

Two Cordillera Legends from Fil-Hispanic Literature: “El Arbol de Oro” and “Antamok” ¹

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Leafing through the pages of Manuel Ramirez Guerrero's¹ *Prosa Literaria* (Manila 1921) we come across “El árbol de oro” (The Gold Tree)* and “Antamok”, two tales about the Cordillera. The first, it is specified, is a “*leyenda igorrota*” (an Igorot legend) that explains “*el origen de las minas*” (Guerrero, 64), that is, the origin of the gold mines in the area. Although no explicit statement is made to identify the second tale as a legend, we soon discover that it too explains how something came to be, this time “*el origen del nombre de la mina*” (Guerrero, 119) or how the mine “Antamok” got its name. Philippine folklorist Fr. Francisco Demetrio confirms that both stories are indeed legends, but does not elaborate on the matter any further (Demetrio 1969).

The discovery is significant for a number of reasons: (1) Manuel Guerrero has yet to be identified as one of the Filipino writers who responded to the call for contributions to Philippine folklore studies issued years earlier; (2) It shows that even a Manila-based Filipino writer in Spanish such as Guerrero took interest in the Cordillera and its folklore, and took pains to write about it; (3) It can give an indication of what a Fil-hispanic writer of the period thought about and knew of his Cordillera brothers; (4) At least two new legends can be added to what we know of Cordillera folklore; and (5) We can attempt to make them accessible to more Filipinos and the world.

Filipino interest in Philippine folklore studies may be said to have started during the Propaganda Movement (1882-1895) as Jose Rizal, Antonio Luna, Pedro Paterno and others sought to debunk the Spanish colonialist idea that Filipinos were inferior to their Spanish colonizers because they had no pre-hispanic culture to speak of. They addressed their writings to fellow Filipinos, majority of whom had come to believe the Spanish line (preached since the beginning of colonization), and to the Spanish authorities in Spain to convince them that given the wealth of Philippine pre-Hispanic culture, Filipinos were not inferior, but that in fact the Philippines should be made a province of Spain, enjoying the same rights and privileges as any other Spanish province. On one hand, they wanted Spaniards to re-think their low opinion of Filipinos; on the other, they sought to make fellow Filipinos proud of their own cultural heritage and become keenly aware of their unique national identity (Imson 1982).

Isabelo de los Reyes was one of the propagandists: when censorship prevented publication of his articles in Philippine newspapers, he would send them off to the propaganda organ *La Solidaridad*. When José Felipe del Pan, editor of *La Oceanía*

Española in the Philippines, published an article entitled “Folklore de las Filipinas” on March 21, 1884 and urged readers to send similar contributions, de los Reyes could not but heed the call of his mentor on a topic so dear to his own heart. He began his two-volume *El Folklore Filipino* (Tomo I, Manila: Chofre y Cia; Tomo II, Manila: Imprenta de Sta Cruz, 1889) and started down a path that would eventually earn him acknowledgement as the “Father of Philippine Folklore.” He delved into Ilocano religion, mythology, psychology, types, customs, and traditions; included selected poems penned by his mother Leona Florentino; explored snippets of Zambales and Malabon folklore; and regaled readers with a humoristic illustration of what he chose to refer to as “administrative folklore.” (One could almost imagine him doing so tongue-in-cheek). Not being one to be satisfied with merely his own personal output, de los Reyes even reiterated Del Pan’s call for contributions to Philippine folklore studies in an open letter sent to *El Comercio* (published on March 21, 1885). He also encouraged the establishment of a national Philippine Folklore Society with regional branches all over the country (Lopez 2006; Mojares 2007).

De los Reyes put together some responses he received to his call in the second volume of *El folk-lore Filipino*: Miguel Zaragoza’s “*Alrededor de un cadaver*” (Around a Corpse) which narrates the goings-on during a wake in the Visayas; Mariano Ponce’s *Folk-Lore Bulaqueño* (Bulacan Folklore); Pedro Serrano’s “*Folk-Lore Pampango*” (Pampango Folklore); Pío Mondragon’s “*Folk-Lore Tayabeño*” (Tayabas Folklore); and a *Miscelánea folk-lórica* (Miscellaneous Folklore) which consisted of two wills and testament, a death certificate, official unpublished documents about the 16th century Manila chieftain Lacandola, items of Pandacan folklore, and the life of Lam-ang.

