldo. During the Imus Assembly held on 31 December 1896 and the

Tejeros Convention in San Francisco de Malabon on 22 March 1897, the Magdalo faction moved to replace the Supreme Council of the Katipunan with a revolutionary government headed by Aguinaldo. The rivalry between Bonifacio and Aguinaldo resulted in the execution of the former on 10 May 1897 after a mock trial.

It would appear that the execution of Bonifacio merely created the condition for Aguinaldo to seek compromise with the Spaniards. Not long after the incident, he and his men retreated to Biak-na-bato in San Miguel, Bulacan, and authorized Pedro Paterno to negotiate with Governor General Primo de Rivera. This led to what came to be known as the Pact of Biak-na-bato.

After the Pact of Biak-na-bato was signed in San Miguel, Bulacan, Aguinaldo and his followers went on voluntary exile to Hong Kong. There they prepared to launch the second part of the revolution. Aguinaldo returned in 1898, and by June of that year, the Philippine revolutionary forces had routed the Spaniards in most parts of Luzon. On 12 June 1898, General Emilio Aguinaldo proclaimed the independence of the Philippines in Kawit, Cavite. Not long after and because of pressure from the Americans, he moved his government to Malolos, Bulacan. On 12 September 1898, the Malolos Congress convened to write a constitution for the new government. The Constitution was promulgated on 21 January 1899, and two days later, the Philippine Republic was inaugurated in Malolos with Aguinaldo as president.

The Malolos Republic was no sooner established than demolished with the American invasion of the islands. The Treaty of Paris was signed on 10 December 1898, providing for Spain's cession of the archipelago to the United States for 20 million dollars. The American Senate ratified the Treaty of Paris on 6 February 1899.

On 4 February 1899, the Philippine-American War began in San Juan del Monte, Manila. The Philippine Revolutionary Army under Aguinaldo engaged the better-armed American forces in a war which formally ended in 1901 with the capture of Aguinaldo in Palanan, Isabela. In 1902, Miguel Malvar of Batangas surrendered.

However, a protracted guerilla war continued, led by revolutionaries who were later labeled by the Americans and their collaborators as "bandits," among them, Macario Sakay, Julian Montalan, and Cornelio Felizardo. In a determined bid to remain free, they formally established the Philippine Republic, known as the "Republika ng Katagalugan," in 1901. The short-lived government, which had Sakay as president and Tayabas as headquarters, surrendered in July 1906. In Bulacan, Pampanga, Tarlac, and Nueva Ecija, Felipe Salvador, known as Apo Ipe, led a crusade known as the Santa Iglesia Movement against the American authorities from 1907 to 1910. Similarly, a short-lived outbreak was led by Simeon Mandac in Nueva Ecija in 1910.

In the civil government set up by the Americans, the Philippines was headed by a civil general, later called governor, appointed by the United States government. The country was divided into provinces based roughly on the *alcaldias* of the Spanish

period. Each province was headed by a Filipino governor, an American treasurer, and an American supervisor. Later, the office of the treasurer was occupied by Filipinos. Provinces were divided into municipalities headed by a municipal president called *alcalde* or *presidente*, a vice-president, and a municipal council.

Elections were established but only males at least 25 years old were allowed to vote. Moreover, requirements like the ability to speak and write in Spanish or English, tax payments, property, wealth and experience in politics favored the traditional elite, who would monopolize elections for many decades. Political dynasties include the Rodriguez and the Sumulong in Rizal; the Adriatico and the Leuterio in Mindoro; the Paras and the Nepomuceno in Marinduque; the Tirona, Virata, Camerino, and Montano in Cavite; and the Laurel, Leviste, and Recto in Batangas (Cruz 1986:523).

The suffragette movement resulted in a Woman Suffrage Bill signed by Governor Murphy in 1933. In the plebiscite held in April 1939, women from the Tagalog and other regions asserted their right to vote enabling them to participate in the first election of the Commonwealth period.

The American government pursued a policy of attraction and co-optation, with the primary goal of developing the Philippines not only as a source of raw materials but also as a market for American goods. The colonial government invited members of the Filipino elite to join the bureaucracy, and started the *pensionado* program of sending scholars to the mainland for further political and technical education. A system of education was organized, initially using soldiers as teachers and superintendents and later, American teachers whose first batch arrived aboard the *USS Thomas*. English was adopted as the medium of instruction, possibly the most important tactic in the cultural reorientation of the Tagalog mind. Roads, bridges, schoolhouses, and other infrastructures were constructed. At the same time, American industrialists and investors engaged in import-export trade and extractive industries to their full advantage.

From 1919 to 1934, parliamentary missions were sent to the United States to work for Philippine independence. Among the Tagalog involved in the campaign for independence were Manuel L. Quezon, Rafael Palma, Claro M. Recto, and Juan Sumulong. The campaign resulted in the establishment of the Commonwealth of the Philippines on 15 November 1935 at the Sunken Garden in Manila with Manuel L. Quezon as president. On 9 November 1937 Tagalog was recommended by the Institute of National Language to become the basis of the national language. Three years later, the national language was ordered taught in all schools and the Institute prepared for the printing of a dictionary and grammar book.

The American colonial regime favored many of the elite families of the previous century, but it did not institute substantial change in the lot of workers and peasants. The struggle of the peasants and workers continued. Labor unions and peasant organizations worked towards concerted political action. Among these groups were: the Union Obrera Democratica, later known as the Union del Trabajo de Filipinas, organized in 1902; the Congreso Obrero de Filipinas, in 1913; and the Union de

Aparceros de Filipinas, established by Jacinto Manahan of Bulacan in 1919. Strikes were set up by embroidery workers in Manila, workers of the Manila Electric Company and the Manila Gas Company, and rice mill workers in Nueva Ecija. The members of the Katipunan ng Magsasaka in Bulacan paralyzed the irrigation system; the Union de Arrendamentarios in Hacienda Esperanza in Nueva Ecija protested the changes in their contracts; the peasant members of Handa Na and Oras Na protested from 1937 to 1939 the maladministration of the 27,408-hectare Hacienda Buenavista of the San Juan de Dios Hospital, refused to pay their dues, and demanded the transfer of the hacienda to the government and to the farmers (De los Reyes 1983:50-70); and 200 tenants of the Hacienda Tuazon in Bagong Bantay, Caloocan took the hacienda by force.

Influenced by Marxist international organizations, peasant and labor leaders established the Kalipunang Pambansa ng mga Magbubukid sa Pilipinas in 1928; the Katipunan ng mga Anakpawis ng Pilipinas in 1929; and the Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas in 1930. Leaders with a socialist orientation were Juan Feleo of Nueva Ecija, Jacinto Manahan, Crisanto Evangelista, and the Lavas of Bulacan. The Communist Party later merged with the Partido Socialista led by a Pampango, Pedro Abad Santos.

Meanwhile, the colorum groups of the 1920s assumed a religious character similar to that of Hermano Pule's in the 1840s. Combining Catholic devotion, hero-worship and folk superstition were groups like the Caballeros de la Sagrada Familia in Bulacan, Pampanga, Nueva Ecija, and Pangasinan; the colorums in Manila; and the Kapisanan Makabola Makarinag organized by Pedro Kabola in Nueva Ecija in 1923. Two important political movements among the Tagalog during the 1930s were the Tanggulan and the Sakdal. Tanggulan was a patriotic secret society whose principal objective was the "attainment of independence through an armed uprising." At the height of its organizational strength it had a membership of 40,000 workers and peasants in Manila, Bulacan, Nueva Ecija, Laguna, Pampanga, Tayabas, Cavite, and Bataan. The Sakdalista uprising grew out of the critical newspaper *Sakdal* founded by Benigno Ramos of Bulacan. As a political party, the Sakdalista campaigned for "complete and absolute independence" and vowed to confiscate large landholdings by the feudal class for redistribution. On 30 May 1935, 65,000 armed Sakdalista peasants clashed with the military in Bulacan, Rizal, Laguna, and Cavite.

In December 1941 Japanese forces invaded the Philippines. Manila was declared an "Open City" on 16 December 1942. Meanwhile, the Japanese bombed the Santo Domingo Church, the old Intendencia Building, San Juan de Letran, Santa Catalina College, and the newspaper offices in Intramuros. Amidst bombings in Manila, Quezon was sworn into office for a second term. On 3 January 1942, General Masaharu Homma of the Japanese Imperial Forces announced the end of the American occupation. Filipino and American forces who retreated to Bataan surrendered on 9 April 1942; those in Corregidor, on 6 May. The national government was soon reorganized and the Japanese-sponsored Republic was proclaimed on 14 October 1943 with Jose P. Laurel of Batangas as President. Quezon and his party had left the Philippines for the United States where the Commonwealth continued to

function as a government in exile.

On 29 March 1942, peasant leaders met in Central Luzon to form the Hukbo ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon or HUKBALAHAP, which aimed to end the Japanese colonization and continue the struggle of the peasantry. The movement effectively liberated Nueva Ecija and Pampanga even before the coming of the Americans. The liberation of the entire archipelago came later, with the return of the Americans. However, it also led to the disarmament of the Huks in Bulacan and Pampanga. In 1946, Juan Feleo, a socialist leader, was kidnapped. Hundreds of Huks were massacred in Bulacan.

Before the end of World War II, Commonwealth President Quezon died in New York. At the end of the war, his vice-president Sergio Osmeña took over the civil government on 27 February 1945. Congress convened on 4 January 1946 to set the election. On 4 July, Philippine independence was proclaimed with Manuel A. Roxas as president.

Economy

Agriculture has always been the main economic activity and source of livelihood of the Tagalog, given the hospitable climate, favorable topography, and fertile soil of the region.

In Nueva Ecija, 217,703.3 hectares comprise the total land area devoted to farming (*Pattern for Rural Reform* 1969). In Laguna, more than half of the total land area of Santa Rosa is devoted to planting rice, coconut trees, sugarcane and other crops while in Calamba, 13,868,764 square meters of land is planted with sugar and 19,098,597 with coconut. In Antipolo, 1,840 hectares are occupied by rice plantations while the remaining 2,500 hectares are devoted to cash crops like, food grains, corn, vegetables, and root crops (*Flores* 26 July 1991). In Carmona, Cavite, 1,518 hectares are devoted to farming rice, sugarcane, green corn, vegetables, root crops, coffee, and fruits.

In recent years, however, the areas devoted to agriculture, particularly in CALABARZON (Cavite, Laguna, Batangas, Rizal, and Quezon) were declared industrial zones, thereby converting these into nonagricultural lands. Similarly, many good rice lands in Bulacan and Nueva Ecija have been converted by real-estate developers into industrial estates, golf courses, and residential subdivisions.

Rice has many varieties the most common of which are *intan*, *C4*, *macan*, *wagwag*, *milagrosa*, *dinorado*, *malagkit*, and *laon*. The high-yielding varieties were developed and improved by the International Rice Research Institute in Los Baños, Laguna and are characterized by short, sturdy plants which are less inclined to fall over when the grains become heavy (Murray 1980).

Rice is grown primarily in Bulacan and Nueva Ecija. Planting is done once a year in areas with no irrigation and twice a year in fields with irrigation systems connected to rivers or *sapa*. The Angat Dam in Bulacan and the Pantabangan Dam in Nueva Ecija, for example, provide both irrigation and hydroelectric power. The farmer uses either

the *araro* (plow) or the tractor in plowing the field to prepare the soil for planting, and eliminating grass or weeds. Then the seedbed is prepared, and when ready, the seeds scattered. To prevent the disappearance of the *palay* seeds, scarecrows are set up to drive away sparrows, while chickens are set loose to eat caterpillars. Then the farmers plow the field covered by water. Approximately one month after sowing, the young rice is transplanted to the field. As the rice is growing, farmers weed the fields and drive away pests. Harvesting is done by hand and in groups after the rainy season. Threshing may be done by using a pyramidal bamboo frame and platform or a threshing machine. Similarly, rice may be milled through the mortar and pestle method or through a rice mill.

Rice is grown as principal staple or ground to make rice flour for rice cakes like *bibingka*, *puto*, *cuchinta*, *palitaw*, *maja blanca*, and others. Rice called *malagkit* is made into different types of *suman*. From paddy waters and streams also come other sources of food such as frogs, snails and fish varieties, like *bulig* and *hito*. During the past few years, however, the use of pesticides as provided by programs like the Masagana 99 has brought about ecological imbalance resulting in the disappearance of aquatic life (Villacorte 1985: 134).

Coconut, largely grown in Quezon and Laguna, is planted in four ways: in straight formation, square, triangular or quincunx. In the more favored quincunx, coconut is planted at each corner of a rectangle and a fifth at the center. Coconut harvested using the *sungkit*, a 7- to 8-meter bamboo pole with a sharp curved knife at the tip; and transported by forming a coconut raft and floating it down the river. The fruit yields many products: edible oil, coco oil, candies, dessert, jam, crude oil, milk, butter, lard, coco flour, cookies, cake, and poultry feed. Coconut water is made into a syrup concentrate for soft drinks, sugar, yeast, nata de coco, vinegar, alcohol, and *tuba* or coconut wine (Duyan 1989:37-38).

Sugarcane is grown in over 37,000 hectares of land found in Laguna, Batangas, and Southern Tagalog. Sugar is grown on huge estates such as the Central Azucarera Don Pedro in Lian and Nasugbu, Batangas and the Canlubang Sugar Estate in Laguna. There are at least 20 varieties of cane in the archipelago and two of these varieties are favored by planters in Luzon: *binting dalaga*, a slender, thin-skinned cane suitable for munching, named after a maiden's limb, and *tubong totoo*, or true cane which was for the sugar mills (Quirino 1978:1476-1479). Before World War II, the Philippine Sugar Association conducted experimental work in Luzon and Negros for the improvement of cane breeding, supervised entomologists in the discovery of methods of fighting harmful insects and pests, and hired chemists to make soil analyses.

Sugarcane is planted in February, March, and April. Pieces of stalk are planted in shallow furrows running the length of the field (Quirino 1978:1476). Harvesting is done once or twice a year depending on how large the estate is. During the milling season, the farm workers remove the leaves and cut the top and bottom parts of each sugarcane. Then the canes are piled into heaps and brought to the mills. In earlier times, juice was extracted from the cane by exerting pressure on a hand or foot-lever

against a wooden surface; later, wooden rollers and stone cylinders were used. This was then replaced by steam power from machinery and equipment, and centrifugal mills were installed, such as those located in Nasugbu and Balayan, Batangas, and in Canlubang, Laguna. The milling process includes cutting the sugar,

Milling, clarifying, evaporating, and centrifuging. Raw sugar caned *muscovado* is produced, which, when sent to a refinery becomes white, refined sugar. Fermented sugarcane juice is known as basi.

“Kapeng Batangas” or Batangas coffee has become famous since the 19th century. About 220 metric tons of coffee and cocoa are grown in Batangas today. After about 18 months, coffee seedlings are transplanted under shady trees which must be regularly pruned to enable the growing plants to get more sunshine. The white flowers are replaced by green berries, which turn into brown and then into red. The beans are then extracted from the pulp of these berries; then dried and roasted. Commercial packaged coffee is sold at supermarkets.

To augment their income and maximize their land and their time before harvest, farmers of rice, coconut, and coffee engage in multiple cropping or the practice of growing two or more crops in one piece of land. Batangas, for example, grows sugarcane, rice, peanuts, turnips, corn, coconut, and mangoes.

With most mountains in the Tagalog areas already bald, logging has concentrated in the past decades in the Southern Tagalog region which has two million hectares of forest land. Trees are also cut in Aurora, Quezon, and Mindoro. Because of the ecological imbalance caused by logging, this industry has come under fire in recent years.

Next to agriculture, fishing has been the most important economic activity in the Tagalog region, since all provinces except Nueva Ecija have coastal areas. Among the fishing grounds are: the western coastline of Batangas known as Verde Island passage; Manila Bay between Cavite and Bataan; Ragay Gulf between southern Quezon and Camarines Sur; Tayabas Bay at the southern coastline of Quezon and Malabon and Laguna Lake. Freshwater fish include the tilapia, *kanduli*, *karpa*, *bangus*, *dalag*, *palos*, *ayungin* as well as shrimps and snails. Among the saltwater fish are *lapulapu*, *tanigue*, *mayamaya*, *dapa*, *bakoko*, *alumahan*, *espada*, *talakitok*, and *sapsap*. The fishing gear used include the: *kawil*, a handline for deepwater, still fishing; *gayad*, a scoop seine or large fishing net; *pangduhay*, a special deepwater cast net; *pukot* or tuck seine; *sapyaw*, a typical round haul seine; *pante* or gill net; *kitang* or longline; *sakag* or scissors net; *baklad* or fish corral; and *dala* or cast net (**Duyan** 1989).

The fishing industry has traditionally been engaged in by small fishers. In recent times, it has been dominated by large-scale commercial fishing, with corporations mainly based in Manila and the Navotas-Malabon area where fishing magnates operate. Laguna Lake is now crisscrossed by fishpens owned by large-scale fishing operators. Fishponds for *bangus* found in coastal areas are run by capitalists. At present the marine ecosystem of the Tagalog region is endangered by overfishing, poaching, illegal methods

of catching fish, as well as by environmental degradation caused by industrial pollution and siltation.

Oysters and *kapis* (windowpane shell) are cultivated simultaneously at Bacoor Bay in Cavite. Bamboo fences serve as clutch for oysters while the enclosed area is used to spread half-grown *kapis* seedlings. After harvesting, the *kapis* meat is removed and made into *bagoong* (fish paste) or omelet; and the *kapis* shells are soaked in water. They are then scrubbed, graded and packed in bamboo baskets. A variety of products may be produced: windowpanes, lamp shades, picture and calendar frames, panel partitions, fruit and cake dishes, lanterns, trays, place mats, and other novelties (*Duyan* 1989:40-41).

Cattle is raised in Batangas. Farmers tend the cows in their backyard to be sold in times of need. Cattle is traded in Padre Garcia, Rosario, and Lemery. Other provinces such as Bulacan, Nueva Ecija, Laguna, and Rizal have piggeries and poultries, and other livestock industries. Pateros is famous for its *itik* (a species of duck) which may be fried for food or whose eggs may be made into *balut*. Duck raising is found in many Rizal lakeshore towns.

Among the known mineral reserves of Batangas are barite ore, lime, silica, limestone, shale, clay, gypsum, marble, copper ore, marble ore, and molybdenum (*Spatial Transformation Strategy* 1976). There are limestone deposits in Rizal and marble in the town of Teresa. A lot of marble is also found in Norzagaray and Angat in Bulacan. Geothermal fields developed between 1979 and 1982 are found in Makban in Southern Tagalog. Silver and copper are mined in Marinduque (*Duyan* 1989:42).

Metro Manila continues to be the commercial and financial center of the country. In it are concentrated factories for the manufacture of various products. In Caloocan City in 1989, there were 953 industrial firms, 27 percent of which were in food manufacturing; 67 percent in various industries like steelworks, packaging, furniture, plastics, and garments; and 6 percent in warehousing. In Rizal, factories produce garments, electrical and electronic products and appliances, food products, cement, furniture and woodworks, and gifts, toys, and houseware. Cainta alone has 3,289 commercial establishments, including major industries producing paints, textiles, chemicals, automotive parts, steel and metal, electrical products, electronics and construction materials, as well as small-scale industries engaged in food preservation, *suman* and *latik* (sweet coconut residue) making, furniture making, piggery, repair shops, and dressmaking. Today, the industrial sprawl has reached the Southern Tagalog region and Bataan. In Bataan and Cavite, industrial parks or export processing zones are either in operation or are being put up.

The CALABARZON Special Development Project began to be implemented in Southern Tagalog in 1990. The master plan, under the sponsorship of the Japanese government, aims to stimulate agro-industrial development and to make the area the catchment for industries located outside Metro Manila (*1990 Philippine Developmental Report*). While the government has welcomed this development project,

various cause-oriented groups have raised their concerns about environmental degradation and economic dislocation for people in these areas.

Tourism is also a thriving industry. Visitors in Antipolo go to Hinulugang Taktak, Mainit Spring, Mount Payong, Baño de la Virgen, Bubucal Cave, and Mount Bangko. In Batangas, among the tourist spots are: Tagaytay Ridge which overlooks Taal Lake and Taal Volcano; the submarine gardens in Laiya, San Juan; the subterranean caves of Pulangsayá; the Kamantigue and Motoco Hills; the Tombol Springs in Rosario; the Tinga Falls; and beaches. Aside from the hot springs and beach resorts, Bataan has a national shrine Dambana ng Kagitingan (Altar of Valor) in Mount Samat, Pilar. Laguna is known for its Pagsanjan Falls and numerous hot springs in Los Baños. Bulacan has Barasoain Church and several museums in Malolos, and hot springs in San Miguel, Bulacan. Angono, Rizal is known for its artists' studios and Las Piñas for its bamboo organ.

Important tourist events are the Obando, Bulacan fiesta on the first weekend of May; the carabao races in Pulilan, Bulacan, and the *pahiyas* in Tayabas, Lucban, and Sariaya in Quezon, both on 15 May; the *maytinis* in Kawit, Cavite on 24 December; the Santo Niño festival in Malolos and Manila in January; the flagellation of penitents in Paombong, Bulacan on Good Friday; the Holy Week processions in Baliuag, Bulacan and San Pablo, Laguna; the *turumba* fiestas in Pakil, Laguna; the *pagoda* and fiesta of Angono, Rizal on 23 November; and the Wawa *pagoda* in Bocaue, Bulacan in July.

Buntal hats are made in Lucban, Quezon and Baliuag, Bulacan. In Lucban, there are two types of buntal hats: the *liso* or solidly woven hats and *may butas* or open-worked hats. The fiber, obtained from the petiole of the open leaf of a young buri palm, comes from the Quezon towns of Sariaya, Tayabas, Candelaria and Pagbilao. The process of weaving called *lala* begins with the preparation of the starting piece, *nagsisimula*. Then the buntal straw is separated into *pino* (fine) and *bastos* (coarse), and brought to the *ilohan* (crushing machine). The over-and-under technique is used in weaving. To keep the weave tight, the hat is rubbed with a bottle. A *moldi* (block) is also used until the brim is finished. The *dikin*, a ring fitted to the moldi, is used to keep the hat in shape. The hats are then given to the *magsusuksok*, who folds back the excess fiber, thereby rimming the hat. The hats may be bleached, rinsed in cold water, and air-dried (*Duyan* 1989). In Baliuag, the buntal hat is called the *balibuntal* or *balihat*, and is more closely woven and texturally finer than the Lucban buntal. Bags, cigarette cases, place mats, baskets of all sizes and shapes, fans, and decorative items are also woven in Lucban and Baliuag.

