

Drinking Among Early Visayans (Pintados) in Achieving Positive Peace

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Abstract

Drinking is a community event among early Visayans. It is their binding force in achieving positive peace because it facilitates harmony and holistic view of life. Smooth interpersonal relationship and exchange of peace are realized in the toss of a glass and blood compact. The *maganito* ritual highlights drinking which brings their camaraderie and fellowship to transcendence and assures protection and blessings from above. In various cycles of life, drinking is at the heart of the celebration. It might be a small gesture of sharing life stories over food and wine, but it has big impact in the union of their *buot* (inner being) that assures support and advocates solidarity. The research utilizes primary sources from Spanish accounts written in the 16th-17th century. Their narratives showed condescending attitudes towards early Visayan beliefs and practices but they revealed the importance of drinking among our ancestors. The study uses Mercado's *buot* to design a conceptual framework that would examine drinking among early Visayans in achieving positive peace where it is holistic and cohesive. The findings of the research could have implications to peace negotiation and integrated approach to peace that includes the physical, emotional, relational and spiritual dimensions. Positive peace promotes total well-being and allows people to engage into undertakings that propels a culture that is responsive to growth, sustainability and dialogue. Drinking is not just a gesture of cohesion that the community is one. It is also a discourse that brings people to a society free from all forms of discrimination and oppression.

Keywords: *Buot, Culture, Drinking, Early Visayans, Positive Peace, Sakop,*

Background of the Study

Drinking is a potent force to connect people, share stories and work together for a common goal. This comes naturally in a culture that loves celebrations and camaraderie. Feasting is not complete without drinking. Even the worst of enemies or suspicious stranger could break boundaries in the toast of a glass filled with native wine. It has range of meanings from reconciliation, welcome, approval, pact or commitment. Certainly, fellowship is established and those involved in drinking share moments that make them bonded and secured.

Positive peace is a “synonym for all other good things in the world community, particularly cooperation and integration between human groups, with less emphasis on the absence of violence” (Galtung, 1996:14). Grewal’s analysis on this conceptualization is peace “not merely deal with narrow vision of ending or reducing violence at a direct or structural level but seeks to understand conditions for preventing violence” (Grewal, 2003, p.4). Galtung, a prominent founder of positive peace concepts in the 1964th founding edition of the Journal of Peace Research built his ideas that concerned with “the relations between groups where the search for the conditions for the absence of negative relations and the search for conditions that facilitate the presence of positive relations” (Galtung, 1996:4). There are ten values he associated to peace which are “presence of cooperation, freedom from fear, freedom from want, economic growth and development, absence of exploitation, equality, justice, freedom of action, pluralism and dynamism” (Tilahun,2015: 252).

Visayans have strong sense of community life. They are more relational in character. Mercado a leading Filipino philosopher argued that the Philippines has a strong *sakop* culture. For him, this is part of a strong family ties that is extended by the idea of a “big brother.” *Sakop* includes biological family to *compadre* system due to affiliations in the rituals celebrated in Church, organizations or any groups that one has affinity. *Sakop* denotes companionship, the achievement of harmony among people and the progress of society. It gives a sense of belonging that is essential for the Visayans (Mercado, 1972).

For a person to have good relationship, he or she should use his or her good nature called *buot*. *Buot* is a Visayan term for *loob*. Mercado cited Ileta that *loob (buot)* is “man’s inner being which is intimately connected

with the ideas of leadership and power, rationalism and revolution” (Mercado, 1972). *Buot* balances the pressures and threats given by society.

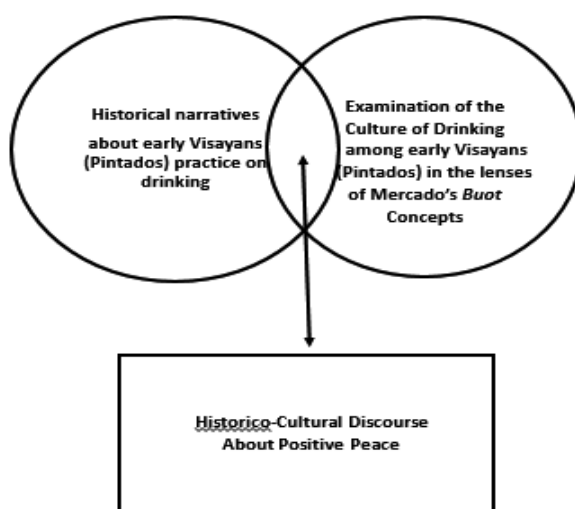
In the Filipino context, drinking becomes an easy way to go to the *kabuotan* of others. In the process of engaging into conversation over a bottle of wine or native drink, there is *pakighiusa* (Visayan term) *nagpapalagayang loob* (Tagalog version) or smooth inter-personal relationship. Discussions about peace and development are facilitated in the table that becomes an altar of relationship. Food and drinks served are not just objects to be eaten and drunk but embodiment of affiliation for people involved in dining.

