SOCIAL SCIENCE INFORMATION

Philippine Social Science Council
P.O. Box 205 UP Post Office, Diliman, Quezon City, 1101

May be opened for postal inspection

Social Science Information

Vol. 28 No. 1 January-June 2000

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UP FOLKLORISTS

FOLK SONGS OF THE PHILIPPINES/THE USE OF FOLKLORE IN NAIVE ART/ FOLKLORE STUDIES AND THE CSSP/A HISTORY OF THE ILOCOS/NOTES ON THE STUDY OF OLD CHURCHES IN THE ILOCOS/COLONIAL CHURCHES OF ILOCOS SUR/DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE OF VIGAN/ILOKO TRADITIONAL MUSIC AND THE LIFE CYCLE/FOLK DANCES OF ILOCOS NORTE/ILOCOS RITUALS

"ILOCOS RITUAL"
RICARTE PURUGANAN, 1950

ISBN 0115-1160 *THE PSSC SOCIAL SCIENCE INFORMATION*

The ***PSSC Social Science Information*** is published twice a year by the Secretariat, Philippine Social Science Council (PSSC), with offices at PSSCenter, Commonwealth Avenue, Diliman, Quezon City; U.P. Post Office Box 205, Diliman, Quezon City 1101, Philippines.

The PSSC Social Science Information primarily seeks to serve as a clearing house for the exchange of information, documentation, research activities, and news on people involved in the social sciences. Since 1973, it has endeavored to be a regular and comprehensive inventory of information and a catalyst of discussions.

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Circulation : MILAGROS J. TOLENTINO, ERNESTO S. ACOSTA

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Editorial

THE UP FOLKLORISTS, an associate member of the Philippine Social Science Council since 1996 through the initiative of Dr. Luzviminda B. Valencia, is proud to sponsor this special issue of the *Social Science Information* devoted to folklore studies in the Philippines. It is significant that this volume is the first *SSI* issue for the year 2000 and that its featured articles look into different facets of Philippine culture.

The first two articles provide theoretical perspectives in the study of folklore. Leonardo de Castro's "Pilosopiya ng Masa" argues for the importance of folklore and knowledge of our roots for a better understanding of the faces of life. In "Folklore Studies and the UP College of Social Sciences and Philosophy" Darlene Berberabe, Manuel F. Bonifacio and Roberto D. Tangco examine the role of folklore in the social sciences. The UP CSSP maintains a program devoted to folklore studies.

Part II consists of selections on the folklore of the Ilocos region. The papers presented here were part of the Folklore Regional Conference held at the Mariano Marcos State University, Ilocos Norte in 1995. With Digna Apilado's "A History of the Ilocos" providing a background of the region, its different artistic and cultural expressions are then examined: the old churches that the Ilocos provinces are known for as described by Regalado Trota Jose and Ricardo L. Favis; Vigan domestic architecture as discussed by Fatima Nicetas A. Rabang-Alonzo; Iloko traditional music and life cycle as analyzed by Mary Lou F. Aurelio; folk dances of the Ilocos by Teresita P. Ines; and rituals of the Ilocanos by Ernesto M. Cadiz.

Part III which includes Damiana L. Eugenio's paper on "Folk Songs of the Philippines" and Alice Guillermo's "The Use of Folklore in Naïve Art" present folklore studies with a holistic view.

This collection of articles is a sequel to the earlier volume entitled **Voices from the Lake**, a compilation of papers presented by scholars and experts on the folklore and environment of Mindanao at a conference held in Mindanao State University at Marawi City in 1994.

As it does in this volume of representative writings on the folklore of Northern Luzon, the UP Folklorists, a group based in Diliman, consistently brings the results of folklore scholarship to different areas of application such as health, environment, education, arts, and culture. We hope to hold another Specialists Conference on Maritime Folklore in Bohol in the near future and publish the papers to reach out to scholars and researchers from other regions in our continuing efforts to build-up better appreciation of our national identity.