The barong tagalog and other embroidery products are made in Taal, Batangas, and Lumban, Laguna. This entails various phases: the printing of the design, actual embroidery work, *calado* work, washing, starrng, ironing, and stretching. Embroidery may be done by hand in piña or jusi, and by machine on cotton, polyester, and linen materials.

Wood carving is a thriving industry in Paete, where there are more than 200 wood

carving establishments. The forests of Mindoro, Rizal, Quezon, and Bicol provide wood carving materials: *batikuling* and acacia for statuary and relief panels; kamagong for smaller sculptures; *lauan* for giant fork and spoon sets; *lanete* and marang for other pieces. Wood sculpture involves the following stages: carving from a block with a rough sketch; configuration of details with medium and small chisels; smoothing, cleaning, and sanding; and spray-varnishing or painting.

Other towns in the Tagalog area are known for their products: Marikina, Rizal for shoemaking; Malabon, Rizal for *patis* (fish sauce) and Balayan, Batangas for bagoong; Paete, Laguna for papier mache figures; and Parañaque and Las Piñas, Rizal for salt making known as “iras Tagalog”; Taal, Batangas for furniture and *balisong* (knife); Baliuag, Bulacan for inlaid furniture and silk *tapis* (overskirt); San Miguel, Bulacan for sweets and *pastillas* wrappers; Bataan for *aruro* biscuits; Laguna for its lanzones; Batangas for its *sintunis* (small oranges). Calamansi, mangoes, papaya, bananas, watermelons, and melons are also produced in the Tagalog provinces.

Political System

The Tagalog area is politically divided today into three regions: Central Luzon, excluding Pampanga, Southern Luzon, and the National Capital Region. Central Luzon consists of Cavite, Nueva Ecija, Bulacan, Bataan, and part of Tarlac. Southern Luzon is made up of Laguna, Batangas, Quezon, Oriental Mindoro, Occidental Mindoro, Aurora, Rizal, and Marinduque. The National Capital Region (NCR), established in 1975, incorporates four cities and 13 municipalities into what is now known as Metropolitan Manila, another name for NCR. These four cities are Manila, Quezon, Pasay, and Caloocan; the 13 municipalities are Makati, Mandaluyong, San Juan, Las Piñas, Malabon, Navotas, Pasig, Pateros, Parañaque, Taguig, Muntinlupa, Marikina, and Valenzuela. The Metro Manila Commission, headed by a governor, handles the NCR (Mangahas 1986:443). Recently, Makati and Mandaluyong were upgraded into cities.

The three regions are further subdivided into districts, each of which is represented by a congressman. In Central Luzon, Cavite has three districts; Nueva Ecija, four; Bulacan, four; and Bataan, two. In Southern Luzon, Laguna, Batangas, and Quezon have four districts each; Oriental Mindoro, two; Occidental Mindoro, Aurora, Rizal, and Marinduque, one each (*1989 Philippine Statistical Yearbook* 1989:11-26). The NCR has four districts. Manila is District I; District II is made up of Quezon City, Mandaluyong, Marikina, Pasig, and San Juan; District III is composed of Caloocan City, Malabon, Navotas, and Valenzuela; Las Piñas, Makati, Muntinlupa, Parañaque, Pateros, and Taguig make up District IV (Mangahas 1986: 410).

The basic unit of government is the barangay ruled by a barangay captain. The captain is assisted by a Sangguniang Barangay, which is the legislative authority in a barangay. Barangays are grouped into a municipality, which in turn is governed by a mayor, a vice-mayor, and a Sangguniang Bayan. Municipalities are further grouped into a

province. A governor, a vice-governor, and a Sangguniang Panlalawigan head the province. House representatives represent the province in the national legislature or Congress.

As in the 19th and early 20th centuries, the leaders on the municipal, provincial, and district levels are usually chosen from among the economic and social elite, many of whom are descendants of the landowners of the 19th and early 20th centuries. For one, it is the elite families who have led local government units for centuries, assuming a prominence that is difficult to counter or erase; for another, it is these families that have the funds to spend for elections that have become more and more expensive over the years, especially since vote buying and political horse trading have not been eradicated. In places where the old elite has given way to the new rich, new leaders have emerged. Moreover, the protest and democratic movements of the 1970s have allowed a few nontraditional politicians and professionals to hold some positions in government. By and large, however, the political system, in spite of its avowed “democratic structure,” still needs to be made more participative.

As exemplified in Occidental Mindoro, the political system may be called dynamic. Nongovernmental forces affect the political structure, and national officials also intervene in local affairs. Moreover, a higher official within the region can regulate the actions of lower officials; in turn, the lower officials can intervene in the activities of higher officials by recommendation or petition, which, when they are supported by powerful followers, often become compelling rather than merely suggestive (Agpalo 1972: 69).

Although political activities are supposed to be impartial and impersonal, the Tagalog leaders have to contend with personal and familial relations in the execution of their duties. Thus, the politics in Mindoro has been compared to the *pandanggo sa ilaw* or “oil lamp dance,” where dancers balance lighted glass oil lamps on their heads and on the backs of their hands, as they move about nimbly. Similarly, politicians have to move with calculation and agility, manipulating or “getting along” with people of all classes, sectors, religions, and genders to get their support and patronage, often by exploiting traditional values (Agpalo 1972: 165).

Three hundred years of Spanish colonial rule, 50 years of American sovereignty, and almost 50 years of the Republic have consolidated the role of the Tagalog region as the geopolitical, economic, and cultural center of the archipelago. Because of history and practicality, Manila, later Metro Manila, has been the hub of commerce and trade, the location of government centers, and the gateway to the outside world. Not surprisingly, the Tagalog is the most highly represented group in the national government (Abueva and De Guzman, eds., 1969: 266). It must be said, however, that Manila is culturally a melting pot, with people from all regions living among the Tagalog majority.

Social Organization and Customs

Tagalog society today is pyramidal, consisting of a small upper class, a middle class,

and a widening lower class. The composition of the upper class has begun to change. More than landowners, as was the case before World War II, the upper class now largely consists more and more of industrialists and businesspeople, especially in the urbanized areas.

The middle class, composed largely of businesspeople and professionals, has increased its influence because of the growth of the demand for their services. Their opinion is now often equated with what has been loosely termed as “public opinion” (Agoncillo 1990:666). The number of the lower class, however, has multiplied rapidly, and their hardships have increased just as quickly because of unemployment.

The basic unit of a traditional Tagalog society is the family. The father is generally regarded as the head of the family, while the mother supervises the household. These roles are manifested in the terms used to refer to the husband and the wife. *Ang tao ko*, used for the husband, literally means, “my man”; and *maybahay*, used for the wife, “owner of the house.” In many urban areas, however, wives now provide for the family as much as husbands do and therefore share the powers and responsibilities in managing the family with their husbands (Mendez et al. 1984: 12).

Traditionally, rural families are extended, that is, two or three families—one or two of which are the married children’s—stay in one house. However, many rural families today have become nuclear, composed only of parents and their children. In contrast, urban families have become extended (Mendez et al. 1984: xii-xv).

Tagalog families are generally closely knit. Relatives are expected to support one another and to reciprocate whatever service one has received from another. Respect for elders is very pronounced, as is manifested in the Tagalog language which has forms and words meant to signify respect and courtesy. A child uses *opo* to signify agreement instead of the usual *oo* when he speaks with an elder, or addresses the elder as *kayo* rather than with the familiar *ikaw*.

Most Tagalog view the family as a defense and an insurance. No matter how low one has fallen, one can expect the family’s welcome and support. In disputes with other families or individuals, the family often supports its member blindly. Conversely, a family member is often willing to sacrifice personal well-being for his family’s sake. Thus, older children may work to finance their younger siblings’ education (Bulatao 1979:93).

Tagalog families are often bilateral. Children trace their relationships both on the mother’s and the father’s side. They also reckon their relationships in both the vertical and horizontal directions. Horizontal relations are considered close only to the fourth degree. Thus, marriages between first, second, and third cousins are considered incestuous, but marriages between distant cousins are permissible.

The general term for sibling is *kapatid*, but the position of siblings is revealed in the kinship terms, derived from the Chinese. The oldest brother is called *kuya*; the next

eldest, *diko*; the third, *sangko*; the fourth, *siko*. The eldest sister is called *ate*; the next eldest, *ditse*; the third, *sanse*; the fourth, *sitse*.

Kinship systems can be extended through rituals, specifically baptism, confirmation, and weddings. After these rituals, parents and godparents (in the case of baptism and confirmation), newlyweds and sponsors (in the case of weddings) treat each other like blood kin, calling each other *kumpare* and *kumare*. Godparents, called *ninong* or *ninang*, are expected to support their godchild financially. Moreover, when a child is orphaned, the godparents are expected to take over as foster parents. Wedding sponsors, also called by the same name, usually help to advise and settle arguments between their *anak sa kasal* (children in wedding).

Next to the family, the neighborhood is the most basic unit of Tagalog society. The neighborhood, called *kapitbahayan*, is influential in defining norms and values. Often, the fear of gossip discourages members from deviating from the norms set by the neighborhood or the values it upholds; thus gossiping itself “encourages” cohesion. The Tagalog feel *hiya* (shame) upon realizing that they are not accepted by the group they interact with.

One of the values prevalent among the Tagalog is social acceptance. *Pakikisama* or concession to another often leads to social acceptance and the establishment of smooth interpersonal relationships (SIR). So does the use of euphemisms and go-betweens (Lynch 1979:8-12). *Utang na loob* or debt of gratitude is another important value. It is a kind of reciprocity involving a sense of obligation. Failure to return a favor, for the Tagalog, means social censure and the risk of being called *walang hiya* (Hollnsteiner 1979).

The values, however, are dependent on circumstances. They can be easily changed by the same neighborhood that instituted them when the situation calls for it, as happened to slum dwellers in Manila in 1967. A price increase resulted in mass layoffs and increased rents. Jobless, many families moved out of the neighborhood or, if they stayed, became involved in many street-corner brawls. The norms of *hiya*, *utang na loob*, and *pakikisama*—very important in rural areas—became meaningless in the city, when the main concern was survival (Mendez et al. 1984: 70).

Wherever they settle, most Tagalog follow similar customs related to the stages of the life cycle: conception and pregnancy, childbirth, infancy and childhood, puberty, courtship and marriage, and death.

During the period of conception or *paglilihi*, the wife becomes particularly irritable and whimsical. She may have sudden cravings and aversions, usually relating to food. The husband attends to her caprices, for failure to satisfy her cravings results, according to tradition, in the abnormality of the child or to abortion. Another belief related to pregnancy is that the child will resemble the mother’s cravings, e.g., a child may be born dark skinned because of her mother’s fondness for liver during conception.

Pagbubuntis or pregnancy follows conception. Traditional beliefs related to pregnancy involve food. Eggplants must be avoided to ensure a healthy baby; husbands must not eat from the cooking pot to ensure an easy delivery for his wife. Eating twinlike fruits may lead to giving birth to twins (Peralta and Salazar 1974:70). Popular in Baliuag, Bulacan is the belief that a pregnant woman must not step over a piece of rope to avoid a miscarriage (Villacorte 1985: 478).

Childbirth among the rural folk usually occurs in the house. A midwife is fetched to deliver the baby. The husband and other kinsfolk are around to help the midwife. Certain practices are believed to affect the ease or difficulty of delivering the child and the nature of the newborn child. Inverting the house ladder is supposed to ease the birthing, while lending a neighbor a needle with a thread through its eye does the opposite. To ensure that the child becomes intelligent, the father must wrap the placenta, along with a pen, in an English-language newspaper (Mendez et al. 1984:2, 86). To prevent sickness, the skin of a hen is made into a bracelet for the infant to wear (*Manila Since the Independence* 1974:87).

Pagdidilom or *pagririlom* is the period of recovery and lasts 7 to 10 days, during which the mother is not allowed to bathe. A midwife massages her continually. The mother avoids eating certain foods, usually sour ones, and performing strenuous tasks. She bathes between the 7th and the 10th day in liquid brewed from medicinal plants. Three months hence, she may have sex with her husband again.

Babies are regarded as *bunga ng pagmamahal* (fruits of love) and are thus treated with fondness. Because of this, childless couples are often pitied. Moreover, in agricultural societies where help in the fields is needed, children are viewed as an “economic investment” or as *kayamanan* or wealth (Mendez et al. 1984:72-73). In addition, they often strengthen a couple’s relationship and become the couple’s *baston sa katandaan* (walking cane in old age).

Childhood is generally playtime. Although boys and girls interact in such games as hide-and-peek, many games are gendered. Boys are expected to play war games, to fly kites, or to indulge in sports; girls, to play house and to groom dolls. In urban areas, children now spend time watching television and playing with “westernized toys,” like robots (Mendez et al. 1984: xxi). Furthermore, boys usually stop interacting with girls in games after they reach 9. Boys and girls are further segregated when they reach puberty. Traditional upbringing expects girls to be modest and to be especially protective of their virginity. The value placed on virginity is based on the belief that the honor of the girl is like water in a jar; once contaminated by a drop of oil, it will be shunned (Villacorte 1985:474).

After they undergo their first menstruation, girls are called *dalagita*. They are warned against eating sour foods and performing strenuous activities. In prehispanic times, the *dalagita* would be wrapped in blankets and kept in a darkened house for days. She would also be blindfolded to prevent her from seeing bad spirits (Peralta

and Salazar 1974:71). Today, a girl only avoids bathing for three days.

Pubescent boys, called *binatilyo*, have their own “rites of passage.” An urban boy is usually circumcised shortly after birth, but a rural boy is *supot* (uncircumcized), usually until 12. He goes to a *manunuli* (circumcizer) who performs the operation with a sterilized knife or blade, afterwards applying a concoction of guava leaves to the boy’s penis to help it heal. While the wound heals, the boy avoids certain foods like fish and chicken and wears a *tapi* (wraparound cloth) instead of trousers.

Traditional courtship usually starts at 18. It begins with *ligaw-tingin*, in which desire is expressed nonverbally and at a distance, usually through a meaningful glance. At this stage, a go-between, often a friend, is usually resorted to. Real courtship, called *panliligaw*, follows soon. This is marked by the suitor’s first *dalaw* (visit). Usually, suitors visit on a Saturday or a Sunday; the beloved must be with the parents, whom the suitor must regard with respect (Mendez et al. 1984:115).

Among the Tagalog, some rural Bulaqueños have a unique practice of courtship. Called *paninilong*, it is clandestine courtship in which the suitor hides himself under his beloved’s house, arouses her from sleep with a stick which he thrusts up the floor, and confesses his love for her, while the rest of the family is sleeping (Mendez et al. 1984:118). In many urban areas, however, quaint practices like this have given way to dates.

In some rural areas, bride service is asked of the suitor, who then lives in the beloved’s house and renders various services, like fetching water, splitting wood, fixing the house, and helping in the fields. This tradition led Father Colin in 1663 to theorize that a matriarchal form of society may have existed once among the Tagalog (Kalaw-Katigbak 1978:10-26).

Pamamanhikan is the discussion of marriage plans. Agreements on the time and place of the wedding and the like are entered into by the parents and relatives of both the suitor and the beloved. The representatives of the suitor and the beloved bargain or decide on the dowry in metaphors. As in the past, marriage may involve the paying of the *bigay-kaya* (dowry) by the suitor to the beloved’s parents as compensation for the loss of their daughter.

In some cases, feasts are celebrated on the eve of the wedding day. Among the Bulaqueños, the traditional *disposoryo* may be held, in which the suitor, with his relatives and friends, parade into the beloved’s house, carrying the picture of the marriage of Mary and Joseph called *disposoryo*, and the vats of food and cases of drink for the wedding celebration. The image is placed on an altar in the beloved’s house, and the couple pray before it. Merriment follows (Mendez et al. 1984:123-124). The wedding itself is based on the Christian, but traces of early folk practices may be discerned. In Batangas, for example, the husband races with the wife to the church door, in the belief that whoever reaches it first will dominate the marriage. In other areas, it is believed that if the wedding veil is put on top of the groom’s head,

instead of his shoulders, he will be *ander da saya* (under the woman's skirt). It is believed as well that whichever wedding candle (the groom's or the bride's) dies out first indicates who of the two will pass away first (Villacorte 1985:478).

In Tayabas, a ballad called *matrimonyo* is sung during wedding ceremonies. Called *papuri* in Quezon and *balayang* in Batangas, the ballad enumerates the duties of husbands and wives, explains the meaning of various marriage rites, and describes the nature of love and courtship. One of the main lessons of the *matrimonyo* derives from a *pasyon* account of the creation of Adam and Eve. It says that Eve was taken neither from the head nor the foot of Adam because she was not meant to be superior or inferior to him. Rather, she was taken from Adam's rib, close to his heart, so that she will be loved by him (Malay 1966:50).

The wedding is followed by a feast in the bride's house, attended by numerous relatives. Among the Tagalog in Laguna and Batangas, the couple dance as part of the feast. As they dance, relatives pin money on the bride's gown and the groom's shirt and pants. "Then the money is counted to determine which group gave the largest [sic] contribution" (Mendez et al. 1984:128). In Bulacan, after the wedding the bride moves to the groom's house as townsfolk dancing in costumes accompany her. This practice is known as *lipat* (Mendez et al. 1984: 128).

The festiveness of weddings is counterbalanced by the somberness of *kamatayan* (death). Some Tagalog believe in premonitions of deaths, such as dreams of falling teeth. When a person is dying, a ritual called *pahesus* is observed. The leader of the *pahesus* holds a crucifix and a lighted candle beside the dying person and recites the "Our Father," the "Hail Mary," and the "Glory Be," and the prayers for the dying. The relatives of the dying person meanwhile pray for the forgiveness of his sins.

When the person is pronounced dead, the candlelight is blown out and a sign of the cross over the deceased's body is made. The corpse is then cleaned for burial. The hands of the dead person are crossed over his belly, usually tied with a rosary. For several days, the family holds a *lamay* (vigil), in which the *abuloy* (financial help) or material contributions are given to the bereaved family. Often, to keep themselves awake, mourners play games like the *karagatan*, *kulasisi ng hari*, mahjong, and cards. On the *patapos* (ninth evening) or the *patatlo* (third evening), of the *pasiyam* (nine-day wake), a form of debate called the *duplo* is held, if the deceased is not a child (Manuel 1991:199).

Close relatives of the deceased wear black to signify mourning. After a year, the family of the deceased offers a mass and a feast called *babang luksa* (to remove black clothes). They are now through with mourning and can wear clothes of any color. However, close relatives sometimes wear black and white to signify a transition.

Various prohibitions arising from folk beliefs still abound among many Tagalog. Cleaning the house during a wake is not allowed, because it may mean another death. Tears of grieving relatives must not fall on the corpse or they will die soon after.

Children or grandchildren of the deceased are passed over the coffin so that the spirit of the deceased will not show itself to them. Mirrors are covered with white cloth to prevent another death.

Religious Beliefs and Practices

Anitismo or the belief in anito, the local version of animism or the belief in spirits, is the oldest form of religion among the Tagalog. Highest of the spirits was Bathalang Maykapal, the creator of the universe. Gods connected with the forces of nature and sources of livelihood were: Lacanbaco, the god of rice and the fruits of the earth; Lacapati, god of fishing and water in the fields; Oinon Sana, god of the mountains and fields that one travels through; Hayc, god of the sea who controls the storms, squalls, and winds at sea; Dian Masalanta, god of lovers and generations; the moon, god of life and wealth; the stars, like Tala; and the *anito* or ancestors, especially those who died in war, were struck by lightning or eaten by the crocodile. The anito may be benevolent or malevolent, and therefore have to be placated.

Spirits may express themselves through animals, such as Bathala's *tigmamanukin* or white bird, *meylupa*'s crow, the anito's crocodiles called *nuno*, snakes, and lizards. Spirits are also believed to reside in trees like the balete, and huge boulders or cliffs, or they may be represented by sculptures of wood, stone, or ivory, sometimes embellished with gold, called *likha* or *larawan* (Quirino 1958:420-422; Plasencia 1903:176-196).

To communicate with the gods, priests or priestesses called *catalonan* performed *pag-aanito* or rituals, where they killed the sacrificial pig or chicken representing the supplicant. Usually held in the chief's house or in structures of wood and palm leaves called *simbahan*, these *pag-aanito* could be held to bless the passage of individuals through the stages in the life cycle or to cure the sick, and to ensure an abundant harvest or victory in war. After the animal is killed and offered, it is cooked and consumed by the people who also drink, sing, and dance.

Aside from the *catalonan*, there were individuals believed to have special powers: the *mangagaway*, who through charms could cure the sick or inflict sickness or death; the *manyisalat*, who could sow discord between couples and prevent intercourse; the *mangkukulam*, who emitted fire at least once a month, a fire that could be extinguished only if he/she wallowed in excreta under someone's house; the *hocloban*, who could kill by raising their hands, the *silagan*, who tore out and ate the liver of anyone clothed in white; the *magtatanggal* or *manananggal*, which showed itself without its head or entrails at night, returning these to their bodies in the morning; the *aswang*, which could fly and eat human flesh; the *manggagayuma*, who made charms for lovers from stones, wood, and herbs; the *sonat*, a priest who helped one to die; the *pangatauhan*, who predicted the future; and the *bayogin*, a man whose nature is "inclined" toward that of a woman (Plasencia 1903:192-195).

The Tagalog believed in an afterlife. *Solad* was a place where those who had done evil in life would go, while *kaluwalhatian* was the future residence of those who had been brave and had accomplished great deeds in life.

Spanish colonization decreed the destruction of native “idols” and beliefs in order to facilitate the acceptance of the colonizers’ religion. Unlike animism, Catholicism professed faith in only one God, who had three persons; in Jesus Christ, son of God who became man to save sinners and who died by crucifixion but resurrected on the third day; in the Last Judgment and the second coming; and in eternal life in heaven for those who die in grace, and in hell for those who die unrepentant. Catholicism taught that grace can be given, strengthened or recovered through the seven sacraments.

In contrast to the open and autonomous structures of the indigenous religion, Catholicism is a highly centralized religion. The Pope in Rome is the supreme pontiff of all Catholics the world over, the bishops govern the dioceses into which the Catholic world is divided, while the parish priests administer the parishes which make up the diocese. In the administration of parish members, the parish priest is often assisted by the *cofradías* or confraternities of devotees like the Cofradia de la Correa, during the Spanish period, and by organizations like the Legion of Mary, Daughters of Isabela, Knights of Columbus, Catholic Women’s League, Adoracion Nocturna, and others in the 20th century.