A dialogue with the cultures of early Filipinos could enrich a sense of rootedness to our unique identity and heritage. It provides valuable lesson how drinking serves as a vehicle in promoting positive peace.

The research explores primary sources that narrate how drinking was a tool in achieving harmony and progress among early Visayans, avoidance of conflict, diplomatic relations, foreign trading and justice issue resolutions. But it is in the holistic process where the physical, emotional and spiritual realms meet in drinking that makes it truly a rich ground for positive peace.

Figure 1.

Conceptual Model and Operational Framework



The research employs a reading of historical facts by analyzing a common cultural practice that can facilitate positive peace as defined by Johan Galtung using Leonardo Mercado's *Buot (Loob)* concepts. The researcher hopes to examine drinking, a common cultural practice among early Visayans (*Pintados*) how it can be a tool in promoting positive peace. In such dialogue, today's readers can appreciate the culture practiced before that could shed light in today's discourse about positive peace.

Methodology

The research employs library and archival work. It uses primary sources including the Boxer Codex, *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas* by Gaspar San Agustin, B & R compilation that includes the works of Spanish ethnographers Pigafetta, Alcina, Placencia, Chirino and Loarca.

From the primary source documents and artifacts, the drinking practices that promote positive peace among early Visayans are drawn. The findings shall be correlated to Leonardo Mercado's *buot (loob)* concepts which could facilitate in the formation of historico-cultural discourse on positive peace among Visayan ancestors.

Review of Related Literature

Peace denotes economic, socio-political and cultural order. Jake Lynch describes it as "*polysemic which seems to mean all things to all people*" (2014:46). He argues that it is not enough to ask for it, but you need to define what kind of peace you ask for. Ayca Demet Atay (2020) highlights Lynch's discussion and builds his article entitled, *Transcending the 'Neoliberal Self for Positive Peace: A New Balance between Individualism and Collectivism* from Johan Galtung's positive peace. Atay refers the "culture of peace where not only direct violence but also structural and cultural forms of violence are overcome" (2020:65).

Nils Petter Gleditsch, Jonas Nordkvelle and Havard Strand in their paper, "*Peace research—Just A Study of War?*" (2014) claim that peace is not like having war as a mirror reflection on the other side (Gleditsch et al, 2014). This is called negative peace. Patricia Shields in her article, *Limits of Negative Peace, Faces of Positive Peace* argues that such concept is short-term and "reinforces the tendency to see the job as complete once the fighting stops" (2017:6). Most cultures in her study mean peace beyond

the absence of war. Ishida Takeshi wrote “Beyond the Traditional Concepts of Peace in Different Cultures” (1969), and described how it appears such as *santi* (tranquil mindset) and *ahimsa* (no killing of living creature) for Indian tradition, *heiwa* (to align for common good and social order) for the Japanese, *eirene* (prosperity and order) for the Greeks and *al-Islam* (peace with Allah’s will) for the Arabs and Muslim countries.

The Christian tradition has a share of its meaning rooted from the Hebrew word, *Shalom*. This is reiterated by Fernando Enns in his “The International Ecumenical Peace Convocation: Towards an Ecumenical Theology of Just Peace?” where it refers to “the integrity, wholeness and well-being that arise from justice” (2011:44). In the scriptures, *shalom* is about peace that has life-enhancing relationships and promotes fuller life.

Peace is manifested in rituals, ceremonies, banquets and drinking. Dashdondog Bayarsaikhan in his article, “Drinking Traits and Culture of the Imperial Mongols in the Eyes of the Observers and in a Multicultural Context” (2016) shows how drinking provided more insights about the Mongol way of life. He explains how drinking portrays a celebration with music and singing; and accepts even foreign strangers as guests in the royal ceremonies. Bayarsaikhan cites Marco Polo, the Venetian merchant who narrated the *White Feast* or the Mongolian Lunar New Year, and highlighted in his chronicle how the Great Khan approved his entry through drinking.