ELVIRA S. VERANO, PH.D.
President, UP Folklorists

FOLKLORE: PILOSOPIYA NG MASA

LEONARDO D. DE CASTRO*

Kilala natin ang pilosopiya bilang isang pag-aaral na may kinalaman sa mga pundasyon ng katotohanan. Sa larangang akademiko, ang kaagad pumapasok sa isipan ay ang kagaya ng mga turo nina Plato at Aristotle tungkol sa mga unang prinsipyo ng kaalaman. Ang kinakailangan ay malalim at masinsinang pag-iisip. Hinihingi din ang mahaba at masusing talakayan. Ang hinahanap na resulta ay mga teyorya at pangunahing prinsipyo na nag-uugnay, hanggang maaari, sa lahat ng kaalaman.

Dahil na rin marahil sa kalaliman ng pag-aaral na kinakailangan, ang kaalaman na magiging bunga ng pamimilosopiya ay mahirap masundan at maintindihan ng pangkaraniwang tao. Iniisip ng pilosopo na ang pangkaraniwang tao ay mangmang sa ganitong mga bagay. Iniisip naman ng pangkaraniwang tao na ang pilosopo ay napakalayo na ng pag-iisip. Kung minsan, sinasabi na ito ay nasisiraan na siguro ng ulo. Sa sobrang taas ng lipad ng kanyang isip, hindi na niya kayang makipag-ugnay sa pangkaraniwang mundo na kanyang tinutungtungan.

Mga Katanungan sa Pilosopiya

Maaaring nagkakaganito ang mga pangyayari dahil sa bigat ng mga tanong na sinisikap bigyan ng katugunan ng pilosopo. Ibig niyang malaman kung ano ang kahulugan ng buhay ng tao. Gusto niyang maintindihan kung ano talaga ang kaugnayan ng tao sa diyos at, kung maaari, patunayan na mayroon, o na walang diyos. Nais niyang ipaliwanag kung ano ang tamang batayan ng wasto at hindi wastong kilos at gawain. Pinag-aaralan niya ang batayan ng pagiging maganda at hindi maganda. Binibigyan niya ng kapaliwanagan ang mga damdamin at mithiin ng mga tao. Pinipilit niyang tiyakin ang karapatang lugar ng tao sa kalikasan at sa mundo. Iniintindi niya ang iba pang mga konseptong naglalaro sa kamalayan ng tao: ang kahalagahan ng buhay, ang kahulugan ng kamatayan, ang kapararakan ng kaligayahan, ng pighati, at ng iba pang damdamin.

Paksang Folklore

Sa kabilang dako, marami sa atin ang nag-aakala na ang folklore ay may kinalaman sa mga bagay na hindi kasinghalaga. Kung batay sa pahapyaw lamang na pagtingin, maaaring masabi na ang folklore ay may mga tribyal na paksa. Halimbawa, kung pagtutuunan ng atensyon ang mga gawain ng arbularyo, ang mga pamahiin ng mga magsasaka at mangigisda, ang mga kagawian kaugnay ng Semana Santa, o mga gayuma, kulam at anting-anting, masasabing ang folklore ay tumatalakay sa mga bagay na pangkaraniwan lamang at walang kinalaman sa mga ugat at pundasyon ng tunay at mahalagang kaalaman. Mayroon pa nga sa ating nagkakaroon ng interes sa pag-aaral ng folklore bilang isang dibersyon – i.e., bilang isang libangan na nakapaglalayo ng pansin sa mga suliranin at lungkot na dala ng katotohanan.

Subalit kung susuriin natin nang husto ang mga folklore sa loob ng kanilang katutubong konteksto – sa halip na mula sa perspektibo ng mga katumbas na disiplinang kanluranin – matutunghayan natin ang nakapaloob na mga kaisipan, paniniwala at damdamin na makakapagmulat ng ating mga mata sa ating pilosopiya. Kung gayon, mag-iiba ang ating konklusyon. Makikita natin na kahit na sa mga pang-araw-araw na kaugaliang tinutukoy sa itaas, hindi tribyal ang mga leksyon na ating matututunan. Sa katunayan, dito natin nakikita ang yaman ng ating lahi at kultura.