Catholicism was brought to the Tagalog by different religious orders: the Augustinians who took charge of most of the parishes in Bulacan, Morong (now Rizal), and Cavite; the Dominicans who administered most of Bataan and some parishes of Laguna as well as Binondo, Manila; the Franciscans, who took care of most of Laguna and Tayabas (now Quezon) towns, as well as Obando, Bulacan; the Jesuits, who initially had Marikina, Antipolo, and Makati, Rizal, as well as Silang, Indang, and Maragondon in Cavite, and the parishes in Marinduque, among others; and the Recollects, who had parishes in Morong and Cavite, and took over many of the parishes left by the Jesuits after the latter’s expulsion in 1768. While some of the early friars seemed to be concerned with the natives’ conditions and defended them against abusive encomenderos and officials, many of the friars of the 19th century became obsessed with power and with profit from their haciendas and the administration of sacraments. By the end of the 19th century, the rule of the friar or *frailocracia* had become stronger than that of the secular government, which could not do anything about the anomalous situation because it depended on the friars for control of the native population.

In the Tagalog towns that were effectively hispanized, the new religion reoriented rituals and celebrations to the events of the liturgical calendar, using the literary, performing, and visual arts to illustrate or underscore the events in Christ’s life. The Christmas season has been highlighted by the *panunuluyan*, the *niños inocentes* customs, the *tatlong hari*, and the *pastores*, while Lenten events include the *pabasa*, the *via crucis* and the *sinakulo*, the *osana*, the *paghuhugas ng paa*, and the

huling hapunan, the *siete palabras* and *bakahan*, and the *salubong* and *moriones*. Feasts of patron saints occasioned the chanting of novenas, processions with dancing and band music, *loas* or poems of praise, as well as performances of the *komedya*, *sainete*, *sarswela*, and *drama*. May was for the *santacruzán* venerating the Holy Cross or the *flores de Mayo* honoring the Virgin Mary. Some festivals merely baptized indigenous feasts, like the *pahiyas* of Quezon for San Isidro Labrador, actually a harvest festival, and the *sayaw sa Obando*, a fertility dance, for the three patron saints of Obando, Bulacan. Similarly, the stages in the life cycle became occasions for masses and church celebrations.

Although the imposition of Catholicism met with resistance from the native catalonan, the Christianization-colonization process triumphed in the end. But even as the friars baptized the natives, the indigenous anitismo assimilated the tenets and objects of the new religion, interpreting these according to the native belief system as well as the events, heroes, and ideals of the struggle for freedom. Examples of these peasant millenarian movements are the Cofradia de San Jose of Hermano Pule; the Santa Iglesia of Apo Ipe; the Watawat ng Lahi of Lecheria, Calamba, Laguna founded in 1914; and the Iglesia Filipina ng Sinco Vucales y Virtudes, founded in 1926 in Candelaria, Quezon. The last two contemporary organizations consider Rizal as the embodiment of Christ, and Mount Banahaw as the New Jerusalem. The Watawat believes that if World War III explodes, millions of people will die, but Rizal will appear and lead the army of God (*Duyan* 1989:24-25).

A child of the Revolution is the Iglesia Filipina Independiente or Aglipayan Church, which was founded in 1902 in Manila by Gregorio Aglipay and Isabelo de los Reyes. Aglipayan beliefs and practices closely resemble those of Catholicism, except that Aglipayans do not recognize the Pope in Rome. Aglipayanism developed close relations with the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States. This church continues to have many followers in many rural areas of the Tagalog provinces.

Protestantism, which believes in the supremacy of the Bible as absolute authority, was introduced into the country by the Americans. Among those which have established churches in the Tagalog regions are the United Methodist Church which began work in 1899; the Church of Christ (Independent) which started in 1901; the Jehovah's Witnesses which reached the Philippines in 1912; the Baptist Bible Church, established in 1948; the Lutheran Church of the Philippines which was introduced by Alvaro Lariño in 1949; and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints or Mormons which began in the 1960s.

The Iglesia ni Kristo, started in 1914 by Felix Manalo in Santa Ana, Manila, believes in one God, the Creator of the Universe, and in Jesus Christ who is the Son of God but himself is not a god. They teach that the only authority is the Bible which is to be interpreted by the messengers of God, Manalo being the last of these messengers (*RR's Philippine Almanac* 1986:290-314).

Most Tagalog towns would have a catholic majority, with the other religious sects

constituting about 10 to 15 percent of the total population. In this regard, the town of Baliuag might be typical. In this Bulacan town, Catholics constitute 85 percent of the total population, with the remaining 15 percent distributed among the Iglesia ni Kristo, United Methodist Church, Jehovah's Witnesses, Church of Christ, Presbyterian Church, Baptist Church, Aglipayans, and others (Villacorte 1985: 156-157).

Architecture and Community Planning

In the 16th century, the Tagalog settlements called *barangay* were almost always found by the seashore or beside rivers because bodies of water were both highway and source of food. Near the places of habitation, rice was cultivated in fields. Settlements by the sea had coconut and palm groves, while the rest had fruit trees growing around them.

The indigenous house of the Tagalog, which later evolved into the *bahay kubo*, was elevated from the ground to avoid dampness of the earth, rats and vermin, and waters at high tide. It had posts of hardwood buried in the ground, a framework and slatted floor of bamboo, flap windows, and steep high roof. Walls, windows, and roof may be made of bamboo, nipa palm fronds, cogon grass, or other natural materials abundant in the area. With its materials, steep roof, and windows that remained open except during storms, the *bahay kubo* had natural ventilation that neutralized the tropical heat. It was a house that "breathed."

A typical *bahay kubo* would have the following house parts: *hagdanan* (bamboo ladder), at the foot of which the occupants washed their feet before going up, and which could be removed at night or when owners were away; a *bulwagan* (hall or living room), where mats were spread on the floor to sleep or sit on while eating from a low wooden table called *dulang*; the *silid* (room), marked off by a sawali wall from the *bulwagan*, where personal belongings were kept; the *lutuan* (kitchen), later called *kusina*, where the *dapugan* (ash or "dirty" kitchen) was found; an outcropping outside the kitchen called *bangahan* (storage for pots), later called *banggera* or *banggerahan*; the *batalan*, an open-air porch beyond the kitchen where containers for drinking and bathing water were kept; and a *silong* (space under the house), which was either open or enclosed with bamboo strips creating a coop for domestic animals. Poles called *suhay* propped up the *kubo* during storms. Sometimes, a bridge of bamboo connected the house to a small, enclosed structure called *komun* which served as toilet or bathroom.

With Spanish colonization, the scattered *barangay* were gathered in strategically located towns called *pueblo*, which had a central plaza dominated by the *simbahan* (church), *casa parroquial* or *convento* (residence of the parish priest), the *casa tribunal* (municipal building), and the houses of the native elite. This layout facilitated the tasks of evangelization and of politico-military control for the Spaniards. Most of the early *pueblos* were old centers still lining the shores of major rivers or bays, but later towns were established next to the new roads that forced labor built for the Spanish government.

The most important structures built by the Tagalog during the Spanish colonial period are the Roman Catholic churches. Described as “plain stone box[es] with decorated front[s],” these buildings are basically heavily rectangular or cruciform in plan (Perez III 1991:31). Their thick walls are made of adobe stone, coral stone, brick, or a combination of these and are usually supported by buttresses on all sides except the façade which is left free for the most impressive decorations. Bell towers may be built separate from the church building or attached to the façade.

To the right or left of the church door is found the *bautisterio* (baptistry), while the *coro* (choir) hangs right over the church door. The central aisle, later flanked by pews, leads directly to the *altar mayor* (main altar), which is dominated by a retablo, a wooden structure with many niches for the images of saints. Behind the retablo wall is the sacristy, where the priest vests for mass. On either side of the main altar are smaller altars, and retablos which echo the grandeur of the altar mayor. A pulpit hangs from one of the walls facing the central aisle.

Carvings are found on the main church doors, the retablo, the altar, the dalmatic chairs, and the pews. Interior walls and ceilings may be painted with scenes from the Old and New Testaments, interspersed with portraits of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the Saints, or the Seven Sacraments. Floors are paved with cement tiles. Chandeliers may hang from the ceilings, while silver *frontales* (flat panels), *ramilletes* (bouquet stand), *candeleros* (candle sticks), and *sacra* (mass tablets) lend opulence to the altar mayor on special feasts.

Styles of ornamentation may vary: tuscan, doric, ionic, corinthian, baroque, and rococo, and sometimes, gothic, romanesque. and *mudejar* (Moorish). These styles, however, were transformed by native artisans who introduced local motifs into their stone and wooden carvings, and the paintings on canvas or the interior murals. Moreover, the religious orders that built the churches—the Augustinians, Recollects, Franciscans, Dominicans, and Jesuits—left their indelible marks on these churches as they highlighted the saints, emblems, and accomplishments of their orders in these buildings.

Some of the more outstanding churches of the Tagalog region are those of Calumpit, Bulacan, with its heavy façade carvings; Hagonoy, Bulacan, with its heavily carved baroque front doors; Tanay, Rizal, with its exquisite retablo and stations of the cross; Morong, Rizal, with its façade-bell tower that combines many architectural styles and motifs; the Las Piñas, Rizal church with its famous bamboo organ; the church of Paete, Laguna, with its huge canvases by Jose Dans; the church of Pakil, Laguna, with its retablo, *relieves* (reliefs), and crucifix; the church of Majayjay, Laguna, with its majestic brick façade, and stations of the cross; the basilica of Taal, Batangas, the biggest church in the country, with its three pediments contrasting with the vertical columns; the cathedral of Batangas City with its cupola and murals; the church of San Jose, Batangas with its ornate retablo; the church of Maragondon, Cavite, with its façade and retablo; the church of Silang, Cavite, with its outstanding relieves on the retablo; the church of Boac, Marinduque, with its fort complex and retablo; the

church of Lucban, Quezon with its façade; the church of Tayabas, Quezon, with its key-shaped floor plan.

In Manila, Intramuros had the most magnificent churches, but only San Agustin remains, with its magnificent interior paintings, baroque wooden church doors, and multiple side altars. Of the Manila churches, Santa Ana has preserved its old mural paintings and retablo, while the San Sebastian steel church with its stained glass windows and neogothic altar stands very much the way it was in the 1890s.

Four important architects of the Spanish period are Bartolome Palatino of Paete, Laguna, who created the ornate façade-belfry of Morong; Felix Roxas Sr., who designed the neogothic Santo Domingo and the neoclassic San Ignacio in Intramuros; Genaro Palacios, who was responsible for the steel prefabricated church of San Sebastian in Manila; and Luciano Oliver, who designed the Taal and Malabon churches, and the 1872 Manila Cathedral.

Aside from churches, the Spaniards directed the building of civic and military structures, the most outstanding of which are the walls and bastions of Intramuros. Other forts are those of San Felipe, and Porta Vaga in Cavite. Notable too are the escuela pia of Taal, Batangas; the town arch of Pagsanjan, Laguna; and the cemetery of Nagcarlan, Laguna.

Because the mestizo and native landowners of the 19th century had grown rich from the export of sugar, coffee, or copra they commissioned large residencies that would reflect their new status. The bahay na bato (stone house) were two-story houses of stone and wood, built around or near the church plaza. Like its ancestor, the bahay kubo, the bahay na bato had wooden posts buried in the ground. On these posts were attached the basic framework of the wooden upper story, and on top of this, the roof of wood and tiles. The stone wall underneath functioned as a skirt covering the posts and enclosing the space beneath. Walls of the second level were of wood. As in the bahay kubo, cross ventilation was provided by windows on all sides of the house, except that now there were two sets of tall sliding windows—one of capiz shell for the rain and another of wooden slats for the sun—as well as ventanillas (small sliding wooden panels) below the pasamano (window sill). Windows were protected from sun and rain by the media agua (awning).

The main door of the bahay na bato was situated at the center of the first-floor stone wall. The area on the first floor called zaguan stored carro (floats), carruajes (carriages), and huge rice bins. Through the zaguan, one ascended the grand staircase which led to the caida or antesala, which was connected to the main sala (receiving hall), whose windows usually overlooked the main street. Usually adjacent to the sala are the cuartos (bedrooms). The comedor (dining room) is found next to the sala. Connected to the comedor is the cocina (kitchen), where one finds the dapugan (cooking stove) and the paminggalan (food cabinet). Next to the kitchen or the comedor is the azotea, the open area protected by balustrades. Running around the front and sides of the house is the volada, a gallery which allows access between

rooms. To aid ventilation, the upper portion of the solid wooden walls isolating the cuarto are provided with *callado* woodwork, carvings or cutouts that allow the air to circulate between the rooms.

Stone for the bahay na bato of the Tagalog elite came from the quarries of Meycauayan in Bulacan; Majayjay, Los Baños, Makiling, Pakil in Laguna; and Mauban and Banahaw in Quezon. Carpenters, masons, and cabinet makers from Paete became as well known as the Chinese artisans who worked in the construction of Manila's stone houses since the 16th century.

In Manila, some of the well-known bahay na bato constructed in the last two centuries are those of the Araneta and Paterno families on Calle Hidalgo; Carmelo and Garchitorena on Calle Azcarraga; Palanca on Calle Rosario; Yangco and Francisco in Binondo; Tuason, Ongpin, and Tiaoqui on Calle Evangelista; Monroy on Calle Arlegui; Litonjua in San Nicolas; Alberto on Calle Nozaleda in Intramuros; Bautista-Nakpil on Barbosa; and Goldenberg in San Miguel.

Other prominent bahay na bato are: in Nueva Ecija, the Tinio house of San Isidro, the De Guzman of Gapan, the De Guzman of Cabanatuan; in Batangas, the Ilagan, Alvarez, and Agoncillo of Taal, the De Leon-Marella of Calaca, the Pastor and Rosales-Borbon of Batangas City; in Bulacan, the Tecson of San Miguel, Castro of Plaridel, Mercado of Bustos, Bautista and Santos of Malolos, and Constantino of Balagtas; and in Quezon, the Gala-Enriquez and the Rodriguez of Sariaya.

The American Occupation wrought significant changes in Philippine architecture. American colonial policy, which was based on secular education and public service, necessitated a new type of urban planning and architectural structure. American architects Daniel Burnham and William Parsons created a new city outside of Intramuros, from the Post Office to Herran Street with Taft as the main avenue. Around this area were built the earliest examples of American colonial architecture. Following Burnham's suggestion to develop an architecture suited to the tropics, Parsons designed the Philippine Normal College, the Philippine General Hospital (PGH), the Manila Hotel, and the Army and Navy Club. Juan Arellano designed the Post Office and Legislative Building, while Tomas Mapua did the Nurses' Home of the PGH. For government buildings, the neoclassical style was favored.

In the provinces, the Americans built a capitol complex in all capital towns where the *kapitolyo* (provincial capitol building), jail, court, high school, sports complex, hospital, and library would all be located. The buildings in this complex replicated on a smaller scale the neoclassical style of government buildings in Manila.

Economic and social developments in the first half of the 20th century created a demand for other architectural forms. Moving away from the neoclassical tradition of the Beaux Arts School, younger Filipino architects in Manila like Andres Luna de San Pedro, Pablo Antonio, and Juan Nakpil began to create new commercial office buildings like the Crystal Arcade and Perez-Samanillo Buildings on the Escolta, apartments like

the Bel-Air on Roxas Boulevard, and cinema houses like the Cine Ideal.

Moreover, the emerging middle class as well as the rich wanted houses for small families in the city. Thus, a new type of house in the growing suburbs of the city evolved. This was the *chalet* (pronounced *tsalet*) a house of wood which was smaller than the bahay na bato and much less ornate. Elevated by about one or two meters from the ground, the chalet had only one level. It usually had stone stairs in front, which led to a porch which could be connected to a balcony running all around the house. A good example of the chalet is the one on P. Guevara Street, San Juan, Rizal, which has twin staircases in front. This has been converted into a restaurant.

The post-World War II years have witnessed a rapid evolution of Philippine architecture in Manila, which subsequently influenced building trends all over the country. The one-story “California bungalow” appeared after the war, and continues, to this day, to be the most popular type of dwelling among various levels of the middle class—from the basic two-bedroom-one-bathroom model in low-cost housing projects, to the four-bedroom-two-bathroom models in midrange subdivisions, to the multiroom, plush sprawling bungalows of exclusive parks.

Because of the problem of population explosion and the scarcity of land in urban areas, condominiums are being built for the elite and multistory housing units for the middle- and lower-middle class employees. Meanwhile, the former vast pasturelands and rice fields of Bulacan, Rizal, Cavite, and Laguna have been converted in recent years into development sites for mass housing projects for government personnel and private workers, and more are being eyed in the future as more tracts of land are given over to industrial and commercial investors, foreign and local.

Visual Arts and Crafts

Prehistoric pottery has been found in archaeological excavations in Rizal, Manila, Laguna, Batangas, and Mindoro. In a Novaliches cave, Iron Age vessels included shallow bowls with high or low ring stands, single jars, and jars with short necks and everted rims (Solheim 1964:18). In Taal, Batangas sites have yielded jars of different sizes with two ears and geometric designs, as well as a turtle effigy jar. In Calapan, Mindoro, the four-breasted jar was unearthed (Casal 1981:53-65).

Earthenware pottery declined with the influx of tradeware from China and the Southeast Asian countries, both before and after the coming of Spain. Through the Spanish colonial period and to the present, terra-cotta has been used primarily for traditional functional objects. Scheans (1977:87) classifies the pottery he studied in Batangas, Bulacan, and Pasig, Rizal into: the *palayok*, a vessel with shoulder used for cooking rice; the *sigangan*, a clay pot for stewing vegetables and meat whose mouth is wider than the palayok's; the *balanga*, a variation on the sigangan; the *kalan*, a basin stove with foot ring or stand, usually with an extended front called *labi* (lip) for putting and stoking the firewood; and the *tuntong* or *suklob*, a cover with knob

handles, for pots and jars. The *laruan ng bata* (children's toys), also called *kalakuti*, includes a bowl of local fruits or a miniature cooking set for children, with a pot, a pot cover, a stove, and a frying pan. Other items made only in some barrios are the *balanga*, a water jar; the *paso* or *masetera*, flower pots; the *banga*, a water jar without a spigot; the *kalang Hapon* or *kalang uling*, small charcoal stoves with a flower-pot shape and a floor above the fire chamber; the *bangusan*, shipping pots for fish fry; the *bibinghahan* and *putuhan*, clay baking pans for cooking *bibingka* and *puto* (native rice cakes); and the *galong*, a type of water jar.

Contemporary ceramics are exemplified by the functional art pieces of Jaime and Anne de Guzman, who, in their workshops in Candelaria, Quezon, have been producing in the past decade a wide range of designs, from standard dinnerware and tea sets to free-form glazed and unglazed, and functional clay sculptures.

For centuries, baskets, mats, and hats have been woven by the Tagalog from plant materials abundant in their environment, such as palm, buri, pandan and anahaw leaves, rattan, and bamboo strips, and the vines of banban, kilab, nito, kaong, and tanlak. Traditional baskets continue to be woven in Bulacan, Laguna, Batangas, and Quezon, and may be classified into baskets for storing, carrying, winnowing, and for other purposes. Storage baskets from Bulacan are the egg basket of split bamboo, which consists of an inner cone-shaped basket and an outer basket with circular format; and the *matong*, a huge bin of sawali for storing grain, which is reinforced with striated pallets of bamboo weavers. In Laguna, rice may be stored in the *buli-ligon*, which is a huge, deep container, and a *bakol*, a household basket made from the bevelled edge of bamboo in dose weave. In Batangas, the *balaong*, a basket almost four feet high with a four-pointed base and a circular rim, can contain as much as 10 cavans of threshed palay.

Carrying baskets from Bulacan are the *bangkaso*, a round, six-inch high, open basket made from thin bamboo strips, which is used for transporting grain, vegetables, and cooked foods; the ordinary basket, an open-weave roundish and foot-high basket of bamboo strips with a handle of thin rattan, used for going to the market; the *kaing*, a foot and a half high, wider-rimmed basket of bamboo strips, for transporting mangoes; and the *buslo*, a foot-high basket of bamboo strips with a small rim and cap, which is tied to a fisher's waist and into which fish caught in streams or fishponds is secured. In Laguna, coconuts may be transported in the *bakid*, oval-shaped, heavy-duty pannier baskets of rattan or bamboo which are strapped in pairs on either side of a horse, while lanzones are carried in a smaller version also called *bakid*. In Batangas are found: the *takuyan*, a basket of split bamboo with a circular rim and four-pointed base, usually tied around the waistline of a farmer with a string or a thong, which carries the sheaves of palay gathered by a sharp cutting knife called *yatab*; and the *bakid*, a wide-rimmed basket of split bamboo in open weave, which is used to carry *kinumpay* (mown pasture grass) or cattle feed and usually slung on the back for ease of travel and transport. Quezon's version of the *bakid*, a basket of split bamboo for transporting grass, crops, and other items, has bamboo skids underneath so the basket can be dragged when the load is heavy.

Winnowing baskets called *bilao* are wide and flat baskets of bamboo strips with strong bamboo rims. In the Tagalog provinces, these are used for winnowing newly harvested palay in the wind, and for cleaning threshed rice before cooking. It has also been used for transporting all varieties of rice cakes. The *igigan* of Bulacan is a semicircular bowl used as a colander or sieve for draining fish, while the *salakab* is a fish-trapping basket of bamboo strips, which has two openings, a wide one at the bottom for trapping the fish and a small one on top through which the fishers may lay hands on the fish.

In recent years, the demands of the local and international markets have produced baskets of all shapes, styles, and colors. Bulacan baskets made for this market use rattan wicker pre-dyed in various colors such as blue, violet, fuchsia, yellow, orange, red and green. Examples of these multicolored baskets are a jarlike basket with rattan hoops serving as carrying handles on the lower shoulder, and a vaselike, cylindrical one with neck and lip tapering out. Other Bulacan baskets feature linings of brightly colored cloth, lace trims, and quilted covers.

Similarly, Quezon baskets for the contemporary market are usually free-form, and incorporate the natural colors and varied textures of different materials, such as natural rattan' peel, black *kalob* vine, rust-colored *agnaya*, and the usual brown nito. Some small gift items are also being produced at present by Quezon's artisans: cigarette cases, purses, placemats—all using buri leaves which are receptive to dye treatment (Lane 1986).

Mats are usually made of pandan leaves, which are softened by pressing, and then woven in checkerboard design. Flexible, washable, and durable, these mats are used for sleeping or working on in many Tagalog provinces. In Quezon, mats from the markets may be of buri leaves dyed in four different colors, embellished with small square eyelets at the edge. (Lane 1986)

For protection against the sun, buntal hats, crafted from the ribs of palm leaves have been woven in Baliuag, Bulacan for decades, although now Quezon has become the center of the buntal hat industry, producing hats for men and women for local and international markets. For sun and rain, Bulacan has produced the traditional *salakot*, a cone-shaped, circular, wide-brimmed headgear, which is made of layers of palm leaves radiating from the top and secured around a hoop of split bamboo with rattan strips. During the rainy season, Quezon farmers usually wear a salakot formed out of several pieces of banana bark stitched tightly to a bamboo frame tied with rattan, and a raincoat with three layers of huge anahaw leaves sewn at the edges with split nito vine.

