Second Quarter, 1970

SILLIMAN JOURNAL

A Quarterly Devoted
to Discussion and Investigation
in the Humanities and the Sciences

In This Issue:

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SILLIMAN JOURNAL is published quarterly in March, June, September, and December by Silliman University under the auspices of the James W. Chapman Research Foundation, Dumaguete City, Philippines. Subscription rates in the Philippines: ₱4.00 a year, ₱1.50 per copy; U.S. and foreign countries, US$1.00 per copy. Entered as second class mail matter at the Dumaguete City Post Office on September 1, 1954.

SILLIMAN JOURNAL

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The Editor's Page

This issue is focused on Southeast Asia. We are publishing here lectures on various aspects of Southeast Asia delivered at the annual Southeast Asia Week at Silliman University, in February, 1970.

Leading off is Dr. Edith Tiempo on Southeast Asian poetry. One interesting point brought out by Dr. Tiempo in her excellent article is the fact that the West also borrowed literary forms from the East.

Fr. Demetrio follows with a ponderous essay in which he proposes a huge task—the systematic gathering, classifying and analysis of Philippine folktales. Dr. Francisco in the third article traces the Indian influence in the literature of Southeast Asia.

The fourth article did not come from this year's Southeast Asia Week lectures, but it is also about the region. Dr. McHale delivered the lecture in last year's Southeast Asia Week (1969).

The last two articles in this issue are not about Southeast Asia—but they are about the Philippines. Mr. Rice talks about crime and punishment, with special reference to the Kalahan tribe in northern Luzon, about whom he knows a lot.

We present a case study on one successful community newspaper in the Philippines, as proof that the local paper can succeed in a country where the community paper is notoriously unstable.

And then, for the first time, in the interest of research and researchers, we are publishing abstracts of master's theses done at Silliman University. We will publish more abstracts in succeeding issues.

Cristina Manlosa

Southeast Asian Poetry: Tension for Unity

Edith L. Tiempo*

The author analyzes the tension with which the Southeast Asian poet has to deal in his work. Exposure to Western patterns has changed the traditional fixity of his art, but not relevantly. He has adopted some Western postures but has not really grasped the spirit of these borrowed modes. She suggests two courses of action for the Southeast Asian poet: Intensify his use and understanding of the Western poetic practices that have a close affinity to already existing indigenous modes, and write about contemporary social problems, using forms and structures evolved from both Western and indigenous traditions.

Looking over the environment of poetry in the countries of Southeast Asia today, one is struck over again by the existing polarity of allegiances, a condition that is common to the countries that have assimilated Western influences to any significant extent. It is true that the admixture of Western and indigenous modes is inevitable and oftentimes even deliberately fostered in the national life of these countries, particularly in the practical and more overt aspects like politics and government, the industrial and technological processes, the rationale and the content of education in the schools.

One might observe, however, that although the Western influences might be significantly at work in the practical areas, they are likewise

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conspicuous but are not critical influences in the spheres of art and the imagination. The reasons would seem to be that art and the imagination are promptings from more psychical and spiritual origins, expressing the profound values of love and honor and sacrifice and hate and greed and courage and other deep-seated pains of the soul—the subtler values that are manifested in a region in ways so peculiar to the geography and the people that these patterns of behavior serve to mark them as distinct from other people. Being closely identified with the region and being also deeply rooted in the psychical and spiritual functions would tend to make these traits more resistant to alien contact. In the poetry there are indeed clear evidences of Western influences, but these borrowings are more external in nature, having to do with the prevailing Western styles in mood, prosody, and other processes of the poetry that could be handled through the more or less mechanical devices.

From these ambivalent cultural forces at work, we may readily see the resulting tension with which the Southeast Asian poet has to deal in his work. Exposure to Western patterns has changed the traditional fixity of his art, but not relevantly, not to the quick, so to speak. He has adopted some external Western postures but has not really grasped the spirit of these borrowed modes; anyway, the poetry does not show it.

Tension Between Old and New

Our purpose is to analyze what this tension between the old and the new poetic practices has done to the quality and relevance of Southeast Asian poetry today. Specifically, it will explore the different implications involved in adopting the gesture but not the spirit of Western poetic procedures. Finally, we will stick out our metaphorical neck and make some observations on possible ways that the Southeast Asian poet may use these disparate Western elements, to turn them into artistically legitimate devices for unity in his poetry.

At this point there is a need to substantiate the above generalization concerning the rather externalized quality of Western influences upon the poetry of Southeast Asia. I shall examine briefly the environment of poetry in a few representative countries in this group. But before I do this I would like, for the sake of clarity, to identify the countries referred to in this paper as the Southeast Asian group. They are Burma, Thailand, North and South Vietnam, Malaysia, Singapore, Laos, Cambodia, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Brunei. India, China, and Japan are absent from this group but are very much present in the spirit of this study, since these three countries are primary sources of the

literature of the Southeast Asian group. We will need to recall some related facts about the poetry of India, China, and Japan to understand what seems to be the main problem of Southeast Asian poetry today.

We would also make plain that the term, "Western influences," or "Western practices," as used here in relation to literature, refers to certain British and American literary patterns, as well as to some European influences, in particular the Dutch and the French. The term further includes implicitly the conventional Graeco-Roman practices which come to us indirectly, as these have been assimilated into the Western literary traditions that have touched us.

The influences of Western poetic modes are rather blatant but are not really crucial. We quote from an observation made by Donald Keene on the "Westernizing" modern poetry of Japan, a comment which is also applicable to the condition of poetry today in Southeast Asian countries. Donald Keene says of recent Japanese poetry:

> The modern poets are by their own choice cut off from the heritage of Japanese (and Chinese) literature. No falling cherry blossoms or reddening maple leaves are permitted to grace their verses except ironically. . . . On the other hand, knowledge of Western poetry is not very profound either among poets or readers. A Japanese poet is unlikely to think of quoting Dante; if he did, the quotation as such would have little meaning to most readers.

And then follows the more cogent part of this quotation:

> Japanese modern poetry tends thus to be bounded by the **translatable parts** of foreign poetry: **the decadence of Rimbaud without his overtones, the gloom of T. S. Eliot without his sense of tradition, the fantasy of Max Jacob without his religion** (bold mine).[1]

The bold parts of the quoted statement affirm what we are saying about the present superficial use made of Western borrowings. Mr. Keene has set off the "decadence," the "gloom," and the "fantasy," all of these being traits that are easily borrowed, against the **cultural overtones, the sense of tradition,** and the **religious values,** traits which are not easily borrowed because, as mentioned earlier, they spring from the deep-seated psychic and spiritual genius of a people. In other words, it is

[1] Donald Keene (ed.), **Modern Japanese Literature** (New York: Grove Press, 1956), p. 22.

easier to borrow the attitudes, the stances, because these are moods and not essences. It is true that attitudes and stances are also reactions to the prevailing social conditions, but they are often "catchy" and conspicuous and even degenerate into passing fads unless the more intrinsic values of the culture animate them. These values as pointed out by Keene will be made clearer shortly as we see them functioning in the poetic devices.

Other "translatable" Western poetic practices are generally used in ways that do not cause modifications in the intrinsic qualities of the indigenous work: this kind of borrowing has mainly to do with the prosody and other features like rhyme or the absence of rhyme, the stanzaic patterns and the other external limits of poetic forms, such as the sonnet, the ode, and other features that could be made to function extrinsically in the artistic work.

I do not wish the foregoing argument to sound like a sequence of pure enthymemes. Actually, the easy adoption and popularity of translatable poetic practices have been demonstrated before this. A good example may be drawn from late 18th century England, in the tremendous but very brief impact of the Ossianic writings of James MacPherson upon the Classical tradition of Europe. The shortlived but very popular influence of these so-called translations of Ossian could be properly explained by the fact that the works exploited **mood**, specifically the mood of fantasy and Romantic primitivism. Whatever profound national values might have resulted from the contact originated from local necessities and did not come as portions of the literary borrowing.

In Southeast Asian poetry, what are the results of the externalized use of Western poetic devices?

Southeast Asian Poet Avoids Issues

First, except in Indonesia and Malaysia and to a small but growing extent, the Philippines, the poetry of Southeast Asia unfortunately avoids grappling with their contemporary national issues, mainly because the poet is uncertain of the artistic feasibility of merging alien expression and indigenous substance. Wherever this hesitation prevails the poetry of the country is attenuated because it evades a proper concern with current sociological and political problems. Faced by the vacuum in substance that is created by this evasion, the poet has some obvious alternatives:

One, he can put aside all foreign devices and write in the tradi-

tional fashion, which would also necessitate writing on the outgrown sentiments and symbols of an earlier time.

Or, Two, he can borrow both Western substance and Western structure and produce poetry that is almost totally irrelevant in his native context.

Or, Three, he can borrow from Western expression but concentrate on the more universal concerns of the human soul, taking care not to cast these in traditional or contemporary indigenous terms, so as to escape the incongruity usually produced by merging deeply native substance with the Western mood and pattern.

In adopting this third choice he does write of material that is relevant not specially to Southeast Asians but to all human beings; nevertheless, his necessary evasion of the indigenous contemporary materials leaves a gap where the poet's social conscience should have been active.

A fourth choice may be to modify the traditional material dealing with pastoral sentiments and folk themes so as to give these a tough and ironic tone. The shift in tone is meant to suit the relatively casual Western style of presentation. This choice may produce structurally artistic congruities, but they would ultimately be insignificant or irrelevant because of the outmoded themes.

Whatever the choice, the one big mistake would be to act on the premise that the native spirit should be, or could be, supplanted with the psyche of the West. The essence of a country's poetry is naturally enough, its home-grown relevance, or it becomes an incongruity, since there is no **genius loci** to validate it.

Understanding Borrowed Devices

The artist therefore needs the awareness that within the inevitable reality of the Western influences at work, one of his big jobs is to understand the origins or bases of his borrowed literary devices. This demand for understanding the sources and motives of the foreign devices is as true for poetry as for the borrowed scientific and technological practices; when we appreciate the cultural necessities that gave birth to Western technology, then the Southeast Asian can make an **analogue** that he can hope would work more felicitously under his own native conditions. When the rationale of a technology is borrowed **in toto**, or willy-nilly, it could be destructive. I wholeheartedly disagree with one American economist who came to the Silliman University campus last year, who gave the impression that economic progress in Asia could be

effected by a clean sweep of what was termed as "superstitions," and to have these supplanted by more scientific attitudes from the West. Just like that. You would think that human beings could take lessons from vegetable nature and see, for instance, how some imported varieties of trees become indigenous when given time to modify inside the more workable traits of the host country. And vegetable would seem to be a rather apt analogy at this point.

The four choices we just pointed out are costly, inadequate, and unrealistic.

There remain therefore two choices which seem to be the most viable and useful for both poet and country. These are:

First, for the poet to intensify his use and understanding of the Western poetic practices **that have a close affinity to already existing indigenous modes.**

And second, for him to pay more serious attention to contemporary social problems as a strong material for poetry, and to evolve new forms and structures and symbolisms for the exploration of these contemporary problems. In evolving these new symbolisms and other poetic devices, the poet would find it necessary to draw from both the Western and indigenous traditions.

Two Choices and Three Questions

For the poet, these two choices are easier defined than taken because in adopting them there are three primary questions that he would be called upon to consider regarding both the matter of vitalized procedures and of socially-directed substance. These three questions are:

1. What are the common problems faced today by the Southeast Asian countries?

2. What are the indigenous poetic procedures that have affinity to the Western borrowings?

3. In evolving Southeast Asian poetry where the substance must not be incongruous to its poetic articulation, how is a poet to use his awareness of contemporary problems, and his knowledge of Western and native poetic devices that are similar?

Let us take these three questions one by one. The large contemporary problems that are common to Southeast Asian countries spring from the similarity in their historical background, particularly in their contact with the West. These common problems have to do with

the official retirement of Empire and the subsequent need of the newly independent countries to establish a workable political-economic base, one that could sustain the tensions between Western and indigenous demands. In other words, there is the common problem of building a nation on the foundation provided by the existing patterns of ideas and affirmations generated by the stimulating variety of races co-existing in these countries. The other large problem involves confirming the relationships with neighbor countries, toward political, military, and economic security. In the last two decades the Philippines, for example, has become increasingly involved in the religious, political, and economic problems of our Southeast Asian neighbors—Malaysia, Vietnam, Indonesia, Brunei, Thailand. We have sent either soldiers or missionaries to these countries. The contemporary problems posed by such Philippine involvements as these should become one of the rightful domains of the poet if the poetry of the country must be immediately influential and relevant.

Then the poet who is steeped in concerned awareness of these national problems moves on to the second question, on the need for a real understanding of the Western and indigenous poetic practices that are similar to each other. To begin with, these particular practices are basic and are used critically in the art, so that the Southeast Asian poet would gain from studying them carefully for their potential worth.

Western poetry has emphasized within the 20th century two or three crucial qualities that have been inherent in the earliest poetry of the Orient. I am thinking of the Imagist movement started in American poetry during the first two decades of this century, and which involved Ezra Pound, Amy Lowell, John Gould Fletcher, Witter Bynner, H. D., among others.

Link Between Imagist Poetry and Haiku

It is always valuable to see the link between the Imagist poetry and the **haiku** poetry of the Japanese. Japanese **hokku,** or **haiku,** as it is better known, uses the device of "imaging" an experience by using picture-images instead of explaining or describing the experience.[2] The procedure of "imaging" as used in the **haiku** is essentially the very same principle with which the Imagists proclaimed their departure from the conventional Romantic poetry in the early part of this century. In believing that a poem should simply project a certain image and should do away with all

[2] J. L. Cranmer-Byng, M. C. (ed.), **Japanese Literature** (John Murray, Albermarle Street, London: W., First Edition, 1953), pp. 28-46.

explicit comments or observations relating to it, the Imagist procedure is as close to that of painting as literature can possibly get. The **haiku**, a three-line poem consisting of a total of 17 syllables (usually allotted as 5-7-5), has always adhered to the strict kind of economy insisted upon by the Imagists; no clear statement is made in a **haiku**, only a suggestive picture is rendered in the three short lines.

A **haiku** placed beside an Imagist poem will quickly show the affinity between the poetic devices used by both. We use here two **haikus** written in Japan in the 17th century by Basho, the master **haiku**-poet who refined this poetic form:

Dewdrops, let me cleanse
In your sweet
fleeting waters....
These dark hands of life.

The poem subtly projects the delicate tension between the dark and turgid qualities of human struggle and the pristine qualities of the dewdrops in their brief moments of existence. The three lines also suggest the human being separated from spontaneous nature by the self-conscious demands of his human reason, and his return to restorative nature when he feels soiled by his own struggle.

Another **haiku**:

Under cherry-trees
Soup, the salad,
fish, and all....
Seasoned with petals.

The unity achieved by the three lines is the result of the blending of the two tensions represented by the spiritual and intellectual on the one hand (the cherry-trees) and the physical appetites on the other (soup, salad, fish). The blending of opposites is achieved by the petals (spiritual) serving as seasoning (physical) for the food, in a picture of quiet and natural beauty.

Beside these two **haikus** we set two Imagist examples of the more "complete" sort. This one is from T. E. Hulme, the British writer:

Oh, God, make small
The old star-eaten blanket of the sky,
That I may fold it round me and in comfort lie.

The lines dramatize the sensitivity of the person in the poem, who could respond so vividly to the warmth of God's creation that his essen-

tially abstract response becomes transmuted into very tangible terms, such as folding the sky around him like an old comfortable blanket.

From Ezra Pound, the American poet, this famous poem, "Station at the Metro":

The apparition of these faces in the crowd;
Petals on a wet, black bough.

The way the two lines implicitly comment on the relationship between the grime and ugliness of industrialism as represented by a subway station (the wet black bough) and lined up all along its length, the fresh faces with their fragile humanity (the petals), is a procedure that is quietly compressed and explosive **haiku.**

Literary scholars have already shown how Ezra Pound, the big figure in the Imagist movement, was influenced by Oriental poetry, particularly in his use of the delicate suggestiveness and economy that are characteristic of the **haiku** poem. We only cite the two Western poems to show the identical abbreviating and suggestive devices that have long made powerful the quiet images in **haiku** poetry.

Origin of Haiku

The **haiku** came out of the tradition of Japanese linked-verse, called the **renga.**[3] Originally, a **haiku** served as the first three lines of a five-line linked-verse poem called the **tanka,** which was written by two people as a kind of literary game. Thus, the tag, "linked," because one poet wrote the first three lines, now called the **haiku,** and the other completed the **tanka** by adding the other two lines. Later, the last two lines were discarded, leaving only the three-line **haiku.**

The **tanka** has 31 syllables. The nature of this "game of writing" demanded that all the five short lines should be tightly packed with meaning. In time, when the last two lines were discarded, the **haiku** therefore had to intensify its craft, in its use of subtle literary allusions and in its extreme economy (sometimes the season of the year in which the key picture is set is indicated by just one word in the poem). Since the **haiku** was only part of an original whole, it has to demonstrate in itself the real point or conclusion, which has been cut off, and since there is too little space in which to state this point, it has to make use of double-meanings. All these literary devices in the **haiku** are also central in the Imagist poem.

[3] Ibid.

And now let me approach what is possibly the most significant device of the **haiku** as far as its kinship to Western practices are concerned. The **haiku** suggests its conclusion by subtle double-meanings, and also by a very deft shift in the viewpoint which creates a tension of ideas in the poem. This tension transforms the **haiku's** simple picture-image into a scene that has very symbolic values. The internal shift is quite clear in the piece about the cherry trees, where the symbolic experience is triggered by the petals serving as food seasoning, the unity of the spiritual and the physical in the life process. This very functional shift as used in the **haiku** is the identical device that finally distinguishes the contemporary poetry of our Western influences from their more rhetorical efforts in the Romantic and Victorian periods.

Another recent practice in Western poetry is the device of juxtaposing. This device has its counterpart in an old Indonesian form called the **pantun**,[4] which consists of two pairs of lines. The first two lines appear to be totally unrelated to the other two lines that follow. A closer look shows that the two pairs of verses are really parts of a single idea. One Indonesian **pantun** goes this way:
First two lines,

> This soil is no good for rice,
> But if it grows, the wind will blow it away.

Second two lines,

> He's not the kind of man who should be a **hadji**,
> Because now that he's a **hadji** he never prays.

The two lines are of course connected by the idea that a shallow superficial man cannot be a genuinely holy man, or a **hadji**, in the same way that good sturdy rice cannot grow on poor soil. Moreover, the obvious universal application (the "**penduniaan**") about the bedrock honesty of human excellence follows quite naturally by inference. There is compression of meaning here, the bare juxtaposition of two analogous statements creates the meaning.

In the Philippines, particularly in the North, where my own forebears originated, there are verse-forms that are similar to the **pantun** and the **haiku** in their procedure. When I was a little girl, my grandfather used to chant a very short but very solemn parable which is startling in its

[4] Burton Raffel (ed.), **Anthology of Modern Indonesian Poetry** (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1964), pp. 3-5.

similarity to these two forms:

There was a heart, a heart that erred,
There was a firefly that glowed with fire,
And it glowed brightest while it was flying.

Like the **haiku** the poem has three loaded lines. The simple-sounding lines glow with their own religious and philosophical intensities, for they assert that life must be lived, it cannot be passive or timid. It implies that even a life of error finds its glory in the very act of being lived, "while it was flying." We also notice the use of a heart to represent life. Beyond its obvious physical relevance to the life-process, **heart** as used here suggests that man's error proceeds not from rational choice, but from his more unpredictable nature, from his "heart." But we also observe that it is this very heart of man that "takes heart"—that is, that in spite of proneness to error, it takes to action, like the firefly flying. The moving firefly's intermittent flashes of light are of course reminiscent of the rhythm of the living breath as it goes with the heart's pulsations. A heart dare not stop beating even if it is an "erring" heart like the one in the poem. To stop beating would mean death. The obvious analogy here is a gentle observation on courage and dignity as natural factors of existence, that life cannot afford to be intimidated into useless passivity by the fact of its errors. Furthermore, the firefly while flying creates a trail of bright bursts of light followed by "split-errors" of darkness; still, "split-errors" and all, it is a **continuing** trail, just as long as the firefly keeps flying. There are also the fine points clued by the time of the flight. It takes place in a night of darkness, when the firefly is allowed to glow brightest by flying under such "adverse" conditions. Finally, why does the song use the past tense? This is the deep pathos of wisdom, that it is usually in the night of our life when we see our justification, in the bare fact of having dared to live at all. All of this in three lines that don't even have a title!

Kakekotoba: Device of Japanese Poetry

The **haiku** and the **pantun** are old forms, and since the devices they use do have relatively recent equivalents in Western practices, these are therefore the devices that the Southeast Asian poet could explore for more congruity and strength in his poetic technique.

For a final illustration of poetic procedures that have Western equivalents, I should like to mention the Japanese **kakekotoba,**[5] or pivot-

[5] J. L. Cranmer-Byng, M. C., **op. cit.,** pp. 4-6.

word, which is a striking device of Japanese poetry. The **kakekotoba** is a key-word that links two separate images in a poem by changing the direction of its own meaning. In the original Japanese, this pivot-word contains sounds that link it to two or more unrelated images, bringing these images together through the initial association of sound. The pivot-word then goes on to accomplish its full turn by means of a subtle evolution of its own form. Some roguish ditties in the Philippines make use of a variation of this device. I have attempted four examples of **kakekotoba** as closely as it could be rendered in English:

All the good things of life are freebooters
Of the man of sense.

* * *

All the good things of life are freeloading
At the expense of the bad.

In both these examples the pivot-word is of course the word "free," which pivots and expands to straddle and link two separate ideas.

The following are examples where the end-result is not anti-thesis, as in the above lines, but synthesis:

Every good boy does finally
What the scales show him to do.

* * *

All his life he had a fear of death-dealing
Weapons like guns, and words, and fear itself.

We observe in these last two examples how one image shifts its direction as it is augmented or intensified by a further image which is synthetical to it.

This device can turn into straight puns, as in these lines:

A man sews
According to how much he rips.

Or better:

She sews
According to how much **he** rips.

Likewise present in Western contemporary techniques are all the suggestive qualities generated by the **kakekotoba**, the **pantun**, and the internal shift in the **haiku**, the compression of images and ideas in a

small space, and the meaningful ambiguity of words that result from this compression.

The qualities of rich compression and subtly suggested multiplicity of meanings in Western poetry may be illustrated by these two lines from Robert Frost's poem, "Two Tramps in Mudtime":

> The blows that a life of self-control
> Spares to strike for the common good....

Frost's poem dramatizes his usual theme of a man's inner conflict concerning his duty to himself and his duty to society. In a beautiful use of compression and ambiguity, the word, "spares," serves both sides of the issue: "spares" means to **stint** on his efforts for society (to be sparing or stingy); but "spares" also means to **save** or to **reserve** his efforts for the good of society (to spare something for a rainy day).

The two viable choices of the Southeast Asian poet, therefore, demand a fine awareness of the spots in both the Western influences and the indigenous patterns where certain similar practices are found to be true and familiar; also demanded is the strengthening of the poetic substance by supplanting the obsolescent poetic sentiments with the newer and more vitally relevant issues of the country.

Indonesian and Malaysian Poets

In Indonesia and Malaysia the problem is not the operation of these two feasible alternatives regarding poetic material and procedures. Among the countries in the Southeast Asian group, Indonesia and Malaysia seem to be already more deeply engaged than their neighbors in discovering the viability of at least one of these two poetic choices. The recent poetry coming out of these two countries clearly show that the poets are writing on their contemporary issues, on revolutionary themes, and that they keep a finger on the pulse of social change. They no longer face the problem of making the choice for current subject matter for their poetry, because they **have** made that choice. Their problem now is artistic validity and refinement.

At this turbulent stage of their breakthrough into social awareness, a strict artistic evaluation of what is being done is frequently even beside the point. The Indonesian and Malaysian poets are committed to new themes dealing with contemporary political events and social problems, and the poetic influences of the old Javanese court have been replaced by strong nationalistic concern. This is the stirring condition

of their poetry today and ironically but naturally enough, it is the reason for their present acute literary instability. The attempt of the poets to deal with decisions for social change has created the near-frenetic shifts in literary directions and leadership that have transpired within such short periods.

For the writer as well as for the country in general, the cost of any decisive change is a transition period of great disorder, uncertainty, and chaos. There is an old folk saying in the United States that goes: "Things are always worse before they get better." Any housewife putting her kitchen shelves in order will confirm this homely truth.

In Indonesia the **avant garde** spirit is a quality of the writers in the '40's, a period dominated by the late Chairil Anwar, who was the acknowledged pioneer in the new poetry.[6] Radical in his departure from the traditional themes and concentrating mainly on the sentiments of social and military revolution, Anwar simultaneously moved away from the indigenous literary patterns and adopted a frequently uneasy and unassimilated technique that derived from Western mannerisms of expression.

The period of the late '50's and '60's that followed is usually designated as the Sukarno Years. Even while the intellectual direction was a carryover from the rebel, Chairil Anwar, we notice a brief swingback to conventional modes of expression, such as the idyllic pastoral verses and romantic ballads which are a heritage from the traditional past. The literary leaders in the Sukarno Years were K. H. Ramadhan, who translated Lorca, the famous contemporary Spanish writer, and W. S. Rendra, who returned to the local folktales and legends for his materials. The influences of Anwar, Camus, and Pasternak were evident in the Cutural Manifesto which was eventually banned by Sukarno.[7] The uneasy blend of Western-directed ideas with the pastoral moods of this period paralleled the divided stand of the writers themselves concerning their function. What happened confirms the ideas I mentioned earlier in this paper about the choices that the Southeast Asian poet has to make inevitably. The Indonesian writers in this period could not make up their minds whether to be committed to the ideological ferment, or whether to exploit their individual sensibilities and write only of the large verities of the human race. When Sukarno banned their politically-oriented Cultural Manifesto,

[6] Goenawan Mohamad, "Contemporary Indonesian Literature," **Solidarity**, (September, 1968), pp. 22-28.

[7] **Ibid**.

the writers of this period quit the contemporary issues and decided to write about the human verities.

Swing of Literary Pendulum

Between the **avant garde** tone of the '40's and the traditionalism in the styles of expression in the '50's and '60's is an abrupt swing of the literary pendulum. The ruling tension here may be seen as the correlative for the poetic problem of Southeast Asia. These two positions signal the polarity of allegiances that the poet has to reconcile into legitimate strengths for his poetry.

The present generation of Indonesian writers is called Angkatan '66, or the Generation from 1966. Again we sense an opposite swing of the cultural pendulum today in the fact that the themes of the writers are largely social and political criticism, as indicated in the works of Taufiq Ismail, Mochtar Lubis, and B. Sularto. This rapid swing of extremist tendencies make the literary scene of Indonesia very unstable, but as already mentioned, it is an indication of the writers' efforts to work their various choices toward a more coherent artistry.

Already Indonesia has handled the problem of a common language system with Malaysia.[8] The two countries have worked out a common system of spelling that transcends both the Dutch influences in Indonesia and the British influences in Malaysia, Brunei, and Singapore. Stemming from a common source which is called Johor-Riau,[9] Bahasa Indonesia and Bahasa Melayu, when they are finally unified, may yet be a strong stabilizer and provide a firmer instrument for poetic expression. It would be wise for the poets to re-explore and use the indigenous artistic intentions inherent in the poetic word and phrase; otherwise, because of the need to write on relevant current problems, the poets may fall into the posture of propaganda instead of producing good art. Thus, we see that the problem of the poetry in these two countries is artistic validity and refinement. Already, some critics have written on the transitory value of their present poems of protest.

H. B. Yassin, one of the most respected Indonesian writers, voices this opinion in a long essay on Indonesia's poets. Mr. Yassin writes of the poetry written in the Sukarno Years:

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[8] Asmah binti Haji Omar, "Towards the Unification of Bahasa Melayu and Bahasa Indonesia," **Tenggara One.** (1967), pp. 112-115.

[9] S. T. Alisjahbana, "Critique of the Spelling Agreement," **Tanggara,** (April, 1968), pp. 84-89.

> There is an opinion that a poem of struggle cannot have lasting value. As its contents are meant for a certain situation, when the situation changes it loses its value. This is especially so when such poems are not strengthened by faith, sincerity and purity of heart nor infused with high moral and religious awareness.... The superiority of the poets of Angkatan 66 lies in the fact that they pay attention to the aesthetic aspect—indeed, it is only in those terms that we can discuss literature—besides the fact that they write because there is something that demands expression.[10]

For the Southeast Asian poet who works within the tension of his mixed influences, we have outlined four possible but unwise alternatives. We also set up two choices that look more feasible, which would allow him to work with vigor, congruity, and relevance. The first of these two choices requires a depth study of the native and the borrowed poetic devices that are similar and which may be used with increasing artistry and strength. The second choice indicates his direction toward contemporary issues and problems, and toward the concern to evolve new forms and structures and symbolisms to express this contemporary material.

We also discussed some poetic qualities and practices that are common to both cultures, specifically those that are central in the **haiku**, the **pantun**, and the **kakekotoba.**

Gnomic and Aphoristic Verse of India

We cannot end this paper without mentioning India, which greatly contributed to the character of the poetry in this group. Possibly the strongest poetic contribution of India is its gnomic and aphoristic verse. Thus, we may add gnomic verse as the fourth item in this list of common devices, since Anglo-Saxon traditional verse also has a very pronounced and continuing gnomic personality and origin.

In India there exists no appreciable polarity of cultural influences. India was not crucially touched by the split in cultural sensibility in the 19th century, in which art and science became separated in the thinking of man. The Industrial Revolution deepened the separation of art and science in the thinking patterns of the world, except in India. In that country we may see poetry as very much a part of scientific expression, especially in law and politics; poetry, in fact, has been so much a part of all the

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[10] H. B. Yassin, "Angkatan 66; The Emergence of a New Generation," **Tenggara 4,** (April, 1969), p. 85.

cultural aspects that it is often hard to distinguish the scientific or factual literature from gnomic poetry.[11]

Where does the Philippine poet stand in relation to these choices we mentioned? I believe our poets have taken the classic escapist solution a bit more seriously than they should. Our poets choose to write of the verities of the human being in universal terms, and thus try to avoid the inevitable challenge of making a choice. Our fiction writers do not hesitate to write on current problems, but there are only a very few poets who have taken the plunge that the Indonesian and Malaysian poets have made.

Which of these countries have taken the stand for traditionalism?

Some of the most conservative poets in the Southeast Asian group, if not the most conservative, are those of Thailand. Their poetry remains Classical and adheres rather closely to traditional forms and categories.[12]

In closing, I would like to say that the poet's closer involvement with national issues would not by itself automatically help him to invigorate the country's poetry. The poet would still have to move beyond the purely temporal justice of this new social concern, into the "faith and sincerity and purity of heart" and the "high moral and religious awareness," and the serious attention to aesthetic demands that Mr. Jassin so rightly sees as the focal ingredients of artistic writing.

The most significant poetry has always gone past its dated particulars and into the universal and human relevances. Poetry of this kind are as moving and eternal today as any of the Biblical cries wrenched from the individual and nationalistic agonies of the prophets and psalmists of those times.