For de los Reyes, folklore study was a resource for fostering a truly Philippine identity, a national consciousness that would strengthen Filipinos’ sense of nationalism. Unlike some of his contemporaries, he was not ashamed of his being an “*indio*” and an Ilocano to boot (Mojares 2007). In fact it was quite the opposite: he wanted to publicize his ethnicity and his cultural heritage (Lopez, 5) ³. He was, after all, a full-pledged member of the Propaganda Movement.

Guerrero’s *Prosa Literaria* saw print in 1921. He too was so proud of his cultural heritage that he published his collection of articles, folktales and sketches depicting Philippine customs and legends written in Spanish . . . among them, “El árbol de oro” and “Antamok”. Thirty-two years had gone by since Isabelo de los Reyes’ *El folklore filipino*, and still the interest in folklore continued. Rizal and the propagandists were well-respected by their peers and the generations that followed. They believed that folklore study was a powerful resource for enhancing Filipinos’ nationalism and sense of identity. Did not even the new American colonizers support the idea of Jose Rizal as the national Philippine hero? Further, the Americans encouraged anthropological research almost as soon as they arrived.⁴ Guerrero could not but be influenced by the

prevailing ideas of the time. Indeed he could only be a journalist worth the name if he was aware of and responsive to the society around him.

Now, what, exactly, are legends? While it is true that Demetrio (1969) identified both “El árbol de oro” and “Antamok” as legends, he did not discuss what features made them so. On the other hand, our source for said stories is neither a trained folklorist nor a Cordilleran. Should we not seek to establish said stories’ “legend-ness”? Why should they even be studied at all? What advantages can be gained from such a study? These are the questions this paper seeks to address.

Legends, according to scholar Mellie Lopez (2006), are narratives of local events that happened not too long ago, featuring local characters, in a local place setting. “Half-fact and half-fiction,” they belong to a bigger category of works and materials collectively called “folklore”, that is, the traditional “lore” or knowledge of the people. Actually, as Lopez herself admits, the meaning of “folklore” “depends on the speaker’s attitude and orientation.” Hence, its definition differs from one country to the next. The definition she proposes to use for the Philippines, and which we adopt for the purposes of this paper, is the one submitted to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 1982, whereby folklore is “*a group-oriented and tradition-based creation of Filipino groups or individuals controlled by the expectations and practices of their community as an expression of its cultural and social identity.*” Folklore has four sub-categories: verbal folklore, social folk custom, performing folk arts and material folklore. Legends belong to the category of verbal narrative folklore (Lopez 2006). “El árbol de oro” and “Antamok”, according to her classification system, are “place legends” because the first explains why a Cordillera geographical feature, the wealth in gold mines, is thus; the second, on the other hand, seeks to explain how the Antamok mine got its name (Lopez 2006; Demetrio 1969)

If legends as folk narratives are part of folklore, then they are constructs informed by the traditional expectations and practices of the community that produced them. As such, they too could provide the reader with “*an expression of their community’s cultural and social identity*”(Lopez 2006, 36). Hence, a study of “El árbol de oro” and “Antamok” should reveal features of Cordillera cultural and social identity that would redound to a deeper understanding of said community’s culture and society. There is a wealth of information in folk narratives for research in such areas as a people’s language, psyche, values, customs, beliefs, practices, attitudes, and worldview. And we must own such knowledge for us to be “active bearers” of tradition, that is, individuals who “tell the tales and sing the songs,” so that those listening, the passive bearers that are our Filipino students, will hopefully, when their turn comes, become the active bearers when we are no more (Lopez, 162, 37-38)

On the other hand, it has become a matter of survival of our cultural heritage for us

Filipinos to heed the call of Isabelo de Los Reyes, to exert all efforts to retrieve the bits and pieces of our folklore that have so far escaped the erosion of time and our colonial experiences, preserve them as best we can and make them accessible to the vast majority of our people and the world. We must preserve our cultural heritage because it is what defines us as a people distinct from others, with our own truly Filipino identity.

Moreover, the two tales were written in Spanish and included in a book published in 1921, almost a hundred years ago. How many of our fellow Filipinos today can read and understand the language? How many copies of the book are still available? The stories are thus virtually lost to most Filipinos. This paper seeks to address said loss.

Then of course, the writer, Manuel Ramirez Guerrero, is probably almost totally unknown even to our more seasoned students of Philippine literature. We would like to try to give our younger generations a glimpse into the writings of an earlier age, an age of Filipino writers who wrote in a Spanish that was just as beautiful and eloquent as that of any Spanish writer. An age that we can be proud of. A piece of our cultural heritage.