Magkatulad ang Paksa ng Pilosopiya at Folklore

Mapapansin natin na ang mga paksang tinatalakay ng ating mga folklore, sa ibat-ibang paraan, ay hindi naiiba sa mga paksa ng akademikong pamimilosopiya. Sa paglalapat ng lunas ng mga arbularyo, sa paggamit ng mga anting-anting at gayuma, sa mga pamahiin gumagabay sa mga mangingisda at magbubukid, sa ating mga kasabihan at salawikain, sa mga katutubong sayaw, tula, dula, balagtasan, awit, tugtugin, at sa iba

pang mga folklore, malalim at mayaman ang mga kaisipang nakapaloob. Ang pag-aaral na mga ito ay nagmumulat ng ating mga mata sa mga pundasyon ng katutubong kaisipan at iba pang kaisipang umiiral sa ating lipunan. Sa pamamagitan ng pagmumuni-muni sa mga ito, natutuklasan natin ang mga pundamental na prinsipyo ng kaalaman na maihahambimg sa mga turo ng mga klasikal na pilosopo.

Mga Salawikain

Sa mga salawikain, madali nating makikita ang katunayan para sa sinasabi rito. Sila ay naglalaman ng kaisipang umiiral sa kinapapaloobang kultura o lipunan. Ang marami sa kanila ay naglalaman ng aral tungkol sa mga dapat at hindi dapat gawin. Inilalahad nila ang mga nararapat para sa iba't-ibang okasyon na binibigyan ng pagpapahalaga.

Halimbawa, malinaw ang leksyon na ipinahahatid sa lahat ng mga sumusunod: "Ang masama sa'yo ay huwag mong gawin sa kapwa mo tao." Madalas nating naririnig sa nangangaral na matanda ang ganito kahit na nag-iiba-iba ng mga salitang ginagamit. Maging sa awit ay mayroong nagdadala ng katulad na mensahe: "Kung ano ang di mo gusto, h'wag gawin sa iba." Sinasabi rin natin na "Kung ibig mong igalang ka, matuto kang gumalang muna."

Dahil na rin siguro sa kadalasang mabigkas ang ganito, at dahil sa nakasanayan na natin itong marinig, nagkaroon na tayo ng lubos na pamilyaridad. Hindi na nating nakukuhang pansinin ang turo na nakapaloob sa tila pangkaraniwang mga kataga. Subalit nasa mga katagang ito ang katumbas ng pinakasikat at madalas na napag-uusapang mga pananaw tungkol sa gawain at asal ng tao na maihahanay sa mga klasikal na teyoryang napag-aaralan sa pilosopiya. Sa pagkakataong ito, ang higit nating kilala bilang golden rule ang tinutukoy.

Karunungan sa Salawikain

Walang hangganan ang kayamanang matatagpuan sa ating mga kasabihan. Tungkol sa kahalagahan ng paglalagak para sa kinabukasan, sinasabi na "Pag may isinuksok, may madudukot." Upang mabigyan ng diin ang pagtitiyaga at paghihirap sinasabi na "Ang walang hirap magtipon, walang hinayang magtapon" o kaya ay "Pag ang pagkakakita'y bigla, bigla rin ang pagkawala."

Tungkol sa mga lihim, may kasabihan na "May pakpak ang balita, may tainga ang lupa." Upang matigil ang masamang tsismis, ganito naman ang sinasabi: "Ang nagtatanim ng hangin, may bagyong aanihin." Maging ang pag-uusisa, kung minsan, ay minamasama: "Sa bibig na mausisa, ang pagsugpo ay tuya."

Ginintuang Kagitnaan

Makikita rin natin sa iba pang mga salawikain ang maitutumbas naman sa mga sinasabi ni Aristotle tungkol sa etika sa kanyang Nicomachean Ethics. Halimbawa, naririyan ang: "Sala sa lamig, sala sa init." Ang napakasimpleng mga kataga na ito ay nangungusap nang higit pa sa sanlibong salita tungkol sa kahalagahan ng **ginintuang kagitnaan** *(Golden mean)*.

Kaugnay nito, naririyan ang mga salawikain na nagsasabing: "Nangilag sa baga, sa ningas naisugba" at "Naghangad ng kagitna sansalop ang nawala." Ang mga ito ay naglalaman din ng mensahe tungkol sa kahalagahan ng moderasyon at pagtitimpi, na mga katangiang kinikilala sa etikang Pilipino at binibigyan din ng karampatang lugar sa etika ni Aristotle. Ang pinakasentro ng leksyon dito ay nasa pag-iiwas sa kalabisan at kakulangan. Hindi mainam ang maghangad ng labis, subalit hindi rin naman mainam ang maghangad ng kulang.