Finally, to borrow from Mr. Allen Tate, the unity of art has always subsisted on the tug and pull of its tensions. The Southeast Asian poet is given the rare opportunity to create relevantly within a built-in environment of cultural tension and diverse influences. Unity in his poetry is predicative, and not truly the goal that his art strives for, only when his cultural conflicts become a nagging reality for him, which means that then he indeed understands functionally the diversities of his Southeast Asian world.

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[11] M. Winternitz, **History of Indian Literature,** translated from the German, with additions by Subhadra Iha (Delhi; Patna; Varanasi, India, Motilal Banarsidass, 1963), Vol. III, Part I, p. 150.

[12] James N. Mosel, **Trends and Structure in Contemporary Thai Poetry,** a monograph (Ithaca, New York: Department of Far Eastern Studies, Cornell University, August, 1961), pp. 3-11.

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Towards A Systematic Analysis of Philippine Folktales

Francisco Demetrio, S.J.*

The author proposes a more systematic study of Philippine folktales. First of all, he says, folklorists must begin to collect selectively. Second, they must specialize so that the work is divided among scholars in the field. Third, the collectors should analyze the folktales, using both the genetico-historical method and the structural method. Then these folktales must be supplied with English titles and synopsis, and translated into idiomatic English. Finally, the folktales should be published and made available to international scholars and stored in our archives.

It is a fact that until recently, the science of folkloristics has been stagnant and sterile the world over. Folklorists have been without adequate conceptual tools which are flexible but solid enough for universal applicability. I refer, particularly, to the concepts of motif and plot which have been so dear to folklorists for many years, but whose adequacy as basic tools for analysis have never been put to the test until Vladimir Propp did it in 1928 with the publication of **The Morphopology of the Folktale** (Indiana, 1928). But Propp's methodology took long before it was generally accepted by scholars like Roman Jakobson, Kenneth Pike, Stender-Petersen, Levi-Strauss, Clyde Kluckholn and Alan Dundes.

A close analysis of folklore in general, and of folktale in particular, presupposes necessarily a corpus or body of materials to work with.

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Everyone who is in any way conversant with the folktale scholarship in this country cannot miss the fact that there is already a considerable amount of collected materials for analysis.

Collections of Folktales

We have been singularly blessed with published as well as unpublished collections of tales. Both the Christian peoples of the lowlands as well as the so-called cultural minorities, who are generally non-Christian, are well represented in these collections. The most outstanding of the published collections on Filipino folktales was Dean S. Fansler's **Filipino Popular Tales**, first published in 1918, and re-published in 1965. There are about 178 tales in this volume, and the tales are copiously annotated. We know from a later article of Dr. Fansler[1] that these 178 tales are but a fragment of a vaster collection numbering some 4,000 tales, "current and popular among the native inhabitants. . . ." The whereabouts of this vast collection is to date unknown. But there has been avid interest on the part of many folklorists to recover tne tales from the green field, if not from dusty library tomes.

Mention must be made of Ma. Delia Coronel's **Stories and Legends from Filipino Folklore** first published in **Unitas**[2], later on enlarged and published as a separate volume. Only recently, F. Landa Jocano came out with his **Outline of Philippine Mythology** (Manila, 1969), which is a lively collection of Philippine myths and legends. I must not omit mention of Dr. Maximo Ramos, who has published much on Philippine folktales especially oriented towards the lower grades.

On the more scholarly level, Donn V. Hart and Hariett C. Hart have done some reconstruction and analysis of a Philippine myth cycle, "Maka-andog: A Reconstructed Myth from Eastern Samar, Philippines."[3] They have also written "Cinderella in the Eastern Bisayas: With a Summary of the Philippine Folktale,"[4] and "A Philippine Version of "The Two Brothers and the Dragon Slayer's Tale."[5]

There are considerble collections still unpublished. So it is quite obvious from this very incomplete listing that a large **corpus** of collected materials is available for scholars in Philippine folktale.

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[1] Philippine Magazine (May, 1937).
[2] Vol. 39 (December, 1966).
[3] **American Journal of Folklore**, Vol. 79.
[4] **Ibid.**, pp. 307-337.
[5] **Western Folklore**, Vol. 29 (October, 1960), pp. 265-267.

Still Untapped Resources

But what is also perfectly obvious in regard to this vast material is that only very little effort has been expended on the analysis, description and classification of these tales. What is true of the folktale is just as true of the other genre of folklore. Rudolf Rahmann, SVD, and Jose Kuizon have done a study on "Animal Horns and Similar Motifs in Filipino, Eurasian and American-Indian Folklore."[6] Beyer, much earlier, had studied the "Origin Myths among the Mountain Peoples of the Philippines."[7]

The Harts, as mentioned already, have done work on Samar and Leyte tales. My own researches have led me to study the ancient myths of death ("Death: Its Origin and Related Beliefs Among the Early Filipinos."),[8] as well as the "Creative Myths among the Early Filipinos."[9] Maximo Ramos has done the world of Filipino scholarship a service by his doctoral dissertation on Philippine beliefs in the creatures of lower mythology (U.P. Diliman, 1964). This is not, however, a research on the folktale.

A. Arsenio Manuel's **opus** on the **Maiden of the Buhong Sky,** and his other work on the **Agyu** are an excellent examples of mature scholarship and professional competence. We might mention also Prof. Leopoldo Yabes' work on the **Life of Lam-ang** published a couple of years earlier. Damiana Eugenio's excellent study of Philippine corridos[10] as well as her more recent publication on Philippine proverbs are milestones in scholarship. There may be one more or other isolated publication by some Philippine scholar on a single tale or a group of Philippine folktales. But if you compare the work in analysis with the volume of the material to be analyzed, one must admit that our analytical output, to date, has been quite minimal.

Division of Paper

This paper is divided into the following parts: (1) A brief survey of the traditional methodology of folklore analysis which may be described as genetico-historical, static and stomistic, centered around the

[6] **Asian Studies** (Tokyo, 1965).
[7] **Philippine Journal of Science,** Vol. 8, pp. 85-118, Sec. D, No. 2 (April, 1913).
[8] **Philippine Studies,** Vol. 14 (July, 1966), pp. 355-395.
[9] **Asian Folklore Studies,** Vol. 27, No. 1 (Tokyo, 1968), pp. 40-80.
[10] **Awit and Korido: A Study of Fifty Philippine Metrical Romances in Relation to Their Sources and Analogues,** Vol. 1 and 2 (UCLA, doctoral thesis, 1965).

content of the folktale with its motif and plots; (2) An exposition of the more modern method of folktale analysis which may be further described as structural, dynamic and holistic, with the center of attention not the content but the form of the folktale; (3) A sampling of the traditional and modern methods of analysis; (4) Suggestions as to how we might begin a scientific and systematic analysis of the vast **corpus** of Philippine folktales.

Part I: The Traditional Method of Analysis

Brief History of Folklore (Folktale) Scholarship

It was William Thoms who made current the term folklore in 1846[11]. But the beginnings of folktale scholarship marks back to the Grim Brothers (Wilhelm and Jakob, 1830-1860) who formulated their famous theory that the Western folktales, particularly those of the Germans, were **detritus**, that is, shavings or remnants, of early Indo-Germanic myths.

Theodore Benfey (1860) came forward with his theory of the pan-Indian origin of the folktales of Europe, claiming that the tales were brought to the West from India at chronologically verifiable times, such as the Persian Wars, the Conquest of Alexander the Great and the Hellenistic period, the rise of Islam, the Mongol invasion, and the Crusades. He was followed soon after by the English Anthropological School (Lang, Frazer, Maccullock, Hartland, 1860-1900) which maintained that folktales originate spontaneously among all primitive peoples both in the West and in the East.

All these earlier theories were concerned one way or the other more with the origins of the folktale rather than with the folktale itself. As scholarship became more sophisticated, they were found to be inadequate and were rightly laid aside.

Beginnings of Scientific Analysis

Kaarle Krohn, a Finnish scholar (1860), was the first to begin what one might term the scientific study of the folktale when he focused his investigation on the tale **itself**. He trained his mental acumen on a group of animal tales, and his aim was to establish first, their Ur-form, or their original form, their birthplace, and the paths which they had traversed as they migrated over the world. He founded the so-called

[11] CF. **The Athenaeum**, No. 982 (August 22, 1846), pp. 862-863.

Finnish School which gradually developed the justly famous historical geographical method under Krohn's most able disciple, Antti Aarne. As mentioned above, the aim of this School was to establish the Ur-form or the archetype of the tale from both the oral and the literary versions. It was historical because it catalogued the written or literary versions in chronological order, while it catalogued the folk or oral versions in geographical sequence. Krohn was insistent that a folktale is one which comes from "the people."

Afterwards, other scholars like Carl von Sydow, the famous Swedish scholar, straightened out and honed the insights of his predecessors. Sydow claimed that neither folklore nor the folktale comes from the people as a whole. For within a given geographical unit, only a very few are tradition bearers. And even among the tradition bearers many are passive, and the so-called active tradition bearers are relatively small in number. He further taught that various traditions are not shared by the people in general. In fact, each tradition is adopted to a particular social group. Thus the traditions of market vendors, of fisherfolk, of farmerfolk, of immigrants, of masons and other craftsmen are quite different from one another. He taught, besides, the theory of **eiko-types** which, translated in modern anthropological terms, simply means the acculturation of the folktale, either as a whole or in its parts: actors, items, incidents. Thus the villains among the various parts of the world could be a giant, a Moor, or the devil, depending on the cultural context in which a tale has rooted itself. Thus in determining the origin, development and spread of the tales, all these factors should be considered. This was a very useful and important insight for which future folklorists must be forever thankful.

More Advances in Folklore Analysis

Out of the Finnish School have come forth scholars of great eminence. At a time when folktale scholarship was very low in conceptual tools for classification, von Sydow proposed during the Paris Congress in 1937 the adoption of categories for classifying the folktale. His categories are:

1) **fable animale**, i.e., a one-episodic animal tale;

2) **joculat**, or one-episodic jest;

3) **fabulat**, or legends. These may be either **belief fabulates**, which are associated with customs and beliefs (ghost stories), or **person fabulates**, which are stories of definitely named persons like Don Pablo Ma-

ralit, said to be the 13th Capitan of Lipa before the eruption of Taal in 1756; and Isidro Guintu, a very strong man who lived in the town of Macabebe, Pampanga; and

4) the **conte,** or long, many-episodic tales, corresponding to Aarne-Thompson's **ordinary tales** and subdivided into: **chimerat** or fairy tales, and **novellat,** or realistic short story.

Von Sydow also coined the term **memorates** or narratives of actual personal experiences, which though not always widely diffused, still sometimes pass into tradition.[12]

The Finnish School, besides its interest in the archetypes and the geographical spread of tales, maintains that the basic unit for the study of the folktale is the motif and the constellation of motifs, i.e., on the plot or tale-type. Spurred on by this conviction, two very scholarly and monumental works have been written:

First, Antti Aarne's **The Types of the Folktale: a Classification and Bibliography,** translated and enlarged by Stith Thompson (Helsinki, 1961), where the various Indo-European tales and their variants are ordered and numbered under the general categories of:

I. Animal Tales (Nos. i-299)
II. Ordinary Tales (Nos. 300-1199)
III. Jokes and Anecdotes (Nos. 1200-1999)
IV. Formula Tales (Nos. 2000-2399)
V. Unclassified Tales (Nos. 2400-2499)

Other scholars have worked out similar type-motif indexes of tales of other peoples. For instance, Lourits Bodker, **Indian Animal Tales: a Preliminary Survey** (Helsinki, 1957); Stith Thompson and Warren E. Roberts, **Types of Indic Oral Tales: India, Pakistan and Ceylon** (Helsinki, 1960); Lauri Simonsuuri, **Typen-und Motivverzeichnis der Finnischen Mythischen Sagen** (Helsinki, 1961); Gerald Bordman, **Motif-Index of the English Metrical Romances** (Helsinki, 1963); Keigo Seki, **Types of Japanese Folktales, Asian Folklore Studies** Vol. XXV (Tokyo, 1966) 1-220; Seasy, **Classification of Motifs in the Traditional Ballads of Spain;** and Damiana Eugenio, a **Motif-Index of Corridos** based on Stith Thompson, Bordman and Seasy, an appendix to her dissertation, **Awit and Korido: A**

[12] Cf. "Folktale Studies and Philology: Some Points of View," **Selected Papers on Folklore,** ed. Laurits Bodker (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde og Baggers Forlag, 1948), pp. 189-219.

Study of Fifty Philippine Metrical Romances in Relation to Their Sources and Analogues.[13]

This scholarly activity on an international scale has brought about greater interchange among scholars of various nationalities, thus paving the way to better understanding and consortium.

The second great contribution of the Finnish School to folktale scholarship is the six-volume monument to Stith Thompson's unflagging scholarship, his **Motif Index of Folk Literature** which tries to catalogue as in a lexicon or dictionary all the motifs of folktales from all over the world, whether written or oral. Unlike the **Tale Type Index,** which limits itself to the Folktales of Europe, West Asia, and the lands settled by these people, the **Motif Index** is much more pretentious: it attempts to cover all the regions of the globe.

There have appeared from members of the Finnish School excellent studies on particular folktales or motifs as these are found all over the world. To mention just a few, Anna Birgitta Rooth studied **The Cinderella Cycle** (Sweden, 1951),. and again in 1962 **The Raven and Carcass: an Investigation of a Motif in the Deluge Myth in Europe, Asia and North America.**[14] Ake Hultkrantz in 1957 did a volume on **The North American Orpheus Tradition.**[15] The other studies include: Archer Taylor's **The Black Ox: a Study in the History of a Folktale** (Helsinki, 1927); Antti Aarne's **Die Magische Flucht:** eine Marchen-studie (Helsinki, 1940); Reidar Th. Christiansen, **The Migratory Legends: a Proposed List of Types with a Systematic Catalogue of the Norwegian Variants** (Helsinki, 1958).

Critique of the Finnish School

Scholarly studies undertaken by the Finnish historico-geographical school have enriched folkloristics with a profound and comprehensive view of the stores of folktales and of legends, as well as of their life in tradition. In this regard the works of Axel Olrik and Molkte Mos have been of exeptional importance.[16]

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[13] A doctoral thesis at the University of California, Los Angeles, 1965.

[14] Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 1962, with illustrations and bibliography, 268 pp.

[15] Stockholm: The Ethnographic Museum of Sweden, Monograph Series, Vol. 2.

[16] A. Olrik, "Epic Lawa of Folk Narrative," translated by Jeanne P. Steager from the German "Epic che Gesetze der Volksdrichtung," **Zeitschrift fur Deutsches Alter tun,** Vol. 51 (1909), pp. 1-12, and Molke Moe, **Episke Grundlove** (Kristiania, 1914).

But the Finnish Method has not been productive of deeper insights into the ultimate nature of the folktale and of folklore; nor has it prepared folklorists to enter into meaningful and constructive consortium with scholars from other disciplines except the litterateurs and the philologists. Yet, since the days of the British Anthropological School, hints were already seen of the possible linkage of folkloristics with other disciplines which study human behavior, since folktale telling was seen to be a very venerable and universal phenomenon or behavior. It is as universal as language and religion, and is found among the "primitives" as well as those far advanced on the road to culture and civilization. This lack of rapport with the behavioral sciences has been mainly due to the fact that "while the structural or pattern approach was sweeping through linguistics, psychology, enthnomusicology and anthropology proper in the 1920's and 30's folklore as a discipline remained oriented to a narrowly historical approach and dedicated to atomistic studies. In the thirties, the search for patterns was itself a pattern of culture. However, in the field of folklore, there was apparently no interest in a holistic synchronic approach. The major piece of folklore scholarship of the middle thirties was Stith Thompson's mammoth **Motif-Index of Folk Literature,** lexicon par excellence, epitome of the atomistic emphasis in folklore. The culture lag in folklore theory has unfortunately increased since the thirties and this is one reason why there have been so few notable theoretical advances in folklore[17].

Vagueness of Conceptual Tools for Analysis

The basic cause for the stunting of theoretical growth in folktale analysis was the failure of folklore scholars to evolve a unit of classification and analysis which may be uniformly applied to all the folk narratives of the world. The concept of motif and types, so well established among folklorists, was not understood on a fairly univocal sense by the scholars. No amount of listing and analysis of the motifs whose denotations were vague to scholars could have been relevant to the other progressive sciences of human behavior. For motif to some scholars meant "incident" or "element," whereas to Thompson it meant either actor, item or incident. Nor did they bother to determine the ultimate constituents of the folktale. Literally, there were as many opinions as there were heads. Boas in 1891 maintained that the constituents of the tale were incident and element; for Reichard (1921), in-

[17] Alan Dundes, "Structural Typology in North American Indian Folktales," **The Study of Folklore** (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc.), p. 207.

cident and episode; for Dubois and Demetracopoulou (1932), element and incident; for Luomala (1940), detail, incident and episode; for Reichard 20 years afterwards (1947), elment and episode. Finally in 1950, Wheeler-Vogelin taught that element and episode (or incident) made up the tale.

It is clear then that the nature of the units of the folktale was not adequately defined. The units remained vague, and no fine distinction was established between "elements" and "episodes." Thompson himself was at a loss to define clearly what the exact meaning of "motif" or "type" was. As is clear from his **tale-Type Index,** the largest number of traditional tales consist of only single-incident motifs. And Thompson himself admits that in the case of animal tales, "all, except about eight are single-motif tales or can be easily classified as such."[18] And Thompson admits that in such cases," type and motif are identical.[19]

Only recently, Thompson again admitted the vagueness of the limits of motif unit. He said: "I have found that perhaps the most difficult question ever asked me in connection with this Index is the leading question—what is a motif? To this there is no short and easy answer. Certain items in narrative keep on being used by story tellers; they are the stuff out of which tales are made. It makes no difference exactly what they are like. If they are actually useful in the construction of tales, they are considered to be motifs."[20] Nor is Thompson very clear either as to the precise definition of a folktale: "The term folktale, as used in English, is very inclusive. No attempt has ever been made to define it exactly, but it has been left as a general word referring to all kinds of traditional narrative..... Such a wide definition is a great convenience in English, since it avoids the necessity of making decisions and often of entering into long debates as to exact narrative genre to which a particular story may belong."[21] This failure to define basic terms and the apparent indifference to working with undefined terms seems to be characteristics of the older generation of folklorists.

Perhaps this imprecision is tolerable in historical and comparative

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[18] Stith Thompson, "Purpose and Importance of an Index of Types and Motifs," **Folkliv,** Vol. 2 (1938), p. 106.

[19] Cf. Stith Thompson, Type," **Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology, and Legend,** Vol. 2 (New York, 1950), p. 1137.

[20] Stith Thompson, "Narrative Motif-Analysis as a Folklore Method," **FFC,** No. 161 (Helsinki, 1955), p. 7.

[21] Stith Thompson, "Folktale," **Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend,** Vol. 1, p. 408.

studies. But a vague unit like the motif cannot be the basis for a scientific study of the folktale.

Besides the vagueness of the motif as a basic unit of analysis, this methology also suffers from being atomistic. It breaks down the tales into motifs and tale-types. And there it stops. Despite von Sydow's counsel that "folktales must necessarily be studied not according to their types only, but above all by groups, so that the study of the individual type is connected with the study of all types belonging to the same natural group . . . . .," scholars of this School have not come up with a systematic device for viewing the folktales as wholes, but always as parts.

Lacking this solid empirical foundation for analysis, there was no possibility of grounding in reality the superstructure of theories about the nature and character of the folktale and of folklore. Because this method has been concerned mainly with the content of the folktale to the neglect of the form, there was no flexibility in passing from concrete analysis to more abstract statement. For content is labile and changeable, whereas form is dynamic and constant. Lacking a definition of its own proper identity, the discipline of the folktale could not enter into solid and lasting contacts with the other sciences which are oriented to form and structure.

Briefly, then, the following are on the credit side of the traditional method of analysis:

It has been able to establish, with varying degrees of approximation, the original text of a given tale abstracted from all its variants, both oral and written.

It salvaged for the coming generations a lot of the lore of the past which otherwise could have been lost forever, to the impoverishment of culture.

Through its atomistic method of isolating and classifying the labile or inconstant elements, through which the structure is manifested according to different cultural coloring, this method also made possible some insight into underlying structure or dynamic element of the folktale. Through the comparative method carried over a vast area, regularities and constants are liable to surface, thus making it possible to discover yet more profound and basic regularities based in structure.

On the debit side are the following:

It was vague in its terminology. It had no precise definition of

folktale, motif, plot, incident, element, episode, etc.

It was wanting in a definite structural unit of analysis.

Its approach was atomistic rather than holistic. Thus it could not consort meaningfully and fruitfully with other humane and social disciplines which were oriented to structure and morphology.

Part Two: The Structural School of Folklore Analysis (The Modern Method)

Brief Historical Overview

Roman Jakobson pointed out in 1929 that there was an analogy between language and folklore: "the languages of the whole world manifest a paucity and relative simplicity of structural types; and at the base of all these types lie universal laws. For recurrent character of linguistic patterns is paralleled by similar phenomena in the structure of folktales. If the structural types in language are few and relatively simple, then might we not also find in folktales a paucity and relative simplicity of structural types?"

Hans Honti, a Hungarian folklorist, saw that the traditional tale typology of European tales was not based on solid morphological criteria. Adolf Stender-Petersen in 1945 distinguished between what he termed the dynamic and labile elements of tales and legends. The dynamic elements are the invariable features of a legend (Propp's function), the labile or static elements are the specific variable actualizations or localizations found in a given version of a legend. Dynamic units are linked in logical-causal series. The labile elements are not. Claude Levi-Strauss, who wrote "The Structural Study of Myth," is to be credited as being the first to emphasize the necessity for a synchronic study of myth and for pointing out the importance not of the isolated elements or motifs which enter into the composition but the way these elements combine. For him the units of myth or folktales are "the gross constituent units." Even before these anthropologies, much older scholars had already pointed out the importance of pattern especially in the shaping of specific cultures. Margaret Mead averred that the idea of pattern was already by 1925 in wide use in anthropology; Ruth Benedict wrote her **Patterns of Culture** in 1934.

But despite the works of men like Roman Jakobson, Stender-Petersen, Levi-Strauss and Alan Dundes, the structural study of the folktale

would not have been started were it not for the Russian folklorist Vladimir Propp, who wrote in 1928 his **Morphology of the Folktale.** By folktale, however, Propp particularly meant the fairy tale, that is the type listed under Nos. 300-749 of Aarne Thompson's **Tale Types.**

Morphology is "the description of the folktale according to its component parts, and the relationship of these components to each other and to the whole." For Propp believes that after one has collected the folktale, the next step is to classify. But in order to classify one must first describe the folktale. But to do so, there must be a precise unit of judging—which ones are to be taken as folktales and which are not. Unlike the earlier scholars, whose basic unit of analysis was the vague concept of motif and plot or type, Propp devised a new basic unit, the function, which was essentially a unit of folktale plot action. The function is often defined by a noun expressing an action, such as Interdiction-Violation, Struggle-Victory, Deception, Pursuit, etc. His principal principles are:

(1) Functions serve as stable, constant elements in folktales, independent of who performs them, and how they are fulfilled by the dramatis personae. They constitute the components of the folktale.

(2) The number of these functions are limited (he discovered 31).

(3) The sequence of these 31 functions was fixed. Below, the 31 functions are enumerated.

The Stability of Functions

Functions are stable. The dramatis personae may be varied, but the functions remain the same. For instance, a folktale generally begins with the function of "absence" which is followed by an interdiction or a negative order or command. Who may be absent? They could be parents who leave for work, a prince out to hunt in the forest, a merchant out to trade in foreign lands. So absence may be: going to work, going to the forest, departing in order to trade, leaving for war, etc. But an intensified kind of absence could be the death of parents. Sometimes it is the younger set who absent themselevs: they ride or walk to someone as guests, like Little Red Riding Hood, or they go out to gather berries, or they leave to look for adventure, like Juan Pusong.

An interdiction is usually addressed to the hero. "You are not to open the box," (Pandora); you are not to look back at your bride before you reach the upper world (as in the case of Orpheus); you are not to say anything at all, however strong the provocation, etc.

It might be noted, too, that folktale presents a sudden emergence of misfortune which is usually already hinted at right at the beginning (members of family are enumerated, future hero is introduced in some manner, his name is revealed or status indicated). Though not necessarily a function, the initial situation is an important morphological element. For it sets the tone, so the speak, and allows the emergence of misfortune or villainy to begin.

Interdiction can be also a form of address to someone which can be an injunction (order or command): "Bring food to your brothers in the field," as in the case of Joseph and his brethren; "Take the child with you to the woods," as in the case of Oedipus Rex.

Again, Function No. 22: "Hero is rescued from Pursuit or Rescue," may be manifested in a number of ways: hero is carried away by an animal, he throws magic flight obstacles into the path of his pursuer like comb, or mirror which forms into water, or earth which forms into mountains, etc; or by transforming himself into an object unrecognizable to his pursuer; or by means of a magic carpet, or a shield.

Paucity of Functions

For even as the structural components of language are relatively few, so also are the components of the folktale as Roman Jakobson had seen. There are only 31 functions, according to Propp. These 31 functions do not necessarily occur in any one given folktale. Nor are they of equal importance. The only obligatory function, according to Propp, is No. 8: "Villain causes harm or injury to one member of the family or Villainy." For it is this function, according to Propp, which creates the actual movement of the folktale.

A morphological equivalent to Villainy, according to Propp, is that of Function 8a: One member of a family lacks something, he desires to have something: a bride, he needs magical agents, or simply that the means of existence are insufficient." Thus either villainy or insufficiency can initiate a folktale's movement. Often a villainous act can create lack or need: heroine's eyes are plucked, a dragon kidnaps the king's daughter, a villain steals the daylight out, or a large dead fish lands on the shore, or a large stone falls from the sky upon the plaza, etc. Propp distinguishes between functions 8 and 8a: In the first instance(i.e., Villainy), a certain act is given, the result of which creates an insufficiency and provokes a quest; in the second, a ready-made insufficiency is presented, which provokes also a quest. In the first instance, a lack

is created from without; in the second it is realized from within." Therefore "in those tales in which no villainy is present, a lack serves as its counterpart."

For Propp the first seven functions are "the preparatory section of the folktale." These functions prepare the way for the villainous act or the state of insufficiency. However, all the seven functions are never encountered in one folktale. The reason is that there are basically two alternatives, consisting of paired functions. There are Functions 2 and 3 on the one hand: "The villain attempts to deceive his victim in order to take possession of him or of his belongings" and "The victim submits to deception and thereby unwittingly helps his enemy." Deceit and Deception, as well as Interdiction-Violation, can lead to a villainous act or a condition of insufficiency or lack. Thus, if one is found in a folktale, the other pair may be unnecessary.

Sequence of These Functions

This brings us to the third principle of Propp's analysis. For there are functions that go in pairs and where one is given, the other must be there, either explicitly or impliedly. There are a number of these paired functions: Struggle/Victory (16 and 17); Pursuit/Rescue (21 and 22); and probably the most important pair is: Villainy (Lack or Need) and Liquidation of initial misfortune or lack (8 or 8a and 19). When only one member of the pair appears, usually it is the second half of the twin function. For instance, if Deception is present, then one can understand that there has been deceit. But if Deceit is present, then inevitably deception follows. If a violation is given (Pandora opens the box), then it is understood that she had been interdicted from opening it. Usually, if both functions of a pair are given, they appear in sequence. The only exception to this rule is the twin function of Villainy/Lack and its Liquidation. Propp hmself noted that "Villainy and its liquidation are separated from each other by a long story," In fact the story may be so long that what is found is not the same as what was lost. For instance, Ivan sets out to look for his stead, and he comes home with a wife. This separation between the halves of the fundamental pair of functions 8/8a and 19 is an important point in comparing the structural types of American folktales and the structure of Indo-European folktales.

In sum, then, the invaluable contribution of Propp to folklore scholarship from a theoretical point of view is that "he more adequately defined a unit of form, the function; he demonstrated the fixed nature

of the sequence of a number of his units in folktale; he showed how tales of apparently totally different content could in fact belong to an identical structural type, defined by statable morphological criteria."[22]

Pike and His Etic-Emic Units

Kenneth L. Pike considers language as verbal behavior which is a portion of human behavior in general. Since units, such as the phoneme, have been devised to describe verbal behavior, why may not we extend these units to include more of the gamut of human behavior? In his analysis of the four structural parts of the human meeting situation: greeting, request, reply, and sign off, he shows how gestures may fill a structural slot instead of words. Thus, he says: "language events and non-language events may constitute structurally equivalent members of classes of events which may constitute interchangeable parts within the larger unit events."[23] Pike distinguishes between the atomistic approach and the pattern or structural approach. He expresses this distinction by etic versus emic. The terms are from the last syllables of phonetic and phonemic.

The etic approach is non-structural and classificatory in that the analyst devices logical categories of systems, classes, and units without attempting to make them reflect actual structure in particular data. Etic constructs are created by the analysts and are not inherent in the material being studied. Etic systems are created specifically to handle cross-cultural or comparative data. The data in its context is not taken into consideration. Etic systems are the HRAF and the **Motif-Index.**

The emic approach is a structural one. Structural in that the analyst seeks to discover and "describe the pattern of a particular language or culture with respect to the way in which the various constituent elements are related to one another and to the pattern as a whole."

Pike says: "An emic approach must deal with particular events as parts of larger wholes to which they are related and from which they obtain their ultimate significance, whereas an etic approach may abstract events, for particular purposes, from their context or local system of events, in order to group them in a world-wide scale without essential references to any one language or culture."

Emic units within this theory are not absolutes in a vacuum, but

[22] Alan Dundes, **Morphology,** p. 51.
[23] **Ibid., p 55.**

rather are points in a system, and these points are defined relative to the system. A point must be studied, not in isolation, but as part of a total functioning componential system within a total culture.

"The objection that a formulation deals with abstractions and not 'realities' is a vacuous one, because there is no such thing as a description of 'concrete reality.' No matter how minutely one were to describe a 'neuron' or the sequence of events associated with the interaction of neurons, one would not be describing 'reality' but only selecting certain aspects of it considered pertinent to the problem at hand, that is, abstracting. The question now, therefore, is whether abstractions are used in constructing theories from which other relations can be predicted. The verification of predictions implied in the theories is, of course, the test of their truth. But even if the predictions fail to be realized, the framework of the theory is often such that the way to refinement and correction becomes evident and thus progress in the search for truth can be realized."[24]

Pike's Structural Model

Pike gives three complex overlapping components of emic units. These components he calls modes. The three modes are: the feature mode, manifestation mode and distribution mode. Pike thus delineates a simultaneous trimodal structuring. Let us apply this to Propp's function.

As an emic unit, the function includes all three modes, but the overall generalized meaning of the function would correspond to the feature mode.

For instance, the feature mode of Function 8 would be "Villainy." The manifestation mode would consist of all the non-simultaneous-occurring physical variants of the function, like an enemy murders the father, a dragon kidnaps the princess, the stepmother maltreats Cinderella. In other words, the manifestation mode is the sum of all the different elements which can fulfill a given function. The distribution mode would consist of the positional characteristics of a particular function, that is, where among the 31 functions possible it occurs. Thus Function 8 may occur in initial position or after a number of functions from one to seven.

Propp certainly offered the discipline of folkloristics with the very useful structural unit of form for analysis, i.e., the function. But Propp

[24] Ibid., p. 58.

did not standardize any term for the elements which fulfill the functions, i.e., the constituents of the manifestation mode.