In the 19th century, the native dome-shaped salakot of fine tightly woven strips of bamboo or vine, was studded with beaten silver flowers or stars trimmed with scallops and other geometric patterns, and topped with finials of silver—to distinguish local chiefs called cabezas from ordinary “Indios.” The cords of these salakot were

often secured with old silver coins, and embellished with silver pomegranate or ball finials (see logo of this article).

In the 19th century, some piña (pineapple cloth) and jusi (mixture of piña and abaca) used to be woven by women in the vicinity of Manila. Baliuag, Bulacan has become famous since the 19th century for the silk tapis and *panyo* (scarf folded on the diagonal and worn over the shoulder), which had stripes and squares in different colors and shades.

Rather than textile weaving, the Tagalog were better known in the last two or three centuries for their embroidery. Taught at girls' schools run by the Spanish nuns and using techniques from the Chinese, the native embroidery was already well known by the beginning of the 18th century. In convents, nuns turned out priest's vestments, altar covers, and costumes of saint's images, embroidered with metal thread from Europe which were flat or coiled. On the other hand, *colegialas* and the upper and middle classes did *labor* embroidery work on women's *baro* (wide-sleeved blouse), *pañuelo* (scarf folded diagonally over the shoulder), *pañolito* (handkerchief), and the men's *baro* (long-sleeved shirt, which is buttoned in front and worn out) as well as baptismal gowns, curtains, bed hangings, and carro skirts. This embroidery work combined calado (open work) with satin-stitched designs, such as the *flores* (flowers), *butanika* (hearts), *bulon* (raised knots), and *tirik* and *bitik* (herringbone stitches). Another technique, called *sombrado* (shading), necessitated the cutting out of fine curvilinear patterns from white cloth, which were then sewn on the reverse side of the fabric to create a "shadow" effect.

Because of the demand for embroidery in the local and international markets, communities of *bordadoras* (embroiderers) were found in Malate, Manila, as well as in the barrios of Taal and San Nicolas, Batangas in the 19th century.

In the 1920s, machine embroidery developed into an industry in Bocaue, Bulacan. This industry specialized on the *cadineta* (chain stitch), which was popular as decoration for the terno sleeves and pañuelo, together with *lenthuelas* (sequins), *abalorios* (beads), *azabache* (jet beads), and seed pearls.

Today, Taal, Batangas continues to produce embroidered piña and jusi barong tagalog, which use motifs like the *sinampagita* (jasminelike), *sili-sili* (tiny peppers), and *kinape* (coffee-beanlike), while Lumbang, Laguna embroiders jusi and piña table cloths, coasters and napkins, dress and barong materials, and wedding ensembles.

Ephemeral materials like paper and leaves have been used by the folk. Papier mache figures called *taka* have been made in Paete, Laguna for decades. Shaped on wooden molds and painted in bright enamel colors, toy dolls, houses, carabaos, roosters and hens, and pigs are sold by *sidera* (vendors) on church patios during town fiestas of adjacent provinces. The parol or Christmas lantern is a bamboo framework shaped like a five-pointed star dressed with *papel de japon* or cellophane, decorated with cutouts and endowed with two *buntot* (tails) representing the star's rays. Towns

like Angono, Rizal and many towns of Cavite have created traditional and innovative parol designs. Finally, the pastillas wrappers of San Miguel, Bulacan are candy wrappers with long “tails” cut out with floral and foliate designs framing words like “Alaala” (Remembrance) or “Mabuhay” (Long Live) on the name of a person.

Coconut leaves have been used for cooking glutinous rice to make suman, or regular rice in heart-shaped containers for big feasts. Young coconut palm leaves are also made into *palaspas* (palms) for Palm Sunday, which are decorated with palm leaves shaped into flowers, stars, balls, birds, grasshoppers, centipedes, shrimps, swords and “lightning.” The Palm Sunday *kubol* (balcony), on the other hand, and the *galilea* (four-posted structure) of the Easter Sunday salubong, are decorated with arches of palm leaves, hung with stripped coconut leaves and embellished with anahaw leaves framing flowers to make bouquets.

Leaves may also be used to shape the rice flour that is cooked and made into the *kiping* for the pahiyas harvest festival of Quezon. Individual leafshaped kiping in bright fuchsias, greens, yellows, and oranges are made into chandeliers or arranged in various patterns to decorate the façades of houses. Buntal hats and *bakya* (wooden slippers) as well as anahaw and coconut leaves, fruits and vegetables of the season, and rice stalks festoon houses to honor the patron of farmers, San Isidro Labrador.

The smithing of gold and silver is an ancient art among the Tagalog. Archaeological excavations in Mindoro have yielded gold ornaments, such as hoop earrings from 800-1300 AD, *pomara* or stylized flowers for the ears from 1000-1300 AD, and quadruple wrist clasps with repousse work in graduated sizes from 100-800 AD, while those in Lemery, Batangas produced, among others, a bracelet with a figure with folded feet and hands raised in blessing from 100-800 AD (Villegas 1983). *Piloncitos* or gold nuggets used as currency from 800-1300 AD have been found in Calamba, Laguna (Ganzon de Legarda 1976).

During the Spanish colonial period, gold and silver were shaped by Tagalog jewelers into personal items, such as the *paineta* (comb) in the *kamatsile* style, or with seed pearls, flowers and grapes, *pantoche* (hairpins), *aretas* (earrings) which were usually in *criolla* (hoop) style, *alfiler* (brooch) to keep the pañuelo together, *llavera* (key holder), *porta abanico* (fan holder), as well as *singsing* (rings) with or without stones, *pulseras* (bracelets), *escapularios* (scapulars), *gargantillas* (chokers), and *kuwintas* (necklaces), *tamborin* (round gold beads), *alpahor* (chains), with a crucifix or a *relicario* (reliquary) as pendant. *Diademas* (tiaras) were also used by the ostentatious. Jewelry was usually done in gold, but could also be executed in gilt silver.

Silver was used primarily for church implements like the *frontales* (board façades), the three *sacra* (cards containing various prayers), *candeleros* (candlesticks), *ramilletes* (stylized bouquets of flowers), *relicarios* (reliquaries), *blandones* (giant candlesticks), and sanctuary lamps for the altar; and the *ciriales* (processional cross and two candlesticks on poles), *guion* or *Agnus Dei* (processional standard depicting

the Lamb of God), the *carros*, the *aureola* (halo around the head), *rostrillo* (halo around the face), *mandorla* (halo around the image), *corona* (crown), *potencias* (Christ's three shafts of light), *diadema* (tiara), and saint's attributes—all these for the processions.

For the house, the well-to-do melted down coins for their plates, spoons, forks, drinking bowls, platters, cruets, candlesticks, basins and ewers, incense stick holders, and tea sets. Special were the toothpick holders called *paliteras*, which were shaped into pineapples, dogs, birds, and fish. Silver was also used for cane knobs, trimmings for the *cabeza's* salakot, belt and shoe buckles, betel nut bags, hairpins, fan holders, and key chains (*Pamanang Pilak* 1990).

Important silversmiths of the turn of the century were Paulino Gabriel, Fernando Cenon Faustino Sr., Julian Chanco, Manuel Geronimo, Juan Muñoz, and Juan Solterio of Santa Cruz, Manila; Crispulo Zamora and Ciriaco de Jesus of Quiapo, Manila; and Pedro Henson and Valentin Abelardo of San Miguel, Bulacan (*Pamanang Pilak* 1990).

Centers of jewelry making during the Spanish period were Santa Cruz and Quiapo in Manila (the street of jewelers called *Platerias* is still found in Quiapo); Lipa, Batangas, where coffee wealth produced diamond-studded slippers, gold and diamond studs for the *barong Tagalog*, emerald- or diamond-encrusted *painetas*, and crowns of gold and precious stones; and Meycauayan, Bulacan, which has a long tradition of jewelry making.

During the American colonial period, jewelry started to emphasize stones rather than goldwork, even as it streamlined jewelry styles. Eventually, this led to the deterioration and disappearance of traditional styles of chasing, engraving, casting, and filigree.

Brass casting is an ancient art among the Tagalog. Before the coming of Spain, blacksmiths like Panday Pira of Manila was casting small brass canons called *lantaka*, as well as daggers, spears, swords, shields, and helmets.

During the Spanish colonial period, different kinds of bolos and daggers were made in towns like Malabon. In 1870, Hilarion Sunico of San Nicolas, Manila opened a foundry, which casted bells of all sizes: the *campana*, the largest of all, which was rung by pulling its *bayag* (balls) against the side of the bell; the smaller *esquila*, which was rotated; the small *campanilla* or handbell, which was rung during consecration; and the *rueda*, a series of small bells attached to a wheel, which was played on Easter Sunday or Christmas day and other special occasions.

The *anting-anting* (talismans) are cast in Cavite and Batangas to this day. They are believed to have the power to deflect bullets and bad luck from the wearer and to bless the owner with good luck and fortune. Using Latin and Christian symbols, they can come in the figures of saints or as round or polygon-shaped medallions.

Furniture in the bahay kubo was minimal. A *dulang* (low table) was placed in the middle of the sala for meals, and removed after meals. A *baul* or chest kept clothes and valuables and was usually found in the *silid*. Later, plain wooden *bangko* (benches) with four legs and a brace underneath and a small altar for household saints were added.

With the Spanish regime and the bahay na bato came the European-type furniture that has now been adapted by most Tagalog. The sala showcased the *silya* (chairs) of different European-inspired styles (Luis Quince, Carlos Trece, Mariposa, Vienna), which may be high or low backed, with or without arms, usually with cane seats and backs, with or without carving and/or bone inlay; the *sopa* (sofa), which usually matches the other *silya*; and the *mesa* (table), which may be long and rectangular for the dining room, or round for the sala or cuarto and which may have carved feet and marble tops. In the cuarto were found the *aparadores* (armoires) for keeping clothes; the *mesa-altar* (altar table) which had several drawers; the *baul* for textiles; the *cama* or four-poster bed; the *lavadera* (washstand with basin and mirror); the *painadora* or *tocador* (dressing table); and the *almario* (stand for storing pillows). The comedor showcased long dining tables with matching formal chairs, the *platera* which could be an aparador or a partly open side board for keeping and displaying china, crystal, and silver tableware. In the cocina was the *dapugan*, the *bangko* (benches), and *mesa* for the servants, and the *paminggalan* (cupboard), usually walled with wooden slats.

Most of this furniture, which was made of hardwood like mulawin, kamagong, narra, tindalo, and ipil, were made by furniture experts in Binondo, Santa Cruz or Quiapo in Manila, or provincial centers like Peñaranda, in Nueva Eeija; Baliuag, in Bulacan; Paete, in Laguna; and Lipa and Taal, in Batangas. Through the centuries, the regional styles are distinguished among the Tagalog. The “Batangas Style,” identified with Taal, shows Chinese influence in its curling legs and flat, carved wings. The “Baliuag Style,” associated with both Nueva Eeija and Bulacan, is distinguished by its use of bone inlay and carving for bed frames, feet, and backs of chairs. In both styles, bamboo dowels are used.

The Tagalog carved wood, stone, and ivory. The *likha* or *larawan*, were images carved in wood or stone and embellished with gold or ivory, representing anitos (spirits of ancestors). These could be blocks of stone with faint human features or upright wooden figures with clear anatomical details, such as the one found by Marche in the 1880s in the Marinduque caves. The carving of these figures was done in towns like Paete, Laguna, which in 1571 was already known for skilled carvers.

With the coming of Christianity, the Tagalog and the Chinese artisans in Manila began to carve *santos* or images of the Christian saints. With the friars as their mentors and European prints as their models, these carvers produced santos for the home, for church altars and façades, and for processions. Zobel has tentatively classed these figures into three styles (Zobel 1963:25-33): the popular, the classical, and the ornate.

The popular, usually for small household saints, is characterized by “highly formalized anatomy,” symmetrical composition, exuberance of color and painted detail making up for lack of carved details, and “anachronisms in feature, costumes, and ornament.” Sculptors of this style are unschooled and quite spontaneous, such as the sculptor/s in Batangas, who produced the triangular images of the Virgin of Caysasay. The classical, which encompasses statues of wood and ivory for houses and churches, are “sculpturally conceived,” meaning, the robes and hair of the image are carved of the same material as the body, so that even when crowns, haloes, and wings are removed, the statue’s integrity remains. These santos are created by carvers who have been exposed to Spanish and Latin American models whose styles may range from late renaissance to rococo and baroque. Statues may be carved with one piece of wood or have pegs for arms and heads. Examples of this style are the 14 *estaciones* in relief of Tanay, Rizal and the *estaciones* paintings of Paete, Laguna. The ornate style, popular in the 19th century and after, is an “elaborate development of the classical style” and is characterized by a fascination with “richness of material, realistic detail, and a certain theatrical flavour.” Made by professional carvers, these statues “seem more like expensive dolls than religious images.” To this style belong the santos with carved ivory heads and hands, wooden framework, gold-embroidered costumes, and silver or gold accessories; and the wooden images, which attempt “high realism” in the carving and in the painting of the santo’s clothes. Examples of this style are the many foot-high ivory figures in gold embroidered robes which are kept in home *virinas* (glass domes) and *urnas* (wood and glass cases) as well as the processional images of Holy Week and other Christian feasts.

Santeros or carvers of santos were also engaged to carve retablos, pulpits, and altars for churches. They were also commissioned by the new rich to do picture frames, valances, window posts, and furniture for many new bahay na bato.

Three centers of wood and ivory carving were Santa Cruz and Quiapo in Manila, and Paete in Laguna. Notable carver of the 18th century was Juan de los Santos of San Pablo, Laguna who carved the ivory crucifix of San Agustin Monastery in Manila. In the 19th century, famous Manila sculptors were Isabelo Tampinco, Sotero Garcia, Eugenio Llerena, Lorenzo Asuncion, Domingo Teotico, Eulogio Velarde Garcia, Crispulo Hocson, Manuel Flores, Romualdo de Jesus, Maximo Vicente, and Mariano de Guzman Siauinco. Paete’s salient names were Miguel Palatino, Canuto Madriñan, Mariano Madriñan, Amelio Buhay, and Jose Caanca (Bunag Gatabnton 1979: 166-169). The carving of santos continues to the present in Paete and Metro Manila.

By the 1930s, secular sculpture in wood, stone, and bronze was being done by schooled artists like Guillermo E. Tolentino of Malolos, Bulacan, who did the Bonifacio Monument in Caloocan, and the Oblation of the University of the Philippines; and by his student, Anastacio Caedo who has done busts of heroes and saints’ images. With the rise of modernism, sculpture using different materials became a medium of expression for artists like Arturo Luz and Ramon Orlina.

Printmaking began with the Binondo Chinese Juan de Vera and Dominican Francisco

Blancas de San Jose's woodblock prints for the three *doctrinas*, 1593. Later, copper plates were made by Tomas Pinpin, Jacinto Magarulao, Raimundo Mag-isa, Andres de Belen, Buenaventura Lampao, and Gaspar de los Reyes in the 17th century; Juan Correa, Jeronimo Correa de Castro, Nicolas de la Cruz Bagay, Francisco Suarez, Cipriano Bagay, Laureano Atlas, and Phelipe Sevilla in the 18th century; and Ysidro Paulino and the descendants of Lorenzo Atlas (previously identified as Laureano but with recent evidence seems to be Laurentsius in Latin or Lorenzo in Spanish) in the 19th century.

Outstanding works in print are the cover of the *Doctrina Christiana*, 1593; the Murillo Velarde map and vignettes, 1734; the Gaspar Aquino de Belen pasyon illustrations, 1760 edition; and the twin portraits of two Marian images, 1749. Most numerous were prints depicting Christ and the saints, called *estampas*, which were framed for house altars, and smaller versions called *estampitas*, which marked prayer books. There were also illustrations of secular and religious coats of arms, portraits of kings and bishops, views of churches, and scenes from the Old and New Testaments.

In the second half of the 19th century and in the early part of the American colonial period, lithography was used by artists who illustrated portraits, buildings, landscapes, native inhabitants, and genre scenes in newspapers like *La Ilustracion Filipina*. The same process was used for the editorial cartoons of early American period magazines. Lithographic portraits of national heroes and government personalities were done by Jorge Pineda and others.

With the emergence of print as a conscious medium of artistic expression in the 1930s, several painters/sculptors created either reliefs, intaglios, lithography, and serigraphy. Among them were Fernando Zobel de Ayala, Arturo Luz, Hilario Francia, Cenon Rivera, Florencio Concepcion, Mauro Malang Santos, Jose Joya, Mars Galang, Benedicto Cabrera aka Bencab, Imelda Cajipe- Endaya, Lito Mayo, and Nonon Padilla.

Religion was the dominant subject matter of oil paintings in the 18th and 19th centuries. Portraits as well as scenes from the lives of Christ, Mary, and the saints were commissioned for house altars, while murals were done for church walls, such as the murals of San Cristobal and on Heaven, Earth, Purgatory, and Hell attributed to Jose Dans in Paete, Laguna.

But even as religious painting dominated the art scene, secular topics began to develop in the 19th century. For foreign visitors, Damian Domingo did several sets of the *tipos del pais* (natives in typical costume) in the first half of the century. By the middle of the century, the new-rich middle class which grew rich from the export of sugar, coffee, and copra, commissioned painters to do their *retratos* (portraits) usually in miniaturismo style; their *letras y figuras*, figures forming the letters of their names; and *paisajes* (landscapes) and *bodegones* (still life) for the new bahay na bato. Outstanding painters who did secular as well as religious paintings were Antonio Malantic, Justiniano Asuncion, Mariano Asuncion, Jose Honorato Lozano, Dolores Paterno, Juan Arceo, and Lorenzo Guerrero. Some painters, like

Felix Ressureccion Hidalgo, did paintings aimed at instituting reforms in the colony. In Angono, the names of Tandang Juancho, Pedro Piñon, and Juan Senson are noted.

Many of the 19th-century painters studied at or were connected to the government Academia de Dibujo, 1821, and the Academia de Dibujo y Pintura, 1849, which was later reorganized as the Escuela Superior de Pintura, Escultura y Grabado. In these schools, Tagalog painters were exposed to aesthetics and techniques of European painting, engraving, and sculpture.

The American colonial period led to the dominance of secular concerns in painting. Portraits of the rich and prominent, landscapes of the idyllic countryside, genre paintings showing Filipinos in their various rural occupations were patronized by American officials and tourists as well as wealthy Manila families. Artists based in Manila who were in demand for oil paintings as well as pen and ink drawings in the “classical” traditions included Fernando Amorsolo, Fabian de la Rosa, Irineo Miranda, Jorge Pineda, Dominador Castañeda, Pablo Amorsolo, Ramon Peralta, Toribio Herrera, and Teodoro Buenaventura.

With the rise of modernism in the 1930s and the emphasis on expression rather than representation, “unromantic” topics like beggars and slums as well as historical, allegorical, and symbolic themes were added to the usual portraits, landscapes, still life, and genre paintings of the older tradition. Imbibing and adapting Western styles and techniques to Philippine themes and conditions, Tagalog artists who have evolved original styles from the 1930s to the 1960s were Carlos “Botong” Francisco, Hernando R. Ocampo, Vicente Manansala, Cesar Legaspi, Jose Joya, Arturo Luz, Anita Magsaysay-Ho, and Mauro Malang Santos. From the 1970s to the 1980s, younger artists have emphasized the social dimension of art, among them Danilo Dalena, Ben Cabrera, Jaime de Guzman, Edgar Fernandez, Pablo Baens Santos, and Renato Habulan. Roberto Feleo, Aro Soriano, Antonio Austria, and Tam Austria have emphasized ethnic and folk themes.

Artists organizations have been established in various Tagalog provinces. In Bulacan, the Lakan Sining includes artists like Cenon Rivera, Phillip Victor, Roy Veneracion, Florencio Concepcion, and Al Perez. In Rizal, there are groups in Tanay, where Tam Austria paints; in Taytay, like the Group Artists of Taytay; and in Antipolo, like the Salingpusa. In Angono, the Angono Ateliers Association has for its members Nemesio Miranda Jr., Pepito Villaluz, Dominador Tiamson, Angelito Balagtas, Koni Sayo, and Cesar Hernandez, while the Angono Artists Association would include painters like Jose Blanco and his family, Salvador Juban, Perdigon Bocalan, Juanito Piñon, and Manuel Unidad Chua. The Junior Ateliers include Orville Tiamson and younger artists affiliated with the Angono Ateliers Association.

In Paete, Laguna, the younger sculptors and painters who are actual or artistic descendants of the 19th-century masters include Isaac Cagandahan, Mar Edjawan, Manuel Baldemor, Angelo Baldemor, Fred Baldemor, Esmeraldo Dans, and Froilan Madriñan Jr.

Komiks illustrations began with Jose Rizal's 34 plates of the "Monkey and the Turtle" in 1886. In the late 19th century, Spanish newspapers published caricatures of Manila events and personalities, and even anti-Spanish or antifriar allegories. The same wit and satire was unleashed on the American colonizers and their local collaborators in magazines like *Lipang Kalabaw* and *Telembang*. This type of cartoons reached a peak in the 1970s and the 1980s in the illustrations and editorial cartoons made by Mauro Malang Santos, Corky Trinidad, Danilo Dalena, Jose Tence Ruiz, and Jess Abrera for national dailies and magazines.

The komiks as "funnies" trace their origin to Kenkoy, the character created by Tony S. Velasquez and Romualdo Ramos in 1928. Kenkoy spawned other Velasquez series on Nanong Pandak and Ponyang Halubaybay. Mars Ravelo followed with his Rita Rits, Gorio at Tekla, Engot, and Ipe. Larry Alcala created Kalabog en Bosyo, D.I. Trece, and Asiong Aksaya, while Nonoy Marcelo did Tisoy and Ikabod Bubwit.

The komiks as "nobela" or pictorial narrative may be romantic or realistic. Romantic stories may be *awit/korido* types, like Francisco Coching's *Don Cobarde*; fantastic adventures in distant lands and jungles, like Francisco Reyes' *Kulafu*; supernatural tales like Mars Ravelo's *Dyesebel* and *Darna*; love stories like Gilda Olvidado's *Sinasamba Kita*. The realistic may focus on historical episodes like Fred Alcala's *Yamato*, based on World War II events, or on social problems, such as Ravelo's *Roberta*. To the romantic drawing tradition belong Francisco Coching, Federico C. Javinal, Mar. Santana, Hal Santiago, Elpidio Torres, Joey Celerio, and Nestor Malgapo. Realistic are the styles of Nestor Redondo, Ester Magpusao, Fred Carrillo, Fred P. Alcala, Steve Can, and Ben Maniclang.