Mababasa rin natin sa mga salawikain tungkol sa pagiging maagap ang ganitong leksyon tungkol sa kagitnaan. Ang pagiging maagap ay pinahahalagahan dito: "Aanhin pa ang damo kung patay na ang kabayo."

Subalit hindi rin mabuti ang sobrang maagap: "Masamang mauna ang damo sa palay," "Walang unang sisi sa huling nangyari," at "Hindi lahat ng maagap, maagang nakalulutas."

Sa katunayan, sa ginintuang kagitnaan umiikot ang pangunahing diwa ng kaisipang etikal ni Aristotle. At maipapangahas natin na sabihing dito rin umiikot ang pangunahing diwa ng mga mahahalagang konsepto sa etikang Pilipino.

Araling Akademiko at Aral ng Salawikain

Nagkakaroon ng malaking pagkakaiba ang araling pang akademiko at ang araling kaugnay ng salawikain dahil sa paraan ng pagbubuo at paglalahad ng mga ideya. Sa kaso ni Aristotle, ang pag-aaral at paglalahad ay naganap sa isang kontekstong akademiko. Ang mga salawikain naman ay nabubuo sa larangan ng pangkaraniwan at pang-araw-araw na buhay.

Kung akademiko ang konteksto, nagkakaroon ng masinsinang paghihimay na itinuturing na obhektibo.

Nilalayon sa pagsusuri na maibukod ang tunay na kaalaman sa mga subhektibong palagay at paniniwallang dala ng silakbo ng damdamin. Kailangang maitaas ang antas ng kaalaman upang magkaroon ng katiyakan at kapalagian.

Subalit sa pagsasalang ginagawa — sa pagbubukod ng "tunay" na kaalaman sa mga damdamin ng taong nagsisikap na makaalam — may panganib na ang tao mismo ay mailayo sa proseso. Oo nga at maaaring magkaroon ng permanente at tiyak na kaalaman. Pero ano naman ang magiging silbi ng kaalaman na iilan lamang ang nagtataglay? Para saan pa ang ganitong karunungan?

Kaalamang Nakaugat sa Damdamin

Dahil sa ang mga salawikain ay nakapaloob sa pang-araw-araw na buhay, hindi sila nalalayo sa mga pangkaraniwang damdamin ng tao. Masasabi pa ngang sila ay nahuhugis at napagtitibay ng mga damdaming ito. Ang masa ng tao ang konteksto kung saan sila nabubuhay. Ang kaalaman tungkol sa kanila ay hindi maaaring maging kaalaman kung hindi naiintindihan at naisasapuso ng tao.

May panganib naman na mawalan ng kapalagian ang kaalaman sa ganitong pagtingin. Nag-iiba ang mga damdamin ng tao habang nag-iiba rin ang panahon at sitwasyon. Kaya naman, hindi inaasahang maging permanente ang kaalamang batay sa kanila.

Gayunpaman, hindi ito nangangahulugan ng kawalan ng katiyakan. Ito ay nagpapahiwatig lamang na ang kaalamang subhektibo ay hindi maaaring ibukod sa tao at, kung gayon, ay kinakailangang tumanaw sa kanyang mga likas na katangian. Ang katiyakan na tinutukoy ay panlipunan. Ito ay may aspektong personal at kultural. Sa bahagyang pananaw, ang mga ito ay matituturing na kahinaan at kakulangan. Subalit sa katutubong pananaw, ito ang maituturing na katibayan.

Kung pipilitin nating lapatan ng mga kategorya, maaari siguro nating sabihin na ang araling pang-akademiko ay tumutukoy sa isip at teyorya habang ang aral ng salawikain at, sa pangkalahatan, ang aral ng folklore, ay nasa buhay, at gawa.