Pike labels the minimum unit of his feature mode as the **emic motif** or **motifeme.** This actually corresponds to Propp's function. So Dundes suggests that **motifeme** be used instead of Propp's function because it has not received approval in folkloristic circles. Then the term **allomotif** would be used for those motifs which occur in any given motifemic context.

The term **motifs,** already so well established in folklore scholarship, could be retained to refer to the elements fulfilling the motifemes, elements which Propp left nameless.

As we mentioned above, the dynamic elements in folktale are causally and functionally related, while the labile are not. So in terms of Dundes' proposal, we may say that there are structurally related sequences of motifemes, not of motifs.

Motifs in folktale are structurally related only in the that the motifemes which they manifest are so related. The structural sequence of motifemes is maintained regardless of the specific motifs which may manifest these motifemes. Thus the patterning of motifemes, not the patterning of motifs, should be the object of study.

Motifs as etic units are not under censure here. But only as structural unit of analysis. Motifs can be either item or actor. In a given motifeme, an actor or item might be interchanged freely. As a dramatis persona, an actor is not a structural unit of the folktale, but as an etic unit, he might occur in a motifeme. Etic systems, as we know, are utilitarian, classificatory systems which are not constructed with the idea of reflecting actual structure in data. Thus, in a dictionary, there may be several suffixes like 'ing' scattered throughout the book and listed alphabetically according to normal orthography. Etically, this is alright. But emically, the suffixes would be grouped differently, probably in groups based on functional similarities. Etically, there is no quarrel with the arrangement of the **Motif-Index.** But emically, or structurally speaking, quite diverse etic motifs might be grouped together.

The operative terms, then, for analysis are: **motifeme-allomotifs-motifs**

Motifeme, generally speaking, corresponds to Propp's Function.

Motifs are the elements, actors, items, which manifest the motifeme.

Before proceeding, it would be worthwhile, I think, to present to you in full the "functions" of Propp, or the "motifemes" as Dundes prefers to call them. I have tried to summarize these from Propp's **Morphology.**[25]

The Functions of Propp or the Motifemes

The Initial Situation. The members of the family are named, or the future hero is introduced one way or the other. His name and status are revealed. Although not a "function" itself, the Initial Situation is an important morphological element.

1. **Absence:** One of the members of a family is absent from home: to work, to hunt, to trade, to war. **Death** is an intensified form of absence on the part of parents.

2. **Interdiction:** An interdiction, or a negative injunction or command, is addressed to the hero. Folktale very often presents a sudden emergence of misfortune. This emergence is usually the outcome of an initial happy or prosperous state. For instance, "the king had a wonderful garden in which golden apples grew"; or "the old men fondly loved their Ivasecko," etc. Out of this situation of happiness or prosperity stems the interdiction. For instance, "do not pluck the fruits of the golden apples," or "on a particular day, do not fondle your Ivasecko," etc. An order often plays the role of an Interdiction. For instance, the children are urged to go out into the field or the forest.

3. **Violation:** The Interdiction is violated. Violation can sometimes exist without the Interdiction. "The princesses go into the garden; they are late in returning home." Interdiction against lateness is omitted.

At this point the Villain, the disturber of the peace of some family, who causes some harm or misfortune, enters.

4. **Reconnaissance:** The villain makes an attempt at Reconnaissance. His aim is to secure information about, say, where the children live, where the treasure is hidden, etc.

5. **Delivery:** The villain receives information about his victim. The delivery of the information may be spontaneously given to the villain in answer to his query, or it may be unwarily and carelessly supplied. "A woman calls her son home in a loud voice and thereby betrays his presence to the witch."

[25] **The Morphology of the Folktale,** (Indiana, 1928), pp. 24-59.

6. **Fraud:** The villain attempts to deceive his victim in order to take possession of him or his belongings. Villain usually puts on a disguise. Then the function follows: villain attempts persuasion, villain acts by application of magic means, e.g., sleeping potion.

7. **Complicity or Deception:** The victim submits to Deception and thereby unwittingly helps the enemy. Hero agrees to the villain's persuasions. Note that Interdictions are **always broken,** and deceitful proposals are **always accepted** and **fulfilled.**

The hero mechanically reacts to the use of magical potions and he sleeps. It is also possible for Complicity to exist **without** previous deception. Hero falls asleep by himself in order, of course, to render easy the villain's tricks.

Deceitful agreement constitutes a special form of deceitful proposal and assent. Assent here is compelled because the villain takes advantage of a bad situation in which the victim is caught: shipwrecked, extreme poverty, etc. At times, the villain produces the very same hardships for the hero, e.g., a bear seizes the king by the beard. This may be called "initial misfortune."

8. **Villainy:** The villain causes harm or injury to one member of a family. This is a very important function. Because of it the actual movement of the folktale is created. Absence, violation of interdiction, delivery of information, success of a deceit—all are mere preparation in a folktale. The plot begins with an act of villainy. The forms of villainy are extremely varied.

8a. **Lack:** One member of a family lacks something, he desires to have something. Many folktales do not begin with a misfortune, but with a lack, or with a state of surplus. The tale of Emel, the fool, begins with the fool's catching a pike, not with villainy. Generally, the elements Villainy and Lack are required for each folktale of the class being studied. "Other forms of initial plot do not exist."

9. **Mediation** or the **Connective Moment:** Misfortune or shortage is made known: the hero is either approached with a request and responds to it of his own accord, or is commanded and dispatched. Propp distinguishes between the two types of folktale heroes: 1) the Seeker-hero and the 2) Victim hero. In the second type, the thread of the narrative is linked to the facts of a kidnapped boy or girl and not to those who remain behind.

10. **Counteraction:** The seeker agrees to, or decides upon, counter-

action. This function is true only of folktales whose heroes are of the seeker-type. Banished, vanquished, bewitched and substituted heroes show no volitional aspiration toward freedom. Therefore, in their case, there is no element of decision or agreement.

11. **Departure:** The hero leaves home. This departure is something different from temporary absence as we have in Function 2. The departures of the seeker- and the victim-heroes are varied. The seeker is in search for his goal. The victim travels along a route where no search is involved, but which rather prepares a series of adventures for him. If a girl is abducted and a hero goes in pursuit of her, then two have left home. But the route followed by the story and the focus of the action is actually the route of the seeker.

In the case of seekers, a new character enters: the "donor" or the "provider." He is usually come upon by **accident**. From him the seeker obtains some means (usually magical) to finally liquidate the misfortune. Before this, however, the hero will undergo a number of adventures which will eventually bring him to the possession of the magical agent.

12. **First Function of Donor:** Hero is tested, interrogated, attacked, etc, in preparation for receiving either a magical agent or a magic helper.

13. **Hero's Reaction:** The hero reacts to the actions of the future donor. In many folktales, the reaction of the hero is either clearly positive or clearly negative.

14. **The Provision, Receipt of Magical Agent:** A magic agent is at the disposal of the hero. Magical agents can be any of the following: 1. Animals (horse, or eagle, etc); 2. Objects out of which helpers appear; 3. Objects possessing a magical property, such as cudgels, swords, fiusla, balls, etc; 4. Qualities or capacities which are directly given (theriomorphism, etc). All of these objects of transmission are conditionally termed magical. As soon as a magical agent is received, it is employed at once. Outwardly, after this, the hero becomes "useless" since the helper performs everything. Yet the significance of the hero, morphologically speaking, is still very great. For it is his intentions which create the pivot on which the narrative is based. These intentions are expressed in the various commands which the hero gives to his helpers.

Propp then digresses and gives a definition of a hero in fairytale. "The hero of a fairytale is that character who either directly suffers from the action in the initial plot of the villain or who agrees to liquidate some misfortune or shortage of another person. In the process of the

action, the hero is the person who is supplied with a magical agent (a magical helper), and who makes use of it."

15. **Spatial Translocation Between Two Kingdoms, Guidance:** The hero is transferred, reaches, or is led to the whereabouts of an object of search. **Delivery,** or Function 5, is often eliminated. The hero simply walks to some spot or other. In other words, Function 15, or Spatial Translocation, amounts to a natural continuation of Function 11: **Departure.**

16. **Struggle:** The hero and the villain join in direct combat. This function must be distinguished from the struggle (hand-to-hand skirmish) with a villainous donor. The norm for distinction is the effect they produce. If the hero obtains an agent, for the purpose of further seeking, as a result of combat with a villainous character, this would be Function No. 12. First Function of Donor: to test, attack, interrogate hero. Function No. 16, Struggle, would be present if the hero were to receive, as a result of struggle, the very object of quest for which he was dispatched.

17. **Branding, Marking:** The hero is branded. His body is tattoed, is wounded, is kissed with a mark imprinted on his cheek, receives a ring or towel.

18. **Victory:** The villain is defeated. Victory can also be attained in a negative way. Of two or three heroes who have assembled for combat, one hides , while the other is victorious.

19. **Liquidation of Lack or Initial Misfortune:** This function, together with No. 8 **(Villainy),** constitutes a pair. The narrative reaches its peak in this function.

20. **Return:** The hero returns. A **Return** often has the character of a a flight from someone or something.

21. **Pursuit, Chase:** The hero is pursued.

22. **Rescue:** The hero is rescued from pursuit. Many folktales end on the note of rescue from pursuit. Hero arrives home and subsequently, marriage. However, often another misfortune is in store for the hero. An initial villainy is repeated, either in the same form as at the start of the tale, or as sometimes happens, in a different form. With this a new story commences.

Many folktales, then, are composed of two kinds of functions which may be labelled "moves." A new villainous act creates a new story.

23. **Unrecognized Arrival:** The hero, unrecognized, arrives home or in another country. There are two classes of **Unrecognized Arrivals:** 1. Arrival at home where a hero stays with some sort of artisan (goldsmith, tailor, shoemaker); 2. He arrives either as a cook, groom. Sometimes it is necessary to single out and designate even a simple arrival.

24. **Difficult Task:** A difficult task is proposed to the hero. This is one of folktale's favorite elements. Tasks are varied.

25. **Solution:** The task is accomplished. Forms of accomplishment correspond to the forms of tasks.

26. **Recognition:** The hero is recognized. He is recognized by the brand, the sear, or by a ring or towel, etc. In this case **Recognition** is a function which corresponds to No. 17 (**Branding** or **Marking**).

27. **Exposure:** The false hero is exposed.

28. **Transfiguration:** The hero is given a new appearance.

29. **Punishment:** The villain is punished.

30. **Wedding:** The hero is married and ascends the throne.

Part Three: Specimens of Folktale Analysis: The Historico- Genetical Method

What follows is a synopsis of Stith Thompsom's analysis of the "Star Husband Tale."[26] The method, in brief, is as follows:

1. Thompson located and collected as many versions as possible, of the "Star Husband Tale," which he arranged by culture and areas, moving from the western United States to the eastern.

2. Next he inspects the corpus of texts closely, then breaks them into principal traits. These traits show some variations. By means of the variations of the content of the traits, it is possible to distinguish smaller groups of versions sharing a particular subtrait.

3. Then the hypothetical archetype is established by individually looking at each trait in order to determine what was the probable archetypal form of a given trait. The folklorist takes into account such factors as early recording, literary versions, and widespread or minimal distribution.

[26] Cf. Dundes, **The Study of the Folktale.**

4. As soon as the archetype for each individual trait has been determined the list of archetypal traits is put together into a running narrative, and this is considered to be the possible basic type or archetype of the entire tale. The hypothetical archetype is, of course, only an abstraction from the many versions, and may or may not coincide with even one of the versions actually recorded in the original corpus.

As Alan Dundes remarks, this method is important in determining whether and how a particular informant has varied a tale. Yet further questions remain to be answered: Why did the archetype, assuming it is a valid reconstruction, arise in the first place? Why did subtypes evolve and why did they evolve precisely where they did? Why is a tale in its many forms continually told or why did it cease to be told? To answer these questions, no one approach is sufficient. One should call upon other approaches. The tracing of historical origins and of paths of diffusion are a part of this discipline. The study of psychological origins and of function is also part of it.

Traits of the Tale

a. Number of women, b. Introductory action, c. Circumstances of introductory action, d. Method of ascent, e. Identify of husband, f. Distinctive qualities of husband, g. Birth of son, h. Taboo broken in upper world, i. Discovery of skyhole, j. Assistance in descent, k. Means of descent, l. Result of descent, m. Explanatory element, n. Sequel.

Cultural Areas

Eskimo, Mackenzie, North Pacific Area, California Area, Plateau Area, Plains Area, Southeast Area, Woodland Area.

Analysis of the Principal Traits

a. **Number of women:** One or two; or two at beginning, then only one; three, five.

b. **Introductory action:** Wish for star husband; Pursuit of porcupine; Sun and moon dispute about women and decide to get earth and water wives; Miscellaneous: girls carried to sky-world by supernatural beings; Elopement; Girls run away to sky world.

c. **Circumstances of introductory action** (What girls were doing when

action begins): Sleeping (lying) in open at night, Sleeping on an arbor, Stars seen through roof, Performing tasks: digging roots, gathering wood, etc.

d. **Method of ascent:** Not indicated, Stretching tree (warning from friend), Translation during sleep, Carried through air with closed eyes, Carried through air by hair, Carried in a basket, Transportation in whirlwind, Transportation by feather.

e. **Indentity of husband:** Not indicated, Moon, Moon and Sun, Thunder, Porcupine, Man, Whirlwind.

f. **Distinctive qualities of husband:** None, Old Man, Young Man, Middle-aged man (Old man's eye water, and young man's war paint), Two men with different colored bankets, Red Star Sun and White Star Moon, Dim Star Chief, Bright Star His Servant, One-Sided Man, Hunters.

g. **Birth of son:** No, yes

h. **Taboo broken in Upper World:** No taboo broken, Digging or disturbing ground, Digging roots of various kinds, Moving large rocks, digging in valleys, looking and shooting at meadow lark, Making noise before squirrel or chickadee sings.

i. **Discovery of skyhole:** Trait not present, by own efforts, at another's suggestion, with another's assistance.

j. **Assistance in descent:** Lacking, Spider (Spiderwoman, Spiderman), Old Woman, Old Man, Husband, Sister of Star, Buzzard, Hawk, Eagle.

k. **Means of descent:** No descent, Descent by means not specified, Basket, Rope (Skin rope, sinew rope, wool rope, spider rope, root rope, grass rope, weed rope, bark rope), ladder, bucket, falling, descent with taboo, looking taboo, stirring taboo.

Results of descent: Lacking, safe descent, later killed, woman (women) killed, woman killed, later revived, woman killed, son saved, one woman falls.

Explanatory elements: No explanations, heavenly bodies, moon and stars, geographical features, vegetable and animal features (origin of turnips, origin of animals, animal markings, bodily shape of animal, blindness of animal), human society (sun dance ceremony, backward state of the Indian), personal characteristics (time for human gestation, why young women dislike old husbands), medicine (treatment of wound), miscellaneous explanations (origin of taboo, painting of lodges).

Sequel: No sequel, Plains Star Boy Sequel (boy becomes transformed), trickster animals under tree, Sky War Sequel, Origin Myth Sequel, Buffalo Husband Sequel, Return of Sky Sequel.

Construction of Basic Type and Subtypes

Type I: Basic Tale Archetype

Two girls (65 per cent) sleeping out (85) make wishes for stars as husbands (90). They are taken to the sky in their sleep (82) find themselves married to stars (87), a young man and an old man, corresponding to the brilliance or size of stars (55). The women disregard the warning not to dig (90) and accidentally open up a hole in the sky (76). Unaided (52), they descend on a rope (88) and arrive home safely (76).

Type II: Porcupine Redaction (Subtype)

A girl (100), while performing a task (84), follows a porcupine (95) up a tree which stretches to the upper world (95). The porcupine becomes the moon (45), the sun (25), or a star (15) in the form of a young man (30). The girl marries him and bears a son (95). She is warned not to dig (80) but disobeys and discovers a skyhole (85). By her own efforts (45) or by the help of her husband (25), she descends on a sinew rope (85), but it is too short. The husband sends down a rock with instructions to kill the wife and spare the son (85). Sequel: The adventures of Star Boy (Moon Boy or Sun Boy) (90).

Other types are: Type III: Animal Trickster Under Tree, Type IV: Origin of the Transformer, and Type V: The Sky War.

The following tales are shortened versions of the originals. They are given here to highlight the functions found in them.

Tale 1. When Aguio was a little boy he refused to let his father fondle him **(Injunction/Non-fulfillment=Interdiction/Violation).** So his father drove him from home **(Consequence).** He wandered about and became a famous hero **(Departure).** Finally, he was killed by his brother whom he did not know **(Deceit/Deception-Villainy).** His wife chewed **tinalad*** and spat on him **(Helper)** and he became alive again **(Attempted Escape).**[27]

Injunction/Non-fulfillment=Interdiction/Violation, Consequence, Departure, Deceit/Deception, Villainy, Helper/Attempted Escape.

[27] Cole, **The Bukidnon,** p. 131.

Sequel: No sequel, Plains Star Boy Sequel (boy becomes transformed), trickster animals under tree, Sky War Sequel, Origin Myth Sequel, Buffalo Husband Sequel, Return of Sky Sequel.

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[27] Cole, **The Bukidnon,** p. 131.

Tale 2. Aguio once went to another land **(Absence)**. When he had travelled several years he found himself out of provisions **(Lack)**. To add to his trouble his enemies had united to defeat him. They wished to raid his town and to make the children slaves after the men were dead **(Trebling)**. He met his enemies and in several hours of fighting **(Struggle)** succeeded in killing many of them **(Victory, also Lack Liquidated)**. But in the end he was so exhausted **(Lack)** he would have been killed had his brothers **(Helpers)** not come to his aid **(Rescue)** and turn defeat to victory **(Attempted Escape/Lack Liquidated/Victory)**.[28]

Absence, Lack (trebling of lack), Struggle/Victory=Lack Liquidation, Lack, Rescue, Attempted Escape=Lack Liquidation=Victory.

Tale 3. **Adam and Eve.** The Magbabaya made Adam and Eve and put them in the world. Soon they had a son and they did not want him **(Violation=Non-fulfillment)**. They slew him and burned his body in the fire **(Villainy)**. A second son was born, and they killed him also and threw him into the river **(Violence=Non-fulfillment, and Villainy)**. Not long after the Magbabaya came, and when he found **(Mediation)** what they had done he was very angry **(Consequence)**. He gathered up the bones **(Helper)** and made them alive again **(Attempted Escape-Resuscitation)**. The first boy went far away **(Departure)** and became "the holder of the smallpox" **(Transformation)**. Sometimes he returns to visit his brothers **(Return)** and great sickness follows **(Explanatory Motif=Punishment)**. Magbabaya asked the second boy if he wished to live with his parents again **(Interrogation)**, but he said no, for they wished to kill him (Motive for not returning). So he chose to live in the water **(Departure)** and became the spirit Bulalakau **(Transformation)**. Sometimes he visits his brothers **(Return)** and then someone is drowned **(Explanatory Motif=Punishment)**.[29]

Interdiction/Violation = Injunction/Non-fulfillment, Villainy, Interdiction/Violation = Injunction/Non-fulfillment, Villainy (Doubling?), Mediation, Consequence, Helper/Attempted Escape = Resuscitation, Departure, Transformation, Return, Explanatory Motif = Punishment, Interrogation (motive for not returning), Departure, Transformation, Return, Explanatory Motif = Punishment.

[28] **Loc. cit.**

[29] **Ibid.**, p. 128.

Tale 4. How Pilandok Became a Sultan. Pilandok, by order of the sultan, is placed inside a cage and thrown into the sea **(Villainy).** Miraculously he escapes death **(Rescue and Attempted Escape).** Pilandok dresses himself as a rajah, seeks the presence of the sultan and recounts a false story of his rescue: his rich ancestors in the bottom of the sea released him from cage, welcomed him and gave him much treasure. He is returning to them very soon **(Deceit).** The sultan believes the story of Pilandok and asks to be allowed to accompany Pilandok on his return there **(Deception).**

Pilandok remonstrated that his ancestors are expecting his return soon. However, he is quite willing to defer it in favor of the sultan's going there first **(Deceit again and Trebling).** The sultan issues an edict appointing Pilandok his successor until his return **(Deception).** Everyone bows to Pilandok in the sultan's presence **(Deception:doubled).** Pilandok takes a heavy iron cage, places the sultan in it, and pushes him into the sea from a high promontory **(Villainy=Punishment).** Pilandok remains the sultan **(Reward).**[30]

Villainy, Rescue = Attempted Escape, Deceit / Deception, Deceit / Deception (trebling), Deception (doubling), Villainy = Punishment, Reward.

Tale 5. Manik Buangsi—A Samal Story. A sultan had seven beautiful daughters. He married off six. The youngest would not marry despite the wishes of her father **(Injunction-Non-fulfillment = Interdiction / Violation).** She had fallen in love with Manik Buangsi, a supernatural youth whom she saw in her dream **(Motive for Violation).** Manik Buangsi, through a rift in the heavenly floor, had seen the beautiful Tuan Putli, had fallen in love with her, in her sleep, and would marry no one else but her **(Lack).** Both were lovesick and sought God's help **(Continuing Lack and Request).** God allowed Manik Buangsi to visit his beloved on earth for a while.

An old woman asked some alms from Tuan Putli **(Donor and Test).** Tuan gave her alms **(Task Accomplished).** As a return for her goodness, the beggar woman gave her a guava-like fruit **(Magic Object).** She was told to plant it**(Injunction).** She did **(Task Accomplished).** The plant grew and bore fruit overnight. The next day, Tuan Putli plucked the most beautiful of its fruit and brought it inside her room. At night, it

[30] Delia Coronel, "Stories and Legends from Filipino Folknore," **Unitas,** Vol. 39 (December, 1966).

filled her room with light. At midnight, the fruit opened and Manik Buangsi came out and beheld his beautiful love **(Lack Liquidation)**. But at the break of dawn, he reentered the fruit and became enchanted again **(Injunction understood/ Fulfillment)**. Thus it happened for a number of nights. One night after midnight, he forgot to return inside the fruit at dawn because he had fallen asleep contemplating the beauty of his beloved **(Violation)**. Tuan Putli awoke and saw the beautiful face of her lover **(Lack Liquidated-Recognition)**. A royal wedding followed with so much royal gifts **(Wedding)**.

The sisters of Tuan Putli were envious of her good fortune and sought to spoil the love of the two lovers **(Villainy)**. They said that Manik Buangsi was the devil incarnate, that he had been with other women before he married Tuan **(Deceit)**. Tuan Putli at first did not believe them. But gradually she began to suspect Manik Buangsi and finally hated him **(Deception)**. Deeply hurt, Manik decided to return to heaven **(Consequence)** upon a white horse **(Magic Object)**. At last repentant, Tuan Putli requested Manik to allow her to ride away with him to heaven **(Attempted Escape)**. As they fled many obstacles came their way **(Test)** which they successfully overcame **(Tests Accomplished)**. Until finally they came to a long narrow bridge **(Spatial Translocation)** which they had to cross **(Difficult Task)**. Below was the river of the condemned. Manik Buangsi told Tuan to keep silent at all cost and not to look back or down **(Interdiction)**. She promised to comply. As they were crossing, Tuan heard a voice like that of her dead mother calling out to her. She looked down **(Violation)** and a burning wind dragged her down **(Consequence)**.[31]

I. Injunction / Non-fulfillment = Interdiction / Violation (Motive), Lack, Lack (request), Donor and Test / Test Accomplished, Magic Object, Injunction / Task Accomplished, Lack Liquidated, Injunction / Non-fulfillment = Interdiction / Violation, Lack Liquidated = Recognition, Wedding.

II. Villainy, Deceit / Deception, Consequence, Magic Object, Attempted Escape, Tests / Tests Accomplished, Spatial Translocation, Difficult Task, Violation, Consequence.

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[31] **Ibid.**, pp. 513-516.

Part Four: Suggestions Towards a Scientific Analysis of Filipino Tales

General Remarks

It is quite clear that both the traditional and the modern methods of analysis have their own distinct advantages. The advantages of the structural approach may be further specified:

1. Gains for the solution of typology. In linguistics and the study of rituals, scholars have discovered the existence of content-cognates as well as structure-cognates. Through the structure analysis, the folklorists will be able to discover structural patterns in folktales as well as in folklore.

2. Once the patterns are established, the scholar might be able to predict with some exactness the combination of motifemes that will occur. Thus, trickster sees a man with an arrow that could kill any game. Trickster wants the arrow **(Lack)**, the man gives him the arrow **(Lack Liquidation)**. After a limited number of successes, the arrow fails to perform **(Consequence)**. This is a case of what Dundes calls a nuclear motifemic sequence. **(Lack / Lack Liquidation understood / Violation, Consequence)**.

Once this type of sequence is grasped, the scholar can predict with a good degree of exactness this type of sequence.

3. By understanding the mechanics of variations between Asiatic and American Indian and European tales, for instance, we see how the original European tale has became acculturated in a North American Indian tale through the following examples: European: Some wolves resolve to capture someone on top of a tree. They climb on top of one another. When the lowest one runs off, the others fall. The American Indian tale runs like this: Coyote gathers other coyotes to ascend a cliff by holding on to corn cobs inserted into their anuses. They are told not to break wind **(Interdiction)**. The last coyote breaks wind (Violation) the chain tumbles down **(Consequence)**.

We might be able to predict the acculturation such a tale, if any, may assume in the Philippines. We can be sure that monkeys will feature in this tale, that their tails may be the important part of their anatomy concerned, that an interdiction against scratching one's back, or picking the lice on another's head, will be violated, etc. Through structural analysis the folklorist will be able to appreciate the variations due to

cultural preferences, and thus be better able to account for the many variations in content cognates.

4. By means of structural analysis one can study the cultural content of transcultural forms. Thus one might discover the amazing uniformity of the **Injunction/Violation** pair of motifemes in a great number of different tales from one people or from a group of peoples.

Then, too, one is enabled to analyze the other forms of folklore in terms of structure or form, and perhaps a deeper appreciation of the major themes and patterns that run through a particular culture or group of cultures will come about. Dundes, for instance, has discovered great similarity between the structure of the north American Indian tales and their folk beliefs. For instance, in a folktale, a girl is warned not to hunt rabbits **(Intrediction).** She does **(Violation).** A cannibalistic monster appears **(Consequence).** The twin Ahaiyute save her **(Attempted Escape).** The structure of a folk belief runs like this: If a woman eats wafer bread from hunt **(Condition)**, she will bear twins **(Result)** unless the bread is passed around the rung of her house ladder four times **(Counteractant).** In the superstition or folk belief, the **Condition and Resultant** correspond to the folktale's **Interdiction/Consequence.** The **Counteractant** serves as the counterpart of **Attempted Escape.**

As for the benefits we have derived from the genetico-historical method, I simply have to remind you again of the painstaking and meticulous service it has done all of us in locating, collecting and arranging a vast corpus of traditional lore which would otherwise have been lost. Boldly it has reconstructed the original type of the tales which have come down to us in a welter of variants. It has, therefore, solved at least in part the problem of the historical origins of the folktales. And by methodical analysis it has tried to retrace the paths covered by the various tales as they became diffused all over the world. These are no mean contributions to our body of knowledge.

Specific Suggestions: Specialized Collecting

Concretely, however, how may we go about addressing ourselves to the vast corpus of folktales in our archives and libraries, both public and private? First of all, we have to continue locating and collecting our folktales either from written or from oral sources.

But we must begin to collect with better discernment. We must

put a moratorium on the so-called "dragnet" method, whereby we collect all and sundry tales we come upon. Rather, let those of us who have an interest in this science get together and plan a system of collecting aimed at only one or at most two kinds of folktales.

For instance, the scholars at Silliman could specialize in collecting wild animal tales and fables. These are cognate types and those out to collect these two types will have enough work to do. We, at Xavier University, could specialize, say, in ordinary tales. This is a vast field to cover, and we could split it with some other institution. The scholars at the University of San Carlos could collect jokes and anecdotes. Notre Dame of Jolo might want to specialize in formula tales.

The above division of labor is based on the traditional way of classifying the folktale as given by Thompson in his **Types of the Folktales.** Another plan for specialized collection, based on other methods of classification like that of Von Sydow or Lauri Honko, might also be used. We can, for instance, assign for specialized collecting to various scholars the following classes: folk beliefs, memorates (actual personal experience of the supernatural), fabulates (i.e., legends which are oftentimes migratory and are characterized by "their drastic fantasy motifs and their narrative value", their humor, and their exciting nature); local belief legend (proper only to a limited area), belief legends (generally international migratory), enterainment legends, migratory legends, folktale, ficts (pedagogical devices) employed by the elders to keep the youngsters in control), metaphor, charm, prayer or description of a rite, and finally, myth. We can further subdivide the folktale as well as the myth.

This specialized manner of collecting will ensure that the whole gamut of the folktale or folk narrative will be covered through concerted effort.

Collecting of Specific Tale Type

Nor is that all. We must also begin to assign the task of collecting tales with their variants. For instance, within a university, we might assign some of our better trained students to collect all the variants he can lay hands on of the tale of the "Monkey and the Turtle," or the "Tale of the Two Brothers," or "The Tar-Baby Tale," or "The Star Husband Tale." or "The One-Sided Man Tale," or "Juan Pusong Tale."

In this way, we can prepare ourselves for the further task of ana-

lysis in depth of these various tales both as to form and content, or as to structure and content. Or, if the field of specialized collecting happens to be the myth, we might assign students with sufficient initiative and training to gather all the variants of myths about "Creation of the World," or "Creation of Man and Woman," or the "Flood-Myth," or the "Myths of Death," and so on.

Needless to say, this requires a good deal of organization and coordination. To achieve this, various scholars should come together for a couple of days with a previously agreed upon agenda, under the lead of experts (Manuel for epics, Ramos for creatures of lower mythology, Eugenio on the Proverbs, Donn Hart on the riddles, Demetrio on folk beliefs and the folktales, Rixon on myth, Brien on legends, etc.). The purpose is to inspire and instruct other collaborators who will actively participate in the task of specialized collecting.

With collections highly specialized, the next step would be to decide on the manner of analysis. It would be possible, I think, to assign for analysis the same genre or type of folktale to the same people who took care of collecting them. I also believe that both the methods of the genetico-historical school and that of the structural or functional school must be employed. With the analysis of the motifs and the plot-types as proposed and employed by Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson, we should also employ the methology of Propp as further elaborated by Alan Dundes and others. This will, of course, require more than one meeting. And, finally, we must make the fruits of our work available to international and national scholars by publishing them. Perhaps a board of editors will have to be formed for this task. But this is going ahead too far of ourselves.

Mechanics of Recording and Storing

I would rather dwell now on the more concrete mechanics of folktale collecting, recording and classification.

First of all, there is need of supplying every single tale we have with an English title as well as with an English synopsis, whether the tale be long or short. The English title and the English precis are important. First, they will help later on in making the schema for the plot-types after the manner of Antti-Thompson. Second, they will help in the analysis of motifs, although not in great detail. For the synopsis will almost invariably contain the more important motifs of the tale. Third, not all are capable of going through the entire text for lack of know-

ledge in the dialect (should it be in the dialect), or for lack of time (should the text be jotted down originally in English). And the short but adequate synopsis may be the precise thing to excite or interest this particular reader to go more deeply into folkloristics, or at least to make use of it in his chosen field of endeavor. Fourth, if we must not isolate our scholarship but make it relevant to world scholarship, we have to make our own traditions known to the international scholars in a language that is generally used by them, namely, English.