Famous komiks in Tagalog are *Halakhak*, 1946, the first comic book; and later *Pilipino Komiks*, 1947; *Tagalog Klasiks*, 1949; *Hiwaga Komiks*, 1950; *Espesyal* and *Kenkoy Komiks*, 1952 (Marcelino 1984).

Literary Arts

Tagalog poetry has its origins in the centuries-old oral tradition which produced folk speech, specifically, the riddles, proverbs, and maxims, which either date to the precolonial period or were created in response to changing circumstances from the 16th century to the present.

Tagalog *bugtong* or riddle, which usually comes in couplet form, presents images which refer to an object or phenomenon which has to be guessed. Parts of the human body and the house, utensils and tools, plants and animals, stones, rivers, mountains, rain, wind, thunder, lighting, and other phenomena have been used as metaphor or object of riddling.

Here are some examples:

May isang bayabas

na pito ang butas.(Mukha)

A guava fruit
with seven holes. (Face)

*Bumbong kung liwanag
Kung gabi ay dagat. (Banig)*

Bamboo tube by day
A sea by night. (Mat)

Proverbs, maxims, aphorisms, which are all “wise sayings,” may come in verse (couplets, quatrains, etc.) or prose. Known as *salawikain*, *kasabihan*, or *kawikaan*, many of these have no known origins, while some are actually parts of longer works. Whatever their origins, these sayings are based on folk wisdom gathered from experience and project a value system that is meant to be accepted by all for the sake of social harmony.

The proverbs quoted below are terse reflections on prudence and marriage:

*Paa na ang madulas
Dila lamang ang huwag.*

Better a slip of the foot
Than a slip of the tongue.

*Pag-aasawa'y di biro
Kanin bagang isusubo
Iluluwa pag napas.*

Marriage is no joke
Like rice spat out
When too hot for the mouth.

Some Tagalog proverbs are of identifiable provenance. Francisco Balagtas’ ***Florante at Laura*** (Florante and Laura) is the source of this aphoristic quatrain (Batungbakal 1948: 4-5):

*Ang laki sa layaw, karaniway hubad
Sa bait at muni't sa hatol ay salat
Masaklap na bunga ng maling paglingap
Habag ng magulang sa irog na anak.*

Those who are reared in wealth and ease
Walk stripped of good, no counsel hear;
The parent’s wrong care, children to please,
Bears bitter fruit, and costs them dear.

A native poetic form called *tanaga* was cast in the heptasyllabic quatrain, and used metaphors or *talinghaga* similar to those of the riddle. Like the proverbs, of which it

seems to be a development, it presents metaphors in order to refer to an idea or an insight in life. This example refers to the difficulty of finding good persons:

*Ang tubig may malalim
Malilirip kung libdin
Itong budhing magaling
Maliwag paghanapin.*

No matter how deep the water
It can be fathomed
It is a good person
That is difficult to find.

Tagalog poetry written in the Roman alphabet during the Spanish colonial period was either religious or secular in subject matter; each of these topics was treated in both lyric and narrative poetry.

The earliest religious lyric poems appeared in the *Memorial de la vida cristiana en lengua tagala* (Guide for the Christian life in the Tagalog language), 1605, and were written by a *ladino* or a bilingual native named Fernando Bagongbanta, an anonymous Tagalog poet, and by the Spanish friar Francisco Blancas de San Jose who wrote the book. With other poets during the 17th century, such as Tomas Pinpin and Pedro Suarez Ossorio, this group of writers used lyric poetry for religious didactic purposes; in the process, poetry became increasingly discursive and abstractly tendentious. Examples of ladino poetry in Tagalog and Spanish are “Salamat nang walang hangga” (Unending Thanks) by Fernando Bagongbanta and “Awit” (Song) by Tomas Pinpin. Such religious lyric poems would continue to be written by the Tagalog for centuries, especially for the novenas in the form of the *dalit*.

Religious narrative poetry is exemplified by the *pasyon*, the verse narrative on the history of salvation, which is divided into episodes with their corresponding *aral* (lesson). The *pasyon* uses the *quintilla*, a five-line verse with eight syllables per line, and assonantal rhyme. The earliest *pasyon* in Tagalog, and in any Philippine language, was the *Mahal na Pasyon ni Jesu Christong Panginoon natin na Tola* (The Holy Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ in Verse), 1703, by Gaspar Aquino de Belen, which indigenized the characters of the Christ story and dramatized Christ’s passion in powerful language and folk metaphor.

The second important *pasyon* was the *Casaysayan nang Pasiong Mahal ni Jesucristong Panginoon Natin na Sucat Ipag-alab nang Puso nang Tauong Babasa* (The Story of the Holy Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ that Should Inflamm the Heart of the Reader), 1814, by an anonymous author. More popularly known as *Pasiong Mahal*, *Pasiong Pilapil*, or *Pasyong Genesis*, this *pasyon* tells the story of salvation from the Creation of the World to the finding of the Holy Cross by Elena and Constantino, and is written in verses that approximate the colloquial language of the period. This is the *pasyon* that has been translated or adapted in the different languages and continues to be read in most *pabasa* (chanting of the *pasyon*) today.

The third important pasyon is the *El libro de la vida* (The Book of Life), 1852, by Aniceto de la Merced, whose coverage is the same as that of the *Genesis*, but whose first part is written in dodecasyllabic quatrains. Also called *Pasyong Candaba*, de la Merced's pasyon was intended to rectify and replace the *Genesis* which was perceived by the erudite as fraught with "errors" of doctrine and style. Many other pasyon were written in Tagalog and circulated in manuscript form.

Towards the end of the galleon trade and of the mercantilist and restrictive economic policy of Spain, a more secular culture started to come into Manila. Because of this, a new type of lyric poetry that was not religious started to be written by poets like Jose de la Cruz of Tondo, also known as Huseng Sisiw, who was commissioned by young lovers to write love poetry, like "Ah...! Sayang na sayang" (Ah...! What a Waste); and by Sisiw's student, Francisco Baltazar or Balagtas of Tondo and Bulacan, whose poems, like "Labindalawang Sugat ng Puso" (Twelve Wounds of the Heart), established the tradition of romantic poetry that is characterized by strict versification (usually dodecasyllabic quatrains or its variations), the theme of romantic love that runs into obstacles of class, indifference, or infidelity, a tendency towards didacticism, and the use of metaphors which later became standard. The influence of Balagtas is seen in poets like Diego Moxica, Pascual Poblete, Iñigo Regalado Sr., and Modesto Santiago, who in 1889 published a collection entitled *Pinagsalit-salit na mga Bulaclac, o Sarisaring Tula* (A Garland of Flowers, or Various Poems), the first known anthology of Tagalog poetry.

Secular narrative poetry is typified by the awit and korido, metrical romances in dodecasyllabic and octosyllabic quatrains, respectively. First introduced as oral narratives, these stories were written down by native poets like Jose de la Cruz, Francisco Balagtas, Ananias Zorilla, Joaquin Tuazon, Joaquin Mañibo, Cleto R. Ignacio, Feliciano and Jacinto Castillo, Pedro and Simeon Aranas, from the late 18th century to the early 20th century. Published as small *libritos* (pamphlets), these narratives drew subject matter from Spain, such as *Siete Infantes de Lara* (Seven Sons of Lara), *Bernardo Carpio*, *Gonzalo de Cordoba*, and *Rodrigo de Villa*; from France, such as *Doce Pares de Francia* (Twelve Peers of France), *Principe Baldovino* (Prince Baldwin), *Prinsipe Reynaldo* (Prince Reynald), *Conde Irlas* (Count Irlas), and *Clodoveo*; and from various sources, like *Ibong Adarna* (Adarna Bird), *Haring Patay* (Dead King), *Juan Tiñoso*, *Sigismundo*, and *Villarba*. In *Florante at Laura*, 1838, Francisco Balagtas created an original awit that showed a knowledge of characterization and a mastery of metaphor, didactic language, and Greek and Roman mythology. Some scholars believe that Balagtas' *Florante* exposed the oppressor in colonial Philippines, and therefore is the earliest example of the literature of protest.

The last quarter of the 19th century witnessed the production of poetry which was highly political in nature and polemical in intent. The poets were reformists who sought to expose and demystify the nature of the colonial process and pressure Spain into granting the colony representation in the Cortes and the basic freedoms. Among these writers were Hermenegildo Flores and Marcelo H. del Pilar. In

Diariong Tagalog, these two poets created an allegorical dialogue between Mother Spain and her daughter Filipinas, in order to expose the abuses perpetrated by the religious orders on the natives. Marcelo H. del Pilar also composed parodies of existing forms—like the pasyon and the duplo—in order to subvert existing realities. With the entry of these poets, the secular tendency already seen in de la Cruz and Balagtas was further transformed into a militant outlook.

When reforms were not forthcoming, Andres Bonifacio and his friends founded the Katipunan in 1892, to launch the movement for complete separation from Spain. To create one consciousness among the masses and fire them to action, Bonifacio wrote “Pag-ibig sa Tinubuang Lupa” (Love for the Native Land) and “Katapusang Hibik ng Pilipinas” (Last Lament of the Philippines), both in 1896. In the last poem which meant to conclude the allegorical dialogue earlier written by Flores and del Pilar, Bonifacio presents daughter Pilipinas finally rejecting her cruel mother, España.

The first decades of the 20th century received the literary traditions constituted in the religious, secular, and radical poems of the preceding centuries. Balagtas, this time canonized not only as a great poet but as a true patriot, became the major influence in terms of both his techniques and his themes. His influence was felt in both the radical and romantic tendencies of 20th-century poetry.

The radical tradition that emerged in Balagtas and the revolutionary writing of the last decades of the 19th century vivified much of the poetry written against American colonization and its insidious effect on the people’s lives. This is seen in the works of such poets as Lope K. Santos, Pedro Gatmaitan, Iñigo Ed. Regalado, Julian Cruz Balmaseda, Valeriano Hernandez Peña, in the first decade. Later, this way of seeing and utilizing poetry for political reasons characterized the poetry of most of the major poets writing in the 1920s and 1930s like Jose Corazon de Jesus, Amado V. Hernandez, and Benigno Ramos.

Finding increasing favor with a number of poets was the kind of writing that dealt primarily with such themes as romantic love, family, honor, and tradition. Ildefonso Santos, Cirio H. Panganiban, Florentino Collantes, Aniceto F. Silvestre, Emilio Mar. Antonio, Aurelio Angeles, Cresenciano C. Marquez Jr., as well as the radical writers already discussed, wrote romantic poetry with varying degrees of artistry and genius.

Romantic poetry which by the 1930s had begun to use stereotyped imagery and language drew reaction from younger writers, who were becoming increasingly open to modern literary influences from the United States and Europe. In 1940, Alejandro G. Abadilla published his poem “Ako ang Daigdig” (I am the World), which shocked both established and young Tagalog poets because it did not use accepted meter, rhyme, and metaphors. With Abadilla, poetry was primarily the expression of the world of the individual poet, as defined by his/her unique language, rhythm, and imagery.

If Abadilla was conceded to be the “Father of Modern Tagalog Poetry,” Amado V. Hernandez appeared as the model for protest poetry. Hernandez’s *Isang Dipang Langit* (Stretch of Sky), 1961, and *Bayang Malaya* (A Free Nation), 1968, were acclaimed as works with political commitment.

The influences emanating from Abadilla and Hernandez would shape the works of younger poets who started writing in the 1960s. Among these younger writers who would initially follow Abadilla’s revolt and who were influenced by poets like T.S. Eliot, Federico Garcia Lorca, Ezra Pound, and the French symbolists, were Rio Alma, Lamberto Antonio, Rogelio Mangahas, and Federico Licsi Espino Jr. Another group, called the Bagay poets, were undoubtedly influenced by the tenets of imagist poetry; among these were Rolando S. Tinio, Jose F. Lacaba, and Bienvenido Lumbera. Other modern poets were Manuel Principe Bautista, Teo S. Baylen, Gonzalo K. Flores, Manuel Car. Santiago, Pedro L. Ricarte, and Bienvenido Ramos.

The surge of rallies and demonstrations of the late 1960s and early 1970s forced Tagalog poets to rethink the role of their art in the context of a society in turmoil. With new perceptions and influenced by Marxist thinking, the likes of Lacaba, Lumbera, Alma, Mangahas, Edgardo Maranan, Epifanio San Juan Jr., and Domingo Landicho started to create art to help achieve the “liberation of the masses” from a “colonial and feudal” system.

The 1980s and 1990s have seen the emergence of younger poets of different concerns and sensibilities. The tradition of protest is still very much alive and is discernible in the published poems coming from various sectors of society such as workers, farmers, students, and professionals. A new voice has made its presence felt in the poems of women writers like Ruth Elynia Mabanglo, Marra Pl. Lanot, Aida Santos, Benilda Santos, Lilia Quindoza-Santiago, and Joi Barrios. Other contemporary voices expressing their themes both personal and social are Ramon Sunico, Mike Bigornia, Teo Antonio, Romulo Sandoval, Fidel Rillo, Danton Remoto, and Jesus Manuel Santiago.

The beginnings of the Tagalog short story should be traced to the prose narratives which were handed down orally through the generations. These stories, which were told on special feasts or ordinary situations include the myths, the legends, both etiological and nonetiological, and the folktales, such as animal tales, fables, tales of magic, and trickster tales.

An ancient myth was recorded by Colin in 1663. In the beginning, there was only the sky and the water, for there was no land. One day a bird flew around, looking for a place where it could alight. Finding none, and tired of winging around, the bird thought of provoking a quarrel between the sea and the sky. The sea threw up huge waves against the sky, who was so upset at being threatened that it threw down islands to burden the sea with them, preventing it from mounting another attack. As the bird was growing tired, it was glad to find a place to rest. One day, a bamboo with only two nodules, was washed ashore, hitting the bird on its feet. Angered,

the bird started pecking the bamboo with its beak, until it cracked and opened. A man emerged from one section, a woman from the other section. They were, in effect, siblings, and the gods convened to discuss the case, after which the God of Earthquakes, after consulting the fish and birds, absolved the two and allowed them to marry. The first man and woman had many children, from whom came the various kinds and classes of people. The children were idle and useless. Angered, the father grabbed a stick to punish them. The children fled. Those who took refuge in the many chambers and corners of the house begot the chiefs or the datu of the race. Those who escaped outside became the ancestors of the free. A number fled to the kitchen and the lower parts of the house, and from them came the slaves. The others fled to faraway places, and from them came the other nations and races (Colin in Blair and Robertson XL:73-74).

The Tagalog also have a number of legends, falling under various categories: stories of origins, like the legend of the kamia flower of Palanan, Rizal; heroic tales, like that of Apo Iro of Malabon, Rizal; religious accounts, like that of Santa Marta of Pateros, Rizal; stories about supernaturals, like that of Mariang Makiling in Laguna; and legends about places, like the legend of Sampaloc Lake in San Pablo, Laguna.

The legend of Santa Marta mixes an ancient fear of crocodiles with Catholic piety. In the town of Pateros long ago, the people were dismayed because the balut-laying ducks were devoured by a monster crocodile whenever the moon was full. Some people tried to catch the culprit, but the crocodile gobbled them up. One parish priest summoned the people to hear mass on the riverbank before the full moon rose, to ask for the intercession of Santa Marta. The moon rose, and from the river mist the monster crocodile emerged. The people started to run, but the fearless priest shouted with all his strength: "Have faith, Santa Marta will deliver us!" Suddenly, music burst forth from the heavens, and a bright shaft of moonlight bathed the figure of Santa Marta on the back of the monster crocodile. There was a bright flash of lightning, followed by a loud clap of thunder, and then darkness. Santa Marta and the monster had disappeared, but along the riverbank, there was such a multitude of balut that the following day, Manilans were startled when the egg was selling for two centavos each. Since that time, each night in the month of February, Pateros' duckraisers would celebrate the triumph of Santa Marta over the duck- and human-eating monster of long ago (Eugenio 1982:235-236).

In the written tradition of the Spanish period, the prose narratives were the *ejemplo* or *exemplum* called *halimbaua* in Tagalog novenas. These short pieces narrated an anecdote from the life of a saint or from Christian apocrypha which illustrated the topic of meditation for the day, e.g., hellfire, the love of God, the purity of the Virgin Mary, together with the *pagninilay* (meditation), the *jaculatoria*, and *dalit*. The *halimbaua* constituted the prayer for the day, as may be seen in the devotional called *Flores de Maria* which has been used in Bulacan for the Marian devotions for the month of May since the 1860s.

In the first decades of the American Occupation, another type of prose narrative

gained immense popularity in newspapers and magazines like *Muling Pagsilang*, *Taliba*, *Ang Mithi*, *Lipang Kalabaw*, and *Buntot Pague*. Known as *dagli* and *pasingaw*, the sketch was usually a short account or a narrative which assumed a number of functions. In some cases, the *dagli* was an explicit expression of a man's love for a particular woman; at other times, it became highly polemical, showing an anti-American or anticlerical bias. Among the more popular writers of the *dagli* were Patricio Mariano, Lope K. Santos, Carlos Ronquillo, Valeriano Hernandez Peña, Iñigo Ed. Regalado, and Francisco Laksamana.

The first real short stories, which are fictive in nature, appeared in the second decade. Rosauro Almario's "Elias" published in *Mithi* in 1910, and Deogracias Rosario's "Kung Magmahal ang Makata" (When a Poet Loves) published in *Buntot Pague* in 1914 are two of the early *munting kasaysayan* (short story) that manifested an understanding of the meaning of the craft of fiction. In these works, the short story rose as a distinct genre, different from the polemical and political *dagli* and from the short novel. The early short story usually centered on romantic love and idealized characters and often manipulated the plot to achieve "correct" endings.

The popularity of the romantic short story was assured with the publication of a number of magazines in the 1920s. The most important outlet, *Liwayway*, founded in 1922, became the home of Rosario, who eventually gained recognition as the Father of the Tagalog short story and fictionists like Regalado, Pedro Gatmaitan, Amado V. Hernandez, Godofredo Herrera, and Cirio Panganiban. Other magazines which also published short stories were *Sampaguita*, *Republika*, *Bulalakaw*, *Hiwaga*, *Liwayway-Extra*, and *Mabuhay*. An important anthology of the romantic short story was Pedrito Reyes' *50 Kuwentong Ginto ng 50 Batikang Kuwentista* (50 Golden Stories by 50 Master Fictionists), 1939.

Clodualdo del Mundo in his column "Ang Tao sa Parolang Ginto" (The Man in the Golden Lighthouse), begun in 1927, and Alejandro G. Abadilla in "Mga Talaang Bughaw" (Blue Records), begun in 1932, initiated the move to "improve" the Tagalog short story as a literary form. They did this by choosing the best stories published within the year. A group of short story writers also decided to give awards to the best stories. Among the awardees were Amado V. Hernandez, Rosalia Aguinaldo, and Deogracias Rosario.

But the real breakthrough in the development of the Tagalog short story as an art form took place during World War II. In 1943, *Liwayway* conducted a contest to determine the best stories published during the year, and among the winners were Narciso Reyes, N.V.M. Gonzalez, Liwayway Arceo, and Macario Pineda. The best stories were published in the anthology *Ang 25 Pinakamabuting Maikling Kathang Pilipino ng 1943* (The 25 Best Filipino Short Stories of 1943), 1944. The critics' comments and evaluation of the year's best illustrated a definite preference for the story that exhibited the qualities of the modern short story as it had evolved in American literature. Thus, stories that showed a unified and controlled handling of character, plot, setting, symbol, language, and point of view, were later valorized in

the criticism of Agustin C. Fabian and Teodoro A. Agoncillo.

The modernist influence that manifested itself in the short stories published in *Liwayway* during the war survived into the postwar years in the texts written by Macario Pineda, Brigido Batungbakal, Epifanio Gar. Matute, Genoveva Edroza, Liwayway Arceo, Jose Flores Sibal, Serafin Guinigundo, Mabini Rey Centeno, and other fictionists who continued to publish in *Liwayway*, *Bulaklak*, *Aliwan*, *Tagumpay*, and in the short-lived *Malaya*, edited by Teodoro A. Agoncillo, and *Daigdig*, edited by Clodualdo del Mundo. Two important anthologies showcasing the modern short stories were Alejandro G. Abadilla's *Mga Piling Katha, Mga Kuwentong Ginto ng Taong 1947-48* (Selected Works, The Golden Stories of the Years 1947-48), 1948, and Teodoro A. Agoncillo's *Ang Maikling Kuwentong Tagalog 1886-1948* (The Tagalog Short Story 1886-1948), 1949.

The themes of the Tagalog short story from its inception until the 1960s hewed closely to traditional lines. The stories dealt with the conflict between tradition and modernity, with personal themes such as love and fidelity, with the problem of injustice and exploitation, and in some cases, with the reality of alienation in a world increasingly becoming materialistic. The techniques used varied—from the dazzling manipulation of point of view by Pineda, to the frenetic pace of Guinigundo's narratives, to the sensitive, quiet characterization of Arceo and Edroza.

In 1964 a group of young writers published *Mga Agos sa Disyerto* (Streams in the Desert) with a view to “inundating” with life-giving waters the “barren” field of Tagalog fiction. The writers included in the anthology first found recognition in *Mga Bagong Dugo* (New Blood) a column edited by Liwayway Arceo in *Liwayway*. In the stories collected in the anthology, Rogelio Sicat, Edgardo Reyes, Efren R. Abueg, Eduardo Bautista Reyes, Rogelio L. Ordoñez, and other fictionists signaled the appearance of a new breed of writers whose grasp of the craft of fiction had been deepened by their exposure to European and American writers like Fyodor Dostoevsky, Theodore Dreiser, and John Steinbeck. In 1972, *Sigwa* (Storm), an anthology of short stories that manifested the young writers' various degrees of politicization, came out at a time when various questions were being raised on the correct and relevant role of literature in society. Included in this collection were the works of Ricardo Lee, Fanny Garcia, Norma Miraflor, Wilfredo P. Virtusio, Efren R. Abueg, Epifanio San Juan Jr., Domingo Landicho, Jose Rey Munsayac, and Edgardo Maranan. The *Sigwa* stories dealt with violence and injustice, and moved towards their eradication. The trend toward the fusion between modernism and commitment which was defined in the 1970s is still operative among writers like Mario Miclat, Fanny Garcia, Levy Balgos de la Cruz, Lualhati Bautista, Lilia Quindoza Santiago, and Jun Cruz Reyes.