With this study we add to the list of Filipino writers interested in Philippine folklore early on—Jose Rizal, Pedro Paterno, Antonio Luna, Pio Mondragon, Miguel Zaragoza, Mariano Ponce, and Pedro Serrano—the name of one, Manuel Guerrero.

And because the tales tell of the region of the Gran Cordillera, they reveal what our Filipino writers in Spanish knew of the Cordillerans then, and we thus recover two more legends to add to the recovery effort of our national cultural heritage.

The Two Legends

“El árbol de oro” (The Gold Tree) tells of the origin of the gold mines in Benguet. A very long time ago, in a place called *Suyuk*, near Lepanto, there was a settlement of Igorots who were so devoted to their god *Kabunyan* that they would often feast and offer up *tapuey* (rice wine) to worship and praise him. One day, one of their most respected members set out to check on his *camote* (sweet potato) farm. On the way, his path was blocked by a crow that stared at him for some time before it flew away. Trembling in fear, for the incident was a very bad omen indeed, he hastily returned to his hut and told his wife to make all the necessary preparations for a three-day *kanyaʼw* (feast) that was to begin the very next day. He, for his part, would make ready the sacrificial altar or *bankelay*. The following day, as they were chasing the sacrificial pig to catch it and make it ready, an old man appeared in their midst. They had him sit on a rice mortar, *desong*, so that he could rest from his trip. Not long thereafter, however,

the group of men chasing the pig ran into the rice mortar, tipped it over and the old man fell to the ground. He smilingly refused their help to get up and asked them instead to cover him with an enormous pot or *palyok*. He was to be left untouched under the pot for three days, after which they would see a tree grow. "Pick only its fruits, my dear children, and you will be happy," he cautioned them. Three days later, when the Igorots lifted the pot, they found a tree of pure gold that kept on growing. At first no one moved for the sight had them all in awe. After the initial shock wore off, all of them scrambled to get something with which to grab a piece of the tree. Everyone had forgotten the old man's advice. In the end, the tree fell and suddenly disappeared into the earth. A voice was heard saying: "Because you disregarded my advice, the gods now punish you. You want gold? Then work and dig for it . . ." (Guerrero, 64-68)

The second tale, "Antamok", recounts how Antamok got its name. There were two young Igorots who were rivals for the hand of the daughter of an *apolakay* (an elder). One day as all were gathered at the latter's home, the Igorota "Helen of Benguet", as Guerrero calls her, made known her wish to have some white bark of a tree to make a *kubál* or G-string for her father. The two young men promised that they would get it for her. One of them soon learned that the most beautiful tree for the purpose grew at a still unnamed place at that time. As he was busy chopping down the tree, the second suitor appeared, saw the first suitor, and thereupon picked up a stone which he hurled it at the first suitor with all his strength. The first suitor, the tree-cutter, got hit on the forehead. Since then the place has been named *Antamok*, from *antám okán* which means "wounded on the forehead with a stone" in English (Guerrero, 117-120).

Let us now examine the two tales to ascertain what makes them legends, using the defining characteristics of legends as set forth by Mellie Lopez.

A legend is a narrative of local events that happened in a less remote past, that is, *after* the great flood; it is replete with local color, takes place in a local setting, and portrays local characters. Their authors are unknown.

Both tales obviously refer to a time after the great flood; the actions take place in *Suyuk* and *Antamok*, places easily found on any map to be in the vicinity of Baguio City in Benguet. The characters are all local Igorots, doing things that they are wont to do. In the first the action begins when a man, who seems to be well respected by his brothers, goes off to check on his *camote* (sweet potato) patches: the native is thus portrayed as a conscientious, hardworking farmer who is ready to do what is needed for a successful harvest. Then characters are portrayed celebrating the god *Kabunyan* by feasting in a *kanyaw*, and drinking *tapuey*; in order to appease their god they offer a sacrificial pig on a *bankelay*. They are obviously a religious people, whose belief in their god is such that they do not hesitate to offer up a sacrifice in order to please him. Their agriculture consists of planting *camote* and rice and raising pigs. They eat *camote*, pig,

and rice which they pound on a *desong* and cook in a *palyok*. They live in a community whose members display very strong cooperative attitudes. From the way the old man is received, it is obvious that elders are usually treated with respect and looked after. It is when they are overcome by greed that they forget themselves, disregard elderly advice, and become violent. Gold is highly prized. One superstitious belief has to do with the crow being a bad omen if it crosses one's path at the beginning of one's journey. According to William Scott, said superstition is not exclusive to the Igorot:

