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The purpose of this paper is the introduction of a work by Adelina Gurrea Monasterio to students of the culture of the Philippines for its probable interest for folklore. Her name and her works are familiar to students of Hispano-Philippine literature, but for several reasons she has suffered neglect as a source of material of interest to scholars outside that field. She resided in Spain from 1921 to 1971. Her works were published in that country and in Spanish. Her sympathy for Spain was not in tune with dominant attitudes under the United States rule or in the independent Philippines after World War II. The readers of Spanish in the Philippines gave way gradually to those who were more comfortable in English, Tagalog, or another vernacular of the country.

The following sketch of her life is based on a variety of reference works, in some of which appear errors (e. g., her supposedly early death is mentioned in one source, and the date of her arrival in Spain to reside there is given in another as 1912 instead of the correct year, 1921).¹ Some information concerning her was acquired as a result of a correspondence between her and the writer of this paper as well as two visits the latter paid her at Serrano, 172, in Madrid in 1964 and in 1966.

The exact year of her birth to Don Carlos Gurrea and Doña Ramona Monasterio (de Gurrea) in La Carlota, Negros Occidental, Philippines has not been ascertained by me, but it must have been before the beginning of this century. Her family owned sugar cane properties.

She studied in Manila. At the age of eleven she wrote a play which was performed at her school, Santa Escolástica, in that city. In 1915 she won first prize in a short story contest; in 1918, three of her sonnets gained honorable mention in a literary contest of the Spanish Casino in Iloilo. In 1919, her poem entitled "El nido" won first prize for poetry in another contest, that of the Casa de España in Manila. She preferred to use Spanish as her artistic medium, despite her schooling in English.

In 1921 she moved to Spain. Shortly thereafter she helped Eduardo M. de la Cámara in the compilation of an anthology of poetry, Parnaso filipino.² Poems by her are included in this anthology.

In 1934 she was a co-founder of the Asociación España-Filipinas in Madrid. The first edition of Cuentos de Juana seems to have been printed in 1943; in any case, this collection of tales won first prize for literature in a contest held by the Latin Union Writers' Association in Paris in 1951. This contest was open to writers from all the Latin countries. A second edition was published in 1955.³

In 1954 a collection of poems, A lo largo del camino, was published in Madrid by the Círculo Filipino; it won for its author the Zóbel prize in 1955. In 1954 also a play, Filipinas, was performed in Valladolid, Spain, on June 15. Adelina Gurrea herself took the part of the Voice of History in this historical, satirical drama, in which Joaquín Dicenta appeared as Uncle Sam, Ofelia Gonsálvez as Spain, and Katy Tapia as the Philippines. On January 30 of the same year she had given a lecture on "Filipinas, heredera privilegiada" at the Círculo Filipino in Madrid.

On November 27, 1966 she became a member of the Philippine Academy of the Language, a corresponding member of the Real Academia Española. For her acceptance speech she chose the topic, "Rizal en la literatura hispano-filipina," published in the following year by the Universidad de Santo Tomás Press in Manila, an exception to the general publication of her works in Madrid. Two volumes of poetry, Más senderos and En agraz were published in 1967 and in 1968 respectively in the Spanish capital, where her death took place on April 29, 1971.

The neglect of her Cuentos de Juana, despite its relevance to folktales of the island of Negros, is indicated by its not being listed in two of the standard works in the field. First of these is the 1965 bibliography by E. Arsenio Manuel.⁴ Second is the 1971 study of creatures of lower mythology by Maximo D. Ramos.⁵

The reader may wish to gain an idea of the contents of this work from the following summary, with page references to the second edition as an aid in locating the Spanish originals and in gaining an idea of the length and organization of the stories, some of which pass from one episode or center of focus effortlessly into a related one.

The collection is dedicated to the author's father. She retells these stories from having heard them from the Visayan family servant, Juana; once the year 1901 is given to indicate the period when the stories were being narrated, but it is not possible to be sure that all the stories were told in that year, and it is certain that at least one of them dealt with events from the Spanish colonial rule.

Adelina Gurrea describes her informant as follows:

"Juana was a native servant whom I became acquainted with in my home from the time I first became aware of things. Previously she had been a servant in the home of my paternal grandmother. . . Her nickname was Baltimore, from the name of one of the North American battleships that. . . fought against the Spanish. . . fleet in Cavite Bay. . . because of her size she was compared with the huge American ship. When I became conscious of her as a person, she had already lost some weight; she was very dark in complexion, had a very flat nose, small eyes and a large mouth. . . She could speak Spanish, but would forget it as soon as she was reproached for some error of commission or of omission in the carrying out of her duties. Then there was no way to prevent her from giving her prodigious explanations in the Visayan dialect. . . At night, before we went to bed, or during the warm and sleep-inducing siestas. . . she used to tell us tales of kings and Spanish princesses or the terrifying ones of Malayan spirits."⁶

This, then, is the description--in my translation--of the Visayan story-teller.