Then, every single tale told in any of the dialects should be accompanied not only with an English synopsis. It must, as far as possible, also be translated into idiomatic English. And this for reasons already given above.

There is need also of questionnaires to be administered by local collectors in the local dialects or in English. Since many of the people in the provinces do not have a good command of English, my advice is to use the vernacular in these questionnaires. There are samples of these which my own staffers have found useful in collecting folktales and other folklore materials.

Finally there is need for a systematic method of recording the folktales or folk beliefs in our archives.

Indian Literature in Southeast Asia

Juan R. Francisco*

This article traces the influence of Indian literature in Southeast Asia. There are two levels at which this influence may be found: in art and religion, and in literature. In literature, the Indian influence is in the following forms: themes and motifs, direct borrowing of Sanskrit originals, and re-narration in Old Javanese, Old Malay and other local languages.

Perhaps the most important feature of Indian presence in Southeast Asia is the existence of a literature very much Indian in origins, or even orientations, in the latter's cultural heritage. Side by side with art and religion, this literature reached its efflorescence between the seventh and the 13th centuries of the present era. It may be interesting to note that the development of Indian literature in Southeast Asia was contemporaneous with that of art and religion, each contributing to the deepening of this influence in the region.

The earliest influx of Indian culture into Southeast Asia may be dated towards the last years of the second century (c. 197 A.D.) with the appearance of an inscription in Funan (now Cambodia) in Sanskrit language and in the script closely related to the South Indian Pallava Grantha. There has been reference to a pre-Christian influence of Indian culture in the area. This is however speculative, for the evidences are without inscriptional associations. By the fifth and sixth centuries A.D., inscriptions in perfect Sanskrit and in Pallava Grantha script appear in steady profusion, side by side with highly sanskritized Javanese and Malay, Cham and Cambodian. The zenith of Indian cultural influences would be about the late seventh century, when Sri Vijaya comes

* This article is a revised version of a lecture delivered at the 14th Annual Southeast Asia Week, Feb. 24, 1970, Silliman University, Dumaguete City. The author is associate professor of Indology, Asian Center, University of the Philippines.

into the full light of history, through the last days of the Madjapahit in the early 14th century. These are, of course, in terms of the inscriptional evidence. But the other evidences, e.g. art, religion and literature, the latter being the subject of the present essay, shall be dealt with very shortly.

Indian literature in Southeast Asia may be viewed in the light of two levels of its influx into the region. The first level is its utilization in the art and religion, which is not the subject of this essay, but on which remarks will be made at the end of this work. The second level is the main concern of this essay, which may be viewed in terms of the following points: Indian themes and motifs; direct borrowing of Sanskrit originals; and re-narration in Old Javanese, Old Malay and other local languages.

Pancatantra: Popular Source of Indian Themes

One of the most popular sources of Indian themes and motifs in the literature of Southeast Asia is the **Pancatantra**, a cycle in five parts, which shall be taken for a **locus classicus** in illustrating this point. The **Pancatantra**, meaning "Five Treatises," is in theory a book of instruction in **niti**, or the conduct of one's affairs, especially intended for kings and statesmen. The little or short tales are contained within the framework of a narrative which tells how a king was distressed at the evil and stupidity of his sons, and entrusted them to a sage who reformed them in six months by telling them a series of fables.[1] The themes and motifs in the fables are the main interest of this essay, although I shall not give details, except to refer to an illustration from another great Indian cycle, the **Kathasaritsagara**, or "streams in the ocean of stories" (see below).

From the **Pancatantra**, there is the "Counting the Chicks Motif" or "The Brahman Who Built Castles in the Air." The story runs thus—

> There was a certain Brahman's son who was plying his studies. He received sacrificial offerings of food in the house of a certain merchant. And when he did not eat there, he received a measure of grits. One time the Brahman was lying on his bed underneath that jar, which he had hung on a wall-peg, having taken a nap in the daytime and waked up again and he was meditating thus: "Very high is the price of grain, and still higher grits, which are food all

[1] A. L. Basham, **The Wonder That Was India** (New York: Grove Press, 1954), p. 450.

prepared. So I must have grits—worth as much as twenty rupees. And if I sell them I can get as many as ten she-goats worth two rupees a piece. And when they are six months old they will bear young, and their offspring will also bring forth. And after five years they will be very numerous, as many as four hundred. And it is commonly reported that for four she-goats you can get a cow that is young and rich in milk, and that has all the best qualities, that brings forth live calves. So I shall trade those same she-goats for a hundred cows. And when they calve, some of their offsprings will be bullocks, and with them I shall engage in farming and raise plenty of grain. From the sale of the grain I shall get much gold, and I shall build a beautiful mansion of bricks, enclosed by walls. And some worthy Brahman, when he sees what a great fortune I have, with abundance of men-servants and maid-servants and all sorts of goods, will surely give me his beautiful daughter to wife. And in the course of time I shall beget on her body a boy that shall maintain my line; strengthened by the merit I have acquired, [he] shall be long-lived and free from disease. And when I have performed for him the birthrite and other ceremonies in prescribed fashion, I shall give him the name of Somasarman. And while the boy is running about, my wife will be busy with her household duties at the time when the cows come home, and will be very careless and pay no heed to the lad. Then, because my heart is completely mastered by love for the boy, I shall brandish a cudgel and beat my wife with my cudgel."

So in his reverie he brandished his cudgel and struck that jar, so that it fell down, broken in a hundred pieces all over himself, and the grits were scattered. Then that Brahman's body was all whitened by the powdered grits, and he felt as if awakened out of a dream and was greatly abashed, and the people laughed at him.[2]

Variations on a Theme

This motif is also found among the various ethnic groups in India like the Panjabi and the Santali. In Panjab, it is a village idiot who breaks a large jar of butter; in Santal, it is a servant who breaks a pot full of oil; and another, a poor brahman who breaks a pot of flour.

In Malay, the motif is woven in the story of a man named Mat Janin who was hired to harvest coconuts. His promised wages would be two coconuts from each of the 25 trees that he shall climb.

[2] **Kathasaritasagara**, Fifth Treatise, pp. 228-229.

When he reaches half-way, he begins to think about what he will do with 50 coconuts. He will sell them at one cent each, thus having 50 cents, for which he will purchase cheap nuts getting 60. Pressing out the oil, he gets ten cents profit. After that he buys fowls, then ducks, goats, buffaloes, elephants. The elephants will bring him a herd, out of which he will get a large amount of money, with which he will buy a ship with cargo. He sails to some other country and marries the daughter of the king. All the pleasures of royal life will be his to boot. Such will be his life, till when he is busy playing chess, the princess calls him. ". . . One of her maids will come and say, 'The princess invites my lord to go in and partake of some slight refreshment.' 'I don't know whether it is really to partake of some refreshment or whether she wants me to fondle her again. Anyhow, I won't worry about her.' A little while after, the princess herself will come and say, 'This fellow was invited to come in but he never paid the slightest attention. Very well, we shall see.' Still I pay no attention to her. In a little while, she comes near me. Then king's son will say, 'Mate.' 'Is that really so?' I will say. 'Mate.' says the king's son again. 'Come along and have your food now,' she will say. But I will say, 'Wait a bit, I have beaten." While this is going on, the princess will dig me on the ribs on the right side, but I will twist away to the left. Then she will poke me on the left hand side, but I will dodge to the right.' "

While he was acting this little piece of dramatic thought, Mat Janin failed to notice that his grip on the coconut leaf was loosened. So he fell and died.[3]

The Philippine paradigm need not be elaborated on for it is indeed familiar to those in folklore scholarship. The paradigm is the song, "Maria Went to Town." One can see the "thread that runs through" all these folk literature without being over-enthused in these resemblances of motif and theme.

"Sound-for-a-Smell" Motif

A second and final illustration would be the theme revolving around the "Sound-for-a-Smell" motif. This motif was dealt with in my book,[4] hence details of the discussion shall not be given; rather a brief outline may be presented here.

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[3] Juan R. Francisco, **Indian Influences in the Philippines** (Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1964), p. 244.

[4] **Ibid.**, pp. 231-236.

This motif has its proto-types in India, and provides interesting folk story motif in Malaya as well as in other areas, including the Philippines. R. O. Winstedt, writing on the origins of Malay folk tales, shows that the Malay tale of the mouse-deer giving verdict over the claim of a rich man on a poor fellow and his wife, who grew fat on the appetite got from the smell of food that is cooking and roasting in the rich man's kitchen is Indian in origin. There are many variants of this tale all over Malaya. A similar tale is found in Laos.

In India, the **Kathasaritsagara**[5] tells of a rich man who promises to pay a musician for singing, but later protests, "you gave me a short-lived pleasure to my ears by playing the lyre, and I give you a short-lived pleasure to your ears by promising you money." In the **Bhisapuppha Jataka,**[6] the Brahmin smells a lotus but he is told by a goddess that it is a crime thus to steal perfume.

There is a similiar tale in the Philippines, but which is known in fiction. Needless to say, this is one of the short stories of the late Carlos Bulosan entitled "My Father Goes to Court," and the story need not be retold because everyone in the field of literature is familiar with it. This story is supposed to have its setting in Binalonan, Pangasinan. However, there is in Batangas a tale similar to the Malay Pelandok (mouse-deer) tale[7]. In brief, the tale may be cited here:

> Juan always passed by a rich man's house while cooking was going on. Juan, usually always hungry and fatigued, inhaled the fragrance and aroma of the food and was satisfied. The rich man, learning of Juan's satisfaction derived from the rich man's food's aroma, demanded payment. Unable to pay, Juan was brought before the king. The king commanded the servant to fetch two silver coins and placed them on the table. "Now, Pedro (the rich man), come here and smell the coins. As Juan became satisfied with the smell of your food, so now satisfy yourself with the smell of the money."

Looking at the **Pancatantra**, for instance, as the **locus classicus** for the paradigm, it has been found not only in motif and theme, but also in versions in Siamese, Laotian, Balinese, Javanese and Madurese literatures. These versions owe their forms from the Sanskrit South Indian

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[5] C. H. Tawney (tr.), **The Ocean of Story,** Vol. V-X, pp. lxiii, 132-133.

[6] The Jataka [Stories of the Buddha's Former Births] (Cambridge University Press, 1957), pp. 191-192.

[7] Dean S. Fansler, **Filipino Popular Tales** (Pennsylvania: Folklore Associate, 1965).

Pancatantra, which is dated within the period of the Sri Vijaya and Madjapahit island kingdoms. This South Indian version which formed the ancestor of these local literatures was an unknown Tamil **Pancatantra.** What is interesting is that by about 1736, this Indian cycle of tales reaches Malaya via the Arabic **Kalilah Wa Dimnah,** which is dated circa 750 A.D., now with the title **Hikayat Kalila dan Damina,** and it becomes the source of a new Javanese (1878) and Madurese (1879) **Pancantra.**

In so far as the literature is concerned, there has not been found original Sanskrit or Tamil versions of any Indian literary piece in Southeast Asia, except the thousands of inscriptions found throughout the area. These inscriptions possess literary qualities, but they are primarily accounts in verse styles of the exploits of the rajas and maharajas inscribing them. Another type of inscriptions are those dedicatory verses addressed to the gods and deities—all Hinduistic as well as Buddhistic—for the good fortune of these rajas and their subjects. They are very much Indian in feeling and sentiment.

These inscriptions do not necessarily reflect the Indian literary tradition, per se. As accounts of exploits of mythical and culture heroes in authentic Sanskrit style and poetics, these inscriptions, however, reflect full understanding of the Sanskrit language—considering that the inscribers belong to a region whose linguistic heritage is entirely alien to that of the language used.

The flowering of Indian literature in Southeast Asia is seen (only?) in the re-narration of epic, even religious, plots, themes and whole episodes, in the local languages at the time—like Old Malay, Old Javanese, Madurese, Balinese, Siamese, Khmer, Cham, etc. The **Pancatantra,** not to mention the equally widespread **Kathasaritsagara,** has found home in even the most isolated language and literature in the region. The epic stories of the **Ramayana** and the **Parva-s** [the term **Mahabharata** is not known in the Southeast Asian locus because the epic was not introduced as one whole piece] are retold in the local languages. The epics shall be discussed in greater detail in the next section.

Part II. Indian Literature in Southeast Asia

Mainland and Peninsular Southeast Asia. The most important Indian literature which filtered into Cambodia and Siam is the **Ramayana** epic. In Siam, the **Ramayana** is known as the **Ramakien,** which is more or less a copy of the Indian story of the South Indian version. While there seems to be no known local texts of the **Ramayana** in Cambodia, it may be

safe to assume that the Cambodian ballet which takes for its background story that of the **Rama** epic is based on some texts that have not yet seen print outside Cambodia. Similarly, the source of inspiration of the famous sculptures in bas reliefs in the Angkor Wat and the Angkor Thom are certainly based on texts derived from the **Mahabharata.** There are also known texts in legend form of the Rama story in Annam and Champa (now respectively North and South Vietnam).

Both the **Ramayana** and the **Mahabharata** epics are known in the Malay Peninsula. But according to the evidences, the epics are more or less versions from the Indonesian, or more precisely, the Old Javanese (see below for more details on these Indonesian versions). Indeed, the Malay texts show already some Islamic infusions which, in one way or another, may show Indo-Javanese Islamic development of these versions. Or these Islamic elements may have been infused into the texts at a period of the epic's development in Malay soil.

R. C. Majumdar[8] gives a more precise picture of this development. He writes—

> The Indian influence is equally clear in the numerous stories and fables with which Malayan literature abounds. Even the heroes of Malay romances bear Indian names. It may also be added that the Malay language abounds in Sanskrit words.
>
> The Indo-Javanese influence is clearly proved by the Malayan versions of Bhomakavya, Hikayat Maharaja Boma, and Bhismasvarga, and also the numerous Pantji-texts, such as Hikayat Cheket Waneng Pati, Hikayat Panji Kuda Sumiran, Hikayat Jaran Kinanti Asmarandana, Hikayat Panji Susupan Mesa Kelana, and Hikayat Naya Kusuma.

In spite of all the very clearly Indian character of these pieces of literature, one of the most noticeable traits that may be pointed out is the presence of, or references to, many Islamic practices and beliefs in these works. This may only be explained in terms of the attempt of the Malays to make these relevant to the new orientation—Islamic institutions and religion.

Insular Southeast Asia. The area in Southeast Asia where Indian literature had flourished very extensively is the Indonesian Archipelago,

[8] R. C. Majumdar, **Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East,** Vol. II-Suvarnadvipa, Part 2 (Calcutta: Modern Publishing Syndicate, 1938) pp. 97-98.

particularly in the islands of Java and Bali. The literature falls under definite periods of the development, **e.g.**, Old Javanese, Middle Javanese, and New Javanese, within the context of the development of the Indonesian languages. Old Javanese indicates the language which was current up to the fall of Madjapahit and the Middle Javanese indicates the use of Javanese in Bali. New Javanese falls beyond the Hindu period of Indonesian language development; hence the literature of this period shall not be touched upon in this essay, although it is probable that there are survivals of the Indian language and literature overlay in contemporary Indonesian language and literature.

Indian overlay in the Old Javanese literature was not only confined in literature per se but in other aspects of literary culture, like the **Amaramala** and **Amarakosa,** Sanskrit lexicons of great importance; the **Sang Hyang Kamahayanikan,** a Buddhist Mahayana text, and many others. The main concern of this brief note, however, lies in the Indian literary tradition in Old Javanese. For this purpose, furthermore, the discussion is confined to the most popular Indian literary pieces which are familiar to students of Southeast Asian culture and history. These are the two great Indian epics—the **Ramayana** and the **Mahabharata.**

The Old Javanese **Ramayana** subject matter agrees well with that of the Sanskrit **Ramayana,**

> but it concludes with the reunion of Rama and Sita after the fire ordeal of the latter, and does not contain the story of her banishment and death. Some portions of this work, particularly in the last two Sargas or Cantos, have no corresponding passages in Valmiki's Ramayana, and are probably local additions. These portions may, however, be interpolations of a later date. The style is rich but simple, though occasionally the author makes an attempt to show off his learning.
>
> The Old Javanese Ramayana is not a translation of the Sanskrit epic, but an independent work. Kern held the view that its author did not know Sanskrit and must have derived his materials from other sources. It may be noted here that the story of Ramayana had a wide currency, and we have both Malayan and Balinese versions of it, viz., Seri Rama and Rama Kidung.[9]

[9] **Ibid.,** p. 65.

Mahabharata in Old Javanese Literature

The **Mahabharata** is not known as such in Old Javanese literature. Rather, it was known as **Parva,** because the epic was not introduced as one whole literary piece. It reached Java in individual **parvas,** the most well known of which are the Adi-Parva, Virata-Parva, Bhisma-Parva, Asrama-Parva, Mausala-Parva, Prasthanika- Parva, Svargarohana-Parva and the Udyoga-Parva. The **Bharata Yuddha,** dated 1135-1157 A.D. (the reign of Jayabhaya), is based on the Udyuga, Bhisma, Drona, Karna and Salya Parvas—the parvas that deal with the great war. All these are in prose and follow closely the original epic, but more condensed. "Their style is very primitive and lacks literary merit. Their importance, however, can not be over-estimated, as they made the Great Epic popular in Java and supplied themes for numerous literary works which exhibit merits of very high order."[10]

Poetry in Old Javanese was known as **kakawin** from **kavi** meaning **Kavya;** and their subject matter is derived mostly from the Indian epics and **puranas,** some of which may be briefly described:[11]

1. Indravijaya—story of Vrtra's conquest and death, followed by that of Nahusa who secured the position of Indra for a small period;

2. Parthayajna—describes Arjuna's asceticism by means of which he obtained weapons from Siva;

3. Vighnotsava, written by a Buddhist, describes the exploits of a Yaksa king named Vighnotsava and particularly his fight with the **Raksasa** king Suprasena;

4. Bratasraya is a later development of the same theme;

5. Harisraya—describes how the gods, threatened by Malyavan, king of Lanka, seek, at first, the help of Siva, and then of Visnu, who kills Malyavan and restores to life, by **amrta** or nectar, the gods who perished in the fight;

6. Harivijaya—describes the churning of the ocean by gods by means of the Mandara mountain;

7. Kalayavanantaka—describes, after the story given in Visnupurana, how Kalayavana invaded Dvaraka to avenge the death of Kamsa, and was ultimately reduced to ashes by Mucukunda, with whom the fugitive

[10] **Ibid.,** p. 66.
[11] **Ibid.,** pp. 71-72.

Krsna had taken shelter. It also describes how Arjuna carried away Subhadra when the Andhakas and Vrsnis were celebrating a feast on Raivataka;

8. Ramavijaya—theme is the defeat of Sahasravahu Arjuna by Parasurama, son of Jamadagni and Renuka;

9. Ratnavijaya—describes the fight between Sunda and Upasunda over Tilottama;

10. Parthavijaya—based on an episode from Bharata-yuddha, viz., the death of Iravan, son of Arjuna and Ulupuy, and of Nila; and

11. An unnamed and incomplete Kakawin—gives the story of Udayana and Vasavadatta in a modified form. Satasenya of the lineage of the Pandavas had two sons, Udayana and Yugandarayana. The abduction of Angaravati, princess of Avanti, by Udayana forms the plot of the Kakawin.

Balinese Literature

Almost all the Balinese (Middle Javanese) literature is based on translation or versions of Old Javanese works, and have been divided into eight (nine actual count) classes, according to their subject matter:[12] For this essay, however, only the works pertaining to literature (per se) shall be referred to. The others shall be bracketed as they do not necessarily fall within the purview of this essay.

I. Balinese translation or version of Javanese works—Seven Balinese poems may be mentioned here, **e.g.**, Adiparva Kidung, Rama Kidung, Bharatayuddha Kidung, Bimasvarga, Arjunavivaha, Vrttasancaya, Calong Arang, Variga Kidung and one prose text, Uttarakanda. Mention may be made of another work called Viratantra which describes an episode from the Ramayana, viz., the fight between Kumbhakarna and Hanuman.[13]

[II. Religious, philosophical, didactic and mythical works.[14]]

III. Kavyas or fictions in poetry. (a) The poem called Cupák belongs to a class which is very popular in all Austronesian languages. In the Sundanese, this class of literature is known as Kabayan. The principal characteristic of this class of poems is that it depicts the hero in all kinds of undignified situations so that he is represented as a coward, and braggart, gluttonous, liar, faithless, etc.[15]

[12] **Ibid.**, pp. 89-97.
[13] **Ibid.**, p. 89.
[14] **Ibid.**, p. 90.
[15] **Ibid.**, p. 91.

(b) Rara Vangi-Rara Vangi, a beautiful maiden of Badung, was in love with Ranapati, but as the king was after her she fled to Banjar. The king of this latter place also fell a victim to her charms. He contrived to have Ranapati put to death and Rara Vangi was forcibly taken to the palace. But as soon as the king approached her she stabbed herself to death. The king, mad with despair, killed all his wives and went to the forest where he died. But Ranapati and Rara Vangi were united in heaven, while the dogs of hell awaited the soul of the king of Banjar. Ranapati and Rara Vangi were reborn in earth, punished the king of Badung, and returned to heaven.

(c) Buvang Sakti—The hero, originally called Jayamrta, was named Buvang Sakti by the king of Manangkabo whom he served. He then killed a tiger and a rangsasa (raksasa) and lastly the king of Pancanagara, whose widow Devi Sitarun he married. Later he was taken prisoner and killed.

(d) Japatvan—Japatvan, the hero, went through the grace of gods to heaven to bring back his elder brother's wife who had died shortly after her marriage. After drinking Amrta there he came back and became king. The author gives a detailed description of hell and shows acquaintance with Vayupurana and Adiparva.

(e) Mantri Java—Mantri Java goes from Java to Bali and falls in love with princess Pacar Cinamburat. As he returns without her, she follows him and they get secretly married. The mother of Mantri Java becomes angry and orders him to marry the princess of Limbur. The latter, by means of spells, makes her husband forget Cinamburat, whereupon the latter kills herself. But soon the hero frees himself from the charms of Limbur and Cinamburat is restored to life. Now they get married with the permission of the parents while Limbur falls into disfavor and dies.

(f) Purvajati—The hero leaves his two wives, but their two sons when grown up, go out in search of their father. In the course of their wandering they fight with a raksasa, a garuda, a tiger, a lion, and an elephant. At last they meet Adi Guru who asks them to fight with Sindhuraja as he abducted their mothers. These two come to hell on account of their faithlessness to their husband, but, on the intercession of their children, go to heaven.

Poems of the Panji Cycle

(g) There are also poems that belong to the Panji cycle, among which two deserve special mention, viz., Megantaka or Mantri Malaka

and Begus Umbara or Mantri Koripan. Among other less known works may be mentioned Pakang Raras, where Siva and Narada play some part.

Megantaka—Hambara Pati, crown prince of Hambara Madija, meets Hambara Sari of Nusa Hambara. They fly and were shipwrecked. The princess reaches the Malacca coast. Prince Megantaka meets the princess during hunting and carries her to his palace. Hambara Pati, too, comes to Malacca court, meets his beloved, and escapes with her to Hambara Madija. He comes alone to the palace of his father, is forced to marry the hideous Limbur, and the latter secretly puts Hambara Sari to death. Hambara Pati, however, flies from his wife and discovers the dead body.

Mengantaka invades Hambara Pati's land, defeats him, enters the capital, and finds the dead body. We next find the soul of Hambara Sari in heaven. The nymphs Suprabha and Tilottama bring her back to earth. Megantaka and Hambara Pati meet the princess and all come back to the court of Hambara Madija.

(h) Dreman—A man named Jatiraga had two wives. The first, Tanporat, was an ideal virtuous wife, while the second, Dreman, was a capricious, bad-tempered, haughty and prodigal woman. Nevertheless the good-natured but weak Jatiraga favored the younger Dreman and poor Tanporat had a hard lot. She, however, bore her misery without demur and with ideal patience. Dreman died and was carried to hell. Jatiraga died in grief for her and also went to hell for the ill-treatment of his wife. Tanporat died after a long time and went to heaven for her virtuous conduct. There, to her great regret, she did not find her husband and learned that he was suffering in hell. Without a moment's hesitation she decided to give up the bliss of heaven for the pleasure of living with her beloved husband in hell. Then the gods intervened and brought the husband to heaven.

The poem depicts the ideal virtue and chastity of a woman.

(i) Raden Saputra—or Ratna Manik, so-called after the hero and the heroine. The hero goes to the cemetery and fights with tigers and spirits. There he sees—in dream the beautiful heroine, and the latter also sees him in dream at the same time. He meets her while bathing and the two get married. On hearing this Detya Putih, King of Giri Kancana, attacks him. (Manuscript ends here.)

(j) Lingga Peta—The poem describes the virtues of the poor but beautiful courtier of this name. The king loved him on account of his beauty, loyal devotion, and charming manners. His beauty made him a great favorite of the young girls, but Lingga Peta never yielded to their

temptations. A cunning plot was laid by the courtiers who were jealous of his reputation and royal favors, and Lingga Peta was put to death. When an inquiry was made as to the cause of his death, the father of a girl named Hi K'toet Lajang said that as the hero wanted to outrage the modesty of his daughter, he had killed him. But the gods intervened and restored Lingga Peta to life. He was born in a noble family and ultimately became king.

[IV. Historical Poems.]

V. Poems dealing with stories and fables. (a) The "Tantri Bali" agrees generally with the Javanese Tantri books; (b) Gunakaya is a different reduction of Tantri Bali; and (c) the numerous Satva texts belong to this class and contain folk tales, both of men and animals.

[VI. Dharma-Laksana, a book on Silpasastra, exists only in one corrupt manuscript. It is attributed to Visvakarma and must have been based on an Indian original or a Javanese translation of the same.

[VII. There are, besides poetical works on medicine (e.g., the poem of Neling), birds (Kidung Paksi) and erotics (Tanjung Biru, Nalig, etc.)

[VIII. Sylvain Levi refers to a gramatical work, Karakasamgraha, with a Balinese commentary which cites Panini. (It is a short treatise on the different functions of the word in reference to the verb as expressing action.[16]

[IX. The works called Wariga enjoy a good reputation in Bali. These are the calendars for calculating time, and correspond to the Indian Panjika. x x x The Balinese have lunar months, but by intercalary months they transform them into a solar system. There are twelve months, all having the usual Sanskrit names, but ten of them (i.e., all except Jyaistha and Asadha) have also corresponding Balinese names.]

My studies on the Indian elements, perhaps not even overlay, in Philippine literature have been expounded in great detail in my book **Indian Influences in the Philippines with Special Reference to Language and Literature** (University of the Philippines 1964). They need not be elaborated on here. But I may state that a few of my views therein have been modified in a brief essay which was published in the Adyar Library Bulletin (Madras, India, 1968). Included in these brief notes, however, is an appendix dealing on the presence of the **Ramayana** in miniature in Maranaw literature (see below).

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[16] Slyvain Levi, **Sankskrit Text From Bali** (Baronda: Oriental Institute, 1933), p. xxxi.

Part III. Notes on Indian Poetics in Southeast Asia

One of the interesting developments of Indian literature in Southeast Asia is the adoption or utilization of the aspects of Sanskrit poetics. This implies a thorough acquaintance with the language and the literature written in it. However, in most cases the Sanskrit is corrupt, according to Levi[17]; corrupt though it was the rules of Sanskrit poetics still governed these literary compositions. Apart from literary productions where Sanskrit poetics, the rules and aspects of which are utilized extensively, the inscriptions are, indeed, the most important sources of the study of Sanskrit poetics in the region. Romesh Chandra Majumdar[18] wrote with authority about this phenomenon in Southeast Asia:

> Many of the Sanskrit inscriptions are written in beautiful and almost flawless Kavya style, exhibiting a thorough acquaintance with the different metres and the most developed rules and conventions of rhetoric and prosody. .....The authors of these inscriptions possessed an intimate knowledge of the Indian epics, kavyas, and Puranas, and philosophical and mythological conceptions.

So far, mention of these aspects of Sanskrit poetics have been made without defining what they are. These are style, meter, and feeling or sentiment. By style, it refers to the **Kavya** style. This term means "a poetic composition with a coherent plot by a single author (as opposed to **Itihasa**, whose authorship is diffused and sometimes unidentified)." The word is derived from the term **Kavi**, meaning "a poet, a sage"; and literally, therefore, **Kavya** would mean "that which is endowed with the qualities of a sage, or poet; descended or coming from a sage; prophetic, inspired, poetical." In the compositions, whether derived from the epics or puranas, and the inscriptions, the style most frequently used is the **kavya.**

When the **Kavya** style is used, necessarily employment of meter or **pada** becomes inevitable. Meters in Indian poetics are "quantitative, based on the order of long and short syllables. . . . a syllable [is] counted as long if it contained a long vowel (a, i, u, r, e, o, ai or au) or

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[17] **Ibid.**

[18] R. C. Majumdar, **Inscriptions of Kambuja,** The Asiatique Society Monograph Series, Vol. III (Calcutta), pp. xvii.

a short vowel followed by two consonants."[19] The Indian poet has a choice of many meters when he composes his poetry. In Southeast Asia, as the epics (**Ramayana** and **Mahabharata**) are the chief sources of literary productions, the **kavya** style is the most predominant, and, therefore, the **sloka** meter is used especially. The **sloka** consists of four quarters of eight syllables each, the first and third normally ending with the cadence ∪ — — ∪̲ , and the second and fourth ∪ — ∪ ∪̲.

Other meters are, of course, used. Take the Old Javanese **Mahabharata** and its Sanskrit introductory verses in Balinese literature. The **Adiparva** begins with three Sanskrit stanzas, the first clearly an **arya.**[20] The **Virataparva** starts with a **sardulavikridita,** the following stanza an **indravamsa;** the **Bhismaparva** with a **sragdhara** and the second, a **vasantatilaka**. All the meters may be cited as they are used in the poetics of Southeast Asia. But an idea of the schemata of these meters mentioned above may briefly be described.

The **arya** (the Lady) is a quarter with seven syllables for the first and fourth lines, and eight and six syllables respectively for the second and third lines. The **sardulavikridita** (The Tiger Sport) is four lines with 19 syllables each line (— — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ — / — — ∪ — ∪ ∪̲); the sragdhara (The Girl with a Garland) is four lines with 21 syllables (— — — — ∪ — — / ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ — / — ∪ — — ∪ — ∪̲); the **vasantatilaka** (the ornament of spring) is four lines with 14 syllables (— — ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪̲); and the **Indravamsa** (Indrals lineage) is four lines with 12 syllables, with a long first syllable (— — ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪̲).

The third aspect of Sanskrit poetics discerned in Southeast Asia is that of feeling or sentiment called in Sanskrit **rasa**. In broader perspective, it is in literature the prevailing sentiment in human character. There are ten **rasas** known in Sanskrit literature—**srngara** (love); **vira** (heroism), **bibhatsa** (disgust), **raudra** (anger or fury); **hasya** (mirth); **bhayanaka** (terror); **karuna** (pity); **adbhuta** (wonder); **santi** (tranquility or contentment); **vatsalya** (paternal fondness).