Filipino traditions show parallel narratives of defining peace beyond war. In most cases, if there is drinking, an acceptance of a stranger or a truce with an enemy has commenced. The fierce Visayans called the *Pintados* demonstrate their peace this way. William Henry Scott in his opus, *Barangay: Sixteenth Century Philippine Culture and Society* (2015) discusses different drinking etiquettes and situate them based on the socio-economic and cultural milieu dominated by the beliefs on nature spirits and the importance of smooth inter-personal relationship (SIR).

Leonardo Mercado sketches his model of *sakop* culture and *loob* or *buot* concepts with the release of his major works, *Filipino Thought* (1972), *Elements of Filipino Philosophy* (1976), *Applied Philosophy* (1977), *Filipino Thought on Man and Society* (1980), *Elements of Filipino Ethics* (1979), *The Filipino Mind* (1994) and *Understanding the Philosophy of Buot-Loob-Nakem* (2017). His paradigm punctuates the

relational character in achieving peace through smooth inter-personal relationships embodied in the term *loob or buot*. The given framework can help to analyze drinking as a tool in achieving positive peace. There is no explicit mention of drinking in his works, but the *buot* are facilitated in drinking when one takes a closer look at it.

Batoon in his *Tracing Mercado's Anthropological Perspective* (2014) finds Mercado's works beneficial in understanding the Filipino worldview that used ethnographic method, ethno-linguistic analysis of major Philippine languages and phenomenological observation of their behavior. Mancenido's *Re-evaluation of Filipino Philosophy According to Mercado and Timbreza* (2010) showcases the presuppositions of Mercado in his conceptualizations of *sakop* and *buot (loob)* models. The study explains the ability of Filipinos to "elicit valuations based on common experience of the outside world" (Mancenido, 2010: 81).

There is dearth of researches about early Visayan customs that point to the role of drinking in achieving positive peace. This study is a modest contribution to fill in that gap.

Results and Discussion

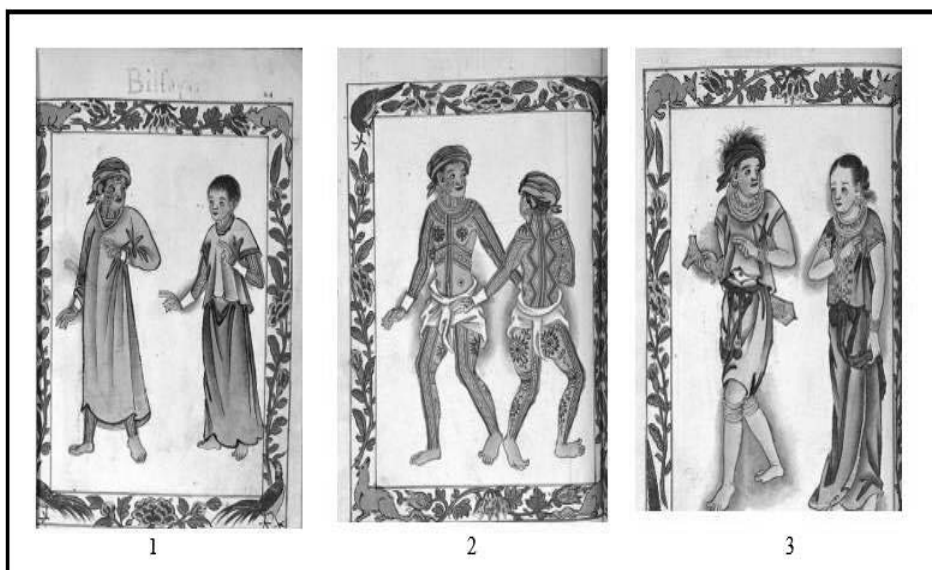
Visayans are known to be fierced, and Pigafetta introduced and popularized them to the whole world when he published his *Voyage Around the World* (1522). Such chronicle included a substantial narrative about the place and how the captain Magellan was killed in the island of Mactan by Lapu-lapu's men in 1521.

Spaniards called them *Pintados* because they painted and decorated their bodies with very elegant tattoos (Boxer Codex, 1593). Chirino (1603) and Loarca (1582) picked up Pigafetta's accounts and further described these tattoos as a representation of courage and nobility. This was done with pieces of iron dipped in ink, and it mixed with the blood to symbolize that valor.

"The natives of the Pintados Islands...had tattoo their entire bodies with very beautiful figures using therefore small pieces of iron dipped in ink. This ink incorporates itself with the blood and the marks are indelible." (B & R, 1603: 115, 117).