The first tale is entitled "The tamao," in which this malignant spirit is described. He lives in a tree trunk inside which there is a fine dwelling. Through tempting food he can lure people to him. Human beings, once abducted, on their return to our world may be dumb or in a daze for the rest of their lives.

The tamao is visible only if he so wishes, or if his habitat is invaded.⁷

After this introduction a tale is told of a young Filipina of Valladolid, near La Carlota, in Negros Occidental, enticed by a tamao to his kabiki tree. Her boy friend threatens to cut down and burn the tree, and as a result the girl is returned to this world, but in a sort of trance-like state from which she never recovers. The tree's fruit becomes sour; this is believed to indicate that the tamao within is slowly dying.⁸

In the tale called "The tic-tic" a child falls ill, victimized by a tic-tic. This being, it is thought, may actually be the cowherd Elas (nicknamed Por siempre) of the Calatcat pastures. Tio Tano, an expert in herbs, tries to help the child by sacrificing a chicken, from which he draws bile, mixed with blood and salt to daub the child's orifices. The tic-tic has the power of separating into two parts, and has as a companion a bird that sings tic-tic in the night. He is capable of

sucking out the bile with his tongue, converted into an extremely fine thread of invisible steel, from the child's liver. Salt is to be used to combat the tic-tic, since it poisons him. The only means of harming the tongue of a tic-tic is a pair of scissors that has cut the navel of a child born a tic-tic. Such a pair of scissors is hard to find.⁹

The next tale explains how Blas, the cowherd of Calatacat, has been turned into a tic-tic from his desire for vengeance when he is thwarted in his desire to marry his beloved Doric. He becomes an asuang, ruins crops, and causes deaths of children. Finally half of his body is found (when separated from the other half), salt is applied, and he dies.¹⁰

The next tale is of the camá-camá, a small and mischievous little duende (i. e. benevolent), not a malevolent asuang. The camá-camá is a trickster, a dwarf with heron's head, having legs, but not many feathers, partly a human being with respect to his body. The first camá-camá was the size of a child of two, but its children were the same size as the herons that delouse the carabao's back. This tale explains the creation of the original camá-camá, Ino-Dactú, and his friendship with a heron named Mahamut, meaning "the Fragrant One."¹¹

Next comes the introduction to the bagat, a type of asuang that stops people on the road, leading them astray, making them late to their destinations. One bagat lives in el Talisay, sometimes appearing as a priest. There also lives a cafre who once killed a wayfarer who refused to stop when ordered to.¹²

This leads to the tale of a bagat, or Bad Luck. The surname Gaiztegui was one of the oldest of La Carlota. One of the haciendas is named San Francisco. One night bandits captured Atanasio, the old man of that hacienda and family, his son Julián, and his brother-in-law Manolo. The old man was freed but Julián was held for a ransom of 3,000 pesos. As emissary a man named Jacinto, friend of the family, is sent with the ransom, but he cannot make his way. He finds that he has made no progress, that he is again at the starting point. He is certain that the bagat is blocking him. He starts out again and is met by a large black dog, spotted with white. He aims a pistol at him; the dog appears and disappears before him. Jacinto fires his pistol to no avail. Jacinto is attacked by the dog and loses consciousness. When he returns to consciousness he cannot tell his story to the Spaniards since they do not believe in asuangs. The bagat has proved himself stronger than Jacinto. Manolo is killed by the abductors but Julián makes his escape, when the constabulary attacks. Julián keeps looking for Jacinto, since he trusts in him and thinks that the bagat or bad luck has overcome him.¹³

The final story deals with the lunuk of the green pool. It tells of the Arruezo family, extinguished because of the lunuk tree in which a powerful and vengeful tamao lived. Below the tree was a deep green pool.

The first Arruezo came from Spain and married a Tagalog mesiza in Manila; later they went to the island of Negros. He entered the sugar raising business. He decided to go to Spain. He noticed that the sugar cane near the lunuk was not healthy and ordered that the tree be cut down. His foreman, Arcadio, advised against it, because it would anger the tamao. The master relented and said that someone else would be ordered to cut the tree down so that his foreman would not be responsible.