All these sentiments could be found as one reads through all the pieces of literature in Southeast Asia based on the Indian. Take, for instance, the abduction of Sita, and the events that followed; or the exile of the Pandavas from their kingdom, the events of the war and the aftermath. All these express the **rasas** in no uncertain terms.

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[19] Basham, **Ibid.**, p. 508.

[20] Levi, **Ibid.**, p. xxxiii.

IV

Concluding Remarks

The most important development of **Sahitya** or literature in India is that secular and religious literatures do not seem to show any sharp differentiation. From the Vedas, to the epics, to the Brahmanas, through the Upanishads throughout the history of Indian literature, the stories told have religious merits in spite of the fact that they are also told for entertainment. The Vedas, when recited in public, is not just for the joy of listening to the tales, but the symbolisms of these stories told many times over earn for the listener religious merits. The eternal conflict between evil and good are depicted in the conflict, for instance, between Indra and the Panis, or between Vayu and Megha, between the **devas** and **asuras**, etc.

Similarly, the epics have the same effect upon the listener. It functions within the context of the cultural milieu of the Indian. It was this writer's singular fortune to sit and listen, in a public gathering especially convened, to the recitation of the **Ramayana** and the **Mahabharata**. While he went there for purposes of entertainment and curiosity, the Indians attended these sessions for many reasons—one of which is for earning merits in life. Because the episodes are also symbolic of the continuing conflict between good and evil, the Indians use them to soothe their own longing for spiritual nourishment and liberation. The singers or chanters, themselves being **panditas** or **gurus**, are the vehicles through whom the gods—Visnu, Siva, and Brahma—become alive to the listeners and devotees.

As this writer went into the hall with an open and curious mind, he left the meeting infused by the solemnity of the occasion, the entertainment function of which is now absorbed in spirituality that spontaneously pervaded the congregation.

In Southeast Asia, particularly in Malaya, Java and Bali—localities with which he is far more familiar—the sharp dichotomy of the secular and religious nature of this literature is lost sometimes more so than in the Indian continent. For as this literature is absorbed by the Javanese, Balinese, and Malay, the secular function is indeed lost in the religious function. This may be illustrated with the development of the **wayang** in these areas. The **wayang** is the shadow play, an art form which takes for its themes and motifs those that are found in the **Ramayana** and the **Mahabharata** versions in the region (see below for details on art, religion

and literature). Watching the play itself and at the same time listening to the recitation of the stories by the **dalang** or **pedanda,** as he manipulates the characters of the shadow-play, creates in the audience awe and reverence not only for the characters as they play their roles according to the story, but also for the **dalang** who becomes a deity incarnate.

In India, as well as in Southeast Asia (which is indeed influenced by the former), themes in art are representations of the literature which definitely possess or assume religious character. Needless to say, the representations of the Buddhist literatures—like the **Jatakas,** the **Avadanamala,** the **Satakamala,** etc.—in the Barabudur; or the **Ramayana** in the temple of Lara Jongrang in Prambanan; or the **Mahabharata** in the walls of Angkor Wat, are indications of this fusion.

Religion, art and literature are even fused in the assumption of historical figures like Airlangga and his consort upon their death. Airlangga assumed the aspect of Visnu riding upon his vehicle, Garuda, as he vanquished the enemies of his devotees as we know it in the Puranas; and his consort assumed the aspect of the Sakti or consort of Visnu, Laksmi, the goddess of wealth, upon her death.

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The Philippines in the Economy of Southeast Asia

Thomas R. McHale*

Southeast Asia is fragmented not only by geography but also by history. Countries in the region are separated by jungles and seas and by their different colonial backgrounds. This is why there has been little economic cooperation between the Philippines and other countries in the area.

The Philippine involvement in the economy of Southeast Asia—non-involvement as many would describe it—stems from facts of history, geography and politics. Frequently inter-related, these facts have shaped a present which is characterized by limited intra-area trade and commerce, a near complete absence of regional economic institutions or trade agreements, and almost no significant regional self-identification. In a future where both national and regional development (and perhaps survival of particular national economies within the region) will depend more and more on internal material and personnel resources, these facts are a useful background against which the potential and the problems of the area can be seen and evaluated.

Southeast Asia occupies an area roughly 2,500 miles by 2,000 miles, but only 1,700,000 square miles of this area is land. Within this land area approximately a quarter of a million people live alongside a disproportionately large share of the world's known natural wealth. Eleven separate political entities, and a profusion of cultural aggrupation that are only partially represented by the nation-states of Indonesia, Philippines, Burma, Thailand, North Vietnam, South Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei, divide the area.

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Although Southeast Asia is now one of the most heavily populated land areas of the world, settlement patterns are very uneven and reflect a high degree of spatial, political, cultural and economic fragmentation. Each of the countries of the region is dominated by a primate city, invariably the capital city, which is usually many times larger than the next nearest size settlement and always far more important. Large distances separate almost all these major settlements. Manila, for example, is over 1,500 air miles from the Indonesian capital city of Jakarta and a thousand miles from any other Southeast Asian capital. (By contrast, no European Economic Community capital is separated by more than 750 miles and many major cities are within a hundred miles of each other). Distances between extreme settlements in the Southeast Asian region are far greater: over 3,300 miles separate some settled areas of Burma and Indonesia. Compounding the problem of long distances is the absence of a well developed transportation grid. Scheduled commercial transportation in the region is usually severely limited outside major cities. Air travel is increasing steadily and does provide a means of travel for a limited number of people in areas near airports. Roadbuilding is also proceeding rapidly and promises to change the picture in the future. However, as late as 1960, over 70 per cent of the land area of Southeast Asia was at least ten miles distant from a road or a railroad line, and perhaps a higher percentage from a commercial airport.

Internal Fragmentation

In addition to distances, a number of natural barriers have played an important role in the internal fragmentation of Southeast Asia. Burma and Thailand, and Laos and the Vietnams have extensive mountain barriers limiting easy surface contacts; Malaysia and Thailand have dense jungles limiting movements between the two bordering countries; and the seas separate Indonesia and the Philippines from each other and mainland Southeast Asia. (Although the seas have been an important natural barrier for many Southeast Asians, many of the contemporary settlements were established after sea voyage migration, a fact reflected in population concentration near sea and river mouth sites. Of greater significance is the fact that the seas were the avenues by which the more advanced maritime powers of Europe moved into Southeast Asian to establish their colonial domination.)

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An increasing amount of pre- and proto-historical evidence of developments in the arts, sciences and in commerce is now emerging within Southeast Asia; yet the inherent disunity of the region suggested

by the area's geography is confirmed in contemporary facts of life and in history. The lack of extensive trade and commerce among the countries of the region (less than seven per cent of the international trade of the countries of Southeast Asia is within Southeast Asia), is paralleled by a significant lack of commonality in the way of political values and institutions. And much of the political and economic integration that is found stems from external forces, not the least of which was colonialism.

The forces of history in Southeast Asia have changed but the pattern has remained constant. One is thus faced with the impossibility of writing an adequate history of the area's development without going outside to seek the most significant forces that shaped the past and the present. The involvement of American policy in the contemporary Southeast Asian picture is clear; but it is equally clear that the influence of the Indian sub-continent and the Arabic world was critical in the first millenium of the Christian era, as was the subsequent influence of China and the more recent influence of the European colonial powers.

Southeast Asia Defined

It is not without significance that the very term "Southeast Asia" originated outside the region, and is of recent dating. Prior to the Second World War, the nations we now identify as Southeast Asian were included in a general designation of "Asian" or "Oriental" or "Far Eastern." The terms South Seas, Nan Yang or South Asia also included some, but not all Southeast Asian countries — or included others not in the region. The most significant common denominator of the area was its colonial subservience. With the **de jure** exception of Thailand, the entire area was under some type of colonial administration for almost a century, and the term "Colonial Asia" was an increasingly used 20th century reference to the area now designated Southeast Asia. This fact, plus the geographic and cultural apartness of Southeast Asia from the major Indian, Chinese and Australian war theaters during the Second World War brought the term into widespread use in the United States and eventually throughout the world.

Geographic identity is one thing; cultural identity another. Southeast Asia has been accurately described as the world's most important cultural crossroads; certainly it represents one of the world's most culturally diverse areas within which the major cultural traditions of China, India, the Arabic world and Euro-America intermingle with a multiplicity of Malayo-Polynesian cultures. To speak of the culture of Southeast Asia, therefore, is to speak of cultural richness rather than uniformity.

Ironically, improvement in communication techniques in the past have usually strengthened diversity by increasing extra-regional contacts. This fact was exemplified several years ago by the fact that Indonesian President Sukarno was forced to propose a toast to Southeast Asian regionalism among Southeast Asian leaders in English. Although a relatively new language to the area, English, for better or worse, was the only practical language of communication between the political and economic leaders of Southeast Asia.

Demographic factors are also a relevant factor in the region's low level of integration. Until the middle of the 19th century, Southeast Asia was sparsely populated and lacked any significant indigenous cities. (Almost without exception, the largest population centers were port and administrative settlements of a distinctly foreign cast). Although we cannot be certain of exact figures, the total population of the area was certainly not more than 20 to 30 million, significantly less than the present day population of the Philippines alone; this population was widely scattered over the entire region. Contemporaneously, Europe and China had reached population densities that were far greater. China, for example, had probably reached a population level of 300 million in the same period; and the middle 19th century population of Europe was close to 100 million. Southeast Asia's population did not reach one-tenth of China's population or a third of Europe's population until the early 1800's.

Reasons for Lack of Internal Trade

In addition to a limited population in the pre-colonial period, the lack of internal area trade can be further explained by the lack of significant economic specialization and the slow development of the maritime arts. When the colonial powers moved into the region, however, the picture changed. Economic specialization rapidly emerged, population growth became more rapid and the technical level of shipping and navigation equipment and skills available advanced to the highest world standards. The significant point about the changes, however, was that they were accomplished as part of colonial pattern of development that was geared to the outside world rather than to internal needs or opportunities. As a result, production and trade of specific colonies were integrated into a Euro-American based and dominated economic system. The classic pattern of economic dualism described by Boeke and Furnivall thus emerged wherein the dramatic changes that did take place had only a minimal impact on the great majority of individuals living in the area—but the changes that did take place—and they were dramatic—represented functional adjuncts to the industrialized Euro-American economies rather than regionally significant structural changes.

The contemporary dependence on external trade relationships for the modern sectors of the economies of the region remain critical; despite a number of fundamental political and social changes in the area, the external dependency has not changed to any significant degree. Thus, the major exports of rubber, tin, oil, timber, copra and minerals which developed in response to demands outside the region continue to dominate the capital investment patterns despite their vulnerability to extraneous influences. Post colonial politics have found no significant counterpart in the field of economic relationships in the region to this day.

Whether economic changes precede or follow political shifts and with what time lags, is an interesting question which we will not seek to answer in this paper. Rather, we might note the fact that both economic and political objectives have been basic to the involvement of outside interest in the region over a long period of time. The original objectives of colonization of the area was for the economic gain of the metropolitan powers of Europe. Japan's interest in Southeast Asia before the Second World War stemmed from a desire to control the rubber, oil and tin resources of Southeast Asia. The current involvement of the United States in the Vietnam War might have little relationship to specific natural resources or markets—but the result is the same: external needs, wishes or events continue to dominate internal developments.

* * *

All that has been said so far has been largely negative with regards to Southeast Asian regional unity or integration. The Philippine role in the region has continued to reflect this despite an increasing number of recent attempts to establish regional economic ties. Yet the contemporary picture would not be complete if it excluded a number of new facts and changing attitudes which suggest a less divided future.

The first facts are those of international politics. Britain's withdrawal from Asia "East of the Suez" and the desire of the Americans to lower their posture in the area (if not to disengage almost completely except on the basis of economic contacts) will lead to a changing set of political alignments in the area over the next several decades. China and Japan are the obvious alternative major powers that have a strong vested interest in the area—but both nations are less than welcome in direct political alignment roles. The obvious need for increasing internal political ties is now receiving increasing and more serious consideration than ever before because all alternatives are less promising.

The second set of facts are those of increasing self-awareness and knowledge of complementarity by many of the nations within the region.

Cultural and political diversity are more and more accepted as a basic starting point rather than as an irreconcilable set of impediments to regionality. Once this base is accepted, the economic potential of the area provides opportunities for development that have not been recognized or exploited in the past.

Natural resources in themselves are useless without the administrative and technical skills to make them economically viable. Nevertheless, a strong and diversified resource base makes the problem of development less difficult. In the case of Southeast Asia, this resource base is both extensive and intensive, and offers many opportunities for far greater regional development.

Area's Resources

A cursory survey of the region's resources is suggestive. Agricultural land potential for producing food is frequently considered basic in any assessment of developmental potential. Although individual countries have specific food deficiencies, the Southeast Asian region as a whole is a net exporter of both proteins and carbohydrates. In this realm, the Philippines contributes a substantial surplus with its exports of sugar and copra as does Thailand and Burma with rice and corn exports.

Energy resources of the area are varied and extensive. The hydroelectric potential has been barely tapped in the past. Although not a major source of coal, the known oil gas reserves of Indonesia and Brunei are not only of high quality but also far more extensive than originally thought. Proven reserves in the area have already reached a level sufficient for supplying the entire needs of the region for several decades to come.

The wealth of mineralization in Southeast Asia is well known. Almost all the major minerals are found in commercial minable quantities and qualities in the area at present. Over three quarters of the world's current production of tin comes from Southeast Asia; a significant percentage of the world's manganese, chromite and copper are also produced. In addition, iron, silver, gold, mercury bauxite and several other minerals are in current production in various parts of the region; and two of the world's largest nickel deposites are scheduled to come into production within the next several years.

Timber is another resource of the Southeast Asian region. Although overcutting in many areas has caused serious problems and the future status of a country like the Philippines as a major source of timber is in question, Southeast Asia today stands as a major supplier of hard woods to the world. With proper control of cuttings, the long-term picture is still promising.

Resources are but one side of the economic developments equation. What about markets? For the basic raw material exports like ores, copra, logs, and rubber, internal regional markets cannot be expected to absorb any significant amount in the foreseeable future. In all such cases production is so far greater than any reasonable expectation of regional consumption that dependence on external markets will continue indefinitely. For manufactured goods, however, the picture is different; yet one must note that the Southeast Asian market as such is non-existent. Instead, one finds a multiplicity of small and usually unsophisticated market areas with widely differing quality standards and units of measurement and traditional brand preferences and supply sources. Even in the aggregate, however, demand for commodities other than the basic essentials of livelihood are severely limited outside the primate cities.

Problem of Intra-regional Marketing

Further complicating and exacerbating the problem of intra-regional marketing are the existing distribution systems and the freight rate structures. Typically, it is cheaper to move freight on a schedule between major European, American and Japanese ports and any of the major Southeast Asian ports than it is to ship between any two regional outports. Once in a port, distribution of the Euro-American and Japanese goods can usually be accomplished with a minimum of delay through the established credit, insurance, warehousing and sales organizations, almost all of which are Euro-American, Chinese or Japanese controlled. For the manufactured goods of a Southeast Asian country to be distributed in another Southeast Asian country requires a whole set of new contacts, skills and service facilities—in addition to a new set of attitudes. Attempts at nationalizing trade internal to many countries and the large number of legal sanctions that have been applied against non-nationals in the trading sectors of most Southeast Asian countries only serve to underline the fact the trade has been traditionally—and still remains in large part—dominated by groups alien to the Southeast Asian area in allegiance or culture.

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Balancing the positive and the negative factors relating to Southeast Asian economic regionalism still does not give us any indication of the area's economic future or the Philippine involvement in it. There are few things more certain in Southeast Asia than uncertainty; yet I would like to venture some predictions. First, I think it is unreasonable to expect any dramatic disappearance of the significant political and cultural divisions within the area in the foreseeable future. Yet, I also

expect that they will play a decreasing role in the evolving economic order as time goes on, and as national economic development opens up new opportunities and generates greater knowledge of regionally-based economic options.

Secondly, both demographic and technical changes are going to either lead or force the economies of the region into new relationships and goals. It is already apparent that a rapid movement of the population out of the agricultural countryside into urban centers is taking place and the pace is accelerating. Within the next several decades, the agricultural and extractive mining and forestry sectors of the region's economies will decrease in importance as populations and labor force growth continue to outstrip these sectors' capacity to absorb. With technical changes now taking place, it is possible that farm employment will decrease not only relatively but also absolutely in the years to come.

Industrialization As A Way Out

Industrialization, under such circumstances, offers the only way out, whether it is desired as an end in itself or not. And once industrial production increases in the area, the need, desire for and likelihood of expanding regional trade and commerce will be much greater.

A third change that is likely to stem from technical development is shipping and communications. Regional economic integration will be made more likely by the new means of moving cargo including various types of containerization, the LASH system and similar innovations that are permitting the movement of many types of commodities outside the traditional channels. Of equal importance is the extentions of communication grids that will permit direct and fast communication between various parts of Southeast Asia, paralleling communication grids that already permit rapid communication from the region to the important external economic centers.

Last and perhaps the most important of my predictions is a change in the attitudes and goals of an increasing number of Southeast Asian leaders and policy makers. Euro-American colonialism is dead regardless of the survival of anti-imperialistic sloganizing one still finds. The reason for the death of colonialism might be the unidealistic fact that it didn't pay any more—but the reality of the situation cannot be disputed. At the same time, the vacuum left by the decolonialization process will lead to a growing sense of mutual self-interest among the national leadership of Southeast Asia as well as growing regional self-identity. The timing and forms of regional institutionalization will depend on many factors; but the movement in the direction of stronger economic regional times would seem inevitable.

Punishment for Crime— Influence on Personality

Delbert Rice*

The author summarizes five concepts of punishment for crime—isolation, retribution, deterrence, reformation and restoration. He shows that restoration is the most effective, and gives examples taken from the practice of the Kalahans, a cultural minority in northern Luzon.

Even a casual examination of newspapers and news magazines in recent years indicates that there is much to be desired in the methods by which present societies handle crime. A riot in Muntinglupa Prison in Rizal on Aug. 29, 1969, added one more man to the list of those killed and many to the total of those wounded as a result of a long series of riots which has occurred in most of the major prisons in the Philippines[1] and in other parts of the world.

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The approach of this paper, i.e., viewing law from the aspect of its ultimate cultural function, has been stimulated within the law profession, itself, by several recent articles, which were, in turn, stimulated by the works of such anthropologists as E. A. Hoebel (1955) and R. F. Barton (1919 and 1949). D. D. Gardner (Review of the "Law of Primitive Man, by E. A. Hoebel," **American Bar Association Journal,** Vol. 41, 1955, pp. 255-256), for instance states:

> Viewing law through the eyes of an anthropologist. . . . brings refreshing and rewarding insights into the meaning of law in any society. . . Some of these primitive solutions to age-old legal problems may well offer fresh stimulation for re-thinking legal problems whose traditional solutions have been taken too much for granted.

[1] **Manila Times,** Aug 30, 1969, p. 1.

The increasing number and seriousness of crimes committed[2] have become subjects of grave concern.[3] The increasing population of jails and prisons at great cost to society is also a serious problem.[4] The thoughtful person is forced to restudy the entire concept of punishment and the reactions of society to crime.

This problem came forcefully to the writer when, in analyzing the custom law of the Kalahan people in the Philippines, where he has been privileged to live as a participant-observer for more than four years, he observed that even though crimes exist, some petty and some serious, they seem to be handled much more effectively than in other cultures and with very little recidivism.[5] The observations suggested a more thorough study into the problem of punishment which is being reported in this paper.

It is obviously impossible to study crime without studying the criminal. It is likewise ineffective to study any individual, whether criminal or not, without studying him in relation to his society. Some recent studies have been made attempting to ascertain the problems in society (or culture) which cause criminal behavior.[6] This is important. But it is also important to consider that, unless the criminal is removed completely from his former society and never returned (which is sometimes done), some attention must also be given to the society to which the criminal returns and his relationship to that society upon his return. A phenomenon which ties these various vactors (i.e., crime, criminal society) together, is punishment, the usual reaction of society to crime.

It will not be possible, in the bounds of a short paper, to analyze all of these various items and phenomena in depth. This study will limit itself to analyzing broadly the individual transgressor and his culture and trying to relate them through a study of the various concepts of punishment and their effects upon transgressor and society.

Definitions. Crime has been defined in many ways. The most

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[2] Ben Javier, "Up in Arms against Crime," **Examiner**, March 18, 1968, p. 2.

[3] Renato Constantino, "Crime and the Cult of Individualism," **Manila Graphic**, Feb. 21, 1968, p. 23ff.

[4] "Essay," **Time** Magazine, March 29, 1968, p. 26.

[5] Recidivism is the commission of additional punishable offenses after a first offense and punishment.

[6] Sheldon Glueck and Eleanor K. Glueck, **Criminal Careers in Retrospect** (New York: The Commonwealth fund), 1943.

[7] Walter C. Reckless, **The Crime Problem** (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts), 1950, p. 7 ff.

usual definition given in western societies is "a violation of a code of law."[7] This definition is helpful and valid but not easily applicable to the many cultures which do not have a well-defined "code." Even a culture with no code recognizes the existence of crime. It would be more helpful for this present study, therefore, to define crime as any act which is considered seriously wrong in the culture where the act was committed[8]. This definition recognizes that the specific acts which are considered to be criminal will change over a period of time within a given culture and will also vary from culture to culture. A homosexual act between consenting adults, for instance, was formerly considered to be criminal in England, but now it is accepted as a tolerated form of social deviance in some places. In Oregon, the act is still considered criminal.

The word criminal, even though it is loaded with negative connotations, will be used in this paper to refer to a person who commits a crime.

Universal Human Values

Since it is the purpose of this study to evaluate the various concepts of punishment in the light of culture and personality, it is necessary to determine some universal systems of values which will serve as a standard by which punishment, both in concept and in practice, might be measured.

Most social scientists recognize the existence of a system of universal human values and several of them are working diligently to prepare an adequate statement of such. No absolute agreement has yet been reached as to how these values should best be defined and described. The inability of any single language to properly state such universal concepts is part of the problem. Until full agreement is reached, however, it is suggested that the following five values could serve as a partial categorizing of universal values.[9]

1. **Physical health.** This includes the various physical and material needs of the individuals of a society. Food and water are absolute necessities. Clothing and shelter are necessities in some areas due to climatic conditions. Relief from sickness is also a part of this category.

[8] Felix Keesing, **Cultural Anthropology** (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston), 1966.

[9] This outline is by this writer but i is culled from Felix Keesing, **Cultural Anthropology** (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston), 1968, and others.

The amount and type of each item mentioned above will vary considerably depending upon customs and climactic conditions, as mentioned above. There is universal agreement, however, that every individual in every society needs physical health. There are also in every society methods, mores and institutions for maintaining the physical health of its members.[10]

2. **Mental Health.** Many aspects of interpersonal and social values are included under the category of mental health. Such values as love, acceptance, belonging, support, comfort, opportunity for personal fulfillment or accomplishment must all be considered. Sex may be included under this heading or under the category of "physical health" depending upon the cultural emphasis. A proper balance of strains, tensions, responsibilities, accomplishments, opportunities for self-respect, assistance, etc. is necessary to make it possible for the individual to operate acceptably within the framework of his own culture. Sufficient opportunities for self-realization and achievement are also necessary for the individual to have a sense of emotional well-being.

No culture can continue unless the majority of the people of that society are in a condition of mental health, i.e, able to operate successfully within that culture. Every culture must have mental health as a basic cultural value and it must also have adequate cultural methods for maintaining the mental health of the members of its society.[11]

3. **Protection.** Both physical safety and protection of property rights[12] are included in the important concept of protection. Some cultures do not have private property but every society has a material culture, however simple it might be, and therefore, property, whether personal, familial or tribal, needs to be protected. Physical safety as a universal value grows out of the universal instinct for survival. The **dap-ay** of the Sagada Bontoc[13] is a cultural institution established for that purpose. (The **dap-ay** is a male dormitory. Its members originally formed a protective military force for the community. Vestiges of this purpose still remain although it is now primarily a training institution.)

4. **Cultural continuity.** Members of some modern sub-cultures, such as the recent Hippie movement, might attempt to reject cultural continuity as a universal value. The battle cry, "Overthrow the establish-

[10] Ralph Linton, **Cultural Background of Personality** (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts), 1945.

[11] **Op. cit.**, pp. 6-11.

[12] John Locke, **First Treatise on Government**.

[13] William Henry Scott, **On the Cordillera** (Manila: MCS Enterprises), 1966, p. 57.

ment," springs from the teachings of Thoreau and others and their modern representative, poet Allen Ginsburg, who says concerning youth in the present culture: "Suddenly everybody wakes up [to the fact] that we're all living in hell."[14] The criticism may be true but it does not show a lack of need for cultural continuity. Continuity does not mean rigidity. Continuity refers to the continuation of society working within the changing framework of a culture. Individuals are thereby enabled to communicate and interact for individual and mutual benefit (or fight if they prefer). Without cultural continuity all languages, both covert and overt, becomes impossible and interaction becomes chaotic and unproductive. A given culture might be considered conservative and resistant to change or it might be rapidly changing and liberal, but all cultures, including sub-cultures, have developed certain sub-values and mores which, working together, tend to maintain cultural continuity.

5. Training. The importance of training is inherent in the physiology of man due to his long period of dependence. Some societies institutionalize training and call it education. Other societies, such as the pre-Christian Jews of Palestine, center training in the religious institution.[15] Many of the ethnic groups in Africa utilize the initiatory rituals at puberty as the time when definite and organized training takes place.[16] The Sagada Bontoc people center male education around the male dormitory mentioned above. In every culture, however, there are certain things which every individual must learn and know concerning how to find the means of livelihood and how to operate successfully within his own society. Sociologists and anthropologists refer to this process as socialization or enculturation.[17]

Those who develop their knowledge and ability are usually highly regarded, at least as long as that knowledge and ability is utilized according to other cultural values. If, however, an individual uses unusual knowledge or ability for personal power or unusual purposes, he will frequently be rejected. The need for, and desirability of, training is definitely a universal value.

The relative importance of these values will differ between cultures and even between individuals within a given society. Values frequently

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[14] Quoted in "Hippies—A Passing Fad?" **U. S. News & World Report**, Oct. 23, 1967, p. 44.

[15] Alfred Edersheim, **In the Days of Christ** (Chicago: Ravell), 1876, pp. 122-138.

[16] George Harley, "Notes on the Poro of Liberia," **A Reader in General Anthropology**, ed. Carleton S. Coon (New York: Henry Holt), 1954, p. 347ff.

[17] Keesing, **op. cit.**, p. 414.

come into situations where they conflict with each other. In such a case, the relative importance of each value will be decided on the basis of other, perhaps less universal cultural values or existential circumstances. Two examples of this problem could be mentioned.

1. If the only educational institutions available are conducted by members of another culture and or teach curricula based upon the mores and values of another culture (a situation which is common in most, if not all, of the schools for cultural minorities in the Philippines), the value of training comes into conflict with the value of cultural continuity. The decision, in this case of conflict, is a difficult one.

2. If the family finances are limited and a son needs money for tuition but the family also needs money for food, a conflict between physical health and training exist. Again, the resolution of the conflict is very difficult.

Many similar conflict situations could be imagined but the reader can readily document them from his own experience and culture.

Personality of the Criminal

Realizing the importance of every individual within a society, it is important to analyze also the personality of the criminal. Only by such an observation is it possible to determine the source of the person's actions and the possible methods by which the criminal activity can be understood and perhaps altered. Modern psychologists, as represented by Gardner Murphy, have noticed that there are three different types of personalities which commit crimes.[18]

These can be described as follows:

1. The **individual criminal** ascribes to the value system of the culture and is a participating member of society but for one reason or another he has committed a crime.[19] If that crime becomes "known to the police" or noticed by society, the individual is likely to be punished through the usual cultural processes. In most western societies, only a small proportion of the crimes which are committed ever become known to the police, so many are not punished. This is especially true when crime is defined as a violation of a "code" which no longer expresses the actual mores of the society.[20]

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[18] Ledford J. Bishop, **Interpreting Personality Theories** (New York: Harper and Row), 1964, pp. 559-560.

[19] Reckless, **op. cit.**, p. 21.

[20] **Op. cit.**, p. 8f.

2. The **social criminal**[21] is actually a part of a sub-culture in the society. The mores and values of this sub-culture not only permit members to do acts which are considered "criminal" by the majority of society, they actually encourage these actions. This is not a new phenomenon. B. S. Haikerwal, an Indian sociologist, has made a detailed study of the problem of criminality in his own country.[22] He reports that one type of criminality in that country was placed within the caste system of the society in ancient times by the recognition of the "thug" caste. The standard of behavior for the members of this caste includes theft from other castes but forbids theft from fellow-members of their own sub-culture (caste). Violence and deceit are a natural part of intercultural relationships for them but are strictly prescribed within their own caste.

The existence of this type of sub-culture is not limited to India, however. It is both ancient and modern. Many persons who have spent time in a penitentiary belong to a sub-culture. The OXO and Sigue-Sigue gangs and others well known in this country are actually sub-cultures within the society.[23]

3. The **individual deviant** represents a completely different type of personality which should be distinguished from the previous two types. He is not a part of a sub-culture; he is probably nominally a member of the majority culture of the society, but his actions indicate a severe personality defect.[24] The source of the defect, its cause, and its cure are all subjects for psychiatrists or psychologists. Many suggestions have been made for cures but not many have been very successful, perhaps because they are so seldom applied.

In practice, very few societies, if any, make recognition of the difference between these three types of criminal personalities[25]. The reason is that in an urban society it would be very difficult, because of the large mass of people, to be subjective about the criminal. Therefore, the custom is to be absolutely objective when dealing with criminal acts. Since societies do not distinguish between the personality types when administering punishment, it will not be possible to do so here

[21] **Op. cit.**, p. 21f.

[22] Howard Becker and Harry Elmer Barnes, **Social Thought from Lore to Science** (New York: Dover), 1961, 3 vols., p. 1141.

[23] Franklin G. Ashburn, "Structure-Function of Conflict Gangs in the Manila City Jail," **Asian Studies**, III, 1 April, 1965, pp. 126-144.

[24] Leonard Savitz, **Dilemma in Criminology** (New York: McrGaw-Hill), 1967, pp. 50-65.

[25] Herman Mannheim, **Comparative Criminology** (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin), 1965.

in the limited confines of this study. These types will be mentioned, however, in relation to the various concepts of punishment which will be studied.

Punishment

The methods of punishment are multitudinous. Beating, imprisonment, mutilation, fines, public humiliation, starvation, forced labor, exile, annihilation, physical torture and mental torture are only a few which have been used in times past. Regardless of the technique, however, punishment consists of the infliction of some kind of pain, either physical or mental, upon a person who has committed a crime.[26]

The fact of punishment seems to be universal, existing in all cultures. The purpose behind punishment contains a strong universal element also, i.e., the ceremonial reaffirmation of societal values that are violated and challenged by the crime.[27] It is one of the peculiarities of human nature, however, that although this purpose for punishment is both valid and important, it is seldom, if ever, expressed as the avowed purpose for the punishment. Other reasons are given and the reasons partially determine the type of punishment that will be administered and its effectiveness or ineffectiveness.