Figure 2.

Early Visayan Images Depicted in the Illuminated Manuscripts of the Boxer Codex (1593) (1- Visayan Principal Couple where type of clothing consists of cotton blankets, where women can have tattoos in their arms only; 2- Visayan Pintados; 3 – Gold-embellished Visayan couple



Visayan society at the time of Spanish contact in the 16th century was already well-structured with social classes comprising the *datu* or chief leader, the *timawas* or freemen and the slaves called *olipines*. The *barangay* was the basic political structure headed by the *datu* that has executive, legislative and judicial function along with his elders mostly members of the *timawas*. Their culture is also reflected in their stories crafted to explain the origin the world and other myths and legends that speak about their strong beliefs in the spiritual realm. (Boxer Codex, 1603; Also see Chirino in B & R, 12: 169-321, Loarca in B & R 5: 38-252) With this backdrop drinking was at the heart of their way of life.

Drinking among early Visayans was not done alone. Rather, drinking is an event in small groups or social gatherings. It is a community celebration that is so vital in family affairs and business deals. Community decisions were hardly tackled without it (Scott, 2015). Alcina (1668a: 325) viewed drinking a way to expedite settlements. It is a ritual that facilitates the discourse of decision making.

Smooth interpersonal relationship among Visayans is strongly influenced by the reality of their *buot* (inner being) as punctuated by Mercado in his Filipino ethno-philosophy (Mercado, 1979). He describes *buot*, the Visayan counterpart for *loob* as holistic and interior. It is holistic because it encompasses reason and emotion. It is interior because it presents human consciousness and moral conscience (Mercado, 1974). *Buot* balances the threats and pressures given by society. Most of all, it is obliged to side with which is good as part of its nature expressed in the Visayan term *kabuotan* (Mancenido, 2010).

Buot (Loob) can have intellectual, volitional, emotional and ethical themes and have bodily expressions because the body reflects *kabuotan (kalooban)* (Mercado, 2017). In the intellectual part when there is *ibutang sa buot* (put in inner being), its bodily expression is *kinasing-kasing* (place in heart) while *walay buot (noinner being)* means nothing inside. The volitional that influences one's decision-making can have its version like *gikan sa buot* (willing inner being) which has bodily manifestation of *kinasing-kasing nga kabuot-buotan* (from the heart). The emotional has examples like *magaan ang buot* (light inner being) or *bug-at nga buot* (heavy inner being) which has bodily counterpart as *gaan kaayo ang dugo or bug-at ang dugo* (light or heavy heart). The ethical aspect which reflects the values and the person's ways to deal with others has examples like *gikan sa ahong kabuot-buotan* (willing inner being) has bodily counterpart *abreng kamot* (open hands) or *maayong buot* (good inner being) to *lawum nga kabuot-buotan* (deep clean heart). Drinking resonates the harmonious relationship of body and *buot*. In drinking together, participants are *nagpakitang maayung kabubut-on* (showing good inner being) or *nagpapalagayang loob* (getting the vibes) (Mercado, 1994; author translates his *loob* terms to *buot* Cebuano language). If there are lies and deception in the relationship, Visayans simply call it *butbuton* (liar or betrayer).

Mercado's socio-linguistic framework is consisted of metalinguistic analysis, phenomenology of behavior, comparative oriental philosophy and value ranking. For him, "Philippine languages are linguistic relatives, the concepts of *buot*, (Visayan) *loob* (Tagalog) and *nakem*" (Ilocano) are inter-related (Mercado, 2017). The three major languages he studied shared the same phenomena of not compartmentalizing thinking, willing, feeling and being ethical. These words are complemented in his phenomenology of behavior where the

language uttered is cross-checked by one's actions. What is "shown" is really "lived" because what is "lived" what is really thought (Mercado, 1974). The words expressed are validated by gestures. Drinking is part of that action narrative.

The consistency of demonstrating the Filipino integrated self against the dualistic method of the Western ideas is presented in Mercado's comparative oriental philosophy. For him, Filipinos share the dominant feature of Eastern worldview that teaches humans to be composed of body, soul and spirit. This, in contrast to the Western dualistic tradition where humans are consisted of body and soul. (Mercado, 2017). But the most important feature of Mercado's paradigm that this study resonates is his argument about value ranking. He classified values based on hierarchy and priority. In this model, the highest value is life, followed by values related to *sakop*, values on relationship and other remaining values (Mercado, 1994).