The origins of the novel in Tagalog can be traced to the metrical romances, which idealized characters and preached the triumph of good over evil; the conduct books like Modesto de Castro's *Pagsusulatan ng dalawang binibini na si Urbana at ni Feliza* (Letters Between Two Maidens, Urbana and Feliza), 1864, which presented

“typical” characters but idealized in the service of the morality being endorsed; the didactic prose narratives, like Antonio de Borja’s *Barlaan at Josaphat* (Barlaan and Josaphat), 1712, which depicted the lives of the two saints; Father Miguel Lucio Bustamante’s *Si Tandang Bacio Macunat* (Old Bacio Macunat), 1885, a *tratado* which presented a disparaging view of education and the indio; and the novels in Spanish like Jose Rizal’s *Noli me tangere* (Touch Me Not), 1887, and *El filibusterismo* (The Subversion), 1891, which introduced realistic techniques into the country. These literary forms eventually shaped the four tendencies of the Philippine novel: the didactic, the romantic, the realist, and the radical.

In the didactic novel, authors manipulated their material through stereotype characters. Coincidences, accidents, and natural calamities signified good and evil, and determined the twists and turns of plots. The predominant world view presented is one whose code of morality unfailingly conforms to the established order.

Ang Kasaysayan ng Magkaibigang si Nena at Neneng (The History of the Friends Nena and Neneng), 1903, the first novel published in book form echoes *Urbana at Feliza* in tone and temper. Written by Valeriano Hernandez Peña, often called the “Father of the Tagalog novel,” the novel is about the contrasting marital experiences of two friends. A primer on love, courtship, and marriage, its themes and motifs were later repeated by other novelists.

Other works following the didactic strain are: Hernandez Peña’s *Pahimakas ng Isang Ina* (A Mother’s Farewell), 1914, and *Unang Pag-ibig* (First Love), 1915; Roman G. Reyes’ *Pusong Walang Pag-ibig* (Heart Without Love), 1910, about an evil husband and a saintly wife; Iñigo Ed. Regalado’s *Sampaguitang Walang Bango* (Scentless Jasmine), 1912, a novel reaffirming traditional values; and Fausto Galauran’s *Ang Monghita* (The Nun), 1929, following the stereotype of nuns as brokenhearted women. The didactic mode is evident in these novels with narratives propagating beliefs and characters exemplifying values.

The romantic tradition in the Tagalog novel was largely influenced by the metrical romances and Francisco Baltazar’s *Florante at Laura*. The theme of romantic love, magic, a plot complicated with mistaken identities or coincidences, characters as idealized types, and didacticism are some of the elements and devices found in these romances which influenced the shaping of the conventions for the 20th-century romantic novel in Tagalog.

Serialized in the magazines *Ang Kapatid ng Bayan*, 1898-1899, and *Muling Pagsilang*, 1901-1910, were two romantic-didactic novels: Lope K. Santos’ *Unang Bulaklak* (First Flower), 1900, and Hernandez Peña’s *Rosa at Valero* (Rosa and Valero), 1901, both love stories. During the first decade of the 20th century, novels in the romantic mode became the most popular literary fare. Novelists of the first generation who published their early works in the first decade were Santos, Hernandez Peña, Roman G. Reyes, Patricio Mariano, Juan Diaz Ampil, Faustino Aguilar, Iñigo Ed. Regalado, Francisco Laksamana, and Juan Arsciwals.

In the 1920s and the 1930s, the romantic novels written by second generation writers such as Jose Esperanza Cruz, Antonio Sempio, Teodoro Virrey, and Susana de Guzman dealt with suffering mothers, abandoned children, tragic love stories, and the plight of *provincianos* in the city. Serialized in magazines such as *Lidayway*, 1930-present, and sometimes even made into movies, these novels used conventions such as: a series of interweaving narratives designed to reach a periodic climax at the end of a chapter; black and white characterization; and language that resorts to formulaic and stock phrases.

The romantic tradition continued to flourish for many decades. Fausto Galauran's ***Bulaklak ng Bayan*** (Flower of the Country), 1930, told the story of the prostitute with a golden heart. Lazaro Francisco's ***Ama*** (Father), 1929, and Faustino Aguilar's ***Lihim ng Isang Pulo*** (Secret of an Island), 1926, dealt with class conflicts but resolved problems through passive acceptance of the system. Pure romance survived in Susana de Guzman's ***Pag-ibig na Walang Kasal*** (Love Without Marriage), 1947, and Galauran's ***Ang Hatol ng Langit*** (Heaven's Verdict), 1947.

Several didactic-romantic novels also combined fantasy, legend, and romance. Macario Pineda's ***Ang Ginto sa Makiling*** (The Gold in Makiling), 1947, emphasized the virtues of simplicity and love for others through the retelling of the Mariang Makiling story. Nemesio Caravana's ***Prinsesang Kalapati*** (Princess Dove), 1962, and ***Palasyo sa Ulap*** (Palace in the Clouds), 1967, revolved around princes and princesses, magic spells, and swordfights.

In contrast to the romantic tradition, a scientific rather than an idealistic world view provides the framework of the realist tradition in the Tagalog novel. The individualizing traits of characters are emphasized, the root causes of social problems are traced, the structures of power are identified and analyzed, and the defeat of the individual against overwhelming social forces is often inevitable.

Although romantic conventions are found in Jose Rizal's two novels ***Noli Me Tangere*** and ***El Filibusterismo***, the realist tone remains predominant in them. Written in Spanish and influenced by the realism of Galdos, Balzac, and Zola, Rizal paid careful attention to details, painted satirical portraits of characters, depicted the problems of society through subplots, and traced the country's ills to the greed of the friars and the abuse of the military.

The realistic genre in the Tagalog novel is introduced in Gabriel Beato Francisco's ***Cababalaghan ni P. Bravo*** (The Miracle of Father Bravo), 1900, which incorporates the conventions of the historical chronicle, documentary narrative, biography, and journalistic report while using the motifs of the metrical romance. Similarly, Francisco's trilogy spanning three generations of a family— ***Fulgencia Galbillo***, 1907; ***Capitan Bencio*** (Captain Bencio), 1907; and ***Alfaro***, 1909—documents the details of colonial rule and clerical abuses. The “documentary” and “expository” tendency is repeated in Faustino Aguilar's ***Pinaglahuan*** (Eclipsed), 1907, which

critiques the conditions of Philippine society at the beginning of American rule. Using the poor-boy-rich-girl plot, Aguilar discusses the concept of class struggle and historical forces that determine social change. Through substantiating details, complex character portraits and rich symbolism, the novel tells of the exploitation of workers by capitalists, the feudal family system, the blindness of religious belief, and the subservience of the Filipino ruling class to American civil officials and military personnel.

Similarly, Iñigo Ed. Regalado's *Madaling Araw* (Dawn), 1909, reveals a story not only of several pairs of lovers but of the complex interrelations of issues and people. It is Regalado's anticlerical and anticolonial sympathies that give the novel its narrative power and direction in spite of the seeming looseness of the structure.

Other novels that followed the realist tradition are: the political allegory *Ang Singsing ng Dalagang Marmol* (The Ring of the Marble Maiden), 1912, by Isabelo de los Reyes; and *Lalaking Uliran o Tulisan* (An Exemplary Man or an Outlaw), 1914, and *Isa Pang Bayani* (One More Hero), 1917, both by Juan Arsciwals. *Tulisan* is a direct allusion to Filipino revolutionaries branded as bandits during the American colonial period while the "hero" is a factory worker imprisoned for killing a treacherous union leader.

In the 1930s, among the significant realistic works are: Franco Vera Reyes's *Bagong Kristo* (New Christ), 1932, which denounces government corruption and foreign control and suggests civil disobedience; Servando de los Angeles's *Huling Timawa* (Last Freeman), 1929, which has feudalism as its context; and Antonio Sempio's *Nayong Manggagawa* (Workers' Village), 1939, which tells the story of a ruthless rich man who changes when his workers save his life. In all of these novels, realism is manifested by discussing the problematics and issues of different periods of Philippine history.

The realist tradition in the Tagalog novel grew as modernism influenced the development of many younger writers after World War II. Now more attention was given to fictive elements of language, point of view, narrative, and imagery. Devices perfected by Western authors such as Ernest Hemingway, William Faulkner, and John Steinbeck were employed.

The modern realist temper can be seen in: Macario Pineda's *Langit ng Isang Pag-ibig* (One Love's Paradise), 1947, and *Sa Lupa Tulad sa Langit* (On Earth as in Heaven), 1950, both emphasizing the positive gains of modernization in barrio life; Alejandro G. Abadilla and Elpidio P. Kapulong's *Pagkamulat ni Magdalena* (Magdalena's Awakening), 1958, which highlights the primacy of the individual; Agustin Fabian's *Timawa* (Freeman), 1953, where the hero is an ordinary man stripped of idealistic tendencies; and Liwayway Arceo's two novels *Ayoko sa Iyo* (I Don't Want You), 1962, and *Ikaw ay Akin* (You are Mine), 1962, noted for their unified plot and insightful depiction of the female psyche.

In the next decades, and as social and economic conditions deteriorated, novels showed a stronger tendency towards social realism tempered by the moralistic tradition. Lazaro Francisco's *Maganda Pa ang Daigdig* (The World is Still Beautiful), 1957, and *Daluyong* (Tidal Wave), 1967, dramatized tenancy problems. Fausto Galauran's *Marurupok na Bantayog* (Fragile Monuments), 1965, and the unpublished *Lagablab ng Kabataan* (Fire of Youth), 1970, are critiques of the unjust political system. Andres Cristobal Cruz's *Ang Tundo Man May Langit Din* (Tondo has a Heaven Too), 1959, uses Tondo as a microcosm of the nation. Rogelio Sicat's *Dugo sa Bukang-liwayway* (Blood at Daybreak), 1965, attacks the tenancy system. Mario Cabling's *Paggising ng Kahapon* (When Yesterday Awakens), 1966, presents education as a solution to social problems. The perils of the city are narrated in Edgardo Reyes' *Sa Mga Kuko ng Liwanag* (In the Claws of Neon Lights), 1967. Efren Abueg's *Dilim sa Umaga* (Darkness in the Morning), 1960, depicts activism of the 1960s.

Psychological realism, as well as social realism, also influenced the work of those writing domestic melodrama. The psychological dimension is added to the domestic formulas of Mercedes Jose's *Tatsulok* (Triangle), 1966, and *Ina... Ina...* (Mother... Mother...), 1971, and the didactic framework of Rosario de Guzman Lingat's *Kung Wala na ang Tag-araw* (When Summer is Over), 1969. Both writers also produced protest novels such as Jose's *Madilim ang Langit sa Bayan Ko* (The Sky is Dark Over My Country), 1970, and Lingat's *Ano Ngayon, Ricky?* (What Now, Ricky?), 1971. Liwayway Arceo traced the causes of poverty in *Canal de la Reina*, 1972.

The radical tradition goes beyond the depiction of social forces, as influenced by the works of Rizal. The writers of this mode, many of whom were influenced by Marxist theory, produced works which stipulated social change accomplished through the organized action of the oppressed classes.

Lope K. Santos' *Banaag at Sikat* (Glimmer and Light), 1966, was written with the intent of introducing socialism to Filipino laborers. Its main characters, the journalist Delfin, the capitalist's daughter Meni, the landowner's radical son Felipe, and the laborer's daughter Tentay embody different social classes as well as new ideas and concepts in a society undergoing transition from an agricultural to an industrial economy.

Amado V. Hernandez's *Mga Ibong Mandaragit* (Birds of Prey), 1960, and *Luha ng Buwaya* (Crocodile Tears), 1962, both advocate organized action as a solution to tenancy and labor problems. Rogelio Ordoñez and Dominador Mirasol's *Apoy sa Madaling Araw* (Fire at Dawn), 1964, and Mirasol's *Ginto ang Kayumangging Lupa* (Gold is the Brown Earth), 1975, see revolutionary change as the answer to social oppression.

Political struggles during the martial law years are depicted in Jun Cruz Reyes' *Tutubi, Tutubi, 'Wag Kang Magpahuli sa Mamang Salbahe* (Dragonfly, Dragonfly, Don't Let the Bad Man Catch You), 1987, and Lualhati Bautista's *Dekada '70*, 1976. The feminist perspective found in *Dekada '70* can also be seen in Bautista's *Bata*,

Bata...Pa'no Ka Ginawa? (Child, Child...How Were You Made?), 1983, and *Gapo* (Olongapo), 1988.

The underground political movement produced two novels: Maso de Verdades Posadas' *Hulagpos* (Breaking Free), 1970, and Humberto Carlos' *Sebyo*. Using pseudonyms, the writers of these two novels stressed the inevitability of armed revolution.

The four strands of the novel tradition—the didactic, the romantic, the realist, and the radical—interweave, as the writers continue the traditions that began during the Spanish colonial period while responding to the character of their own times. Moreover, factors such as the rise of the cinema and television, the dominance of the novel in English after World War II, and the political turn of events shaped the novel in Tagalog.

Sanaysay, the Tagalog term for the essay, was coined by Alejandro G. Abadilla in 1938. Genoveva Edroza-Matute classifies the *sanaysay* into two types according to tone: the *palagayan/impormal* or informal essay and the *maanyo/pormal* or formal essay, whereas Abadilla offers 13 types according to subject matter: critical, satirical, political, social, historical, philosophical, didactic, spiritual, biographical, inspirational, reminiscent, literary, and humorous (Abadilla 1950:iii).

Tomas Pinpin's preface to his book *Librong Pagaaralan nang manga Tagalog nang Uicang Castila* (A Book for the Tagalog Who Study the Spanish Language), 1610, is probably the first essay in Tagalog and the first essay written by a Filipino. Two collections of didactic essays are Father Modesto de Castro's *Platicas Doctrinales* (Sermons on Doctrine), 1864, consisting of 25 sermons; and *Urbana at Feliza*, 1864, consisting of essays in the epistolary form.

In the 19th century, expository and exhortatory essays were written by those involved in the reform movement or the Katipunan. Marcelo H. del Pilar's "Kadakilaan ng Diyos" (God's Magnificence) asserted that God can be found in the miracle of nature not in the theology of books. Jose Rizal's letter, "Sa Mga Kababaihang Dalaga ng Malolos" (To the Young Women of Malolos), 1889, urged women to continue their struggle for knowledge and freedom. Andres Bonifacio's three essays—"Ang Dapat Mabatid ng Mga Tagalog" (What the Tagalog Should Know), 1896, "Katungkulang Gagawin ng mga Anak ng Bayan" (Duties to be Done by the Sons and Daughters of the Country), and Katipunang Mararahas ng Mga Anak ng Bayan (The Revolutionary Organization of the Country's Children)—are works meant to rally the people to arms. Emilio Jacinto produced clear, precise, and forceful essays in *Liwanag at Dilim* (Light and Darkness), 1896, a collection of essays explaining to the masses the meaning of the basic concepts of freedom, democracy, leadership, honor, and justice; in *Kartilya ng Katipunan* (Scriptures of the Katipunan), circa 1896, guidelines for revolutionary action; and individual works such as "Pahayag" (Statement) and "Sa Mga Kababayan" (To My Fellow Filipinos).

Journalistic, formal, and informal essays that were either informative or polemical in intent were produced during the first decades of American colonial rule.

Carlos Ronquillo wrote on Philippine folklore in *El Renacimiento*. Sofronio Calderon's "Dating Pilipinas" (Ancient Philippines) is on prehispanic culture. Lope K. Santos expressed his antifeudal and antiobscurantist sentiments in *Hindi Talaga ng Diyos* (Not God's Will). Julian Cruz Balmaseda wrote his long essays on Tagalog poetry *Ang Tatlong Panahon ng Tulang Tagalog* (The Three Periods of Tagalog Poetry), 1938, and on Tagalog drama *Ang Dulang Pilipino* (The Filipino Drama), 1947, while Iñigo Ed. Regalado did his essay on the Tagalog novel, *Ang Pagkaunlad ng Nobelang Tagalog* (The Development of the Tagalog Novel), 1948.

During the 1940s and the 1950s, the critical essay, specifically literary criticism developed in the hands of writers like Clodualdo del Mundo, Alejandro G. Abadilla, Ildelfonso Santos, Juan C. Laya, Teodoro A. Agoncillo, and Rufino Alejandro Liwayway Arceo, Brigido Batungbakal, Genoveva Edroza-Matute, Macario Pineda, Amado V. Hernandez, Salvador R. Barros, and Pablo R. Glorioso wrote formal and informal essays.

Collections of essays published after World War II consisted of works using a variety of forms and themes. A landmark anthology is *Mga Piling Sanaysay* (Selected Essays), 1950, a collection of representative essays written between 1945 and 1950, and edited by Alejandro G. Abadilla. *May Awit ang Bakal* (The Steel has a Song), 1976, edited by Jess Calixto, contains writings of the working class. Manifestoes, personal essays, journal entries and reflections by political detainees comprise *Pintig 1* (Heartbeat 1), 1979, and *Pintig 2* (Heartbeat 2), 1985, both anthologies of prose and poetry from Philippine prisons. Several essayists also came out with individual anthologies. Two collections containing informal essays published in newspaper and magazine columnists are Gemiliano Pineda's *Mga Sanaysay* (Essays), 1956, and B.S. Medina Jr.'s *Pintig* (Beat), 1969. In *Rebanse: Sanaysay at Kuwento* (Return Bout: Essays and Stories), 1991, Lamberto Antonio recounts episodes in his life.

Formal and informal essays are contained in Edroza-Matute's *Ako'y Isang Tinig* (I Am a Voice), 1952; *15 Piling Sanaysay: Kasaysayan, Pag-aaral at Pagsulat ng Sanaysay* (15 Selected Essays: A History, Study, and the Writing of the Essay), 1984; and *Maiikling Kuwento at Sanaysay* (Short Stories and Essays), 1988.

Critical essays by Lope K. Santos, Encarnacion Alzona, Fausto Galauran, Teodoro A. Agoncillo, Alejandro G. Abadilla, Ildelfonso Santos, and Clodualdo del Mundo, and later, Virgilio S. Almario, Epifanio San Juan Jr., Pedro Ricarte, Patricia Melendrez Cruz, Nicanor G. Tiongson, Jose Ma. Francisco, Isagani Cruz, Ruth Elynia S. Mabanglo, Helen E. Lopez, and Delfin Tolentino Jr. are anthologized in Soledad Reyes's *Kritisismo* (Criticism), 1992. Other anthologies of criticism are Aurora Batnag's *Panunuring Pampanitikan: Mga Nagwagi sa Gawad Surian sa Sanaysay* (Literary Criticism: Winners of the Gawad Surian for the Essay), 1984; and Patricia Melendrez Cruz and Apolonio Chua's *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: An Anthology of Studies on Jose Rizal), 1991.

Among the anthologies of critical essays by individual authors are Clodualdo del Mundo's *Mula Sa Parolang Ginto* (From the Golden Lighthouse), 1969; Virgilio S. Almario's *Ang Makata Sa Panahon ng Makina* (The Poet in the Machine Age), 1972, and *Kung Sino ang Kumatha kina Bagongbanta, Ossorio, Herrera, Aquino de Belen, Balagtas, atbp.* (On Who Authored Bagongbanta, Ossorio, Herrera, Aquino de Belen, Balagtas, et al), 1992; Epifanio San Juan Jr.'s *Mga Sanaysay sa Panunuring Pampanitikan* (Essays in Literary Criticism), 1975; Bienvenido Lumbe's *Abot Tanaw: Sulyap at Suri sa Nagbabagong Kultura at Lipunan* (Horizons: A Glimpse and Analysis of a Changing Culture and Society), 1987; and Rogelio Sikat's *Pagsalunga* (Against the Current), 1992.

Ligaya Tiamson Rubin's *Sining at Kultura sa Bayan ng Angono* (Art and Culture in the Town of Angono), 1992, discusses the customs and practices of her native Angono, Rizal. The autobiographical *Sa Tungki ng Ilong ng Kaaway: Talambuhay ni Tatang* (At the Tip of the Enemy's Nose: The Autobiography of Tatang), 1988, is an example of testimonial literature. Tony Perez's *Cubao 1980 at iba pang mga katha* (Cubao 1980 and other works), 1992, includes three poignant letters shattering stereotype notions of homosexuality and affirming gender liberation.

Other writers of the essay in the contemporary period include Soledad Reyes, Tomas F. Agulto, Lilia Quindoza-Santiago, Jun Cruz Reyes, Ricardo Lee, Fanny Garcia, Domingo Landicho, Virgilio Vitug, Rosario Torres-Yu, Joi Barrios, and Glecy Atienza.
Performing Arts/Film and Broadcast

Two kinds of native instruments were identified by Colin in 1663. The basinlike instruments of metal, probably gongs, which sounded like "bells", and the *coryapi* or *kudyapi*, a type of guitar which had two or more copper strings. By playing the *kudyapi*, the natives could carry on a conversation and make themselves understood (Colin 1903:68).

A few instruments dating back to either the precolonial or early colonial period have been preserved by the Tagalog: the *tugtugan*, a goblet-shaped drum from Batangas; the *kalutang*, percussion sticks used in Marinduque; the *kalaste*, bamboo clappers; the *kalatong*, bamboo-tube drum; the *barimbaw*, bamboo jew's harp; and the *gimbal*, the native drum.

Traditional instruments borrowed from the Western tradition introduced by Spain are: the organ, the *arpa* or diatonic harp, the *guitara* or guitar, and the string, woodwind, brass, and percussion instruments of the 19th-century orchestra. Groups that evolved from Western type ensembles introduced in the previous century are the *musikong bumbong*, the native "brass" band, which uses bamboo instead of brass instruments; the *rondalla*, which consists of plucked string instruments, such as the

bandurria, *bandolina*, *laud*, and guitar; the *banda*, which is the Western-type brass band, both marching and symphonic; and the *orquesta*, the Western-type orchestra.

During the American colonial period, the *banda* proliferated in many Tagalog provinces, partly because of the success of the Philippine Army Band under Colonel Walter Loving. Important town bands have been formed in Peñaranda, Nueva Ecija; Malolos, Bulacan; Malabon, Taytay, and Angono, Rizal; and Pakil, Laguna.

The first symphony orchestra was the Manila Symphony Orchestra (MSO), founded in 1932. For a long time, the MSO was the only orchestra, until it ceased to play in the mid-1980s. Today the most active professional orchestras are the Philippine Philharmonic Orchestra of the Cultural Center of the Philippines and the Manila Chamber Orchestra.

As new instruments were developed in the United States, they came to the Philippines and were adopted by Tagalog composers. The electric guitar and the synthesizer are two of the American “inventions” of the 1950s and 1970s that have become part and parcel of the Filipino musician’s instruments.

A recent development in contemporary Philippine music is the “rediscovery” of ethnic instruments, motifs, and rhythms. Groups such as Penpen, Grupong Pendong, and Joey Ayala at ang Bagong Lumad incorporate indigenous wooden, bamboo, brass, and stringed instruments from the different indigenous cultural communities into their repertoire to create music that is Filipino in content and sound.