From Aparri to Jolo, the Spaniards noticed that Filipinos considered a
*sneeze unlucky at the beginning of a journey, and that they could turn
around and go home if a snake or lizard crossed their path, or if a bird
flew from one side to the other (Scott 8).*

The second legend features the courtship practice of suitors seeking to win the lady as well as the prospective father-in-law, and respect for elders as exemplified by the daughter's filial devotion to her father shown in the way she takes care of his clothing needs. Igorots' expect their daughters to be beautiful, as Guerrero's metaphor "Helen of Benguet" indicates, and attentive to the needs of their fathers. Young men must be brave, strong, resourceful, assertive, and be good providers. As in the first story, violence erupts when two or more want the same thing and fight each other to get it.

The Two Legends and Reality

Another defining characteristic of legends is that they are "half-fact and half-fiction." What is fact and what is fiction in the two legends?

In the Philippines (7,107 islands; 12th most populated country in the world at 88 million), (National Statistics Office, 2007). the province of Benguet is located in the Central Cordillera Range of Northern Luzon. It is one of the provinces of CAR, that is, the Cordillera Administrative Region, that includes, aside from Benguet, the provinces of Abra, Apayao, Kalinga, Ifugao and Mountain Province (*The Provincial Profile of Benguet*).

Benguet is inhabited by two Kankanay groups, the northern Kankanay who are also referred to as the Lepanto Igorot, and the southern Kankanay, found in the municipalities of Mankayan, Bakun, Kibungan, Bugias, and the northern half of Kapangan. There are two other groups in Benguet, the Ibalays in the southeast, and the Kalanguyas in the eastern part of the province. "Benguet" is a term used to denote the southern Kankanay as well as the other Benguet Igorot group, the Ibaloy who live in the southern, more urbanized parts of the province including the melting-pot that is Baguio City. Culturally speaking, all groups have such similar institutions, beliefs

and practices that they are often said to be “culturally one” (*The Provincial Profile of Benguet*; Velasco).

A look at the “Map of Principal Products of Each Region” in the Philippines (2006) reveals that Benguet is rich in gold, silver, copper, zinc and iron in that order of importance. Of course, Benguet has traditionally been a source of gold. Trading with the Chinese with copper from Mankayan had in fact been going on since the 12th century. In fact the Spaniards tried, as early as in 1572 to reach those fabled gold mines of the Igorots. (*The Provincial Profile of Benguet*). A closer look at Benguet’s gold holdings unearthed the following (Carranza) :

Table of Large-scale Gold Occurrences in the Baguio Mineral District		
Gold Mines / Prospects	Ore Reserve / Status	Au Grade
1. Acupan	>200t, prod. Since 1915	6.1 g/t
2. Antamok	>300t, prod. Since 1907	4-5 g/t
3. Baco	0.36 Mt	7-17 g/t
4. Baguio Gold	depleted	up to 29 g/t
5. Belle	explored deposit	
6. Cal Horr	depleted	2.5 g/t
7. Camp 7	0.026 Mt	30.5 g/t
8. Capunga	explored deposit	03-13 g/t
9. Chico	0.689 Mt, closed since 1977	4.3 g/t
10. Demonstration	explored deposit	
11. Gold Fields	explored deposit	
12. Itogon	4.123 Mt	3.1 g/t
13. Kelly		4 g/t
14. Keystone		2-3 g/t
15. King Solomon	explored deposit	
16. Macawiwili	1.552 Mt	11 g/t
17. Nagawa	explored deposit	2 g/t
18. Omico		10 g/t
19. Sierra Oro	depleted	6-13 g/t

The area is awash in gold.

The Spaniards knew about the gold mines, and made several unsuccessful attempts to establish a foothold in the region, establishing forts in Antamok in 1620, 1623 and 1624. In 1625 one Manuel Quirante was finally able to carry away samples of the Igorots’ gold. But the Spaniards could not stay very long, for the gold-mining

Igorots always drove them off. The Spaniards, determined to exploit the mines for the Royal Treasury, made another attempt in 1668, with Governor Salcedo sending an expedition to Mankayan and Lepanto. After that dismal failure, it was only in 1829-39 that the Spaniards went back, this time in the person of Colonel Guillermo Galvey : Benguet was decimated and the first Igorots became Spanish subjects. After the Americans took power in the Philippines, they established a civil government, and by 1930, the mining companies began working the gold mines in Benguet in earnest (*The Provincial Profile of Benguet*).