Sakop is in-group and extended family brought about by affinities be it biological, closeness of living or ritual kinship called *compadrazco* such as in baptism, marriage, confirmation or ordination. *Pakikipagkapwa* (to be with fellow human being) becomes an important value where *sakop* prevails over the individual. Along with this are *pakikisama* (being-along-with), *pakighiusa* or *pakikiisa* (being-one-with) and *pakikibagay* (being-in-consonance with) (Mercado, 1979). Drinking is a potent means where an individual can be part of the *sakop* and share the benefits of being part of the in-group.

Galtung's concept of positive peace blends well with the holistic view of Mercado's *buot* (*loob*). Positive peace illustrates "attitudes, institutions and structures that create and sustain peaceful societies" (IEP, 2018, p.4) Positive peace facilitates progress where it creates an optimal environment where human potential can flourish. (IEP, 2018)

When *buot* and positive peace are taken together, it captures the rich Visayan culture of interpersonal relationship that serves as a seedbed in sustainable progress. It is in this context that drinking assumes a powerful way towards positive peace since it provides situations for more social interactions and dialogues.

Early Visayans provide a model template where drinking is at work as a binding force. The engaging scenarios of drinking among early Filipinos took place in the following:

1. peace negotiation with the arriving foreign invaders;
2. occasion of marriage rituals and other community events and
3. the practice of the *maganito*.

1. Drinking and Peace Negotiation with Arriving Spanish Troops

Pigafetta's chronicles (1522) cited how drinking pacified an *ing-ulbong buot* (triggered/angry inner being) when Visayan natives were under threat by the arriving Spaniards. When Magellan came to Zamal (Samar) on March 16, 1521, the inhabitants were offered "combs, bells, ivory and other things. When these people (natives) saw the politeness of the captain, they presented some fish and a vessel of palm wine which they call in their language *uraca*." (Pigafetta, 1522, p. 19). Eating and drinking came after when the *nagpakitang maayung kabubut-on* (showing good inner being) and *pakighiusa* (solidarity) took place.

When the troops of Magellan entered the port of Zebu (Cebu) on April 7, 1521, they dealt them with the same manner done in Zamal. Gifts were offered and the inhabitants received them given the threat of the canyons showcased by the Spanish troops. In return palm wine again was offered signaling a toss and a welcome to their place (Pigafetta, 1522). The Spaniards observed how the natives loved drinking as written:

"when our people on shore by day and by night, they always met with someone who invited them to eat and drink. They only half cook their victuals, and salt them very much, which makes them drink a great deal; and they drink much with reeds, sucking wine from the vessels. Their repasts always last from five to six hours." (Pigafetta, 1522 in B & R, 33:32)

Magellan had his right leg pierced by a poisoned arrow thrown by the men of Lapu-lapu and was eventually killed. When Humabon, the king of Zebu who was baptized earlier learned of what happened, he was threatened by the forces of Lapu-lapu. He plotted to kill the men of Magellan by inviting them to dinner and drinking. The 24 Spaniards who responded to the invitation were all killed (Pigafetta, 1522). Drinking was used to deceive the foreign friends and at the same time it was a way of

reconciling other tribes to diminish their rivalry and forge alliances. Humabon became *butbuton* (liar/betrayer) to the Spaniards while *nakighiusa* (in solidarity and reconciliation) with the rival tribe of Mactan.

During the time of Miguel Lopez de Legazpi who came to the islands in 1565, drinking was also utilized in their point of entry. Gaspar de San Agustin narrated in his *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas* (1698) how they made a blood compact with Sikatuna, the datuh from Bohol:

“the general (Legazpi) felt that grand gestures of peace were necessary to alleviate the fear and suspicion that the natives had in their hearts, and this was the way he received Sikatuna, with great feasting and acts of good will. To better firm matters, he did blood compact with Sikatuna with all the usual ceremonies.”

Legazpi offered Sikatuna the best wine as a token of friendship. With that a bond was established where drinking and feasting followed after the blood compact.

Legazpi also pacified the troops of the hostile Cebu by giving them wine which DatuTupas would like to receive. In return, the natives offer their best wine and sell it to the Spaniards: “The natives would sell much coconut wine” to the point that Legazpi was no longer comfortable to the abundance of liquor brought before them (San Agustin, 1698: 391).