Folklore Bilang Kaalamang Bayan

Sapagkat ang dunong ng folklore ay matatagpuan sa larangan ng damdamin, buhay at gawa, ang pananaw tungkol sa mga pinahahalagahang konsepto ay masasabing nagmumula sa ilalim — sa halip na sa ibabaw. Ang pananaw mula sa ibabaw ay sinasaklawan ng teyorya at ang mga kategoryang ginagamit ay hubog na rin ng teyorya. Samaktwid, maituturing ang ganito na isang imposisyon na nagmumula sa itaas — imposisyon ng teyoryang ginagamit at ang mga kategoryang dala nito. Sa kabilang dako, ang pananaw mula sa ilalim ay hindi nakatali sa teyorya. Kung totoo mang ito ay maiuugnay sa teyorya ang dahilan ay hindi ang pagpapasailalim nito kundi ang sabay na pagkahubog ng folklore at ng teyorya sa larangan ng mga malayang damdamin at buhay. Hindi ang teyorya ang naghahari. Ang umiiral ay ang kaalaman ng masa at ordinaryong tao. Ito ang Kaalamang Bayan.

> Kung gayon, dapat lamang na mabigyan ng karampatang pansin ang kaalamang ito. May ilan sa atin na itinuturing ang pag-aaral ng folklore bilang isang libangan lamang. Nakasisiya nga namang pagmasdan ang mga katutubong sayaw at pakinggan ang balagtasan. Nakatutuwa ring isipin at pagtsismisan ang mga naniniwala sa kapangyarihan ng kulam at gayuma. Subalit hindi natin maaaring kalimutan na ang mga sayaw at balagtasan ay nagpapakilala sa atin ng ating nakaraan at, sa pamamagitan nito, ng atin ding kasalukuyan. Ang pinag-aaralan natin sa pagtingin sa mga ito ay walang iba kundi ang ating sarili bilang bahagi ng kasaysayan. Ang mga ito ay nagbibigay sa atin ng isang perspektibo na hindi makukuha sa teyoretikal na pagsusuri.

Bagamat, sa isang banda, ang pananalig sa kulam at gayuma ay nagpapahiwatig ng pagiging hindi "siyentipiko," higit na mahalagang makita ito bilang isang tanda ng pananalig sa kalikasan. Ito ay tanda ng pagkakaisa ng tao at ng kanyang kapaligiran. Ang umiiral ay hindi isang pamahiin lamang kundi isang laganap na pananaw tungkol sa sanlibutan at sa sangkatauhan. Maaaring ito ay nakabalot sa kaunting hiwaga. Subalit hindi natin ito dapat masamain. Sadyang ganito ang folklore. Sadyang ganito ang kaalamang bayan. Sadyang ganito ang pilosopiya ng masa.

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FOLKLORE STUDIES AND THE UP COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND PHILOSOPHY

DARLENE BERBERABE*
MANUEL F. BONIFACIO
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Since William Thomas coined the word 'folklore' in 1846, debates regarding its definition have been waged with unrelenting academic vigor. To a great extent, however, these debates revolved around the scope of studies that its protagonists intended to indicate in using the term 'folklore,' including, quite naturally, their purposes in conducting such studies. These debates are significant for they reveal the deepening and widening of academic studies in what used to be predominantly a matter of literary interest.

In this paper then we shall present a conceptual map, albeit exploratory, of the areas in which folklore studies are being or can be done in the social sciences. We hope this will stimulate collegial contributions to the formulation of an operationally sound definition suited to the needs of Filipino scholars and, more ambitiously, serve as a guidepost for future studies on Philippine folklore.

We shall assume a general acceptance of the proposition that the object of study of the social scientist is human society and its culture. What we shall therefore work out is the sense in which folklore is taken to be a product of culture and society such that the study of folklore is relevant if not essential, to the social sciences. Moreover, we shall indicate a path by which an appreciation of folklore studies can lead to a critical understanding of Philippine society and also how it can provide a basis for exploring interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary academic cooperation, thus promoting theoretical and methodological development in studies of Philippine society and culture within and across disciplines.

I. Folklore and culture

Folklore is part of culture but not the whole of that culture. Indeed, it is commonly understood to include myths, legends, tales, proverbs, riddles, songs and even dance forms, which are transmitted from one generation to another. This enumeration helps avoid talking of folklore as if it were synonymous with what is usually understood as culture. However, the notion behind such an enumeration is now considered too narrow for it tends to suggest that folklore is mere aesthetic expression of the thoughts and longings of a bygone era stamped in the consciousness of a people.