Later came the news of the master's sudden death in a Madrid hotel. Arcadio knew that the tamao had obtained vengeance. The widow said it was sinful to blame the tamao, that it had been God's will. The heir was a twelve-year old son. The widow married her husband's cousin after a year. The new master preferred leisure to work; his name was Alberto. The tree had grown again, but Alberto wanted the pool cleaned and the tree trimmed. He had a diver come from Iloilo to dredge the pool. At the fiesta, the drunken master insulted a new cook, who killed him. For the second time, the mistress was a widow; once again the tamao was avenged. The son was now fifteen years old, and his name was Fermín. Arcadio advised him never to go to the lunuk. He left Negros to study for the bachillerato in Manila. He fell in love with the daugh-

ter of the Spanish governor of the islands. Therefore he felt it necessary to acquire wealth. Fermín ordered Arcadio to trim the tree. As a result, his beloved Luisa--in Spain--suddenly died. The tamao has won again. Fermín drowned in the pool. When the overseer discovered him, he lost consciousness and the next day his hair had turned white. Arcadio was insane from that day. Only Fermín's twice-widowed mother and the mad foreman survived.

The traditional savor of the tales can be glimpsed even from the bald retelling of a much condensed version. The chief "creatures of Philippine lower mythology," to use the designation of Maximó D. Ramos, which appear in these tales are the tamao, the tic-tic, the asuwang, the camá-camá, the bagat, and the cafre.

Ramos does not include tamao among his creatures, but it seems to correspond with his tikbalang (Tagalog), tree-dwelling, who kidnaps women, and bewilders, blinds, and crazes people.¹⁵

The tic-tic corresponds to Ramos's tiktik, "a bird said to be a scout or pilot of the viscera sucker."¹⁶ Among terms for the viscera suckers, he gives asuwang. The sprinkling of salt and vinegar on top of detached lower body prevents the joining of the two parts of the Bikol and Tagalog carananggal.¹⁷ Ramos points out that the term asuwang or asuwang is "a general term for ghouls, vampires, viscera suckers, werewolves, and witches."¹⁸ He provides no analogue for the camá-camá, also called duendecillo (presumably a more general category). The word duendecillo is a diminutive of the Spanish word duende, source of davendi or dwende, glossed as "a dwarf" by Ramos.¹⁹ The bagat reminds one of Ramos's tikbalang (Tagalog) in leading travelers astray and in his ability to "assume any form and size it wishes."²⁰ The cafre suggests Ramos's kapre, defined by him as "a kind of demon among various Luzon groups."²¹ According to him the word is derived from Arabic Kafir, but it could have come to the Philippines via Spanish. Thus we see that some terms used by Gurra are not found in Ramos's detailed lists, and folklorists may wish to add such terms to a list of these creatures of Philippine lower mythology.

A Hiligaynon dictionary gives English equivalents for two of these terms. Tamáwu to be equated with tamao is glossed as "dwarf, elf."²² Aswang is rendered by "witch, sorceress."²³

Gurra's stories, recalled from tales told by the family's Visayan servant, provide information that supplements Ramos's lists of terms and types.

The student of Filipinisms in Spanish, too, can find numerous examples used and explained in the Cuentos de Juana; in this respect Gurra carries on the tradition set by Pedro A. Paterno who used local terms with footnoted explanations in his famous nineteenth-century novel, Ninay.²⁴

It may be helpful to provide here a list of such terms that appear in the tales, with page references, a brief indication of the term's meaning, and a few additional comments where pertinent:

1. buvo (8) paste of bonga fruit and leaves with lime for chewing
2. tamao (11) supernatural creature
3. narra (12) type of tree, its lumber, Pterocarpus indicus
4. camarong (12) type of hard wood tree, Diospyros discolor
5. piña (12) fabric made of pineapple fiber
6. jusi (12) fabric made of pineapple silk fibers, synonym of piña
7. manca (13) mango, tree and fruit
8. achara (13) pickles, vegetables preserved in vinegar
9. mangostán (13) fruit, the mangosteen
10. tuba lina (13) liquid from coconut
11. tuba (13) wine made from juice of palms, cf. Tagalog tubá
12. lampazo (15) a floor mop; mopping
13. panarapo (16) dustrag; dusting. Philippine prefix pan(r)- and a derivative of Spanish harapo, "rag"
14. morisqueta (17, 53) boiled rice
15. tinola (17) a vegetable soup