It would be impossible in a brief paper to examine the actual punishment practices in every one of the thousands of world cultures. It would be even more difficult to study the avowed purposes behind the punishment practices. Fortunately, however, it has been observed that nearly all, if not all, of the punishment concepts fall into one or more of the following five categories: (1) Isolation, (2) Retribution, (3) Deterrence, (4) Reformation and (5) Restoration.[28]

Isolation

The basic concept behind isolation is the protection of society with no consideration whatever for the criminal.

The Italian sociologist and criminologist, Cesare Lombroso, claimed, at the close of the 19th century that criminals are born, not made.[29]

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[26] Savitz, **op. cit.**, p. 113.

[27] Attributed to Durkheim (1893) in Alfred Lindesmith, "Punishment," **Encyclopedia of Social Sciences**, Vol. III, 1968, pp. 217-221.

[28] Outline partly adapted from W. Lillie, "Toward a Biblical Doctrine of Punishment," **Scottish Journal of Theology**, December 1965, Vol. 21, pp. 449-461.

[29] Becker and Barnes, **op. cit.**, pp. 105-106.

He considered that there was a definite criminal type which would be recognized by certain physical marks or characteristics.[30] Later he extended his theory to include certain other "defectives." For a time his concepts were quite persuasive.

If the doctrine of Lombroso is true, i.e., that a criminal is born a criminal and change is impossible, the only alternative is to isolate the criminal from society as soon as he is recognized. The basic idea is to "protect" society.

Isolation can be accomplished by several means. Banishment is an ancient form of isolation. The banished individual is merely prevented from reentering his orignal society and is forced to either live alone or find another community somewhere which will accept him. In the latter case, it is conceivable that the individual could become an accepted and functioning part of that new society, but this is not considered by his original society.

Exile has been practiced for centuries.[31] Seneca, for instance, was exiled in 41 A D. by Claudius I.[32] In 1597, English law decreed that felons (probably not destined to be as famous as Seneca) be exiled to North America, and by 1775 it was sending about 2,000 per year. A total of about 50,000 were eventually sent, of which most were sold as servants in the Southern colonies. (The price was better there.) The practice ended with the "American Revolution" but began, again, in 1787 when the English began sending the prisoners to Tasmania and other areas in Australasia for forced labor in forests and mines. The practice was finally eliminated in England in 1867.[33] Exile is still practiced in several countries, however, notably in U.S.S.R. which sends an undisclosed number to labor camps. Victor Kravchenko reports 8,000 slaves, apparently all prisoners, in only one camp in Siberia in 1940. Very little has been

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[30] When Edward Westermarck, an anthropologist, visited Italy, he was taken to a prison where Lombroso proceeded to remove the shoes of two of the prisoners to demonstrate the "projecting" toes of the "criminal type." Both prisoners proved to be exceptions whose toes did not project. Westermarck wanted to remove his own shoes to show that he did have projecting toes, but he felt it might be classed as an exception, also. The story is related in Hays, **op. cit.**, p. 168.

[31] Harry Elmer Barnes and Negley K. Teeters, **New Horizons in Criminology** (New York: Prentice-Hall), 1943, pp. 436-455.

[32] Alexander W. Mair, "Seneca, Annaeus," **Encyclopedia Britannica**, 1963.

[33] Arthur Evans Wood and John Barker Waite, **Crime and Its Treatment: Social and Legal Aspects of Criminology** (New York: American Book), 1941, 466f.

documented since that time, but reportedly the practice continues.[34]

A more effective form of isolation is the death penalty, but this is practiced less frequently now in the 20th century than in previous centuries. The state of Michigan abolished the death penalty in 1847. Some states in the United States abolished it for a period of time and then restored it, e.g., Iowa and Oregon.[35] Pressures against the death penalty continue to build up in many areas. There was a recent request by Attorney General Ramsey Clark in the United States for its abolition.[36]

It should be pointed out, however, that isolation is not necessarily a punishment since it is not necessarily an infliction of pain. In some societies, a criminal might be glad to get away. In a close, family-centered society, however, isolation can be so traumatic that the individual would prefer suicide as was described in the incest case recorded from among the "Forest Men" culture in Viet Nam by George Condominas.[37]

Isolation usually does not accomplish anything of benefit to the individual or to his relationship to society. The only thing which isolation can accomplish is the "protection of society."[38]

Retribution

The basic concept behind retribution is the repayment to society of an obligation which the offender presumably incurred by his transgression.

Retribution is considered by many to be the most primitive concept behind punishment.[39] Some sociologists repudiate the concept entirely, but, as Professor Woods very cogently points out:

> "When they (the legislators) lay down a penalty of forty years' imprisonment for a crime, it must be that they have retaliation in mind; for in their reflective moments they must know that many criminals, actual or potential, do not take them seriously (when they say that their purpose is deterrence or reformation)."[40]

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[34] Anatoly Marchenko, "My Testimony," **Reader's Digest**, September, 1969, pp. 158-190.

[35] Wood and Waite, **op. cit.**, p. 470.

[36] "Death Penalty," **Newsweek**, July 15, 1968, p. 13.

[37] Georges Condominas, "The Primitive Life of Vietnam's Mountain People," **Natural History Magazine**, June-July, 1966, Vol. 75, No. 6, pp. 8-19.

[38] "Police: The Thin Blue Line," **Time**, July 19, 1968, p. 16.

[39] Barnes and Teeters, **op. cit.**, p. 10.

[40] Wood and Waite, **op. cit.**, p. 452.

The popular concept of the criminal "paying his debt to society" comes from the concept of retribution or retaliation. Frequently this concept is given a quasi-religious authority in the name of Christianity by quoting out of context the biblical phrase, "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth."[41]

A practical difficulty for the society is the method by which the obligation should be measured. In British Columbia, the Haidas determined the penalty by considering primarily the status of the injured person.[42] Western law attempts to set an objective standard by which the retribution is fixed by the "seriousness" of the act itself and not by any characteristic of the injured party.[43] This is, in actuality, a development of the "eye for an eye" (Exodus 21:24) principle mentioned above and more commonly referred to as **lex talionis**.[44]

Retribution can be understood to be social vengeance imposed upon a violator by the social mores. As vengeance, it does not actually accomplish anything toward helping the individual malefactor or the injured party except to reiterate for the benefit of all in the society that the society is still maintaining its value system. This alone, of course, is very valuable.

Deterrence

The threat of punishment supposedly deters prospective criminals from repeating their crimes. This is the basis on which the concept was developed.

Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832), realizing the dangers to society of unmitigated vengeance which often resulted from a pure retribution concept of punishment, carried further the theories and principles set forth by John Locke (1632-1704) and Cesare Bonesano [also known as Cesare Beccaria (1735-1794)] in establishing the so-called Classical School for criminology.[45] He assumed that man always acts purely upon the conscious hedonistic principle of choosing between pain and pleasure.[46] He further assumed that a man committed a crime for the ultimate pleasure which would come to him, either by the act itself or by what he would accomplish through the act. Bentham, therefore, deve-

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41 Barnes and Teeters, **op. cit.**, p. 10.

42 Wood and Waite, **op. cit.**, p. 447.

43 Cesare Beccaria, "An Essay on Crimes and Punishment," **From Absolutism to Revolution 1648-1848**, ed. Hubert H. Rowen (New York: Macmillan), 1963, p. 102.

44 Lillie, **op. cit.**, p. 451.

45 Wood and Waite, **op. cit.**, p. 452.

46 Becker and Barnes, **op. cit.** p. 529f.

loped what came to be known as "hedonistic calculus" by which the amount of punishment applied to any given crime was made slightly greater than was necessary to counteract the pleasure which a criminal might receive from the successful accomplishmnt of that same act. In that way, Bentham felt men would be adequately deterred from committing any crimes and at the same time no excessive punishment would be inflicted upon them.[47]

The theory, though beautiful and easily understood, was naive in that it assumed that man acts logically in regard to crime and also that he made his decisions purely on hedonistic grounds. Modern sociological theory has quite adequately demonstrated that the motivation of men is much more complex than would be indicated by a purely hedonistic framework.[48]

Justice Holmes, before the turn of the century, asked, "Does punishment deter?" and thus implied his serious doubts.[49] Gabriel Tarde, Director of Criminal Statistics in France at about the same time, stated categorically that he found no statistical relationship between the rate of criminal activity and the severity of penal law.[50]

More recently the Gluecks' have made more comprehensive studies and have concluded that there is no significant relationship between the rate of crimes and either the amount of punishment or type of treatment which a criminal received during his time of parole or imprisonment.[51] It must be remembered, however, that they were able to consider only those types of treatment which were in common use in the United States at that time.

Other studies indicate convincingly that there is no relationship between whether or not a state or country practices capital punishment and the number of murders or other capital crimes which are committed in that state.[52] There is no reason to believe that data obtained from similar studies in the Philippines would produce results which are significantly different.

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[47] Barnes and Teeters, **op. cit.**, p. 463ff.

[48] Bischof, **op. cit.**, pp. 145-146.

[49] Quoted by Justice Felix Frankfurter in the Introduction to Glueck and Glueck, **op. cit.**, p. 8.

[50] Jerry N. Clark, "Gabriel Tarde," **International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences,** (1968).

[51] Sheldon Glueck and Eleanor K. Glueck, **Criminal Careers in Retrospect** (New York: The Commonwealth Fund), 1943, p. 285.

[52] Barnes and Teeters, **op. cit.**, pp. 414-435, especially 432.

In other words, while there is undoubtedly some aspect of deterrence due to the fact of punishment, there seems to be little or no effect upon prospective criminals caused by the amount or duration or kind of punishment.

In summary, it can be said, that while the **principle** of deterrence as a reason behind the administration of punishment may be valid for the purpose of maintaining peace and order (protection) and cultural continuity, it is also true that the types of punishment which are in common use in recent generations, at least in western societies, have not been effective in actually deterring criminal action. Possibly the lack of reality behind the "hedonistic calculus" is the reason for this distressing discovery. Whatever it is, we find that society is left with an unsatisfactory situation.

Reformation

The humanitarian spirit which spread across Europe after the French Revolution gave the necessary impetus by which a new emphasis was brought into the practice of punishment. This new emphasis, i.e., reformation, was strongly championed by John Howard (1725-1790), an English sheriff.[53] Novelists[54] and poets[55] joined forces with the champions of change in the penal system in England.

The Quakers, heading up the reform movement across the Atlantic, sought to change the mentality of the prisoners by putting them into solitary confinement with only a Bible and chosen books and pamphlets for reading materials and visitors limited to certain persons who were chosen for their spiritual benefit to the prisoner.[56]

In Auburn, New York, another experiment was revealed in 1816.[57] Realizing that work was also constructive in character building, the prisoners were put to work in certain agricultural activities, and later in manufacturing. The prisoners were still forbidden to talk or converse with anyone.[58] News of the experiment went back across the Atlantic

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[53] **Op. cit.**, p. 480.

[54] Charles Dickens (1812-1870), Charles Reade (1814-1884), Charles Kingsley (1819-1875), **et. al.**

[55] Thomas Hood (1799-1845), Percy B. Shelley (1782-1822), **et. al.**

[56] Daniel Glaser, "Penology," **International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences**, Vol. 11, 1968, p. 515.

[57] Barnes and Teeters, **op. cit.**, pp. 533-543.

[58] Peter Gowing, "Prisons," Radio address over DYSR at Dumaguete City, August 3, 1969).

and several more prisons were established on the Auburn Plan in England.

The first "Reformatory" was established in Elmira, New York, for youthful offenders.[59] A similar institution was developed in Borstal (Kent, England) in 1908 and most of the institutions of this type have been referred to by that latter name.[60] Education is stressed, both vocational and traditional subjects, in order that inmates in the Borstal type might be prepared for life outside the prison walls. At first the education was sloppy, but,

> "As Mr. MacCormick has recently pointed out, the year 1929-30 was a turning point in penal education, largely because the State of New York and the Federal government began dignifying the educational process in their respective institutions."[61]

Much progress has been made in the development (1) of "community prisons," where the "jail" atmosphere is nearly removed,[62] (2) of psychiatric treatment for inmates,[63] (3) of vocational training and guidance,[64] (4) of principles of parole.[65]

The object of parole is to get the inmate back into society as quickly as possible, so that he might not become a part of a prison culture.[66] Some experimental work has been done with non-prisons, e.g., hospitals, for certain types of persons, such as alcoholics, addicts, and prostitutes.[67]

Some success has perhaps accompanied these emphases upon reform. But it seems that, on the basis of the available statistics mentioned above and more recent statistics by the Gluecks,[68] the only real progress in penology is in preventing some of the "individual criminals" from becoming "social criminals" during their time of imprisonment and in

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[59] Barnes and Teeters, **op. cit.**, pp. 553-555.

[60] William Healey and Benedict S. Alper, **Criminal Youth and the Borstal System** (New York: Commonwealth Fund), 1941.

[61] MacCormick was New York Commissioner of Prisons in 1943 and a leader in reformatory development.

[62] Barnes and Teeters, **op. cit.** pp. 791-796.

[63] Reckless, **op. cit.**, p. 437ff.

[64] Wood and Waite, **op. cit.**, pp. 484-591.

[65] Barnes and Teeters, **op. cit.**, pp. 814-839.

[66] See above in section regarding Criminal Personality, section 2.

[67] Barnes and Teeters, **op. cit.**, pp. 875-896.

[68] Sheldon Glueck and Eleanor K. Glueck, **After Conduct of Discharged Offenders** (London: Macmillan), 1946, p. 97.

treating psychiatrically a few of the "individual deviants."[69] Dr. Eysenck has proposed a very interesting method of "desensitizing" or "retraining" offenders which could be tried, but since it would require extended time and many facilities, its use will probably be limited.[70]

In a recent survey in the United States, it was discovered that 77 per cent of the Americans assume that the purpose of prisons is to reform criminals.[71] A mere 20 per cent of the employees of the U.S. Penal system, however, are involved in reformation or training activities. The majority are assumed to be guarding, not reforming.

In the case of juveniles, who supposedly are more susceptible to punishment as a method of learning, it was found that only 28 per cent of those paroled immediately after sentence was passed became recidivists while 52 per cent of those who were imprisoned repeated their criminal acts. Although the statistics are undoubtedly weighed since only the more promising juveniles would be paroled in the first place, the statistics are still indicative of the possibility that imprisonment is not the best method.

In analyzing the concept of reformation, therefore, this problem immediately presents itself:

Even though the individual has been reformed, nothing has been done in the community to which he returns to ensure that he will be accepted. One of the largest problems behind the large number of recidivists is the lack of acceptance when they return to society except by members of the "criminal sub-culture" mentioned above. Any psychological progress which the individual has made as a result of the treatment and control he has experienced is immediately cancelled. As Hiawatha Burris, an ex-New York prisoner said, "We might feel that in prison we've paid our debt but we know the community doesn't believe it."[72]

Another basic criticism of the concept of reformation is the observation that punishment does not generally reform adults. Punishment may be a means of guidance for children and may help them to form

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[69] See above in section regarding Criminal Personality, page 12ff.

[70] H. J. Eysenck, **Crime and Personality** (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin), 1964, pp. 95-179.

[71] The terms individual and social criminal and individual deviant are defined above in the section on Criminal Personality.

[72] "Essay," **Time,** March 29, 1968, p. 26. For an interesting study of the extra legal effects of punishment, see also: Richard D. Schwartz and Jerome H. Skolnick, "Two Studies of Legal Stigma," Howard S. Becker, **ed.** (New York: Free Press), 1964.

habits of action and reaction where the mind-set is not yet formed by canalization.[73] Nevertheless, for an adult whose conscious and unconscious patterns of thought and action are fairly well set, there seems to be nothing in punishment, nothing in imprisonment and nothing in paying fines that will help him change that mind-set.

In sum, punishment for the sake of reformation is addressed entirely to the individual without consideration of the community and stems from a defective concept of learning. In the words of Sheldon Glueck,

> "Prevention of recidivism through fear, as the chief aim of punishment, has miserably failed.....Correction or reformation....has also been shown to be very unsatisfactory."[74]

Restoration

The basic concept behind the term "restoration" is the establishing of a climate within the society and within the individual malefactor by which he can be returned to a meaningful interaction with his own society. This is usually done through some act, such as punishment, which repairs the damage done to the victim of the crime and removes the guilt from the mind of the criminal. The act must be performed quickly enough that the society as a whole recognizes the connection between the act of restitution and the crime which had been committed, and the society also accepts the restoration of fellowship.

An excellent illustration of restoration is found in modern Cebuano culture. If a girl is wounded by a stone thrown by a boy, the father of the girl will go to the home of the boy, sometimes taking his daughter with him. He will approach the father of the boy and request (or demand) that the boy's father punish the boy for his misdeed. The boy will be called and, in front of the girl's father, he will be punished. In that way the two fathers can be restored in their relationship and through their guidance, the two children can also be restored.[75]

While this concept of restoration has not been practiced on a large scale in the world, some modern writers are beginning to suggest it.[76] It was developed as a complete code in pre-Christian Jewish Society, and it is practiced today in the Kalahan Society.

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[73] Bischof, **op. cit.**, pp. 529-534.

[74] Glueck and Glueck, **op. cit.**, p. 76f.

[75] Described in conversation with Dr. Agaton Pal and F. Beltran of Silliman University.

[76] "Essay," **Time**, March 29, 1969, p. 27.

Jewish concept of punishment. Dr. W. Lillie very convincingly demonstrates that the basis of punishment taught in the **Old Testament** was not **lex talionis** but rather restoration. The code, also known as the Mosaic code, is found primarily in the first five books of the **Old Testament**, especially in Exodus and Deuteronomy. The language which is used in the code itself indicates this intention. The phrase "an eye for an eye...." (Exodus 21:24) could more accurately be translated "an eye **in place of an eye**...." in the sense of restitution, not punishment. The phrase translated "he shall pay" or "he shall give" which occurs 14 times in Exodus 21 and frequently elsewhere in the Jewish code is important, also. The Hebrew concept there is to "pay compensation" rather than "pay penalty."[77]

Compensation, in Jewish law, took many forms. In the case of murder, the death of the murderer was usually the only acceptable compensation. In the case of the accidental death of an animal at the hands of a person other than the owner, replacement of the animal itself was sufficient. If a person stole an animal and butchered it, showing that he had no intention of returning it, the thief was required to replace the animal and also pay an additional indemnity depending upon the type of animal which was stolen.[78]

Indemnity for crimes against the person is much more difficult to determine than crimes against property, but this, too, was handled quite adequately in the Jewish code. In case a man should slander his wife, the punishment was a flogging, but never more than 40 strokes under any circumstances. The reason behind the strict limitation is clearly stated: i.e., in order that the malefactor, who must be recognized as a brother, would not be degraded in the sight of the community (Deut. 25:3). It is also important to notice that a flogging or any other punishment is administered immediately. There must be no delay for a delay would give the community an opportunity to ostracize the offender before he had a chance to make restitution. Having made immediate restitution, he can be immediately restored to society.

Fines in the form of money soon developed as an alternative for restitution-in-kind when money became more important than cattle. Rabbinic writings in later years indicated that fines could take the place of all types of restoration except capital punishment.[79]

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[77] Lillie, **op. cit.**, p. 452.

[78] **Op. cit.**, p. 454.

[79] **Op. cit.**, p. 452.

The Code of Hammurabi[80] and the Assyrian Laws, which are from the same era as the Mosaic code discussed here, abound with many forms of bodily mutilation. This kind of punishment is almost completely lacking in the Mosaic Code,[81] since, as mentioned above, it would practically eliminate the possibility of the individual resuming his place in society. Restoration would not be possible for a person who was "branded."

Slavery existed as a part of the Hebrew legal code. It was not, however, indicated as a punishment for crime. Slavery was the means by which a debtor could work off his debt.[82] All slaves, whether Jews or not, were to be released in the Jubilee year, regardless of their length of service.

Many people today would object to some of the requirements of the Jewish code regarding "mere religious offenses." It must be recalled, however, that religious offenses drastically attacked the very fabric of that society and therefore, should not be described as "mere."

It is also interesting to note that imprisonment was never suggested as a means of restitution or punishment in Jewish Law. The emphasis was on quick judgement and the performance of restitution in-kind in order that restoration of all concerned into the unity of society might be accomplished as quickly as possible.

This same concept carried over into early Christian philosophy and in doctrines such as that of atonement,[83] and reconciliation (Matt. 5:24). Before Christians came into a position where they could influence public concepts of punishment, however, Christendom had become primarily a social and political organization and in the process had lost the inner motivations which the individual Christians should have had. Both its desire and its ability to provide that type of influence had been lost.[84] Thus, the concept of restoration as a motivation for punishment was lost for many centuries in the larger, so-called civilized, societies.

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[80] Becker and Barnes, **op. cit.**, pp. 87-90.

[81] The only occurrence of mutilation is in the case of a woman who, in trying to rescue her husband from an argument with another man seizes the enemy's genitals. Her hand is to be amputated. In that particular incident, her crime was enormous due to compounded and complicated implications (Deut. 25:11-12).

[82] Lillie, **op. cit.**, p. 454.

[83] William Owens Carver, "Atonement," **International Standard Bible Encyclopedia, ed.**, James Orr (Grand Rapids: Eerdman), 1960, p. 321.

[84] Ilion T. Jones, **A Historical Approach to Evangelical Worship**, (New York: Abingdon Press), 1954.

Kalahan concept of punishment. The Kalahan people of North Luzon[85] have a very complete system of custom law which is democratically administered by a conference headed by a group of elders who hold office by ascription.[86] It appears from the ancient documents regarding pre-Spanish Philippine culture that this system of custom law was very wide-spread, if not general, at that time.[87] The Kalahan, being isolated by geography and culture, have been able to maintain the system which the majority cultures, in the face of the impact of foreign cultures, have partially lost. (The illustration from Cebuano culture given above shows that it has not been lost entirely.)

The few case studies of pre-Spanish cases and the more than 100 case studies of Kalahan criminal cases indicate that restoration is the basic concept behind this system of custom law.

To demonstrate how it is worked out in actual situations, five cases will be cited in some detail.

Case 1 — Juvenile Fighting

Four teen-age boys from Community 13, visiting in Community 4, teased AD, age 14, of Community 4 concerning a girl whom he disliked. AD warned them that he did not appreciate their teasing, but one af the four challenged him to fight. They fought and AD won. AD then followed the the other three and hit them too, to clarify his position.

The four boys returned to Community 13 and reported to their fathers who, in turn, reported the fight to the elder. The elder called a conference in Community 4 attended by AD, the four boys, their fathers, AD's uncle, all of the elders and all interested parties.

An investigation was not necessary since the four boys readily admitted the teasing and AD admitted the fighting. The decision of the conference, as expressed by one of the elders, was that AD and his family provide rice and a small pig which was to be butchered immediately. They did this and all of the people enjoyed the celebration which demonstrated the restoration of good relationships between the families, boys and communities. The four boys were reprimanded concerning the teasing and AD and his father were satisfied that they would not repeat it.

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[85] Delbert Rice, "An Experiment in Developing an Indigenous Church Music in the Kalahan Culture," **Silliman Journal**, Vol. 4, 1969, pp. 339-359.

[86] Complete details of this system will be published later. It is adequate at this time to examine the principles and results.

[87] **Loc. cit.**

AD also provided 25 pesos which was taken back to Community 13 by an elder from that Community. The next time there was a community celebration in 13, that money was used to buy extra refreshments, and it was announced to all the people that the money was the restitution given by AD.

All families and both communities have been on good terms since that time 14 years ago.

Case 2 — Serious Physical Injuries

Both Mr. MM and Mr. AV had been drinking and gambling. During the game they misunderstood each other's bet and started a quarrel, as a result of which Mr. AV was stabbed, though not fatally. An elder of the community called a conference the next day. Mr. MM was required to pay all of the cost for medical treatment for Mr.AV and also provide a cow and enough rice to feed everyone in that community and neighboring communities at a celebration which was to be held a few days hence (relatives were not specifically called, but they were all involved since they all lived in the nearby communities which were invited).

Everything was done according to the request, everyone enjoyed the celebration and MM and AV have been on good terms during the 12 years which have passed since the incident.

Case 3 — Adultery

Mr. CE and Mrs. BO, both married, had adulterous relations about three times. They also wrote letters to each other. BO's husband was suspicious for several weeks but when a letter was found, the suspicion was confirmed and he notified an elder who called a conference for the following Saturday. BO and CE were both in attendance with their spouses. All of the elders were present, as usual, and everyone else who was interested attended the meeting. Both BO and CE testified during the investigation along with several other persons. The investigation lasted several hours. CE tried to deny it, but the evidence was overwhelming and no one believed the denial. He was required to give 2 large pigs and 200 pesos as indemnity. One pig and 100 pesos was given to the husband of BO and the remainder was used to feed the people who came for a celebration. The payment was made one month after the conference.

Since CE did not have sufficient resources to pay his fine, he was forced to collect donations from all of his kin. In this way he became obligated to all of them and they are in a stronger position to help him control his actions in the future.

After the fines were paid and the celebration of restoration was held, the inter-family and inter-community relationships continued smoothly again. There has been no repetition in two years since the incident.

Case 4 — Theft

Mr. III, a single young man, caught a pig in the forest which belonged to Mrs. JJJ, a widow of his own community. That afternoon when the pig did not return as usual, she investigated and upon learning that III was selling fresh pork at the highway, she informed an elder and requested a conference. The conference was held the next day. At the investigation Mr. III did not want to admit that he had taken the pig, but he was found guilty. The elders knew, however, that if the pig which he had butchered was actually a wild pig as he claimed, he would not have sold the meat but rather, he would have returned it to his own community and distributed part of the meat to his neighbors, as is the custom.

Mr. III was required to give Mrs. JJJ a live pig which he did. Both of them continued to live in the same community and continue to have friendly interpersonal relationships.

Case 5 — Multiple Theft Outside the Cultural Area

Mr. E. was called to a conference by the elders of his community. They confronted him with his activities during the past weeks. He had been committing hold-ups on a highway several kilometers away. He could not deny it. With the cooperation of his family he was instructed to pay four pigs and enough rice for a celebration which would be the means of restitution for the damage done to the prestige of the community. He was also ordered to stop his thievery.

Mr. E. paid the pigs and rice for the celebration but soon thereafter he committed the crime again. His family refused to support him for any more fines so the elders and family cooperated and captured him and turned him over to the government officials who imprisoned him in Muntinglupa. He died in prison.

More cases could be cited but these five demonstrate adequately the basic technique and principles which are used to establish restoration in the community whenever possible.

First: Judgment is immediate. Following judgment, a period of time is sometimes allowed for the criminal to prepare the necessary animals, rice or money which he must pay as restitution, but the time is kept as brief as possible in order to accomplish the purpose of restoration and avoid the possibility of any group of persons being inside the society but outside of the culture by virtue of ostracism. Ostracism and guilt together can be such a psychological burden that they could cause an individual who was otherwise normal to enter the category of the individual deviant. If the time period were extended so that several "unconvicted criminals" were together at one in the same state of ostracism, it would be very easy for a criminal sub-culture to develop.

The speedy trial and restitution is of psychological benefit to the injured party and makes it much easier for him to accomplish genuine forgiveness.

Second: All parties involved in the case are required to be present at an open and public hearing and to take part in it. Embarrassment and withdrawal are not allowed. Crime is never glossed over and never glorified. An investigation cannot become a "battle-of-wits" in which opposing attorneys are trying to "win." The trial has two purposes which must be accomplished as quickly as possible: (1) to determine the truth, and (2) to determine the amount of restitution needed, if any, in order to accomplish restoration.

Third: Actual restoration of relationships between the criminal and the injured is pressed by the necessity that they both take part in the community celebration in honor of their reconciliation. (the food is furnished with compliments of the criminal, of course.)

Fourth: the kin of the criminal are frequently involved financially in helping the criminal pay the fines. In this way, the kinship group is given a powerful lever which it can and does use to accomplish reformation.

Reformation in the Kalahan culture, in contrast to reformation supposedly accomplished during imprisonment, is accomplished within the supporting climate of the community with the strengthening support of the kinship group. The fact of the crime is common knowledge but since restitution has already been made, acceptance is assured. Preliminary studies indicate that recidivism is less than 10 per cent in comparison to a reported 90 per cent in the Manila City Jail and more

than 50 per cent in Massachusetts.[88] In such a situation true psychological reformation is a strong likelihood, rather than a nebulous hope.

Fifth: If, as occasionally happens, an individual refuses to be restored and refuses to be reformed, stronger measures are undertaken immediately (as in case 5) and supported completely by the families and kin group, since it is very clear to all that to do otherwise endangers the entire society. It is clear, in cases like this, that the criminal cannot rationally blame a system or an individual for his ostracism from the society, since he, himself, accomplished it.

In summary, it appears that the most satisfactory concept of punishment, as based upon the universal cultural values discussed above, is the concept of restoration since it deals directly with all five of them.

Summary and Conclusions

A chart of all five concepts of punishment and their effectiveness in supporting universal cultural values is presented here so that a proper evaluation can be made.

Isolation:

1. Physical Health:	no effect.
2. Mental Health:	negative effect on criminal, no effect on others.
3. Protection:	for society effective; for criminal negative.
4. Cultural Continuity:	effective for all persons except the criminal.
5. Training:	little effect.

Retribution:

1. Physical Health:	usually negative on the criminal, no effect on others.
2. Mental Health:	occasionally positive for criminal, no effect on others.
3. Protection:	evidence indicates little effect.
4. Cultural Continuity:	little effect or negative.
5. Training:	little effect.

[88] Glueck and Glueck, **op. cit.** (1943).

Deterrence:

1. Physical Health:	data indicated little effect.
2. Mental Health:	little effect.
3. Protection:	little effect.
4. Cultural Continuity:	little effect or negative.
5. Training:	frequently negative effect.

Reformation:

1. Physical Health:	no effect.
2. Mental Health:	positive but temporary effect on the criminal, no effect on others.
3. Protection:	positive effect but limited.
4. Cultural Continuity:	little effect.
5. Training:	positive effect for the criminal, none for others.

Restoration:

1. Physical Health:	some positive effect.
2. Mental Health:	positive effect for all.
3. Protection:	positive effect for all.
4. Cultural Continuity:	very strong positive effect for all.
5. Training:	usually strong positive effect for all.

Need for Holistic Approach

No man lives in a cultural vacuum, especially the man who commits a crime since crime, itself, is defined on a cultural basis. The approach to crime, therefore, must be cultural, holistic and honest.

Occasionally, some of the problems discussed in this study are recognized. Barnes and Teeters state:

> "In the meantime, the disposition of the case should be determined on the basis of the investigation by experts of the background of the accused, his mental and biological potentialities, and the possibility of his making restitution to his victim's family. The plan adopted should involve his amenability to a program of helpful supervision. . ."[89]

[89] Barnes and Teeters, **op. cit.**, p. 961.

Professor Glaser[90] of the University of Illinois also makes a strong plea for this type of orientation of criminal law which he calls "social reintegration." He further points out that the other concepts of punishment have not been effective.

The excellent editorial essay on prison reform in **Time** magazine[91] recently emphasized the same point, i.e., let the criminal make proper restitution directly to the injured in order that the mental and psychological problems of both can be properly adjusted. The writer further suggests closing all, or most, of the prisons and establishing intensive care centers so that criminals can be paroled immediately back into their own community whenever possible under care of supportive and understanding supervisors and counselors. A functioning kin group can automatically provide this support but in the modern urban society where the kin group no longer functions, some alternative must be found. The intensive care might be able to perform the function.