Despite the depletion of some mines in the interim, the metallic mining industry in 2006 continues to be a major factor in the lives of the people of Benguet, having generated employment for some 6,000 people, and with a large scale gold mining production at 4,954 (*Baguio Midland Courier* 2007).

The facts? The places Antamok, Suyok and Mankayan certainly exist; they are gold mines; and the entire area is so very rich in gold deposits that until now mines continue to provide gainful employment for 6,000 workers living in the region. The *Kankanay*, *Ibaloy*, *Kalanguy* ... are all collectively referred to as Igorots, i.e. the people of the mountains. The cultural practices and materials are also fact and can still be witnessed today: the *kanyaw*, *tapuey*, *desong*, *bankelay*, the dancing, the still plentiful camote, the respect for elders, the g-string (although they are no longer made out of tree bark), and the value given to gold.

The rest ... especially the old man disappearing into the ground is fiction. “El árbol de oro” and “Antamok” are, by their nature, indeed legends.

The Legends and the Four Basic Qualities of Folklore Materials

According to Mellie Lopez, folklore materials, such as the legends under study, display four basic qualities (Lopez 36-39): repeated transmission, multiple existence, loss of the identity of the author, and stability and change.

Legends, she says, have been “passed on repeatedly in relatively standard form and circulated among members of a particular group.” “El árbol de oro” and “Antamok” were, according to Manuel Guerrero, told to them by an old Igorot. We even found a version of the first one on the internet entitled “The Origin of the Gold Mines of Benguet.”

“A folklore item must have more than one occurrence in place and time before it can be called ‘folklore’. A folklore item may exist in different versions at different places, hence there is no such thing as a ‘correct version’ or ‘the’ version of a particular text.” As already mentioned, the internet version of the first tale bears out its multiple existence. The

same cannot be said of “Antamok” which we have not been able to locate elsewhere.

“Once the material enters the stream of popular tradition, the original authors are forgotten and the item becomes folklore.” Both tales under study carry no authors’ names. Manuel Guerrero in his retelling said tales takes great pains to make it clear that he himself is not the author but merely a transmitter. He insists that the two stories were told to him by an Igorot.

While new elements are constantly being introduced by the transmitters of the lore, the basic pattern remains constant.

We have already dwelt on “El árbol de oro”. Let us now look at “The Origin of the Gold Mines of Benguet” and compare the two. “The Origin of the Gold Mines of Benguet” starts directly with the *canao*. When the old man appears, no one minds him for they were already all drunk with *tapoy*. One of the guests who had also had too much to drink, bumps into the old man, knocking him down to the ground. It is then that the natives run to help him up. He refuses to get up, asking them instead to put him in a big kettle and cover it. He instructs them to open it only on the third day of the *canao*. He tells them that they will find a tree inside, and that its fruits will keep them from hunger all their lives. When they open the kettle on the third day, they are surprised to see a tree of pure gold inside. It rapidly grows to its full height and soon bears fruits of solid gold. They all rush forward to pick the fruits and the leaves, but they end up fighting each other to get more. Thereupon old man suddenly reappears saying: “I have seen how greedy and selfish you all are. From now on you will have to dig for gold whenever you want it,” he says.

Like “El árbol de oro”, this version uses the native words *canao* and *tapoy*; the event happens during the celebration of a *canao*; the old man appears and is knocked down by one of the merry-makers; the natives rush to help him get up; he refuses to get up and asks to be hidden by a cooking vessel out of which a gold tree comes out three days later; the natives end up fighting over the gold because of their greed and selfishness. Both tales end with the natives being punished to drive home the moral lessons given.

The two stories differ on several points. Whereas in the first, the *canao* is held to appease Kabunyan, in the latter no reason is offered for the feasting. In the first the natives attend to the old man upon his arrival, in the second they do not mind him until he is knocked down. The first has the Igorots chipping off even parts of the trunk, the second has them picking only the fruits and the leaves. Finally, in the first, the gold is swallowed up by the earth to punish the Igorots for their disobedience; in the second they are punished for their greed and selfishness. The first version was written in Spanish, the second in English. The native words are spelled differently; the latter

version prefers the use of the term “natives” to the term “Igorots”. For the first tale, the internet version has allowed us to clearly show repeated transmission, loss of the identity of the author, multiplicity of existence, stability and change. The unsuccessful search for another version of “Antamok” as of this writing has frustrated any attempt to verify its multiplicity of existence and stability and change.