16. sinirang (17) fish, onion, tomato, and ginger prepared together
17. pay-pay (17) fan
18. patadiong (18, 49, 56) wrap-around skirt
19. sinamay (18, 59) hemp fabric used to line and stiffen skirts
20. colla (19, 242) continuous squalls
21. nipa (19, 53) nipa palm; *Nypa fruticans*
22. lawaan (20) type of tree with hard wood
23. bonra (25, 49) *Areca catechu*; betel nut palm with nut (cf. buvo)
24. kabiki (26, 90) tall tree; *Mimusops elengi*
25. talibong (28) sharp knife or dagger
26. chacón (33) type of lizard
27. tic-tic (41, 43, 83) supernatural creature; its companion, a bird
28. chorcca (41) a type of game
29. balinsav (42) a Visayan game
30. siray (42) a shell of shellfish or small snails
31. balignor (44) a type of small fish
32. palav (44, 63) rice plant, *Oryza sativa*
33. asuang (45, 84) supernatural, malevolent spirit or creature
34. cogon (47) *Imerata exaltata* or *Imperata cylindrica*; erect grass
35. tigbaw (47) a type of rush
36. iruana (47, 107) a type of lizard
37. bolo (50, 118, 195) a type of knife, similar to a machete
38. bastús (55) rude, uncouth, unrefined
39. amacan (57, 87) bamboo matting
40. dalaga (58, 60) unmarried woman, maiden
41. homestead (63) term derived from English
42. carabao (63) water buffalo
43. camarín (62, 165) barn, granary of one storey on sugar plantation
44. bagazo (62) bagasse, especially of sugar cane
45. camote (64) sweet potato, *Ipomea batatas*; term derived from Mexico
46. banra (69) round clay or earthen jar; cf. Tagalog bangá
47. tigbawal (69, 154, 205) place where the tigbaw grows; see item 35 above
48. bayong (72) thick bamboo used to transport water on the shoulder
49. tagulaway (73) *Parameria laevigata*; medicinal woody vine
50. tuba-tuba (73) type of shrub
51. palayai (74) derivative of palay; place where rice grows
52. bugang (76) a kind of weed
53. ifam (77, 185) a type of shrub
54. bugray (77) a type of shrub
55. sacada (89) seasonal worker
56. camanina (90, 214) *Murraya paniculata*; small tree
57. camá-cará (99, 161) benevolent creature, part heron, part man
58. calalao (102) type of basket
59. lid (103) type of lizard
60. visavo (109) Visayan
61. prao (109) a large sailboat, cf. Malay perahu
62. cocal (115) coconut grove, derived from coco
63. talisay (120) *Terminalia catappa*; large tree
64. Maharut (122) name; explained by Gurra as meaning "fragrant," from the Hiligaynon root hamút, "fragrant," and prefix ma-. The similarity of the name to the Muslim name may be chance.
65. rumamele (137, 214) *Hibiscus rosasinensis*; Hibiscus China rose
66. sumpit (153) blowgun or popgun
67. tianguí (163) market, derived from Nahuatl tianouiztli, plaza or market, through the Spanish tian-ruis
68. lucat (164, 170) supernatural creature, equated with bad luck
69. imbornal (165) explained as a term used on Negros for the drain or culvert crossing highways and streets
70. puldjares (166, 185) plural referring to the "Reds," derived from the root, pulá, meaning "red"

71. bejuco (168) rattan
72. montesa (172) a Spanish word, feminine adjective derived from monte, "mountain," here used to refer to a native woman or girl living in the mountains
73. camotal (176) derivative of item 45, place where sweet potatoes grow
74. lunuk (176, 189) large tree growing in moist places
75. tabo (181) coconut shell scoop or dipper; cf. Tagalog tabò
76. Sus, Marí, Usep (182) pious exclamation like the Spanish Jesús, María y José, the names of the Holy Family
77. anting-anting (182) amulet against various dangers or misfortunes
78. burí (182) type of palm tree the leaves of which are used to make baskets. etc.
79. castila (184) Spaniard; Castilian; Spanish
80. tarala (193) Tagalog as adjective and noun, feminine singular form
81. linao (200) brook, stream, pool
82. maya (202) type of bird, somewhat like a sparrow or wren
83. pitao (202) type of bird
84. Nonoy (203) term of endearment for young boys
85. daiyon (206) Christmas carol
86. camia (214) type of flower
87. sampaguita (214) Native jasmine
88. gardenia (214) type of flower
89. coronal (216) derivative of item 34; place where this grass grows

A glance at this list of terms shows the indigenous, the Spanish, and the American influences on Philippine vocabulary. It also suggests the attention given in the story to flora and fauna and other features of Philippine culture, such as the betel-nut chewing.

A neat example of a formula used in telling a folk story occurs on page 39 of the book: Así me lo contaron, y así lo cuento, i. e., Thus they told it to me, and thus I tell it.