The *pagpapakita ugmaayung kabubut-on* (showing good inner being) and *pakighiusa* (solidarity) between the Spaniards and the Visayans made the latter accompanied and collaborated the former in their invasion to Manila. Legazpi made Rajah Matanda and Rajah Soliman of Manila and Lakandula, lord of Tondo surrender. In order to ease the tension, ceremonies like kissing of the hand of the *adelantado* (Legazpi) and feasting which included drinking were held. Later they succeeded to conquer Ylocos, Cagayan and almost all parts of Luzon where businesses progressed because of the exchange of peace.

However, the Spaniards learned their lesson from Pigafetta’s chronicle, *Voyage Around the World* (1522) which revealed how Spaniards were betrayed by the Visayans through drinking after Lapu-lapu killed Magellan. When Legazpi came in 1565, they changed their protocols in drinking to overcome their fear of betrayal. The blood compact was acted and the control what to drink and how to drink and was established.

In the Ylocos conquest such procedure was effective. Legazpi's captain, Juan de Salcedo escaped the poison in drinking because all Spaniards abstain from it.

“In a town called Malimpit, Captain Salcedo spoke to the leader of the area. The leader, promising him peace and friendship, tried to deceive him with an invitation, thinking all the Spaniards would be rendered helpless by the wine, and he could kill him easily. Realizing the betrayal, everyone abstained from drinking. (San Agustin, 1698: 615)

Drinking was also between the natives and Spaniards in exchanging peace that open doors for economic trading and barter system. It is in drinking that they did *pakig-hiusa* where it yielded harmony and prevented bloodshed. The Spanish troops were superior with their canyons, and natives have no way but to compromise the situation by submitting themselves to them.

However, it is in drinking too that they find a way to get rid of the Spaniards and keep their community peace without compromises. This was demonstrated by Humabon in poisoning some men of Magellan in the table fellowship after the captain's death as mentioned earlier. The Spaniards recorded the incident of betrayal through drinking and this was the reason why they were cautious of drinking later on.

But if their *buot* meets like the case of Sikatuna and Legazpi, a blood compact sealed the deal and trust was gained by drinking and feasting together. The case of Pangasinan with Captain Salcedo was a different matter where no Spaniards were drinking with the suspicion of poison. *Pakighiusang kabubut-on* (oneness of inner being) was not achieved and *walay buot* or *wala sa loob* (no desire of inner being) became prevalent. Thus, drinking failed to unite and propel harmony due to the disintegration of *buot*.

2. *Drinking on the Occasion of Marriage Rituals and Other Community Events*

Marriage in the narratives of Loarca (1582) presented types depending on social class: the chiefs, *timaguas* or commoners and the slaves. Drinking was a social connector or binder between couples where the ceremony highlights it that signaled the beginning of a contract.

“the chiefs then I say send as go-betweenes some of their timaguas, to negotiate the marriage. One of these men takes the young man’s lance from his father, and when he reaches the house of the girl’s father he thrusts the spear into the staircase of the house; and while he holds the lance thus, they invoke their gods and ancestors, requesting them to be propitious to this marriage.” (Loarca, 1582:156)

The commoners or timaguas accomplished their marriage when the couple unite in drinking *pitarilla* from the same cup. This takes place after a series of rituals including commitment and vow to support each other validated by the toss of the glass (Loarca, 1582).

For the poor slaves, they marry each other without drinking and without any go-between. They have no ceremony or feasting. They simply say to each other, “let us marry” (Loarca, 1582).

Aside from marriage, there are other occasions where drinking became a tool to express their *maayong kabubut-on* (beautiful *inner being*) for each other and show their solidarity and camaraderie as a community. This is a potent avenue for positive peace since to celebrate together means transforming people not just mere neighbors who share the same place but agents working in unison to bring progress and structures that facilitate sustainable growth. Drinking facilitates them to produce, innovate and develop their own unique cultures that serve their interest and welfare. Like for instance a case of a girl who has her first menstruation. Early Filipino community in general be it Visayans or Tagalogs cultivated a practice where it became a community gathering.

In the case of young girls who first had their monthly courses, their eyes were blindfolded four days and four nights; and in the meantime, the friends and relatives were all invited to partake of food and drink. At the end of this period, the catalonan (priestess) took the young girl to the water, bathed her and washed her head, and removed the bandage from her eyes” (Plasencia, 1589: 191-192).

The ritual which highlights drinking and feasting is performed based on the premise that the girls will be fertile and enjoy the fortunes and abundance in life.