In Philippine culture the family and/or kin group is still a viable group which can perform the function of reformation of one of its members who has violated the laws of society. Trained social workers are fast becoming available to help during the initial period of "parole" if that is what the state should be called. What remains is for the majority peoples, both in the Philippines and in the United States and in many other countries of the world, to agree to reject the sadistic desire for revenge and begin to learn from some of the minority groups who have maintained over the years the technique by which they are able to "make peace," not just to "keep peace."

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90 Daniel Glaser, "Crime and Its Control in the United States," reprinted in **Crime and Its Prevention**, Stephen Lewin, ed. (New York: Wilson), 1968, p. 203ff.

91 Prison Reform," **Time**, March 29, 1968, p. 25f.

The Bohol Chronicle: Case Study of A Successful Community Paper

Crispin Maslog*

In a country where the community press is weak and unstable, the success story of the Bohol Chronicle is an inspiration. In 16 years, the paper rose from nothing to ₱200,000. The most important reason for this success is the talent and dedication of the paper's publisher and editor.

From zero to ₱200,000. From 500 copies to 4,500 copies weekly. From no equipment to a ₱90,000 printing press, with five major pieces of equipment. From a one-man newspaper staff to a 10-man full time and 17-man part time mass media enterprise staff.

This is the 16-year success story of the Bohol Chronicle, the only community newspaper in Bohol, the home of that intrepid, wandering tribe, called the Boholanos. In the Philippines, only the Boholanos can give the Ilocanos competition as far as enterprise, frugality, and wanderlust are concerned. As a matter of fact, the Boholanos are known as the Ilocanos of the South.

But this is primarily the story of the Bohol Chronicle, not of the Boholanos, and so we will concentrate on the paper.

History of Paper

The Horatio Algers story of the Bohol Chronicle is an inspiration to the struggling community newspaperman in the Philippines. It shows how the dedication and talent of one man can overcome obstacles and

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This article is the first in a series of case studies of successful Philippine community newspapers that the author is doing, with financial help from The Asia Foundation. The study was based on a number of interviews with the publisher-editor and other staff members of the Bohol Chronicle, and on observations.

make a success of a local paper that was predicted by a priest to die six months after birth.

When the first issue of the Bohol Chronicle came off its rickety printing press on May 16, 1954, an American priest working with the Divine Word College in Tagbilaran City predicted, half in jest and half in earnest, that either the paper or its editor would die in six months. Other papers had come to Tagbilaran City before—and they all eventually died.

Sixteen years later, however, both the Bohol Chronicle and its editor, Atty. Zoilo Dejaresco Jr., are still very much alive—and prosperous.

As a matter of historical fact, the newspaper has never failed to come out with its weekly issue every Sunday during these past 16 years. Sixteen neatly bound volumes of all its issues are displayed in the compact and neat office of the paper and printing press on Mabini St. in Tagbilaran City, showing how the paper has kept faith with its readers.

Today, The Bohol Chronicle is a byword among Boholanos and its editor is a prominent figure in the councils of power in the province.

This success did not come easily to Dejaresco, known to his friends as Jun or Zoilo. He had to work hard, day and night, without pay, during the first few months that he and his partner were putting out the paper. He had to overcome public apathy to a local paper, and lack of advertising support and other serious obstacles along the way in the past 16 years, before he reached the prominent position where he is today.

Paper Born Out of Frustrations

The Bohol Chronicle, Jun Dejaresco is fond of telling friends, was born out of frustration, as a poem is born out of pain.

These frustrations started way back in 1949, when Dejaresco was a Manila Chronicle correspondent, and continued when he became Philippine News Service correspondent in 1952. He became frustrated, he said, when stories he submitted to the Chronicle and PNS never came out in print. He felt that all his efforts were wasted. He thought that these stories would be of interest to Boholanos and there should be a place where they could be published—a local paper, maybe.

While toying with the idea of putting out a local paper, Dejaresco chanced to talk with a local businessman, Eladio Balili, about the need for one. Although a businessman, Balili appreciated the value of a paper that would be run as a public service.

They agreed to each put up ₱2,000 to capitalize the paper, or a total of ₱4,000. As events turned out, however, they did not have to use this amount because right from the start the paper was able to support itself. Their partnership was informal—no papers were signed. Balili stayed in the background and let Dejaresco manage the whole thing.

They started out by renting a dilapidated printing press in town, owned by Rafael Palma College. They used monotype. It took about a month to put out the 10-page maiden issue of the paper. This slow pace of putting out the paper proved to be one of the early handicaps the partners had to surmount.

First Issue: Fortune and Misfortune

The first issue was very timely, from the newspaperman's point of view. A big typhoon smashed Bohol, killed several persons and rendered thousands homeless. This was a big story in that province, where typhoons rarely visit, and the paper capitalized on it. This was the first banner story of the paper, and the paper sold. It was one of the ironies of the journalistic profession—a misfortune for the province, but a fortune for the paper.

The only expense for the first issue was ₱137—₱130 as rent for the press, and ₱7 for Dejaresco's allowance for gasoline. Dejaresco was not getting a salary. The paper carried advertising, of course. The income from advertising and street sales was more than enough to pay for the expenses. This proved to be the case every issue in the next few months, until the advertisers started to fall out one by one.

Dejaresco discovered that his friends were advertising mainly out of friendship. They did not really believe in the power of advertising to increase their sales. So after a few months, they started patting Dejaresco in the back, saying "Padre, that's enough help—we hope you don't mind." This lack of appreciation of the value of advertising was another handicap the paper had to overcome. Today, the situation is different. Advertisers come to the paper.

Meanwhile, after four months of publication, from May to August, 1954, the partners found they had a net profit of ₱1,000. Meanwhile, also, they were worried about the slowdown of advertising.

Then Dejaresco thought of the printing press. He thought that if they owned the press, they would be able to accept outside jobs, and earn money for the paper. At the time, the printing press was losing

₱500 a month because of mismanagement. By September, 1954, he proposed to his partner that they buy the press, and his partner agreed.

Paper Buys Printing Press

The owner of the press did not give a second thought to their offer to buy the press. The partners offered ₱1,000 down and the balance of ₱7,000 to be paid in 14 monthly installments of ₱500. The partnership paid the balance on schedule.

Through improved management, the partners were able to make the printing press earn for them. For two years, the Bohol Chronicle used handset types. It was a laborious effort putting out the paper week after week.

By 1956, the partners decided they were stable enough to buy a linotype. They got a loan of ₱35,000 from the Philippine National Bank, using the linotype itself as collateral—a brand new Blue Streak linotype.

The addition of the linotype to their press did wonders for the entire operation. They were able to accept more outside jobs. They were able to put out the paper in two days, where it took them most of the week before to do it. They were able to cut the number of personnel down—from ten to one—when they dispensed with the services of 10 typesetters and hired one linotypist instead. They were able to put out extra editions and more pages of the paper.

As the partners were beginning to feel the rewards of success, Dejaresco was induced to venture into a business that proved to be a a setback to the success story of the Bohol Chronicle.

Paper Acquires Wire Radio

He was talked into setting up wire broadcasting in Tagbilaran City, which he called the Bohol Chronicle Broadcasting Service. Wire broadcasting is similar to radio in all respects, except for the method of transmission of signals. Radio signals travel through the air, while wire broadcasting signals use wires, like telephone wires. And in wire broadcasting the users subscribe to the service, like they do to a telephone system. Receivers were installed by the company. The Bohol Chronicle Broadcasting Service, however, turned out to be a white elephant. Dejaresco had trouble collecting from subscribers. So the Bohol Chronicle had to support the wire radio.

On February 26, 1958, just as the paper was well on its way to success, and the radio was floundering, tragedy struck. Eladio Balili died of a heart attack. The radio broadcast the necrological services of Balili. Then Dejaresco thought that this was an appropriate time to let the white elephant die also. This became the last broadcast of the Bohol Chronicle Broadcasting System.

Out of this failure, however, Dejaresco derived something. The brief tie-up between this wire broadcast station and the paper gave added prestige to the paper. It also gave Dejaresco experience which would be useful to him later when he decided to set up a real radio station.

When Balili died, the partnership was automatically dissolved, according to law, but the widow asked Dejaresco to continue with the status quo for a time. In 1959, Dejaresco and the widow agreed to formally dissolve the partnership. After an inventory of the business, Dejaresco agreed to pay the widow ₱13,000 to buy off her share in the business. Dejaresco's share was all the equipment in their press and the paper's goodwill—presumably also worth ₱13,000. Dejaresco also assumed the bank obligation of ₱31,500—money they borrowed to buy the linotype machine.

In 1958, the Bohol Chronicle covered the Philippine Interscholastics Athletic Association meet in Tagbilaran City. The paper came out daily during the week of the meet and sold like hot cake in the streets. This convinced the teachers and, more important, the division superintendent of schools, that the paper was serving the community. Shortly after that the superintendent sent a circular to all teachers in the province telling them that they may subscribe to the Bohol Chronicle as a cultural reading matter. Public school teachers are required by the Bureau of Public Schools to subscribe to one magazine or newspaper as cultural reading matter. So today, about 85 per cent of the public school teachers in Bohol are subscribers to the Bohol Chronicle.

There is another group of subscribers that is responsible for the big circulation of the paper—the barrio captains. In 1959, the provincial government of Bohol subscribed for all barrio captains in the province. The subscription to the paper is now a permanent item in the provincial government's budget. In answer to the obvious question, Dejaresco maintained that although this, in effect, is a government subsidy to the paper, there are no strings attached. He declared that if the provincial government starts dictating to the paper what to print and not to print,

he will reject the subscription. He admitted that there were government attempts to put pressure on him in the early years, but he had resisted them. In the last few years no such pressures have been made, he said, probably after government officials realized the futility of any such attempt. All these years, the Bohol Chronicle has maintained its policy of independence. As proof of this independence, Dejaresco pointed out that every election year, he is branded as a Nacionalista by the Liberals, and as a Liberal by the Nacionalistas.

Oct. 15, 1961: DYRD

On October 15, 1961, Dejaresco tried his hand again at radio—this time the real radio. He timed the establishment of the radio station with a presidential election year, knowing that politicians spend millions for advertising during this time. He got good business for election advertising that year, but the business went down the following year. He had no regular national advertisers yet. The radio station was losing money and had to be subsidized by his printing press. In two years, however, he found a good Manila advertising representative who was able to swing deals for him. Today, he has 24 national products advertised over his radio station—a one-kilowatt local station, DYRD.

Dejaresco has found the newspaper-radio combine an effective way to get advertisers, especially national advertisers. He offers a bonus ad in the paper, for people who advertise with his radio, and vice versa. His radio station has built up a strong foothold in Bohol and is the most listened to station in the area. The radio station started out as a monopoly, like the paper, but two radio stations were put up in Tagbilaran City recently to give competition to DYRD. DYRD, of course, has an advantage over the other stations because it has a sister paper and a sister press.

Dejaresco's press prints not only the Bohol Chronicle, and stationery and forms for the newspaper and radio station, but also outside jobs, like government forms and school papers in the province. There is one other printing press in town, but it is small and uses only handset types. So Dejaresco's press is practically a monopoly in town, as is the paper.

Starting from nothing, Dejaresco's printing press now has five major pieces of equipment—one brand new Blue Streak linotype, one paper cutter and three Chandler and Price platen presses (locally known as Minervas). One of the Minervas has a Kluge automatic feeder.

What started out as a one-man newspaper enterprise in 1954 is today a 27-man mass media enterprise—newspaper, printing press, and radio station. With this setup, Dejaresco is not only able to offer an attractive advertising package to prospective advertisers, he is able to save on production costs. The staff members of the Bohol Chronicle at the same time work for the radio station. The staffers write daily for the station. At the end of the week, they have a pile of news items which they simply update and publish in the paper.

Dejaresco's mass media enterprise has a unique physical setup, which also contributes to savings in production costs.

The Dejaresco residence and the radio station are in one building, the residence on the first floor and the radio station on the second floor. Adjoining is a one-story building, which houses the printing press and the newspaper office.

From the master's bedroom of the Dejaresco residence, there is a "secret door" and short tunnel which opens into the newspaper office, through which Dejaresco sometimes passes at night. One of his secret joys, Dejaresco revealed, is to look at the press and newspaper office at night, after an issue has been printed. At moments like this, he gives himself a pat in the back, and mutters, another job accomplished!

This physical arrangement of residence and station and office not only saves on rent. It saves time and effort. Dejaresco is able to supervise the entire operation—and his family—from his newspaper office—even from his bedroom!

Family Enterprise

We might add here another factor that has contributed to the savings in production cost, and hence to the success of the enterprise—his family. The Dejaresco printing press, paper and radio station are a family enterprise. Jun Dejaresco has seven children and he keeps reminding them to learn the mass media business, because they owe their livelihood and their education to it. The bigger ones among his children are already helping him. Even his household help work in the press and paper when they are not busy in the house—folding paper, cleaning the machines, going on errands. Dejaresco is thus able to save on labor cost.

Four of them in the Dejaresco family are in the staff of the paper and the radio station: Dejaresco himself, who is publisher and editor of the Bohol Chronicle and general manager of radio station DYRD; his

wife, Rosario, who is business manager of the paper and assistant manager of the station; their oldest child, Emmanuel, a journalism graduate of Silliman University, who is associate editor of the paper and program director of the station; and their eldest daughter, Charito, who is bookkeeper of the paper.

When we talked to Jun Dejaresco in 1968 about his mass media business, he said his printing and newspaper operations took in a gross income of about ₱80,000 a year. Of this amount, 51 per cent came from job orders, 32 per cent from advertising, 12 per cent from subscriptions, and 1 per cent from street sales. Most of his advertising income now are in the form of judicial notices. He has a monopoly of the legal advertising in the province. In 1968 also, Dejaresco said his radio operations gave him a gross income of about ₱60,000 a year.

While we might say, at this point, that the community newspaper business has been good to Atty. Zoilo Dejaresco Jr., we can also say that Jun has been good to the community newspaper field. He has dedicated himself to the improvement of community journalism in the country. He has shown, by example, that a community newspaper can succeed in the Philippines.

Profile of Publisher-Editor

Dejaresco has not hesitated to plunge himself into the business and politics of the community press. He was responsible for getting the Federation of Provincial Press Clubs of the Philippines organized, and became its executive vice president for two terms, from 1964 to 1966. He also became executive vice president of the Provincial Press Association of the Philippines, now defunct, from 1954 to 1956. He is president of the Bohol Press Club and member of the National Press Club. He was national treasurer of the Radio-TV Federation of the Philippines.

Perhaps the biggest distinction he got as a community newspaperman was when he was asked to serve on the board of directors of the Philippine Press Institute as a representative of provincial newspapers, from 1966 to 1967. He got another honor when he was invited by the Japan Newspaper Publishers and Editors Association, together with 11 other Filipino editors, to visit Japan and attend the Japanese National Newspapers Convention in Tokyo in October, 1966. He delivered a paper on the special characteristics of Philippine community newspapers.

One of his biggest contributions to the Philippine press is the

amendment of the anti-TB postal law. This law requires an additional postage of five centavos on every postal matter mailed in the Philippines from August 19 to September 30 each year.

From experience, he found out that some provincial newspapers were forced to stop publishing during this period from August 19 to September 30 just to escape paying the additional postage on the copies of the paper which had to be mailed to subscribers. For a circulation of 3,000, for example, one had to pay an additional ₱150 a week for stamps alone, or ₱900 for six weeks.

In any case, Dejaresco thought this law amounted to an infringement on freedom of the press. And it was practically insult added to injury, because the newspapers had already contributed their share to the anti-TB fund drive in the form of free publicity.

So one time when he was attending a convention during his incumbency as vice president of the Provincial Press Association in Cabanatuan City, he took the matter up with then Sen. Quintin Paredes, who was the convention guest speaker. Senator Paredes saw Dejaresco's point, and promised to file a bill amending the law that very day Dejaresco talked to him. Dejaresco helped draft the bill. When they found out that the deadline for filing bills for that 1955 session had already passed, he and Dejaresco went to Malacañang to ask then President Carlos P. Garcia to certify the bill as urgent. It was approved during that session.

Dejaresco was teaching law at the Divine Word College, where he finished his A.A. and Ll.B. degrees. But he has long given up teaching because he cannot find time for it anymore. However, he is still Philippine News Service and Manila Chronicle correspondent for Bohol. And he finds time for various civic and religious projects in the province. He is a Cursillista and first vice president of the Tagbilaran branch of Serra International.

As a civic leader, Dejaresco is president, Tagbilaran Lions Club; director, Bohol Bar Association; first vice president, Bohol Boy Scouts council; member, Tagbilaran City Advisory Council; board member, Philippine National Red Cross, Bohol Chapter; and board member, Bohol Girl Scouts Council.

How does Dejaresco find time for all these things? His day starts with a brisk one-hour tennis game with a close friend, six times a week. He is a good tennis player, and his tennis has kept him looking forty, although he is now fifty. He comes home for a quick shower and break-

fast. At 8 a.m., he is in his office, to take a quick look at things. By 9 a.m., he starts getting telephone calls in connection with the Boy Scouts, the Lion's Club, or any of the many civic clubs with which he is involved. He attends to these civic projects part of the morning, and then goes back to work, supervising the press operations and the editorial work on the paper. He writes editorials and his column. Sometimes friends drop by to consult him on legal matters, because he is also a lawyer. He limits himself to giving legal advice, and lets his compadre handle the cases. He says he has relegated his law practice to the background and made newspapering his life work.

Fridays and Saturdays are more hectic than other days of the week, because this is the time when the entire staff really buckles down to work on the week's issue of the Bohol Chronicle. The paper is put to bed on Saturday night, and is ready for distribution early Sunday morning.

Profile of Tagbilaran City

What kind of a town supports a paper like the Bohol Chronicle? Tagbilaran City is a bustling little place, more bustling than most cities with the population it has—only 35,000. It gives the impression of a city that is crowded and alive.

This is partly because the downtown area of the city is small and concentrated in one main street. This main street, called Libertad St., is wide and paved, stretching almost three kilometers from one end of the town to the other. It is well-lighted, clean and very impressive. On this street are found almost all the important buildings in town—the provincial capitol, the cathedral, the marketplace, the cultural center, commercial buildings, a private hospital, two banks, three of the five moviehouses in town, five of the seven schools and colleges in town, and the Coca-Cola Bottling Plant, among others.

Of course, the other parts of the town are beginning to develop, but it is a peculiarity of Tagbilaran that this main street has developed out of proportion to the other streets.

Tagbilaran, with its busy inter-island seaport and its airport, is not only the commercial center but also the educational center of the province. It has two colleges and two schools offering college level courses. The biggest school there is Rafael Palma College, with an enrolment last semester of 14,000—bigger than the combined enrolment of the two universities and one college of Dumaguete City, a city comparable in size.

During the school year, there is an influx of some 25,000 students to the town. This, added to the city's resident population of 35,000, makes 60,000 people at any given time living in that little city.

Incidentally, many of the students in these schools, especially Rafael Palma College, come from all over Mindanao, and many of them are children of Boholanos now settled in Mindanao. The Boholanos retain strong ties with their native province, even after they migrate to other provinces. Sending their children to schools in Bohol is one way of keeping these ties.

Incidentally, also, the student population is giving the mayor of Tagbilaran a headache. There is a growing incidence of brawls and misdemeanors because of the presence of so many young people in town. These students room and board in town because the schools, except for one, have no dormitories.

Education as Major Industry

Come to think of it, when you sit down and draw up a list of Tagbilaran City's major industries, education would be one of them. The two colleges have given business to the city, in the form of students coming in with their money.

Four major industries, or occupations, of the Tagbilaranons are farming, fishing, trading, and cottage industry. In the outlying areas, they plant corn and root crops, especially that famous Bohol ubi. Fishing is done on a small scale. Trading is done by itinerant merchants who move from town to town to sell during "tabu," or market days, and by merchants who go to peddle in other provinces. Boholanos are traders and travelers.

The cottage industry is now being developed, with the help of the Presidential Arm on Community Development, especially weaving—hats, mats, and clothing. The retail trade is about evenly shared between Chinese and Filipinos.

There are, of course, a large number of professionals in town, especially teachers, government employees, lawyers, engineers, doctors and nurses.

Tagbilaran became a chartered city in 1966. Today it is a fourth class city, with an income of ₱960,000 last year. It is a historic city. In one of its barrios, Bool, a plaque marks the spot where the famous

Blood Compact was consummated between Chief Sikatuna and the Spanish commander, Legaspi, in 1565.

This was the first treaty of friendship between a Filipino and a foreign power. The Tagbilaran cathedral is one of the oldest churches in Bohol, built in 1839-1855. The original church, built on the same spot, was burned in 1798.

There are many relics of the Spanish era in town—in the form of stone houses, including the present provincial capitol, and old Spanish type wooden houses.

The city is just beginning to be tourist conscious. With the help of the local paper, the Bohol Chronicle, the city is publicizing and developing its tourist spots, including a hill overlooking the city, called Banate. This hill commands a magnificent view of the city and its harbor.

Tagbilaran city is predominantly Catholic. And one senses that the attitudes and outlook of the residents are still conservative. Paradoxically, however, one also senses that the businessmen of Tagbilaran are progressive—more progressive than the businessmen of many cities its size.

Critique of Paper

Looking over the first few issues of the paper, starting with its maiden issue of May 16, 1954, we found a lot of pictures and advertising. Some ads were on the front page. The columns were separated by rules, in the old-fashioned way. The banner head was evident in all the issues examined—big, bold, gothic. There was usually a skyline between the banner and the nameplate.

Among the original sections and columns were the Visayan page on the last page, the School and Society section, the Town Brevities section, and the publisher's unsigned front page column, Trivia.

Examining the issues of the paper 14 years later, in 1968, we found that there were very few, or no, pictures at all. There was less commercial advertising, but more legal ads. The column rules were gone. These were the more obvious changes in the paper.

But on the whole, the appearance had not changed much. The format, the headline typefaces, were still the same. The banner headline was inflexibly there, giving the impression that week after week there was

INAUGURAL ISSUE

The Bohol Chronicle
BOHOL'S INDEPENDENT WEEKLY

Commenting on the typhoid spread in the province, Dr. Parado said that with the intensified drive against typhoid in the province, there has not been a single case reported this week.

He added that vaccination was

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in Abatan tragedy

SSS chairman hits power concentration in gov't

Atty. Ramon Gaviola, Jr., chairman of the Social Security Commission, Friday night severely criticized the intrusion of some departments into the functions of other departments. He said that while there is separation of powers as envisioned in the constitution, other departments are overly powerful than the others.

Gaviola was guest speaker during the "Forum on the Philippine Constitution", a radio program jointly sponsored by the Bohol Bar Association and Station DYRD.

Gaviola also recommended the abolition of the prohibition of officials and employees under the civil service from criticizing anomalies in their own departments. The SSS official said that while the bill of rights guarantees the freedom of speech, this particular prohibition against public school teachers from criticizing public acts is a "left handed" provision which runs counter to the freedom of

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PAL resumes its V-cargo service

The Philippine Air Lines recently resumed its V-Cargo shipment operations last week to facilitate the transmittal of cash remittances.

This was reported by Paul Holganza, PAL branch supervisor here.

Holganza said that the resumption took effect last June 29 to give parents residing in the provinces enough time to send money to their children studying in the cities.

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Loon families suffered most; site now blocked

Seven persons were killed and 16 others survived a Tamaes passenger jeepney plunged into Abatan River 10 kilometers from this city, early Monday dawn. It was believed to be the worst traffic mishap within the living memory of Boholanos.

The vehicle which was loaded mostly with Mindanao passengers was running at full speed towards Maribojoc from this city. The jeepney came from Jagna which also loaded more Mindanao passengers at the city wharf.

The fatalities were:

1 Manuel Recamadas, 6;
2 Hubert Recamadas, 13;
3 Hazel Recamadas, 14, all

fiesta.

The two aged Pelgrates brother and sister took the passenger vehicle from Tagbilaran to Loon. The third fatality from Pig-ot, Loon recently arrived from Davao where she attended the burial of her brother.

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Without fanfare, this city

Farmers to converge

Loine demonmed

at Carmen meeting

Farmers from at least seven rice-producing towns in the province are slated to join the stockholders meeting of the Wahig Valley Pacoma on July 11.

Teofilo Arada, administrator of the Agricultural Credit Administration, will be the guest speaker. He is slated to arrive on July 10.

This was revealed by Cipriano Abat, branch manager of the Agricultural Credit Administration here.

The Wahig Valley Pacoma which is the only revitalized Pacoma in the province has some 200 stockholders. It has benefited all farmers in seven municipalities in Central Bohol which is considered the rice granary of the province.

Abat stressed the benefits which Pacoma members derive from their membership such as

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became four years old

Without any fanfare other than religious services, this capital city was four years as a city last Wednesday.

Observed without any social activity, there were even regular office hours in all government and private offices.

City Mayor Venancio P. Inting, in his message to city residents beamed over Station DYRD congratulated the constituents of Tagbilaran City for whatever achievements the city has gained as be attributed its success to them.

At the same time, in citing "honesty to service" as the greatest achievement of the city, Mayor Inting exhorted city officials and employees to maintain their dedication to their duties.

Recalling his message on the founding of Tagbilaran city four years ago, Mayor Inting said:

"As we embark on a new poli-

Mayor VENANCIO P. INTING

tical and economic phase, I ap-

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children of Engr. Rafael Recamadas, former vice-mayor of Loon;

4 Perfecto Poligrates, 73, Pig-ot, Loon;

5 Maura Poligrates, 69, sister of Perfecto;

6 Lucy Sabrado, 16, also of Pig-ot; and

7 Arbilla Morodo, 28, a teacher from Inabanga.

The two bodies of Hubert and Hazel Recamadas were recovered late in the afternoon floating along Abatan River. Another Recamadas son, Manuel, was among the first fatalities whose body was recovered immediately after the mishap.

Engr. Recamadas himself was one of the survivors together with another son, Nerio, who managed to swim from the ill-fated vehicle which settled wheels up from the deep Abatan river.

Engr. Recamadas and his four children had taken the Jagna boat from Jimenez, Misamis Occ where they attended the town

Lerias denounced for negligence

Board Member Erico B. Aumentado Tuesday severely denounced the office of the first engineering district for negligence in its bridge maintenance works in three towns.

As a result, one dangerous bridge — the Abatan — claimed a toll of seven lives last Monday dawn.

In criticising the first engineering district under Engr. Gil Lerias, Board Member Aumentado said that a warning should have been constructed as a roadblock near the entrance of the bridge. This could have prevented vehicles from leaping into the river if drivers fail to make a turn to the left hand.

The board member said that Engr. Lerias can be held liable for the deaths of the seven passengers due to criminal negligence.

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City Fiscal bares obstacles in the prosecution of cases

By MANUEL SECO

City Fiscal Jovencio Orculo Thursday disclosed that a good number of court cases are dismissed due to lack of witnesses.

He informed the CHRONICLE that the most pressing problem in the prosecution of cases is the indifference of some people to act as witnesses.

The city fiscal said that people who have even actually witnessed the commission of a crime do not want to act as witnesses in court for fear of reprisal or they simply lack the interest to undergo taxing court interrogations.

At the same time, City Fiscal Orculo commented that some government officials who occupy influential positions in the com-

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Bohol's history unearthed!

By NICK MEJORADA

Bohol's pre-historic past may yet be unraveled by a recent excavation of human bones and artifacts in what was believed to be a pre-historic graveyards of ancient natives.

A two-man excavating team recently dug up in barrio Poo-oc, Loon town an ancient graveyard containing remains of human beings and some precious possessions including gold pendants, a bronze bolo and several pieces

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TROVA

If the souls of the seven unfortunate victims of Bohol's worst traffic mishap early Monday dawn were allowed to make a wish, they would have readily chosen to rise from their graves to curse the authorities of the first engineering district for their criminal negligence.

• • •

It took several traffic mishaps in the past, a ghastly toll of seven innocent lives and several rounds of public condemnation before the irresponsible officials in charge of roads and bridges maintenance would start to install a barricade near the entrance of Abatan bridge.

• • •

Yes, the authorities hastily installed those reflectorized cement posts which were stored somewhere for many years now only after these officials were literally upbraided by the taxpayers who called them a bunch of

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Fig. 2. The Bohol Chronicle 16 years and 2 months later, minus the ads on the front page.

always a banner story that merited the same size of a headline—which is hard to believe.

The School and Society and Town Brevities sections were still there. So with Trivia, on the front page. The Visayan section was still on the last page, but reduced to about half the page, only one story per issue.

A major criticism that can be made of the Bohol Chronicle is that it does not print letters to the editor. The publisher-editor has pleaded lack of space as an excuse. Modern editorial practices, however, insist on providing readers a forum in the paper. This makes the readers feel they are a part of the paper. And the paper serves a vital function—as a forum for ideas.

The format has changed somewhat in the issues this year, 1970, after Dejaresco's son joined the staff—the banner is more flexible, and there are more two-column heads, where there were few before.

Leafing through the pages of the old Bohol Chronicle reveals some of the early names that worked with the paper, now gone to other fields. There was Jesus Echavia, the first reporter and sidekick of Dejaresco. Echavia is now a lawyer for the Commission on Elections. He was followed by Aristides Osorio, who is now with the National Intelligence Coordinating Agency (NICA), then by Luis Boncales, now an English teacher of Rafael Palma College.

There was Eric Aumentado, a former clerk, staff member, and then columnist of the Bohol Chronicle. Aumentado has since gone on to more prominent endeavors—as a provincial board member of Bohol.

The present editorial staff includes Emmanuel Dejaresco, son of the publisher, who is associate editor. Up until a few months ago, they had a new editor for both the radio station and the paper, Jose Sesican, Jr., who was a journalism graduate from Manuel Luis Quezon College.

An old reliable in the staff, working part time, is Sofronio Fortich, a reporter. Fortich got his first taste of newspapering with the Bohol Chronicle. Today he is also Manila Times correspondent for Tagbilaran City and Bohol and is teaching in Rafael Palma College.

The two columnists of the paper are Justino Romea and Maximo Nuñez, a lawyer. Romea has been with the paper since its early days. He is teaching journalism at Rafael Palma College.

Static Format

An overriding impression that we got as we looked over the back issues of the paper is that the format has remained the same. The same banner headline is in the same place week after week. It gives the impression of stability, of course, but at the same time, it also gives the impression of being static.

Second, the mixture of typefaces, found in the first to the last issues of the Bohol Chronicle, gives that type salad appearance to the paper, resulting in a lack of unity. The front page also seems to be overcrowded all the time. There are probably two or three stories too many on that page every week.

This concern for form and appearance can, of course, be carried to the extreme. How about the substance of the Bohol Chronicle? The things it has written about in the last 16 years?

A general impression one gets as he leafs through the old issues of the paper is that the paper has been local through and through. It has, in other words, been relevant to its readers. It has, among other things, tried to tell Boholanos about their towns and province—their agriculture, fishing, home industries, education.

Right now, the paper is engaged in giving publicity to the province's tourist spots—and the publisher is personally in charge of improving the chocolate hills site of Carmen, Bohol, as a tourist attraction. The chocolate hills are a mystery of nature. Nobody knows how these perfect cones dotting the plains of Carmen originated, but they are attracting tourists to the place.