Folksongs, ballads, and sung poems called *awit* in general, are an integral part of the oral tradition of the Tagalog. In theme and content, they may either be secular, with references to nature, people, objects, places, personal emotions and relationships, private moods, and the like; or religious, with focus on God, biblical characters, doctrinal teachings, and devotional feelings. Songs are either narrative, in which case they are ballads which tell a story, or non-narrative and situational.

Among the ancient Tagalog, several types of songs were found, among them: (1) the *balayang*, a ballad sung during a wedding feast; (2) the *kumintang*, a type of music and song, originally used as a battle or victory song of the warriors of Kumintang, later a matrimonial ballad sung by men during the wedding, and a courting song and dance accompanied by a guitar; (3) the *kundiman*, a love song said to have been derived from *kung hindi man* (if it is not to be); (4) the *dalit*, a kind of hymn; (5) the *diyuna*, a household song sung while doing chores around the house, and later developed into a wedding song; (6) the *indulanin*, also called *indolanin* or *dulanin*, a street song sung by common folk when entering or leaving a settlement, or a love song or wedding song sung on the streets while taking a walk; (7) the *suliranin*, a sad song sung by pilgrims during the hot season; (8) the *talindaw*, a dramatic song sung during certain local activities, similar to the *diyuna*; and (9) the *uyayi*, a lullaby or cradle song also called *alo*, *aloy*, and *indayanin* (Panganiban 1972).

In some cases, only the names of these songs have come down to us; the actual texts no longer exist. In other cases, the forms have come down to us, transformed by several centuries, such as the *uyayi*; the *kundiman*, which lives on in love songs old and new; the *kumintang*, which survives not as song but as a plucked style of guitar playing associated with *awit* performances (Subli 1989:106); the *awit*, which is used for chanting metrical romances; and the *dalit*, which is still sung in some Tagalog communities during wakes or during *novenas*. Some of these song types, expressive as they are of a native tradition or sensitivity, have been used from time to time to evoke deeply felt patriotic sentiments in times of national crises.

Other songs and ballads which have become an integral part of the life of a Tagalog, whether child or adult, are “Magtanim Ay Di Biro” (Planting Rice is Never Fun), “Paruparong Bukid” (Country Butterfly), “Bahay Kubo” (Nipa Hut), and “Doon Po Sa Amin” (In Our Town).

The coming of Christianity created two kinds of vocal repertoire: one directly used in the liturgy, and one created outside the church but in relation to the liturgical calendar.

Religious music for the Catholic liturgy was composed and performed by musicians who were trained in the *colegios de tiples*, such as that established by the Franciscans in Lumbang, Laguna, and those in San Agustin and the Manila Cathedral in Intramuros. These musicians, like Marcelo Adonay of Pakil, Laguna, created masses and hymns, which hewed closely to traditional church music.

The more popular religious music created during the colonial period, however, related to the various rituals and activities of the new Christian faith. The *flores de Mayo* and its songs for the offering of the flowers to the Virgin, the *santacruzán* and its “*Dios te Salve, Maria,*” the panunuluyan and its sung dialogues, the pastores and its *villancicos* (carols), the osana and its “*Hossana,*” the salubong and its “*Regina Coeli*” (Queen of Heaven), the pasyon, sinakulo, *awit*, and korido and their respective chants, the *nobena* and its *dalit* or *awit* and the song for dead children called *angelitos* are all based on the teachings and traditions of the Roman Catholic church, but reflect a native ethos and style that make them authentic expressions of native religiosity and sensibility.

Aside from religious music, secular music also flourished during the Spanish colonial period. European forms were introduced like the *marchas* and *paso dobles*, as well as dance music like the *valse*, *habanera/danza*, *jota*, *fandango*, *polka*, *mazurka*, *chotis*, and *rigodon*. Filipino composers of the 19th and early 20th centuries used these forms for their own original compositions, as seen in Jose Estrella’s “*Marcha Germinales*”; Dolores Paterno’s *danza* “La Flor de Manila” (The Flower of Manila) and the “*Jota Gumaqueña*”; Antonino Buenaventura’s “Pandangguhan”; and the folk “*Polkabal*” and “*Mazurka Mindoreña*.”

During the revolution against Spain, music played an important role. Katipunan Supremo Andres Bonifacio requested Julio Nakpil to write the lyrics and music for

a national anthem, “Marangal na Dalit ng Katagalugan” (Noble Hymn of the Tagalog Region), but it was Julian Felipe’s “Marcha Magdalo” (Magdalo March), commissioned by Emilio Aguinaldo, that became the National Anthem. The kundiman, an old song expressing lofty sentiments about love, suffering, or heroism, and cast in a melancholy mood fired the revolutionaries’ love for the beloved, Inang Bayan, as seen in “Jocelynang Baliwag” (Jocelyn of Baliwag), circa 1896.

The native folk song forms inspired several generations of composers who aspired to create “Filipino” music. In the 1920s and 1930s, composers Nicanor S. Abelardo, Francisco Santiago, Bonifacio Abdon, and Constancio de Guzman stylized the folk kundiman, writing it in two or more parts. Cast in the minor and major modes, the kundiman as art song is exemplified by Santiago’s “Anak Dalita” (Child of Woe), 1917; Abelardo’s “Nasaan Ka, Irog?” (Where are You, My Love?), 1924, and “Mutya ng Pasig” (Muse of the Pasig), 1926; Abdon’s “Kundiman,” 1920; and Constancio de Guzman’s “Bayan Ko” (My Country), 1928. In 1962 Felipe Padilla de Leon also used the kundiman for “Kay Tamis Mabuhay” (How Sweet it is to Live), the patriotic song of Maria Clara in his opera ***Noli me tangere***.

The danza or habanera was used in compositions like Antonio Molina’s “Hatinggabi” (Midnight), 1913; Nicanor S. Abelardo’s “Bituing Marikit” (Beautiful Star), 1926; and Constancio de Guzman’s “Babalik Ka Rin” (You will Come Back), circa 1950; while the *balitaw* was employed by Francisco Buencamino’s “Larawan” (Portrait), 1943; and Santiago Suarez’s “Bakya Mo Neneng” (Your Wooden Clogs, Neneng), circa 1946.

As nationalist composers created music consciously derived from older musical traditions, the American colonial regime brought in the music of American variety shows. These were popularized in the *bodabil*, a popular musical variety show, as well as on film, radio, and television. Some of these forms were used by Tagalog composers for their own compositions, which merged the new musical beat, Tagalog lyrics, and homegrown humor. Examples are “Balut” (Duck’s Egg), an original Filipino jazz song performed by bodabil singer Katy de la Cruz; “Hahabul-habol” (In Pursuit), a rock ‘n’ roll song popularized by Bobby Gonzales; and “Pitong Gatang” (Seven Gantas), a yodeling number done by Fred Panopio.

The post-World War II years inherited the nationalist temper of the first decades of the century. Influenced by Western musical idiom and classical techniques, many Filipino composers managed to weave traditional folk themes, and even folk melodies, into their works. Concertos, symphonies, overtures, symphonic poems, suites, operas, art songs, choral pieces, chamber music, ballet scores, and incidental music were composed. Some of the important works of this period are Antonino Buenaventura’s ***By the Hillside***, 1941, and ***Mindanao Sketches***, 1947; Lucio D. San Pedro’s symphonic poem ***Lahing Kayumanggi*** (Brown Race), 1962, and ***Suite Pastorale***, 1956; Felipe Padilla de Leon’s two operas— ***Noli Me Tangere***, 1957, and ***El Filibusterismo***, 1970. Compositions which have adapted techniques of avant-garde music are Lucrecia R. Kasilag’s ***Toccata for Percussions and Winds***, 1960; Jose Maceda’s ***Udlot-Udlot*** (Fluctuation), 1975;

and Ramon P. Santos ' *Ading*, 1978.

Contemporary vocal music is dominated by popular or pop music, whose musical idiom runs along the whole range of rock, jazz, disco, ballad, reggae, folk, and country Western. This music—which is heard on radio, television, and film—uses Filipino, English, and Taglish (a hybrid of the two). Starting in 1973, original pop music, later called OPM or original Pilipino music, was created by lyricists and composers in various forms: Pinoy rock, which merges the rock instruments and style with Filipino lyrics, exemplified by “ Ang Himig Natin ” (Our Music), 1973, by the Juan de la Cruz Band, “ Laki sa Layaw Jeproks ” (Spoiled Brat), 1977, by Mike Hanopol, and “ Bonggahan ” (Razzle-Dazzle), 1977, by Sampaguita; Pinoy folk, which sings about local life to the accompaniment of a guitar, as seen in “ Handog ” (Offering), 1978, by Florante; “ Anak ” (Child), 1977, by Freddie Aguilar; and “Masdan Mo ang Kapaligiran” (Look at the Environment), 1978, by Asin; the Pinoy ballad, which speaks of romantic love in light melodies, as typified by “ Ngayon at Kailanman ” (Now and Forever), 1977, by George Canseco, “ Gaano Ko Ikaw Kamahal? ” (How Much Do I Love You?), 1979, by Ernani Cuenco, and “ Sana’y Wala Nang Wakas ” (Wishing It Would Never End), 1985, by Willy Cruz; Pinoy disco, which is meant principally for dancing, as seen in “Annie Batungbakal,” 1979, of the Hotdogs, “Awitin Mo at Isasayaw Ko” (Sing and I’ll Dance), 1978, of the VST & Co., and “Katawan” (Body), 1979, of the Hagibis; “Manila Sound”, which uses colloquial Filipino and Taglish, such as “ Pumapatak ang Ulan ” (Rain is Falling), 1976, by the Apo Hiking Society, and “Manila,” 1975, by the Hotdogs; and recently, the Pinoy folk-ethnic, which uses ethnic instruments and forms, such as “ Agila ” (Eagle), 1982, by Joey Ayala at ang Bagong Lumad; and Pinoy rap, as exemplified by “ Mga Kababayan Ko ” (My Fellow Filipinos), 1990, by Francis Magalona.

With the rise of the protest movement against the Marcos regime from the 1970s to the mid-1980s, protest songs proliferated. Performed in rallies and symposia, these songs adopted all forms—folk, rock, march, among others—to convey social commentary. Songs with a nationalist vein include “ Tayo’y mga Pinoy ” (We are Filipinos), 1978, by Heber Bartolome; “ Babae ” (Woman), 1979, by Inang Laya; “Manggagawa” (Worker), 1986, and “Pagbabago” (Change), 1988, by Patatag; and “Lina,” 1977, by Jess Santiago. Constancio de Guzman’s 1928 kundiman, “Ang Bayan Ko” (My Country), became the national anthem of the protest movement.

Tagalog ethnic dances identified by Spanish chronicles are the *tagayan*, the *kumintang*, and the war dance. The *tagayan* was a debate or contest in poetry or dance, probably done during drinking sessions as the name implies. The *kumintang*, also a type of song, was originally a Batangas dance which inflamed the spirit of combatants going off to war. In the 19th century, it featured musicians playing instruments and singing lyrics, which are then mimed by a man and a woman. In the dance, the man tries to win the woman’s heart, running around her while making movements of courtship which were sometimes explicit. In the end, because the girl continues to ignore him, he pretends to fall sick on a chair. The girl is finally touched, she turns to help him, and they dance together again (Mallat 1903:276). Only the hand-and-wrist movement of the

kumintang survives today. Finally, the war dance was performed by a male, who held either a towel or a spear and a shield, made movements with his hands and feet, now slow, now fast, attacking and retiring, inciting and pacifying, making expressions of body and face that were warlike and passionate (Colin 1903:67-68).

Spanish colonization led to new developments in Philippine dance. The friars and other Spaniards, who figured prominently in the celebration of fiestas, were active in the promotion and teaching of the new dances, from Europe, Cuba, and Mexico, such as the jota, fandango, habanera, malagueña, *curracha*, zapateado, *jarabes*, and rigodon.

By the time the Spanish era ended, the Tagalog had evolved their own versions of European dances, adapted to native traditions and occasions. These lowland Christian dances, also called “folk dances,” were recorded from the 1930s to the 1960s by Francisca Reyes-Aquino (Reyes-Aquino 1960), and may be roughly divided into religious dances or dances performed as a prayer during religious feasts or for Christian saints; and secular dances, which may focus on courtship, harvesting and pounding rice, the social and festival dances of the upper and lower classes, and the mimetic dances.

Two dances which seem to relate to an ancient system of beliefs now lost are the *saraw* and the *sanghiyang*. The *saraw* or “sa araw” (“to or for the sun”) of Batangas, today danced by any number of couples, seems to derive from an ancient custom of sun worship among the Batangueños. On the other hand, the *sanghiyang* of Alfonso, Cavite has participants going into a trance as they speak to spirits of the dead, while other people walk barefoot on live coals.

Other religious dances are performed on the important feasts of the Catholic liturgical calendar. The *bate* (“to beat”) is a dance of the flags dramatizing the meeting of the Risen Christ and the Virgin on Easter Sunday, and celebrating the Resurrection. It is performed by a male and a female in Marinduque, by young girls in Parañaque, Rizal, and by the *tenienta* and then the *capitana* in Angono, Rizal. The *subli* of Bauan, Batangas, is performed in May as *laro* (game) and *panata* (devotion) to the Santa Cruz of Bauan. It is song, poetry, music, and dance, performed by women doing refined movements called the *talik* and men doing energetic and naughty movements called *patumbok*. The *bulaklakan* is a garland dance usually performed in May, also in honor of the Santa Cruz. Young women dance their way to the church, holding arches of wire or rattan covered with flowers. Also in May, the *sayaw sa Obando* are *balitaw* and *balse* performed by couples who are praying for a child or a partner from Santa Clara, San Pascual, or the Nuestra Señora de Salambao.

In Malolos, Bulacan, dances in *balitaw tempo* may also be performed by women and men holding leaves as they *dapit* (fetch) the image of the patron saint on a carro from the *camarera*'s house, in procession to the church or to the pagoda (fluvial float). Similarly, *balitaw* or *balse* may be played to accompany devotees dancing for the image of the Resurrected Christ on Easter Sunday or on Ascension Day. A mimetic dance is the *maglalatik* or *magbabao* of Biñan, Laguna, performed by two groups of men, the first in red pants, the second in blue, on whose chests, backs, waists, and

knees coconut shell-halves have been attached with strings. The dancers click the shells they hold against those on their bodies and each other's bodies to reenact a battle.

Of the secular dances, the most numerous are those depicting courtship. *Sayaw sa pag-ibig* (Dance of love) of Bulacan is performed while young men and women relax during the planting season. Through the dance, a young man makes his feelings known to the girl of his choice, who in turn expresses her reaction to such a plea in the way she ends the dance. The *katsutsa* of San Pablo, Laguna dramatizes the rivalry between two young men for the same girl, who attends to both so that no one would be jealous of the other. The balitaw of the Tagalog is similar to that of the Visayans, except that in the Tagalog version, the dancers do not sing, but rather mime a courtship which may end with the girl giving the boy a flower, to signify her acceptance of his love. The *punyal ni Rosa* (Rosa's dagger) from Paete, Laguna, is an unusual courtship dance, named after a young woman who was supposed to have killed herself rather than lose her honor to a desperate man. The *huricuti* of Quezon province features a man dancing around by himself as he looks for the woman he wishes to dance with. Once he has chosen her, he stops in front of the woman and puts his hat on her head. The girl has to dance as required by etiquette. The *lulay*, the nickname of Eulogia, is a dance from San Pablo, Laguna where a girl and a boy sing verses to each other alternately as they enact movements of courtship.

When the engagement is made between a young man and a woman, a dance from Malolos, Bulacan, called *disposoryo*, celebrates the engagement rites or *balaihan*. Here, relatives of the groom dance on the eve of the wedding, as they bring the food for the wedding feast and the picture of the Holy Family to the house of the bride. Other courtship dances are the *magkasuyo* (sweethearts) of Quezon, and the *magkatipan* (betrothed), both performed at social gatherings.

As in ancient times, the harvesting of rice occasions a celebration among the Tagalog. The *kasaganaan* (prosperity) is a dance performed by workers and farmhands who helped in the harvesting of a rice field. After feasting on roasted pig and imbibing *tuba* and *lambanog* (fermented coconut water) or *basi*, couples may dance a lively jota, *pandanggo*, or *kuratsa* to honor the host, who may shower coins on the dancers and the children. In the *hermana mayor* of Nueva Ecija, the dancers—playing the roles of fishers, artisans, and farmers—carry the image of the Virgin Mary in procession to the *hermana mayor*'s house, and offer the *hermana* gifts because she will be the main sponsor of the next town fiesta. The *libad* of San Mateo, Rizal is another dance performed by farmers after the harvest, while the *katlo* (the third) of Bulacan is performed during the harvest season to the rhythm of the pestles striking the mortars.

Some social dances are performed specifically to welcome or honor guests. The *panchita*, named after a girl who was considered the best dancer in San Narciso, Quezon was performed to honor high officials of the government and clergy during the Spanish period. The *alay* (offering) is a song or dance offered to the guest as a gesture of welcome. The *papuri* (praise) of Quezon province is danced by young

men and women to honor an important guest. The *putong* or *putongan* (coronation) of Marinduque is a celebration held on the occasion of one's birthday. The honoree is made to sit between two girls dressed as angels and holding candles, as the performers sing and dance in front of him/her. The climax of the *asalto* is when the honoree is crowned with flowers.

Social dances which are performed for all special occasions, like Christmas, birthdays, visits, and town fiestas, may be divided into those of the elite and those of the poorer classes. Social dances of the rich were usually performed in the big sala of the bahay na bato to the accompaniment of a small orchestra. Mostly European in derivation, these include: the jota Gumaqueña, of Gumaca, Quezon which was supposed to have been introduced by the musician Hermenegildo Omana; the *a la jota* of San Pablo, Laguna, which is fast and lively; the *jotabal* of Gumaca, Quezon, which combines the jota with the valse; the *polka sa nayon* of Batangas, which is usually performed during town fiestas and big affairs; the polka of Quezon province, which is one of many versions of the polka in the country; the *mazurka Mindoreña*, which was popularized among the elite by Antonio Luna of Mindoro; the *estudiantina* of Unisan, Quezon performed at balls by young men and women who have come home from the private schools they attended in Manila; the *putritos* of Atimonan, Quezon; the *malagueña* of San Pablo, Laguna, a lively dance brought to the Philippines from Malaga, Spain; and the rigodon, a formal square dance.

Among the ordinary folk, social dances tend to be livelier, energetic, and humorous. The *pateado* of Balimbing, Marinduque combines lively pandanggo movements with acrobatics. The male dancer may walk on his hands with his feet dragging on the floor, or bend backward to pick up a hat with his head. The *culebra* (snake) of Meycauayan, Bulacan has dancers in a row winding in and out in the *cadena* (chain) figure; and the *sayaw sa palaton* (dance on plates) of Biñan, Laguna, where a couple sing as they dance on nine porcelain plates laid out on the floor. Other social dances are the *lerion* of Parang, Marikina, Rizal, which is danced to the popular song “Leron, Leron, Sinta” (Leron, Leron, Beloved); the *himig sa nayon* (country melody); the *lanceros* of Pagsanjan, Laguna, which is a square dance probably brought over by the Americans; the balse of Marikina, Rizal which was performed in the yard of the *hermana* who sponsored a *lutrina*, a procession to ask for deliverance from pestilence and drought; and the *kunday kunday*.

Dances that imitate animals or insects are: the *alitaptap* (firefly) of Batangas; the *sinlampati* where dancers move like pigeons; the *itik-itik*, which represents lively young ducks; and the *makonggo* of Santa Maria, Bulacan, where a single male mimes the movements and expressions of a monkey. The *kaninong anak ito?* (whose child is this?) is sung and danced by children, who pretend to hold a baby whom they picked up from the grass playing with an owl.

The American colonial period introduced many types of dances into Tagalog culture. The first and most popular were the social dances propagated through bodabil, and later through radio, film, and television. These include the tap dance, clog, fox-trot,

cakewalk, charleston, big apple, slow drag, boogie woogie, rock 'n' roll, swing, twist, soul, and boogaloo, and the Latin beats like the mambo, cha-cha, pachanga, tango, rhumba, and appalachicola. Dancers who popularized these dances in different media include Bayani Casimiro, Nestor de Villa and Nida Blanca, and Pancho Magalona and Tita Duran. Today, American popular music, as seen in the "Top 40," continues to dominate the music shops, stage, and air waves in the Philippines.

Classical ballet was first performed in Manila in 1915, but was not taught until Luva Adameit came to settle in Manila in the 1930s and mentored the first batch of students who later became major dancers and teachers-choreographers: Leonor Orosa-Goquingco and Rosalia Merino-Santos. Significant were the original works in this idiom, such as *Noli Dance Suite*, 1955, by Leonor Orosa-Goquingco and *Of Cocks and Kings*, 1958, by Rosalia Merino-Santos.

With Alice Reyes and her company, modern dance blossomed, producing works like *Amada*, 1970, and *Itim Asu* (Black She-wolf), 1979, by Alice Reyes; *Balimbing* (Star Fruit/Many Faces), 1987, and *Siete Dolores* (Seven Sorrows), 1988, by Denisa Reyes; *Ensalada* (Salad), 1981, and *Mutya ng Pasig* (Muse of the Pasig), 1983, by Edna Vida; *Sisa*, 1978, by Cora Iñigo; and *Ang Sultan* (The Sultan), 1973, by Gener Caringal.

The Tagalog theater had its beginnings in the rituals — mimetic dances and mimetic customs of the ethnic Tagalog—some of which survived in various transformations through the colonial periods to the present. In the rituals, a catalonan (priestess) takes the role of the anito, and while entranced partakes of the sacrificial offering—a chicken or a pig—which represents the life of the supplicant. This ritual called pag-aanito is held: to bless the important passages in the life cycle, such as the birth or baptism of a child, the circumcision or initial menstruation of adolescents, wedding, sickness and death; and to invite good luck for tribal activities, such as hunting, fishing, rice planting and harvesting, and going to war.

To heal those who are gravely ill, the Tagalog of the 17th century first transferred the sick into a newly built house and laid the person out on a mat and beside him/her, the sacrificial pig/turtle/servant. The catalonan then danced to the sound of gongs, went into a trance, and while entranced slew the animal. The catalonan then gathered the pig's blood in a bowl and with it anointed the cheeks and forehead of the sick person and of all those present. The animal was cleaned and taken back to the catalonan, who then opened it up to divine from the entrails whether the person would live or die. The ritual ended with the pig being cooked and eaten, as everyone drank (Colin 1903:75-76).