In life's cycles, from birth to death are occasions to celebrate and feast. Every event is an opportunity to drink, and the best venue to discuss and tackle issues that affect their community. In *Chirino's Relacion de las Yslas Filipinas* (1603), it states:

“The time for their feasts upon occasions of illness, death and mourning. Such as also their customs for betrothals, weddings and sacrifices, and with guests and visitors. Upon all these occasions there was not a door closed against anyone who might desire to go to drink with them – for they designate a feast by the term “drinking” not “eating.” (Chirino, 1603:11).

Drinking among Visayans reflect a way of life like “if the feast is not one of mourning, they sing, play musical instruments, dance and in this way spend days and nights with great uproar and shouting – until finally they fall, exhausted and drowsy” (Chirino, 1603:12).

The most common liquor among early Filipinos especially the Visayans was *tuba* from coconut palms. *Tuba* is strengthened by adding a red color. This was the reason it was called palm wine by the Spaniards. *Basi* was another wine made from mash of cooked rice already leavened with *tapay*, put in a jar to produce liquid *pangasi*. *Intus* was another one which was produced from a fermented sugarcane juice stored in a porcelain, and as it aged it became *intus* or *kilang*. *Kabarawan* (from *baraw* which means temper or mediate) was a ceremonial drink made from wood whose bark was decocted to produce it. It is mixed with equal volume of fresh honey and let it ferment naturally over time. For those who drink it, it has a unique practice where men gathered around the jar, all sipping through straws until the bottom of the jar was seen (Scott, 2015).

When someone died mourning is indicated by fasting. They pledged not to eat up “*unless they seize some captive in battle*” (Loarca, 1582:137). Natives shall not drink any kind of wine until the grieving ends.

Drinking bridged quarrelling individuals or groups. “Reconciliation between them is brought about by drawing blood from the arms of both parties, and each tasting the blood of the other, placed in a shell, sometimes mixed with a little wine; and such friendship is not to be broken” (Loarca, 1582: 161, 163).

Drinking unites early Visayan communities, and it is integrated in business transactions and other forms of discussing concerns be it personal or communal. One thing is certain, it is difficult to join a drinking session when one's *buot* is not having *pakighiusa* (solidarity with others) and has the *abreng buot* or *bukas-loob* (openness of inner being) for others to share their stories in life. Drinking is a venue for storytelling. When people listen to each other, there is *gaan nga kabubut-on* (lighter load *inner being*) and everything is easy to deal with in day to day affairs.

3. *Drinking and the Practice of the Maganito*

Anitos are nature-spirits, spirits of deceased ancestors, nymphs or *diwatas* whom early Filipinos believed to dwell in bodies of water, trees, rocks or animals. *Bathala* (Supreme God) is a distant god whom natives find it hard to communicate. They need the *anitos* to intercede and communicate to *Bathala* their needs and prayers. *Anitos* are intermediaries to *Bathala* and acted as ministers and servants and spoke to him in behalf of people.

“Bathala had many agents under him, whom he sent to this world to produce, in behalf of men, what is yielded here. These beings were called anitos, and each anito had a special office. Some of them were for the fields, and some for those who journey by sea; some for those who went to war and some for diseases” (Loarca, 1582: 171-173).

Maganito is an offering or prayers to the *anitos*. There were no temples or churches but they have caves, cliffs, or special rooms adjoining the houses where rituals and sacrifices were held. The priestess presided the *maganitos*. Visayans referred them as *babaylans*. Most of them were feminized women or women who can contact interact with the *anitos* and spirit world. As spirit guides, their main role was medium during the ritual (Colin, 1663).

“To these anitos the people offered sacrifices, when they desired anything – to each one according to his office. The mode of sacrifice was like that of the Pintados (Visayans). They summoned a catalonan, which is the same as the vaylan among the Pintados, that is, a priest. He offered a sacrifice requesting from the anito whatever the people desired him to ask, and heaping up great quantities of rice, meat and fish. His invocations lasted until the demon entered his body, when the catalonan fell into a swoon, foaming at the mouth” (Loarca, 1582:173).

Drinking is part of the ritual for well-being and fuller life. In the *maganito* ceremony, natives are drinking and feasting while they wait for the priestess to come back to himself. When this happens, everyone awaits the story what the *anito* had given to him or her. If a person's sickness persists, the community continues to invoke to the *anito* offering animals or even golden chains and ornaments as ransom. (Loarca, 1582).