The Bohol Chronicle has both lavished praise and heaped condemnations on private leaders and public officials as the occasion demanded.

Paper's Crusades

A Philippine Constabulary provincial commander and a Bureau of Internal Revenue officer, for example, who tried to play deaf and dumb to the presence of smugglers in Bohol were promptly exposed by the paper. The officials were shipped out of the province. Two Trafcon officers who mulcted drivers were denounced. They were also transferred. There was a PC officer who insulted a provincial auditor during a meeting to plan a reception for President Marcos. The Bohol Chronicle

rebuked him, and he was grounded during the presidential visit. He was eventually moved to another province.

The Bohol Chronicle once carried a nine-week series of articles exposing the connivance between highway district engineers and **anapog** (limestone) suppliers. It earned the paper praise from its readers.

So while the articles in the Bohol Chronicle may not have been always written according to the King's English, they have always been relevant. The paper has served as the chronicler of history in Bohol for the last 16 years.

As proof of its success, the Bohol Chronicle has won one national award, the National Press Club-Esso award in 1964, as the second best edited provincial paper of that year. A proof of its relevance—perhaps the best proof—is the way its readers look for the paper. Whenever the Bohol Chronicle fails to come out on time because of a mechanical breakdown, the newspaper's telephone rings all morning—readers demanding for their copies of the paper. Whenever the newsboy forgets one or two subscribers, those irate subscribers will call or come to the office asking for their copies. The Bohol Chronicle also gets letters from Boholanos throughout the Philippines and in the United States, telling the editor how much they value the paper as their main source of news about their native province, and as their main link with home.

There is no doubt that despite its shortcomings, the Bohol Chronicle is one of the most successful community newspapers in the country today. In 1968, publisher-editor Dejaresco estimated the value of the Bohol Chronicle press at ₱68,000, and the radio station at ₱87,000. Today, the press-paper-radio combine would easily be worth ₱200,000.

Actually, Jun Dejaresco is worth more than that now. He has invested his money wisely. His house and lot, and other lots in town and in other places which he bought after he became a successful publisher, would easily be worth ₱300,000 now. Dejaresco can be considered a half-millionaire today. As an honest community newspaperman in the Philippines, that is a rare achievement.

Secret of Success

What is the secret of Dejaresco's success? In a seminar sponsored by the Philippine Press Institute in 1965, Dejaresco was asked to explain his success. Dejaresco pointed out a number of reasons.

First, a newspaper starting out must have financial resources, which the Bohol Chronicle had.

Second, a newspaper eventually, if not right from the start, must have its own printing press. Otherwise, it will always be at the mercy of its printers, who can jack up prices anytime, or not meet deadlines. The Bohol Chronicle got its press after two years.

Third, a newspaper must find a community that can support it, in the form of readership and advertising. The Bohol Chronicle found Tagbilaran City.

Fourth, and perhaps most important, a publisher and editor of a local paper must not only have the talent but also the dedication for his work. Jun Dejaresco has both.

To paraphrase Dejaresco, no amount of financial resources would make a publisher or editor succeed, unless he has the "dedication, zeal and love of newspapering." Without love, you see, there can be no sacrifice. And community newspaperwork is still largely a sacrifice.

Abstracts of M.A. Theses at Silliman University

Propaganda in Literature

"Propaganda as a content in Philippine literature." (M.A. in English) Silliman University, 1962, 121 pp. By Perla G. Acabal.

Propaganda as a content in Philippine literature is a study of efficacy or non-efficacy of propaganda as an artistic content in Philippine literature. The study sets forth some specific possibilities regarding the form and the nature this propaganda content may properly take, or continue to take, in order that it might play a most fruitful role in the growth of Philippine literature.

To accomplish the purpose of this study a four-pronged approach was followed:

1) It examined closely certain conflicting views presently held by Philippine writers and critics regarding the significance of propaganda literature.

2) It defined the corresponding concepts that serve as the bases or springboards for these conflicting views.

3) It pointed out and illustrated the literary technicalities relevant to this study, by analysis and criticism of selected Philippine literary works: one essay, one drama, one novel, one short story, and one poem.

4) It made a conclusion based upon the actual analysis and criticism made on each of these selected works.

The importance of this study to our growing body of Philippine literature is in its attempt to define a sound literary creed or philosophy by which the efforts of our writers and thinkers might be oriented and informed.

Attitudes of High School Students Toward Library Work

"Attitudes of first year high school students at the Negros Oriental High School, Dumaguete City, toward library work in relation to academic achievement." (M.A. in Education) Silliman University, 1959, 184 pp. By Dorotea B. Agus.

This is a study of the attitudes of 194 first year students at the Negros Oriental general public high school in Dumaguete City toward library work. The subjects used come from 20 towns of this province and from six other provinces in the Philippines, namely, Cebu, Misamis Occidental, Negros Occidental, Tarlac, Zambales, and Zamboanga del Norte. This group represents 43 public elementary schools and four private elementary schools.

This research presents the attitudes of the first year students toward library work, the factors affecting these attitudes, and the relation of these attitudes to academic achievement.

The factors taken into consideration are: sex, age, school previously attended (central or barrio), socio-economic status of family, educational attainment of parents, and training in the use of the library in the elementary grades.

Futhermore, this study gives the relationship of favorable attitudes to library use, socio-economic status, educational attainment of parents, frequency of library presence, teacher's method, and academic achievement.

Significant conclusions showed that, excepting the schools previously attended, all the cause factors mentioned affected favorable attitudes toward library work. The schools previously attended did not affect very much the students' attitudes because of the inadequacy of library facilities in both central and barrio elementary schools.

The first year students at the Negros Oriental High School had both favorable and unfavorable attitudes toward library work. Most of them showed favorable attitudes. Significant relationship had been shown between favorable attitudes and academic achievement. The students with high academic achievement in the elementary grades had favorable attitudes toward library work, and consequently, these same students had high academic achievement in the high school.

Incidentally, this research brought to light not only the poor con-

dition of classroom libraries but also the absence of school libraries in the public elementary schools in this province and in private elementary schools in Dumaguete City. The exception is the Silliman Elementary School, which maintains a good library.

School Achievement, Attendance, and Personality Development

"A study of the correlation between teacher's interpretation and rating of students' personality, school achievement, and school attendance of the Negros Oriental Trade School students during the school year 1951-1952." (M.A. in Education) Silliman University, 1955, 163 pp. By Fe D. Aldecoa.

School achievement, attendance, and personality development are three integral factors in any school endeavor. Teachers and educators are very much concerned with pupil achievement; therefore, it is also their duty to discover factors which may directly or indirectly affect pupil achievement in school.

The setting of this study is a vocational school, a type of school which meets the demands and needs of society. In such a school are enrolled students of varied home backgrounds, varied interests, and vocational inclinations, and finally varied personalities, and levels of mental ability and achievement.

The normative-survey method applied in the study had helped in focusing attention on needs that might have otherwise remained unobserved. The statistical procedures used have revealed reliable results which made possible the formulation of conclusions used as the basis for recommendations.

This particular study shows that marked relationships exist between achievement and attendance, achievement and personality, and attendance and personality. These factors are equally important and must be given equal attention and emphasis if the school is to succeed in its attempts to develop pleasant, desirable, and integrated personalities of the students.

Finally, some recommendations have been formulated to help students improve their achievement record and to help the school develop desirable student personality. Orientation courses, intervisitation, organized guidance programs, frequent testing, and scholarship awards are recommended to help solve achievement difficulties, irregular attendance, and personality problems.

Teacher Attitudes Toward Supervision

"A study of the attitudes of public elementary school teachers toward classroom supervision in the central schools of the Division of Masbate." (M.A. in Education) Silliman University, 1956, xi, 203 pp. 12 tabs. By Pompio L. Almero.

This study aimed to find out the attitudes of teachers in the central schools of the Division of Masbate toward the supervisory practices among supervisors in studying the existing classroom problems, in research and in conducting experimental study to solve classroom problems, in observing teachers at work, in the use of the B.P.S. Form 178, in in-service education, and in rating and evaluating teaching-learning conditions.

To ascertain the attitudes of the teachers toward the various supervisory practices during classroom supervision, the normative-survey method was used. Questionnaires were administered to the teachers to find out their attitudes toward the supervisory practices among supervisors.

The study revealed that the teachers were in favor of the democratic-shared process and the objective ways and means of studying classroom teaching-learning problems. In research or in conducting experimental study to solve problems discovered, this study revealed that the old concept of research as belonging exclusively to expert researchers and graduate students is giving way to the modern idea that teachers must be encouraged to do research to solve their problems. Regarding supervisory practices, when observing teachers at work, the teachers were unanimous in condemning supervisory practices designed to put down the integrity of the teachers as leaders in the classroom. They were also in favor of the B.P.S. Form 178 when it is in accord with the democratic principles of modern supervision. They were also in favor of using such device as part of a larger supervisory project.

Regarding in-service education, the study revealed that the teachers were in favor of group processes such as group discussion, group planning, group action, and group evaluation. In rating the teachers' efficiency, the teachers wanted it done cooperatively by the teachers and the supervisors.

ment of Education in the Philippines or the Ministry of Education in Thailand through its respective Bureaus or Departments. All universities in Thailand are under the National Board of Education while in the Philippines, each university has its own charter. The line-and-staff officers in the central office are more or less the same—there are directors, assistant directors, division chiefs, as well as promotional staffs and administrative staffs.

2. In the field, there are school divisions or regional districts for public and private schools which are under particular bureaus in the Philippines. The Bureau of Vocational Education has no school division nor original district. Each bureau is responsible for the schools under it through superintendents, supervisors, district supervisors, secondary school principals, elementary school principals, etc. In Thailand, only one superintendent takes charge of all types of schools for each province with the assistance of the Amphure Educational Officers, secondary school principals, elementary school principals, etc. There are also supervisors in the Central Office, Regional Office and Provincial Office.

3. Administration and supervision in the two countries supplement and complement each other. There is no definite distinction of functions between the administrator and supervisor. The State supervises and administers all schools through the Department or Ministry of Education. They are highly centralized in the sense that all policies are planned in the Central Office. The educational authorities in the province implement the policies in the school with the help of all supervisors in different levels. All colleges or universities in the Philippines are administered and supervised by a Board of Regents or Trustees; while the National Board of Education assumes these functions for all universities in Thailand.

The following are some of the significant recommendations of the writer to improve the school organization, administration and supervision of the educational systems of the Philippines and Thailand:

1. Decentralization of the school system to promote democratic practice. The theory of parallelism, which means the delegation of responsibility correspondingly with delegation of authority, should be observed through the system.

2. The standard of private schools in the Philippines should be raised by giving government examinations for all courses every year. No private institution should be authorized to confer degress or titles except the state. In Thailand, private universities should be established as the part of the educational system.

The Tragic Element in the Short Story

"The tragic element: A dimension in the short story." (M.A. in English) Silliman University, 1963, 147 pp. By Judith E. Amistoso.

The tragic element as a dimension of the short story has been chosen as the subject of this study for two reasons: 1) It is the common factor found among the four short stories of the author included as part of this thesis, 2) It is the author's conviction that the tragic element does contribute towards the magnification of meaning and universality in such a limited structure as the short story.

Inasmuch as the tragic element is derived from tragedy, which is a literary art form quite different from the short story, the discussion begins with a brief consideration of the beginnings of tragedy among the ancient Greeks. The general characteristics of ancient Greek tragedy are pointed out.

Furthermore, the discussion includes a cursory survey of the tragic principle as seen in operation in Shakespearean and modern tragedies, such as those written by such outstanding dramatists as Ibsen, Strinberg, Cocteau, Eugene O'Neill, and Arthur Miller. That modern tragedy is conspicuously different from ancient classical tragedy or even Shakespearean tragedy is brought out.

The author's thesis is that even though the Greek sense of tragedy has been lost to us, our modern tragedies, at least some of them, still prove that we have not lost the possibility for emotional and spiritual greatness as seen in the ancients. Jean Cocteau's **The Infernal Machine** is held up as the best example of this possibility of greatness; it may also easily be the drama that best illustrates the concept of what we mean by "modern tragedy."

The author then attempts to relate the various aspects of tragedy, especially those of modern tragedy, to some representative short stories wherein we observe the tragic sense or tragic feeling. The short stories used for this purpose are those of Hemingway, Kipling, Chekov, Tolstoi, Joyce and those of a few Filipino writers.

The discussion on each of these short stories points out what tragic element is actively involved. Finally, the tragic principles in the author's own short stories are traced and elaborated upon. Since evaluation is not the concern of the author, no attempt at it is made here. This discussion concludes with statements on how the tragic element in the modern sense may endow the short story with an added dimension that makes for greatness in the literary art.

Educational Program for Subanons

"An educational program proposed for a Subanon community in Misamis Occidental." (M.A. in Education) Silliman University, 1953, 129 pp. By Lino Q. Arquiza.

The area of human living selected by the writer is the rural people in Misamis Occidental. Abject poverty and hunger characterize the life of these rural people. The problem is expressed in four aspects:

1. A brief historical sketch of the origin and background of the people with emphasis on their customs, traditions, social and religious life, cultural contacts, and economic conditions.

2. A survey of the conditions of the people with the purpose of discovering factors which vitally affect Subanon life.

3. An evaluation of what was actually done by the government for these people.

4. The formulation of an educational program of activities based upon the needs of the people as revealed in 1 and 2.

The Subanons are groups of people who have lived in the rural areas of Misamis Occidental. In order to determine the living conditions of these people, a survey of the community was conducted by the writer. Questionnaires were used. These questionnares were written in English, but for the benefit of the natives, translations into the vernacular during the interview were necessary.

The questionnaires were distributed to the people around the place, including government officials, and then to the Subanons themselves through the interviews. The interview and the questionnaire results worked as a check upon each other. Pertinent records in the government offices were studied to determine how far and how much has been done by the government for the Subanons who have lived in the hinterland of Misamis Occidental.

The government has organized a primary school in the place, but the difficulty encountered by the school is the nomadic tendencies of the Subanons. Another difficulty is the fact that the Visayans are gradually pushing the Subanons toward the interior of the province.

The Subanons are poor, and their living conditions are highly unsatisfactory. Knowledge about health and sanitation is lacking. Their source of income is the sale of forest products. Upland rice is cultivated

but the harvest is insufficient for their food. Their life is circumscribed within the family, and social contacts come only during the planting season. The survey revealed that most of the children of school age are out of school.

In line with the rural reconstruction work, the writer recommends the following:

1. The culture of the Subanons should be utilized in achieving the ends sought toward their rural improvement.

2. Health facilities of the government must be extended to these people.

3. Rural cooperatives should be organized, whereby the Subanons may market their products collectively.

4. The school should lead in showing the Subanons the more efficient use of farm implements for the cultivation of their crops.

5. The curriculum of the school should be based upon the life of the Subanons.

Study Habits of High School Students

"An investigation of the study habits of fourth year high school students of selected secondary schools in the City of Dumaguete with a view of recommending plans for their improvement." (M.A. in Education) Silliman University, 1955, 152 pp. By Paterno Bruselas

This is a study of the general study habits of fourth year high school students. Some 400 senior students of four selected secondary schools in the City of Dumaguete were the subjects of the investigation. The primary purpose of the study was to formulate plans for the improvement of study procedures of students.

The instrument used in the survey was a questionnaire which was based on sets of rules or methods of study suggested by such authorities as Jordan, Whipple, and Crawford. The phases of study covered by the survey fall under the headings:

1. Health habits, 2. Using the textbook, 3. Habits of concentration, attention, and interest, 4. Taking notes, 5. Memorizing, 6. Reviewing, 7. Taking tests, and 8. Using the library.

The writer, after carefully analyzing the results of the survey, has

come to the conclusion that students who participated in the survey generally lack proper and effective study techniques. The study, therefore, has shown the need for a concerted effort on the part of school administrators and teachers to improve existing conditions relative to the study habits of students.

The following means and ways are recommended for the development of correct study habits in the students:

1. Provide a unit on how to study as a part of the English course in the first year. This unit must be taught during the first two weeks of school.

2. Provide the students with a period for classroom study or supervised study.

3. Provide the students with question-and-answer type of recitation.

4. Provide the students with regular assignments. The learners' progress in learning how to study depend much upon the proper assignment of the lesson.

5. Provide the students with written exercises. Such exercises must include, among other things, summarizing, note taking, condensing, and outlining.

6. Provide the students with announced and unannounced examinations. Tests are significant devices for stimulating the students to study daily, conscientiously and systematically, and will encourage regular reviewing.

7. Provide the students with short and long reviews. Reviews conducted by the teacher in the classroom is very helpful in demonstrating to the class effective methods of reviewing.

8. Provide the students with opportunity to discuss test questions after every test. Studies have shown the efficacy of this procedure in raising the scores of students in subsequent tests.

9. Provide the students with opportunity to discuss current events daily. Once a week is not enough to stimulate students to read newspapers and magazines often. It would be better still if questions on current events were included in the daily quizzes in history.

10. Provide the students with physical check-up at least twice a year.

11. Provide the students with textbooks. If possible, textbooks must be rented to the students by the school.

12. Provide the students with favorable external conditions of study. The lack of such things prevents the development and practice of high-grade study habits.

13. Provide opportunities for parents of failing students to help in the analysis of the difficulties of the latter. By so doing the administrator or the teacher could obtain additional insight into the causes of the behavior of the child.

Classroom Ratings and Government Exams

"Correlation between the ratings in the classroom and those in the national government examinations obtained by Grade IV pupils of the Oroquieta North District." (M.A. in Education) Silliman University, 1965, 167 pp. By Deogracias L. Cajigas.

The problem of this study was broken into three elements, which in question form were:

1. What is the importance of ratings in the classroom in our school system?

2. What were the fundamental aims of the national government examinations?

3. Was there correlation between the ratings in the classroom and those in the national government examinations obtained by the Grade IV pupils of the Oroquieta North District?

The normative survey method was employed in this study. A review was made of the philosophies, principles, and objectives which had guided the practice of giving school marks to pupils by teachers.

The objectives of the national government examinations were examined.

A statistical treatment was applied to the ratings in the classroom on the one hand, and the ratings in the national government examinations on the other hand, to determine whatever correlation existed between them. An interpretation of the results was attempted.

A questionnaire was sent to the Grade IV teachers of 1961-1969 of the Oroquieta North District to determine what they had based their classroom ratings on. The basis or bases of such marks would affect the interpretation of whatever correlation existed between the ratings in the

classroom and those in the national government examinations.

Importance of ratings in the classroom. The importance of ratings in the classroom, otherwise known as teachers' marks or school marks, is evident from their uses. A summary of these uses states that these ratings keep the pupils and their parents informed of the former's progress in their studies; furnish a basis for promotion and graduation; motivate school work; and provide a basis for awarding honors, guidance in the election of subjects and in college recommendation, determination of extent of participation in extra-curricular activities, guidance in recommendation for employment, awarding credit for quality, and research. These uses in their ramifications insure the place of classroom ratings in school systems despite the proven unreliability of these ratings.

The importance of these ratings becomes more evident as they become less unreliable and therefore more useful and valuable to the pupil being evaluated, the school which he is attending, the school which he will subsequently enter, the employment agency that will help him find a job, his potential employer, and society at large. There are ways of making these ratings more reliable.

The fundamental aim of the national government examinations. A number of objectives have been and can be cited for the national government examinations, but this study has found that all these objectives boil down into one fundamental aim: the improvement of educational standards. This aim has been universally hailed as plausible, intended as it was to arrest the general deterioration of educational standards in this country that started at the close of World War II. It was on the propriety of the means—the national government examinations—which was officially chosen for the attainment of the aim that the school men of the country could not agree among themselves. The results of the examinations proved some, and disproved other, arguments for and against final external examinations, thereby pushing the controversy a step toward resolution without attaining it.

Correlation between the ratings in the classroom and those in the national government examinations. There was a significant positive correlation between the ratings in the classroom and those in the national government examinations in each of the four subjects covered by the examinations: namely, English, Pilipino, social studies, and arithmetic. The coefficients of correlation ranged from .43 for social studies to .59 for English. The substantial degrees of significance of the coefficients meant that a correlation existed between the two sets of ratings.

The same coefficients indicated that the two sets of ratings had the same kind but different degrees of reliability in ranking the pupils; the evidence was more for their being appreciably reliable in different degrees than for their being outright unreliable. As quantitative measures of achievement, neither set was found to be satisfactorily reliable, the classroom ratings suffering from the non-standardized methods of marking used in arriving at them, the examination ratings from the ease of the examination questions.

Other findings. The national government examinations given to the Grade IV pupils of the Oroquieta North District in 1962 were valuable as a check on the reliability of the classroom ratings in ranking the pupils. They provided a basis for evaluation. They furnished data for diagnosis that might lead to school improvement. By stimulating the teachers to better teaching and the pupils to more earnest study, they tended to raise the educational standards.

In a program of national testing, standardized examinations are a necessity. Examinations are likely to be more valid when designed for evaluation than when made for purposes of promotion. To be valid, an examination must parallel and amply sample the curriculum; hence, the need for adapting examinations to curricular characteristics peculiar to regions, localities, or groups of communities.

Understanding of the propriety or impropriety of administering national government examinations as a means of improving educational standards will be promoted if the findings of this study are checked against the findings of similar studies that may be conducted on the same level, on lower levels, and on higher levels. Hence, the need for extending this study to other districts and other levels. The findings of such studies, including this, will be more conclusive if supplemented by the results of other related studies, particularly one that will measure statistically the reliability of the ratings in the national government examinations.

Along with the improvement of national examinations, the improvement of marking systems is desirable. If examination ratings and teachers' marks, both aimed to appraise the educational product, are to corroborate each other as in the ideal situation, each must attain a high degree of validity. In addition, marking systems should give as complete a picture as possible of the total growth and development of the child, measuring not only his mental and physical growth by tests and measurements, but also his social and emotional development and other personality traits through less formal instruments.

Teaching Love and Courtship

"A unit on love and courtship proposed to be incorporated in the course of study for Philippine Social Life and Progress." (M.A. in Education) Silliman University, 1957, 209 pp. By Adelina H. Celiz.

This study makes the following conclusions: Third year students and their parents approved of the teaching of love and courtship in school. The indispensable influence of teachers even in the emotional problems of the young has been felt. The task of moulding the youth in all espects in order to make him a well-rounded individual is a joint task of the parents and the teachers.

While the young people of today prefer American movies, short stories and almost everything from the West, yet there are Filipino mores, folkways and traditions that are not to be easily brushed aside. Living happily in the community means respect for the ideals of the Filipino people as a race. The "double standard" of morality, which confuses a lot of the young people, has played havoc on the morals of the country. Unguided women pay a heavy price, social problems have increased by leaps and bounds due to a multitude of causes. The school should help the family in educating young people in love and courtship.

Thai Protestant Elementary Schools

"A proposed guidance program for Protestant Christian elementary schools in Thailand." (M.A. in Education major in Guidance and Counseling) Silliman University, 1965, 155 pp. By Sirikanya Cha-umthong.

This study sought to find out the problems of Thai elementary school children enrolled in Protestant Christian schools in Thailand, with the primary purpose of proposing a guidance program consonant with the aims and objectives of the schools as set up by the Ministry of Education. The guidance program would help the children make an adjustment to their school life and to their life outside the school, and also help the teachers adjust their methods and techniques of teaching to these situations.

Books, articles, and periodicals were extensively used as references. The gathering of data was done by the normative method. Questionnaires were sent out to the elementary school children of selected Protestant schools in Thailand to find out problems which children en-

countered and their needs concerning their physical conditions, their home background, and their relationship with others.

The study revealed that the Thai elementary school children who are enrolled in Protestant Christian schools had problems which needed the help of teachers, nurses and doctors for their solution. It also revealed the need for an organized guidance program. In order to be effective and useful, the guidance program must receive the full cooperation of, and financial support from, the line-and-staff of the school.

The writer feels that the proposed guidance program presented in this study can be implemented in any Protestant Christian elementary school in Thailand and would meet the needs of Thai pupils.

Supervisory Practices in Negros Oriental

"A study of the practices of elementary school supervisors with reference to democratic supervision in the central schools in the division of Negros Oriental." (M.A. in Education) Silliman University, 1956, 175 pp. By Victorio A. Concepcion

The study aimed to find out through the reactions of the central elementary school teachers in the Division of Negros Oriental, the supervisory practices of the typical central elementary school principal. 1. How much of the democratic supervision was exercised by the principal? 2. What autocratic practices were still adhered to by him in educational supervision?

The investigation showed the typical elementary school principal in the Division of Negros Oriental was still traditional in most of his supervisory activities. There were practices, however, which showed an attempt to be democratic. In the formulation of supervisory objectives and schedules for classroom visits, the teachers did not have a hand; yet, the principal utilized group processes and guided the teachers in the preparation of the programs for teachers' demonstrations and visitations.

Most of the teachers' meetings were called by the principal when he felt the need for them regarding the points to be taken up prepared by him. However, group discussion of those points was encouraged to clarify their adoption or execution. In order to secure the consensus of the group, when divergent opinions developed, he called for a vote. Such

action was a violation of the principle of group processes, for it created two factions—majority and minority.

His classroom visits showed signs of his traditional concept of supervision. Considering himself as a teacher's superior, he took extra care when entering her classroom in order not to scare her; yet he gave her the opportunity to justify her performance in a conference soon after the observation. However, the conference was nothing more than the elucidation of his suggestions to the teacher to enable her to comply with them before he would write them down in the teacher's B.P.S. Form 178. In his attempt to be democratic, he was very considerate to the laymen; but his dealings with the teachers showed that he did not allow them much freedom in the expression of their individual opinions.

Standardization of English and Arithmetic Test

"Construction and standardization of a test composed of two parts—English and Arithmetic—for intermediate grades in the District of Midsayap, Cotabato." (M.A. in Education) Silliman University, 1965, 200 pp. By Jemima T. Cruzado.

The purpose of the study was to construct and to standardize a test composed of two parts—English and Arithmetic—for intermediate grades in the district of Midsayap, Cotabato. The test may be used as an achievement test for grade five pupils when given at the end of the school year and as a diagnostic test for grade six pupils when given at the beginning of the school year.

The trial form of the test was made on the basis of the courses of study for grade five English and Arithmetic as prescribed by the Bureau of Public Schools. This was administered to the grade five pupils just before the end of the school year (April 1964). After the test papers were corrected, each test item was item-analyzed by taking into consideration the ratio of discrimination and the level of difficulty of each item. Items which had lower index of discrimination showed high discriminating power; that is, they could distinguish the low-scoring pupils from the high-scoring pupils. Items whose level of difficulty was nearer 50 per cent were neither too hard nor too easy.

Therefore, those test items which had high discriminating power and where level of difficulty was nearer 50 per cent were included in the final form of the test. The final form of the test, consisting of 60

items in English and 30 items in Arithmetic, was administered at the beginning of the school year (August 1964) to grade six pupils who did not take the trial form of the test.

By means of the Kuder-Richardson formula No. 20, the reliability coefficients were found to be 0.918 and 0.834 for the English test and Arithmetic test, respectively. The test scores of the pupils were correlated with their English and Arithmetic grades, and the general average for all grade six subjects. The validity coefficients showed that the English test was a good predictor of Arithmetic grades and general average.

Therefore, the real value of this test lies in the fact that future academic performance of pupils may be predicted. The writer feels that the test can be of help to both grade six pupils and teachers. The weaknesses of those pupils in those two subjects may be revealed and remedial help can be given to them as early as possible. From the results of this test, the grade six teachers will know what subject matter areas to emphasize more in order to be of greater help to the pupils.

Gainfully Employed Mothers

"A study of the gainfully employed mothers who are teachers in Dipolog, Zamboanga del Norte." (M.A. in Education) Silliman University, 1965, 102 pp. By Yolinda D. Curabo.

The study is about the gainfully employed mothers who are teachers in the public schools in Dipolog, Zamboanga del Norte. This study aims to find the reasons why mothers work, the household chores that these mothers most participate in, the factors affecting the amount of household chores, and the maids who are necessities in the homes of the mothers who are gainfully employed.

The first and foremost reason why mothers work is to earn additional income. This reason is followed by: to utilize education and training, to do something when children have grown up, finding occupational experience pleasant, to keep from getting rusty and uninteresting to husbands, and outside stimulation.

When mothers are gainfully employed they still do the household chores, although the amount of their participation varies in different chores. The most common chore done by the mothers is care of the family. This is followed by managing and purchasing, care of the house,

preparing meals, gardening and cleaning of surroundings, care of clothing, laundering, clearing away, and care of fire, light, and water in that order.

The amount of household chores of the gainfully employed mothers is not constant. Gainfully employed mothers have in their employ maids who help them in the execution of the household chores. Most of the maids are young, belonging to the 15 to 20 age range. They are primary school graduates.

The writer recommends that family responsibilities be shared by the family members to alleviate the plight of the gainfully employed mothers. Based on the household chores most participated in by the gainfully employed mothers, the author further recommends that courses of study in Child Care and Guidance and Home Management be emphasized and strengthened for better homes and more successful gainfully employed mothers.

Common English Errors of Students

"A descriptive study of common errors in written English of first year students at the East Visayan School of Arts and Trades in Dumaguete City." (M.A. in Education) Silliman University, 1965, 143 pp. By Florencia P. Dagudag.

This study is made for the purpose of discovering the nature and extent of language deficiencies in the written English of first year students of the East Visayan School of Arts and Trades and suggesting solutions.

An average number of 960 English formal themes of first year students of the East Visayan School of Arts and Trades were used in this study by random sampling. Errors noted were tabulated and classified into eleven major categories and arranged from highest to lowest.

The findings revealed that spelling is the most common error of students. The second is error in verb forms. The rest are given in the following order: wrong number, wrong capitalization, wrong sentence construction, wrong punctuation, poor choice of words, misuse of prepositions, poor paragraphing and use of margins, misuse of adjectives, articles, pronouns and conjunctions, and wrong hyphenation.

Various possible causes were traced among which are the following:

inadequate language background, poor pronunciation, lack of oral practice of the basic sentence patterns, poor instructors, poor reading habits and others.

In the light of these findings the writer offers the following solutions: full implementation of the so-called second language approach, prospective English teachers and even teachers now in the field who have not had any training in second language teaching should be required to take at least one substantial speech course. By doing this, they will be aroused to take further courses which will improve their instruction of the English language. Only competent teachers who are trained in the second language method can produce students who can speak understandable English and write intelligently in it.

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Republic of the Philippines
Department of Public Works and Communications
BUREAU OF POSTS

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Name	*Address*
Editor: Crispin C. Maslog	Silliman Univ., Dumaguete City
Managing Editor: None	not applicable
Bus Manager: Natividad C. Ongcog	Silliman Univ., Dumaguete City
Owner: Silliman University	Dumaguete City
Publisher: Silliman University	Dumaguete City
Printer: University Press, Inc.	Dumaguete City
Office of Publication: Silliman University	Dumaguete City

In case of publication other than daily, total number of copies printed and circulated of the last issue dated December, 1969.

1. Sent to paid subscribers 200
2. Sent to others than paid subscribers 300

T o t a l 500

(Sgd.) (Mrs.) NATIVIDAD C. ONGCOG
Business Manager

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Book No. VIII
Series of 1970

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