Hence, if we are to expand our notion of folklore as a means by which people view the world around them as well as a facility by which to determine their place in that world, then we would have to go beyond its artistic and literary currency. This will lead us to explicate its religious, psychological, social, political, economic and technological value and significations for a particular people at a given moment in a society's history. There will be more reasons to expound on why and how folklore has had such status in that society. Thinking then in terms of specified moments in a historical continuum during which concepts and ideals gave rise to folklore, we shall be able to better understand and deal with individual and collective dimensions of the continuities and discontinuities in the history of a society's survival and struggles against domination.

Thus, folklore would also include rituals, beliefs, customs, family and community practices, authority symbols and models, item fetishes, agricultural and medical practices, games, and even the use and design of tools and implements that distinguish a particular culture from others. Folklore is like ground coffee beans used to make a cup of coffee. Without it, there is no cup of coffee to speak of (much less drink). In different proportions the flavor and taste will vary, yet, it will still be a cup of coffee of the variety of the ground coffee beans. Using a different variety of coffee beans, however, will yield a totally different cup of coffee even if it would be noticeable to the coffee connoisseur alone. What this simile illustrates is the sense in which folklore is a key determinant of the uniqueness of a culture vis-a-vis other cultures, yet it is also the common denominator of that culture in spite of individual and sub-cultural differentiations. Folklore

then is a steadying perspective in a culture for it precedes other perspectives wrought upon society by external interventions or indigenous dissensions. Hence, society tolerates or accommodates varying degrees of cultural differentiations through the mediating force of folklore. In short, therefore, folklore maintains the cultural integrity of a society because it is historically prior to other perspectives in that culture.

In this context it may help to visualize culture as a piece of rope in which folklore is a strand. Unlike the other strands, however, folklore runs along the whole length of the rope yet is twisted and turned around the other strands such that it is not always located at the physical center of the rope but nevertheless is essential to the strength of the rope at any given point.

From the above it is reasonable to say that folklore shared by Filipinos is a vital part of Philippine culture. It is an integrative and substantial part of it: integrative because it is the medium that unifies and binds the members of society in words and deeds; and, substantial because folklore is the articulation of beliefs, concepts and practices (i.e. knowledge) that give substance to the identity of the Filipino.

II. Folklore and tradition

Society cannot exist without tradition, and folklore is the animation of that tradition. Tradition unifies and binds the members of a society because it embodies society's values and norms of human conduct, and these are reflected in institutions and structures through which transactions and social interaction take place. Historical continuity is thus assured since each generation can refer to tradition as the body of constants in attending to the requirements of their everyday concerns and encounters. These constants, of course, are wide-ranging; e.g., revering ancestors, disciplining children, determining succession and status, venerating heroes, buying clothes, deciding what crop to plant and when to do so, deciding what food to cook on a special day and so on. As these are preserved and depicted in folklore, the past becomes relevant to the present generation and bridging the future is assured. Folklore, therefore, is the objectification of the concepts and ideals that a generation takes for granted such that they can systematize — and, reorder, if need be — their social life and evaluate their actions without slipping into extreme solipsism. It is in this sense that life takes on meaning for each person in that society.

Tradition thus subtly serves to legitimize repression in society, i.e., it plays an important role in the exercise of social control. Since folklore depicts and idealizes conformity to accepted patterns of behavior, it then preserves tradition and promotes the perspective with which tradition keeps society intact. For example, proverbs, folk tales and myths can be used as social reminders on appropriate behaviour as well as deterrents to aberrant behaviour. As Stefano Moshi points out,

> The youth of today treat many ancient things with contempt, but they never jest about proverbs. They respect the wisdom embodied in these sayings, for they strike like arrows in the heart.

Rituals, family practices, games and technologies that also form part of folklore are effective means of social pressure and rules internalization. In playing *patintero*, for instance, exceptional skills of an individual member are subsumed under the cooperative efforts of the players. *Piko*, on the other hand, is basically a game of individual effort but is still proscribed by rules of play which can be altered to provide for handicaps when there is an obvious disparity of skills among opponents, thus, instilling a sense of fair play by equalizing opportunities such that less skilled players are allowed to start play at a stage of the game ahead of the more skilled players.