The mimetic dances imitated animals as seen in makonggo and sinalampati or showed tribal activities like courtship and wedding, fishing, rice planting, and going to war. Examples are the war dance and the kumintang already described.

Mimetic customs were and are usually associated with courtship, weddings, and wakes.

A custom which uses a courtship motif is the duplo, a game played since the 19th century during the wake for the dead. Presided over by a *hari* (king) who acts as arbiter and “executioner,” the debate which uses the verse called *plosa* (dodecasyllabic quatrains) involves male participants called *belyako* and female participants called *belyaka*, sitting separately in a row on the right and left of the king, respectively. In a free-wheeling and light-hearted tone, the belyako express their admiration for the belyaka who either politely decline the attention or are defended by other belyako. Excitement is generated by the wit and felicity of expression of the participants who may launch their offensives or parry blows with quotations from the pasyon, awit, riddles, proverbs and aphorisms, and allusions to issues, events, and personalities of the past or the present.

In 1924, the duplo was transformed into the balagtas, a formal debate analyzing the pros and cons of two symbols or ideas: gold or iron, capital or labor, the woman of yesterday or the woman of today. Two poets took opposite sides, taking turns in presenting their prepared arguments in verse, and then going into an extemporaneous exchange during the rebuttal. A *lakandiwa* acted as moderator. Most important poets were Jose Corazon de Jesus, who was crowned King of the Balagtas, Florentino Collantes, Amado V. Hernandez, Emilio Mar. Antonio, Epifania Alvarez, and Crescenciano C. Marquez. There were also balagtas serialized in magazines, and later, performed on radio and television.

Other traditional games which are mimetic are the *bulaklakan*, the *juego de prenda*, the *kulasisi ng hari*, most of which, like the duplo, are performed during wakes. Mimetic too are the metaphorical exchanges between the spokespersons of the girl and the boy who are tasked with defining the dowry during the *pamanhikan*.

More than three centuries of Spanish rule introduced dramatic forms, which attracted the natives to the pueblos of the Spanish colonial government, propagated the religion and culture of Spain, and disseminated values which ensured the perpetuation of Spanish rule in the islands. Most important of these forms is the komedya, later also known as *moro-moro*. This play in dodecasyllabic or octosyllabic quatrains could depict religious topics, like the *Haybing* of Taal, Batangas, which talks of the miracle wrought by the Virgin of Caysasay on a Chinaman; the *San Sebastian* of Lipa, Batangas which narrated the life of the town’s patron saint; and the *arakyo* of Peñaranda, Nueva Ecija and the *elena/tibag* of Malolos, Bulacan, which depict the search for the cross by Santa Elena and Constantino. Most komedya, however, would dramatize secular subject matter, like the love between princes and princesses of one Muslim kingdom, like *Orosman at Zafira*, circa 1850, by Francisco Balagtas of Bulacan and Bataan; or the conflict between the Moors of Turquia, Persia or Arabia and the Christians of España, Portugal, Francia, Alemania, Italia, and other kingdoms of the Middle Ages, such as *Gonzalo de Cordoba y Zulema de Granada*, circa 1888, of Dongalo, Parañaque. Most of the secular komedya were derived from the awit and korido which were propagated by word of mouth or written down and sold in *librito* form, together with prayer books, outside the Church after Sunday mass.

Sponsored by *hermanos* and *hermanas* during the town fiesta, the komedya was performed for three days and nights in the town plaza, on a stage with sets depicting the interior or exterior of European/Middle Eastern palaces. Costumes were red for the Moors, and black, blue or green for Christians. A band accompanied the elaborate *marchas* and *paso dobles* for exits and entrances, and the *torneo* (tournament) and choreographed *batalla* (battle) between individuals or armies. *Magia* (magic) or *artipisyo* (artifice) were used to depict miracles or enchanted occurrences.

The komedya have been written and performed by local groups or by itinerant commercial groups, like those of Tondo, in major towns of Bulacan, Nueva Ecija, Bataan, Rizal, Laguna, Batangas, and Quezon, in the 19th century and in the decades before World War II. Today the komedya is still performed in Lucban and Pililla, Quezon; Cavinti, Paete, Lumban, and Pakil, Laguna; Las Piñas and Parañaque, Rizal; and Peñaranda, Nueva Ecija. In most of these towns, the komedya continues to affirm pro-European, anti-Muslim, and authoritarian values.

Related to the komedya are the dances called *moros y cristianos*, which depict embassies sent between Christian and Muslim Kingdoms, the battle between the kingdoms, and the defeat and baptism of all Moors. Now gone, these dance dramas used to be performed on the streets of Manila during holidays in the 19th century. A survival of this tradition are the *bakahan* of San Antonio, Laguna, which enacts the battle between Michael the Archangel and the *hudyos* (Jew) on Good Friday; the *mardicas* of Ternate, Cavite; and the *maglalatik* of Biñan, Laguna, which shows the Moors and Christians fighting for the *latik*.

The second major drama with Spanish influence is the *sinakulo*, also known as the *pasion y muerte* or *centurion*. The *sinakulo* began as a dramatization of the 1814 *Pasyong Genesis*, the most popular *pasyon* to this day. Later, scenes and dialogue were added from other Tagalog *pasyon*, from the novel *Martir sa Golgota* (Martyr of Golgota), from religious *awit* and *korido*, from other *sinakulo*, and from popular magazines like *Liwayway*.

The *sinakulo* is usually staged in an open public space for eight nights, from Palm Sunday to Easter Sunday; a portion of it—usually from the agony in the garden to the crucifixion—may also be performed during the day on Good Friday. Supported by the community, most *sinakulo* groups are composed of actors from the *barrio* who join in fulfillment of personal vows or as penance. These simple folk learn to act the roles of the *banal* (holy) or *hudyos* (Jews, bad). The *banal* have a slow chant, march to *punebre* beat, and act meek and humble, while the *hudyos* declaim verses or adopt a fast chant, march to lively *paso doble*, and are boisterous, violent, and ill-mannered. Settings of scenes are established by *telones* (backdrops) which may show an outside scenery, mountains, the interior or exterior of houses and palaces.

Today, groups like the Samahang Nazareno of Cainta, Rizal have begun to use prose dialogue and more “historical” costumes. Even with these innovations, however, the traditional *sinakulo* continues to underscore values of passivity and blind obedience.

The *sinakulo* continues to be performed in towns of Bulacan, Rizal, and Laguna.

Prevalent among the Tagalog towns are the playlets which embellish the rituals of the Catholic liturgy, or dramatize more fully the events narrated by the liturgy, especially those connected with Christ's birth, passion, death, and resurrection.

The most important of the Christmas playlets are the panunuluyan or *panawagan* of Bulacan, Rizal, and Cavite (also called *maytinis* in Kawit, Cavite) which reenacts the search for an inn in Bethlehem by Mary and Joseph on Christmas eve, and which culminates in the "birth of Jesus" when the "Gloria" of the midnight mass is intoned; the *pastores*, which used to feature the adoration of the "shepherds" at midnight mass in Malolos, Bulacan and Bacoor, Cavite; the *estrella* of Angono, Rizal, where a contingent of star-shaped *paroles* (Christmas lanterns), accompany the *tinienta* (literally, lieutenant) as she and her escort of acolytes bring the image of the baby Jesus from the church door to the *belen* (creche) in front of the altar; the *Tatlong Hari* of Gasan, Marinduque, which dramatizes the search for the Christ Child by the Three Kings and Herod's beheading of the innocents.

Lenten playlets include the *osana* found in most towns of the Tagalog area, which reenacts Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem, with the priest (representing Christ) going to each of the four *kubol* (balconies) to hear young girls sing "Hossana Filio David" and receive their shower of flowers; the *via crucis* of Paete, Laguna, where the dramatization of the way of the cross features lifesize images of the Virgin and Veronica, whose hands move when they meet Christ's image; the *paghuhugas*, done in all parish churches on Holy Thursday, which highlights the washing of the feet of the apostles by the priest, representing Christ; the *huling hapunan* of Marinduque, which is an actual supper where the priest and the apostles eat a meatless meal, while singers chant the appropriate episode in the *pasyon*; the *siete palabras*, which reenacts the agony of Christ on the cross from 12 noon to 3 P.M. through an image of the crucified Christ whose head moves amidst "thunder and lightning," as each of the seven words is spoken; the *salubong*, popular in many towns of all Tagalog provinces, which shows the meeting of the images of the Virgin Mary and the Risen Christ on Easter Sunday morning under a four-post structure called the *galilea*, from whose "heaven" a little angel descends and sings the "Regina Coeli"; and the *moriones* of Marinduque towns, which tells the story of Roman soldier Longinus, who witnesses the resurrection, tells everyone about it, and is captured and beheaded by soldiers sent by Pilate and the Pharisees.

Two forms introduced into the Philippines from Spain in the 19th century flourished among the Tagalog only in the first half of the 20th century: the *drama* and the *sarswela*.

The drama is a play in prose or verse, usually in one act, which tackles an issue of Filipino contemporary life, e.g., divorce, gambling, and other social vices, in the framework of a love story. The drama may assume either one of three forms: tragic, comic, or symbolic. The tragic is typified by *Veronidia*, 1919, by Cirio H. Panganiban, which concerns the murder of a divorcee who wants to visit

her first husband who is dying. These types of drama live on today in radio and television drama anthologies. The comic drama is represented by ***Sino Ba Kayo?*** (Who are You?), 1943, by Julian Cruz Balmaseda, whose humor derives from misunderstandings due to mistaken identities. Lastly, the symbolic is exemplified by the revolutionary plays from 1900 to 1905, which allegorized the usual love story to comment on contemporary political situations. ***Tanikalang Guinto*** (Golden Chain), 1902, by Juan Abad is about Liwanag (Philippines) and Kaulayaw (Revolutionaries) who wish to get married (proclaim independence) but are prevented from doing so by Maimbot (the United States) and Nagtapon (Filipino collaborators).

Usually in three acts with song and dance between colloquial dialogue, the sarswela also used the love story between principal (the young sweethearts) and secondary (servants, old people) characters to expatiate on social issues, such as usury and rural credit banks, as in ***Sa Bunganga ng Pating*** (At the Mercy of Sharks), 1921, by Julian Cruz Balmaseda and Leon Ignacio; husbands whose husbandry is wasted on cockfighting, as in ***Ana Maria***, 1919, by Severino Reyes and Antonio Molina; corrupt politicians and bureaucrats on the make, as in ***Paglipas ng Dilim*** (After the Darkness), 1920, by Precioso Palma and Leon Ignacio; and rich old men who try to buy love, as in ***Dalagang Bukid*** (Country Maiden), 1919, by Hermogenes Ilagan and Leon Ignacio.

Both drama and sarswela may be staged gratis or for a fee in urban *teatros* or provincial stages during fiestas. Both use telones to indicate the inside or outside of a rich or a poor person's house, as well as a *telon de boca* (front curtain) and a *telon de fondo* (back curtain usually painted with exterior scenery). There is a *concha* (shell) in front for the prompter, while the back stage is used for costume changes. In the sarswela, songs in the *kundiman*, *danza*, *balitaw*, *balse*, and fox-trot tempo, are accompanied by a small orchestra. In general, costumes, dialogue, and acting—like the issues discussed—are drawn from reality, although the realism is diluted by the tendency to idealize characters and come to a “correct” ending.

With the Americans came two types of theater: the *bodabil* and the “legitimate play,” both of which spread Western, specifically American, culture among the masses and among the educated. Both helped to Americanize the Filipino's world view and values.

Introduced from the United States in the 1920s, bodabil was not a play per se but a variety show which included popular American songs and dances, comedy skits, and circus acts. During the Japanese Occupation, bodabil appended a special number in the end, the drama, and thereafter became known as the *stage show*. Katy de la Cruz, Dionisia Castro, Miami Salvador, Vicente Ocampo, Bayani Casimiro, Jose Cris Sotto, Canuplin, Dely Atay-atayan, Dolphy, and Panchito were some of the singers, dancers, and comedians who made a name in bodabil and later turned to movies and television.

The “legitimate plays” were taught in the educational system established by the Americans all over the archipelago—either as literature or as elocution pieces in English classes. These included classics of the Western theater such as the plays of

Aeschylus, Euripides, and Sophocles; of William Shakespeare, Moliere, and Edmond Rostand; of Henrik Ibsen, August Strindberg, George Bernard Shaw, Bertolt Brecht, Tennessee Williams, Arthur Miller, Eugene Ionesco, and Samuel Beckett; and of Neil Simon, William Gilbert and Arthur Sullivan, Alan Jay Lerner and Frederick Loewe, Tim Rice and Andre Lloyd Webber. Many of these plays were eventually translated into Tagalog or adapted to the Philippine situation.

As the “legitimate theater” propagated Western culture among the Tagalog, it also brought in the many dramatic theories and styles that eventually opened avenues for growth and expanded the vocabulary for theatrical expression of Tagalog directors, actors, designers, and playwrights. Through the educational system, the best examples of contemporary modern theater, their insights and values, reached and enriched the Tagalog theater.

Original playwriting in Tagalog grew steadily from the 1920s to the present, with playwrights favoring either realism or the many nonrealistic styles which were developed in the 1970s and 1980s, especially in protest against Marcos’ dictatorial rule.

Realism seeks to elicit the audience’s empathy with the characters on stage, who think, talk, and act like real people. In Tagalog plays, realism is one of two types. Psychological realism emphasizes the personal problems of characters, as in *Paraisong Parisukat* (A Square Piece of Paradise), 1974, by Orlando Nadres; *Biyaheng Timog* (Trip to the South), 1985, by Tony Perez; *Bayan-bayanan* (Little Country), 1977, by Bienvenido Noriega Jr.; and *Hiblang Abo* (Strands of Gray), 1980, by Rene O. Villanueva; while social realism situates the individual’s problems within the larger social backdrop, as in *Buwan at Baril in Eb Major* (Moon and Gun in Eb Major), 1985, by Chris Millado; *In Dis Korner* (In This Corner), 1977, by Reuel Aguila; and *Francisco Maniago*, 1987, by Paul Dumol. A dramatic monologue which uses historical figures is *Tonio, Pepe, at Pule* (Tonio, Pepe, and Pule), 1990, by Rene O. Villanueva, Malou Jacob, and Paul Dumol, respectively.

To expose and analyze social and political issues, playwrights have employed and adapted various theater styles from the West, specifically from Brecht and Boal, or invented new forms that answer the specificities of their local situations. The documentary style was used by Al Santos in his *Mayo A-Beinte Uno atbp. Kabanata* (May 21 and Other Chapters), 1977, which explains the obsession with freedom of Valentin de los Santos and the Lapiang Malaya whose members were massacred on Taft Avenue by Marcos’ military. The theater of the absurd inspired Paul Dumol’s *Ang Paglilitis ni Mang Serapio* (The Trial of Old Serapio), 1969, and Al Santos’ *Ang Sistema ni Propesor Tuko* (Professor Gecko’s Way), 1980. Developed for symposia and rallies, the *dula-tula* was a poem dramatized on stage, like Richie Valencia’s *Iskolar ng Bayan* (People’s Scholar), 1975. Musicals could use folklore, as exemplified by Rody Vera’s *Radya Mangandiri*, 1993, or contemporary characters and situations, like Dong de los Reyes’ *Bien Aligtad*, 1985, and Gines Tan’s *Magsimula Ka* (Make a Start), 1983.

Wishing to relate to the older tradition of mass theater, directors and playwrights have either reinterpreted traditional plays according to contemporary concerns, such as Chris Millado's ***Kahapon, Ngayon at Bukas*** or used the conventions of traditional dramas, as in Max Allanigue's ***Prinsipe Rodante*** (Prince Rodante), 1962, which is a modern komedya; Al Santos' ***Kalbaryo ng Maralitang Tagalungsod*** (Calvary of the Urban Poor), 1987, which is a street sinakulo; Amelia Lapeña Bonifacio's ***Ang Bundok*** (The Mountain), 1976, and Nicanor G. Tiongson's ***Pilipinas Circa 1907***, 1982, which use the sarswela form; and Bonifacio Ilagan's ***Pagsambang Bayan*** (People's Worship), 1977, which reinterprets the Catholic Mass.

The contemporary theater in Tagalog is produced and staged in schools or in commercial theaters, by school-based groups like Dulaang UP or theater organizations, like the Philippine Educational Theatre Assodation or PETA, and Tanghalang Pilipino in Manila, and Barasoain Kalinangan, Susi ng Tayabas, Pasilag, and Teatro Umalahokan in the different Tagalog provinces.

The first documentary film was shown in Manila on 1 January 1897. In 1919, Jose Nepomuceno, regarded as the "Father of Philippine Movies," made the first Filipino-produced film, a screen adaptation of the highly acclaimed Tagalog sarswela, ***Dalagang Bukid***, starring singer-actor Atang de la Rama. By the late 1930s, other Filipino companies, like Filippine Films, Parlatone Hispano-Filipino, Excelsior, Sampaguita Pictures, and X'Otic Films were producing movies.

In the early years, the Filipino filmmakers drew topics from Philippine history and culture, such as ***Mutya ng Katipunan*** (Katipunan Muse), 1939. Others borrowed the black and white characters, tortuous plots, establishment themes, and even acting styles of theater forms such as the sarswela, the sinakulo, and the komedya. Stories and characters of the metrical romances, like ***Florante at Laura*** and ***Siete Infantes de Lara*** (Seven Devils), were also used. Literary classics, like the novels of Jose Rizal, as well as contemporary novels popular at the time, such as Antonio Sempio's ***Punyal na Guinto*** (Golden Dagger), 1933, and ***Sampagitang Walang Bango*** (Scentless Sampaguita), 1937, were also adapted for the screen.

But even as the Tagalog cinema drew topics from local history and culture, Hollywood movies inundated the local scene, introducing its characters, plots, and themes, its formula movies, and its techniques and equipment for filmmaking. Soon, Tagalog film artists began to create Hollywood-type musicals, comedies, and melodramas.

The destruction wrought by the World War II in the Philippines, in particular the brutality of the Japanese occupation forces, became the subject matter of postwar Tagalog films. Simultaneously, these films extolled the bravery of the Filipino resistance fighters amidst the horrors of war, as seen in ***Garrison XIII*** and ***Victory***

Joe, both in 1946, and *Campo O'Donnell* (Camp O'Donnell), 1950.

In the 1950s, three studios dominated the filmmaking industry: Sampaguita Pictures, LVN, and Premiere Productions. The first concentrated on musicals like *The Big Broadcast*, 1962, and melodramas like *Sino ang May Sala?* (Who is Guilty?), 1957. The second did costume pictures like *Prinsipe Tiñoso* (Prince Tiñoso), 1954, and comedies like *Waray-Waray*, 1954. The third gained headway for focusing on action movies like *Sawa sa Lumang Simboryo* (Python in the Old Dome), 1952, as well as melodramas like *Huwag Mo Akong Limutin* (Forget Me Not), 1960. Some measure of artistry was achieved under a disciplined “studio system.”

Creating movies that dared to be real and artistic, filmmakers such as Gerardo de Leon, Lamberto Avellana, Gregorio Fernandez, and Manuel Conde, were recognized for making films that won critical acclaim locally, and even abroad. These were Manuel Conde's *Genghis Khan*, 1950; De Leon's *Sisa*, 1951, and *Ifugao*, 1954; Avellana's *Anak Dalita* (The Ruins), 1956, and *Badjao*, 1957.

The 1960s and the 1970s saw the importation of softcore porno films from Europe, Italian “spaghetti westerns”, James Bond thrillers, and Chinese and Japanese martial arts films, which were promptly appropriated or copied by the new “independent” and profit-oriented film producers who took over after the major studios folded up in the late 1950s. This period saw the proliferation of the *bomba* film led by *Uhaw* (Thirsty), 1970; the Pinoy cowboy movie like *Omar Cassidy and the Sandalyas Kid*, 1970; the secret-agent movies like *Magnum 44*, 1974; and the martial arts spin-offs like *Kung Fu Shadow*, 1973.

By the 1970s, a new breed of film artists who had studied filmmaking and the “New Wave” films of Europe, and who were fired by the search for a Filipino cinema began to make their presence felt. Their works are characterized by complex characterization, social conscience, unconventional or controversial themes, and a very high level of artistic integrity. Some of the better works of these decades are: Eddie Romero 's *Ganito Kami Noon, Paano Kayo Ngayon?* (This Was How We Were, What Happens To You Now?), 1976; Lino Brocka 's *Maynila, Sa Mga Kuko ng Liwanag* (Manila, In the Claws of Neon Lights), 1975, and *Bayan Ko: Kapit sa Patalim* (My Country: Gripping the Knife's Edge), 1985; Ishmael Bernal 's *Nunal sa Tubig* (Speck in the Water), 1976, and *City After Dark*, 1980; Celso Ad. Castillo 's *Pagputi ng Uwak, Pag-itim ng Tagak* (When the Crow Turns White When the Heron Turns Black), 1978; Marilou Diaz Abaya 's *Moral*, 1982, and *Karnal* (Carnal), 1983; Mike de Leon 's *Kisapmata* (Split-Second), 1981, and *Sister Stella L.*, 1984; Laurice Guillen 's *Salome*, 1981; and Peque Gallaga 's *Oro Plata Mata* (Gold Silver Death), 1982. These films were also made possible by a young generation of writers, production designers, cinematographers, and other film artists and technicians.

Today as in previous decades, the commercial film producers continue to bank on box-office actors and stories that fit into the tried and tested genres of the Tagalog film. Biggest profits are derived from action films, which star the likes of Fernando

Poe Jr. and Rudy Fernandez who are presented as superheroes and defenders of the oppressed; the dramas, which feature dramatic actors like Vilma Santos and Nora Aunor in family and individual love stories complicated by obstacles of class, family, indifference and infidelity; the comedies, which depend on the antics of comedians like Dolphy and Panchito; the bomba films, which exploit young starlets; and the horror films, which capitalize on terror and the fear of ghosts, vampires, aswang, and other monsters. As in the past, the tyranny of these formula films has inhibited the exploration of new and more relevant subject matter as well as the experimentation with the techniques of filmmaking. Because of this more and more film directors have transferred to television. Outside the commercial film industry is the cinema of independent, self-supporting or grant-supported independent filmmakers who have experimented for the last several years with 8-millimeter, 16-millimeter, and video film. Notable independent films are Kidlat Tahimik 's *Perfumed Nightmare/Mababangong Bangungot*, 1977; Nick Deocampo 's *Oliver*, 1983; Raymond Red 's *Ang Magpakailanman* (Eternity), 1983, and *Bayani* (Hero), 1992; and Lito Tiongson 's *Isang Munting Lupa* (A Small Piece of Land), 1991. • N.G. Tiongson, E. Maranan, J. Barrios, J. Chua, R.C. Lucero/ Reviewed by J.B. Veneracion.

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