Some idea of the function and manner of this sort of entertainment is afforded in the following passage in translation:

"If only I could transport him to that nipa hut of the servant to listen from his lips to the Malayan tales of spirits (duendes) and warriors, while I invited him to a drink of tuba lina (see item 10 above) or eating the sweetened flesh of the young coconut followed by sips of its own water, drunk in the polished shell of another coconut, which serves as a glass for the natives. And to hear him, accompanied by the guitar, some song in a minor key, typical of the Visayan region, or the melodious Christmas carol of the days of Christmas." (pp. 205-206)

An instance of the non-Muslim failure to understand completely characteristics of Islam occurs on page 133 in a reference to a statue carved in stone of the Prophet.

A fiesta on the day of St. James, the patron saint of Spain, on July 25, is described in a passage beginning on page 213, when the Spanish colony of Manila gathered together at Malacañang, the residence of the governors of the Philippines on the shore of the Pasig River, with a mass, the Te Deum, and a reception, followed by a great ball. The name of the river appears correctly twice on that page, but two pages later is one of the few misprints in the attractive volume, Pasig for Pasig.

Each student must find for himself the features of this collection of folkloric stories that most interest him, but it is my hope that I have stimulated interest in it, and that I have shown that the Cuentos de Juana is a work of anthropological interest, even if it is from the hand of a literary figure, rather than that of a specialist in the field. Students of other aspects of Philippine culture may find an appeal in other works by Adelina Gurra Monasterio, whose long residence in Spain served so well to provide a stimulus to interest in the culture of the Philippines to Spaniards, and whose work occupies a distinguished niche in twentieth century Hispano-Philippine literature.

Notes

1. See, for example, Discursos de Malolos y Poesías Filipinas (Manila, Buró de la Imprenta Pública, 1966), p. xiv; Teófilo del Castillo y Tuazon: A Brief History of Philippine Literature (Manila, Progressive Schoolbooks, 1937), pp. 294-297; Teófilo del Castillo y Tuazon and Buenaventura S. Medina, Jr., Philippine Literature from Ancient Times to the Present (Quezon City, Del Castillo and Sons, 1964), pp. 213-215; J. V. Panganiban and C. T. Panganiban, The Literature of the Filipinos (Manila, Alip and Sons, n. d.), p. 101; Matilde Ras, "Adelina Gurrea Monasterio, Historiadora," in ABC, March 31, 1968, in the section "Celebidades al Trasluz de sus grafismos"; F. J. Tonoqbanua, A Survey of Filipino Literature (Manila, n. p., revised 1959 edition of a work with 1956 copyright), p. 129; A. S. Veloso, Anguish, Fulness, Nirvana (Quezon City, Asvel, 1960), pp. 9-11; Jaime C. de Veyra, "Hispanidad en Filipinas," selections translated by Richard C. Paradies and John Araneta in Antonio G. Manuud, ed., Brown Heritage: Essays on Philippine Cultural Tradition and Literature (Quezon City, Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1967), pp. 809-810.
2. See p. 16 of the prologue of E. M. de la Cámara, Parnaso filipino (Barcelona, Casa Ed. Maucci, c. 1922)
3. Adelina Gurrea, Cuentos de Juana (Narraciones malayas de las Islas Filipinas) (Madrid, no publisher, second edition, 1955). It is to this edition that all references will be made.
4. E. Arsenio Manuel, Philippine Folklore Bibliography, A Preliminary Survey (Quezon City, Philippine Folklore Society, 1965)
5. Maximo D. Ramos, Creatures of Philippine Lower Mythology (Diliman, University of the Philippines Press, 1971)
6. Gurrea, op. cit., pp. 7-10, relevant passages in translation from Spanish
7. *ibid.*, pp. 11-15
8. *ibid.*, pp. 16-39
9. *ibid.*, pp. 41-53
10. *ibid.*, pp. 53-98
11. *ibid.*, pp. 99-161
12. *ibid.*, pp. 163-167
13. *ibid.*, pp. 167-187
14. *ibid.*, pp. 189-251
15. Ramos, op. cit., p. 311
16. *ibid.*, p. 357
17. *ibid.*, p. 335
18. *ibid.*, p. 350
19. *ibid.*, p. 352
20. *ibid.*, p. 311
21. *ibid.*, p. 353
22. Cecile Motus, Hilicaynon Dictionary (Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1971), p. 269
23. *ibid.*, p. 16
24. See Edgar C. Knowlton, Jr., "Philippine and Other Exotic Loan Words in Paterno's Minay," Proceedings of the Ninth Pacific Science Congress, III, pp. 99-102 (Bangkok, 1963)