Pigafetta validates how drinking is an essential component of the *maganito*. Usually there were two priestesses who led the *maganito* ritual dancing “round the pig which is bound on the ground” (1522:31). There was a dialogue incantations performed by the priestesses who presented the cup of wine to the participants, and addressed their prayers to the sun. They sprinkled wine on the heart of the pig. Drinking followed the ceremony.

Sacrifice is also the highlight of the event that connects the community to the *anitos* and achieve harmony and peace:

“While dancing, the babaylan withdraws the lance from the wound which is then closed with herbs. During the ceremony a torch is always burning, and the old woman who pierced the pig takes and puts it out with her mouth, the other woman dips the end of her trumpet in the pig's blood, and with it marks with blood the forehead of her husband, and her companion and then the rest of the people” (Pigafetta, 1522:31).

Visayans performed the *maganito* before they cultivate the fields. It is a fertility ritual that gives fuller life for the community. Drinking is at the core of the event.

“The *maganito* started with drinking and eating and ringing bells and other instruments with the women and young people dancing. **This lasted for twenty to thirty days.** While the chiefs and the brave indios eat and drink until they fall down drunk or pass out; and are brought by their slaves and women elsewhere to sleep. When they wake up, they return to the feast and drunk again. And while this *maganito* is going on, the old woman leader takes some red necklaces and gives them to the chiefs and brave indios and their women who regard them highly and treasure them as we do on blessed objects. The saucers, plates and cups that have been used in this *maganito* are broken and thrown outside the house,

those who have to work leave the place of *maganito* and go to cultivate the fields” (Boxer Codex, 1593:17-19).

It is inconceivable to have *maganito* without drinking where they took *pakighiusang kabubut-on* (harmonizing inner being) not only among themselves but also to gods who have power and control over the forces of nature and life.

Maganito strengthens their *buot* (inner being) that good things may happen if they render sacrifices and feasts that create union and oneness with the power of the *anitos* who served as intermediaries to Bathala. But beyond these rituals are dynamic relationships of people engaged in the celebrations. It shatters the walls of animosity and allows a *pakighiusa* (unity) to thrive and guarantees peace.

Maganito is a discourse among Filipinos to bring their needs, petitions and experiences to transcendence where all people became free from any form of discrimination and maltreatment. When they drink together, they celebrate and treat each other with *maayong kabubut-on* (goodness of inner being). Drinking is an equalizer in social classes where various classes connive to feast together and celebrate life. Drinking an avenue to empower each one to share their life stories, sing, dance and enjoy life. It is a testament of *pakighiusa* that regardless of status in life, everyone is worthy to be respected and valued.

Positive peace is holistic and transformational. *Maganito* manifests an approach that is integrated that includes the physical, emotional, relational and spiritual aspects of their community life. Drinking signals cohesion that propels positive peace since it stabilizes the *buot* and upholds *pakighiusa* that is instrumental in all forms of discourses about community development. Drinking might be a small *maayong kabubut-on* gesture and *pakighiusa sa ubang tawo* (smooth interpersonal relationship) but it is impactful since it reflects an attitude, culture and way of life that expedites mutual understanding and support. These are the seedbeds of positive peace.

Conclusion

Drinking is a celebration that reflects positive peace. It is a binding force that facilitates smooth-interpersonal relationship vital in any negotiation or transaction among early Visayans. *Pintados* practice of

drinking reflects a kind of closely knitted society where *buot* dictates how a person should relate to others. Early Visayans put premium to *pakighiusa* (unity). Drinking breaks the wall between people since it gathers them together to share their stories.

Drinking among early Visayans was not just to get drunk. The paper presents three engaging scenarios where it is at work towards positive peace. These are peace negotiation with the arriving foreign invaders, occasion of marriage rituals and other community events, and the practice of the *maganito*. *Maganito* speaks their quest for the spiritual realm bringing their needs and petitions to transcendence. The ritual has the capacity to equalize social status where people at that time are free from discrimination and oppression.

Like other societies that promoted positive peace, the Indian *santi*, the Japanese *heiwa*, the Greek *eirene*, Muslim's *al-Islam*, the Jewish and Christian *Shalom*, the Visayans have their unique tradition called the *buot*.

Buot is a Visayan reality whose manifestations are embodied in drinking together. It speaks a way of life that overcomes any form of violence, promotes strong social ties, community spirit, and well-being.

Drinking is not just a gesture of solidarity but most importantly a discourse that creates space for dialogue, empowers the community members to reach out for each other, and captures the essence of positive peace.

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