The Legends and the Four Basic Functions of Folklore

Despite the preceding difficulty with “Antamok”, however, we were able to ascertain that both legends fulfill the four basic functions of folklore (William Bascom). which are: (1) to entertain both the listener and the storyteller; (2) to transmit customs and ethical standards; (3) to guide and lay down the proper assignment of individual roles within Philippine society; and (4) to provide the younger generation with an escape from the rigidity of the Philippine social system.

In “El árbol de oro”, Manuel Guerrero takes care to mention that the story is told because one of his friends requested the old Igorot to do so to entertain them as they drank coffee and ate *camote* after a tiring trip to a gold mine. As for the performer, Guerrero describes him in the following terms: “What a guffaw he let out! He may have felt flattered by our ignorance, or he could have been pleased to have been given the opportunity to show off his story-telling talents . . .he started his narration, savoring every word through half-closed eyelids, like a wine connoisseur savoring the alcoholic content of his drink.” (Guerrero, 65)

“Antamok” is recounted under similar circumstances, as the group, again after a day’s trip to the gold mine, is sipping coffee and eating *camote*. The storyteller also seems to enjoy himself for he is described as “parletero”, that is, a chatterbox. (Guerrero, 119). For the two tales, therefore, we see both listeners and story-tellers entertained.

As far as transmission of customs and ethical standards is concerned, “El árbol” transmits the belief in the evil omen of a crow crossing one’s path, the custom of celebrating a *kanyaw* to worship and appease the god *Kabunyan*, respect for and obedience to elders, the value of gold, the evil of greed and selfishness. “Antamok”, for its part, features courtship practices, the *kubál*, love for one’s father, the desirability of feminine beauty, manly strength, courage, and industry.

The proper assignment of individual roles in the hierarchy of Philippine society appears in the respect for elders, the idea that the god *Kabunyan* must be appeased, the coming together of the members of the community to celebrate, the attempt of the suitors to please not only the girl they are courting, but also her father, and the definition of gender roles. The wife prepares the feast, and the daughter makes her father’s *kubál*;

the female is expected to be pretty and attentive to the needs of the male. The male for his part, is the one who does the courting, plants camote, chases the pig, prepares the sacrificial altar and drinks *tapuey*; he is strong, brave, resourceful, assertive and may become violent after too much wine or when jealous.

Finally, as is true of all story-telling sessions, both legends allow their listeners to escape reality for that length of time it takes to tell the story. As we saw previously, both tales were told because the listeners asked to be entertained after a hard day's trek. As they listened, they must have forgotten some of their tiredness, aching legs and feet as the storyteller carried them away from their own time, place, and responsibilities into the time and space of the story.

“El árbol de oro” and “Antamok”, legends by their nature, form and function, are just two of the many pieces of folklore materials handed down to us from Fil-hispanic literature through the pen of Manuel Guerrero, another Filipino writer who contributed to Philippine folkloristics. Who knows how many more gems of Philippine folklore still lie buried in the writings of our Filipino writers in Spanish?

Notes

1. Revised version of the paper of the same title delivered at the First National Conference on Cordillera Studies held February 7-9, 2008 at the University of the Philippines Baguio, organized by the Cordillera Studies Center.
2. Manuel Ramirez Guerrero (Manila, January 8, 1877 – January 4, 1919) was the fifth child of the nine offspring of painter Lorenzo Guerrero (teacher of Juan Luna and Fabian de la Rosa) and Clemencia Ramirez. His older brother, the poet Fernando Ma. Guerrero, was his generation of poets' acknowledged “Maestro”. His son Wilfrido Maria Guerrero was the playwright and director after whom the theater in Palma Hall at the University of the Philippines Diliman is named. Manuel, for his part, was a physician who distinguished himself for his pioneering studies in infantile beriberi. On the side, he also contributed articles to such newspapers of the time as *La Republica Filipina*, *La Independencia*, *La Patria*, and *Manila*. Some of those articles are included in *Prosa Literaria*. (Manuel 1921, 218-24)
3. All translations from Manuel Guerrero are by the author of article.
4. Mellie Leandicho Lopez is the first Asian trained in Interdisciplinary Doctoral Program in Folklore at the Department of Anthropology, University of California at Berkeley (Lopez, “the Author”).
5. For a fuller discussion of this era of Philippine folkloristics, see Lopez (2006).

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