Indeed folklore preserves and enhances tradition which as society's conservative conscience minimizes psychological and social conflicts. Thus, society draws on tradition to develop guilt or a sense of self-esteem, without which, people would be open to the possibility of self-destruction; and here, again, folklore is instrumental to cultural production and reproduction.

Folklore offers not only role models (e.g., folk heroes and occupational stereotypes) with which to identify and set goal orientations; but also capsulizes and demonstrates the virtues (e.g., perseverance and dedication) necessary for attaining such goals. Likewise, it denigrates or condemns sloth and vicious means of succeeding. That is, the classic theme that success is deserved only by those who remain virtuous in the face of hardship and tribulations — though often derided as a cliche — retains its traditional value through folklore. Since modes of existence are conventionalized in tradition through societal symbolisms that permeate a culture, the virtuous persons will be those who can work within and through tradition.

Folklore articulates tradition such that conventions that make management of everyday life meaningful and orderly are disseminated and shared across generations.

People do not ordinarily challenge conventions. However, since there is constantly a variety of influences on society, conflict is unavoidable; hence, society is continually confronted with possible disorder. The motivation to break away from a traditional orientation is related to a person's negative experience of a prescribed reality. When tradition is assaulted, cultural discontinuity sets in.

Population growth due to migration is one such influence. As more people of diverse backgrounds and orientations come in, resistance to a given tradition may predominate. Mass communication, as well as cross-culture contacts, may also disrupt the continuity provided by tradition. Education and science and technology also exert strong challenges to the prevailing tradition. Historically, these influences precipitated changes, requiring in their wake a reconstruction of tradition; i.e., a new tradition had to be forged.

Nevertheless, changes introduced for the sake of change rarely take root in a society. Tradition and conservatism go together as tradition is essential for a society's reproduction. Yet, change is inevitable as indicated above and society suffers when the guardians of societal order refuse to heed the call for change, preserving instead their positions of dominance; or, when society unquestioningly persists in following the old ways. There may, of course, be incipient changes at the individual or community levels, though if the change is due to unique local pressures or the influence is accommodated by the prevailing tradition, then it remains at that level, often, fading away in time. Should the conditions that precipitated the change prevail and spread throughout society, then change beyond the individual or community — incremental or radical — becomes a matter-of-course. The point of the matter is that, whichever way it goes, a response to novel, different or threatening conditions initiates change at corresponding levels of societal life. Nonetheless, change is ruinous to a society when change is imposed without regard to tradition.

If we are to think of tradition along the lines suggested above it will be easier to understand how change does not necessarily indicate the end of tradition; i.e., let us not think of what is traditional and what is modern as polar opposites. Rather, let us think of modernization as the process by which society adjusts its tradition to new modes of thinking, feeling and doing things.

In this sense, we shall not be constrained by the notion which assumes that history ends at a certain point; in our case, in the present century. However, we need not give up the view that modernization in the context of the present century is greatly due to the industrial revolution that erupted and was well sustained in European countries like England and France. What is also covered conceptually is the instance where tradition in very modern societies like Japan or the United States of America may also modernize on the basis of some future cross-cultural contact or theoretical leap in science. In Tokyo, for instance, commercialization of urban space has required some married couples-to-be to enter into no-in-laws in domicile arrangements in strong opposition to strong kinship ties among the Japanese. Across the Pacific, management experts in the United States of America are now plotting out new working styles that would be less office based in the wake of new developments in electronic technology. Likewise, the modernization of Philippine society need no longer be modeled along the lines of the industrial revolution.

A new tradition evolves out of conditions where a society positively confronts the pressures of change. That is, when a strong influence on a society threatens its tradition to the point of a breakdown in the social order, a new tradition emerges around such influence. In coffee growing in some parts of the country, for instance, there is still a practice of maintaining lush growth of the crown of the coffee plant. This is not accepted and is actually discouraged by horti-culturists. Extension workers and children of coffee farm owners who have been influenced by these horti-culturists thus have a hard time convincing farm owners to crop the coffee crowns. In this case, the new practice is introduced in pilot plots to demonstrate the effectiveness of the new method and blend it into existing farming practices. Thus, the seeds of a new tradition based on twentieth century science are planted without totally disregarding aspects of the old tradition that are still valid. Another example can be cited in Ilocos Norte where there is a belief, seriously held and propagated in the earlier part of this century, that dropping cut bamboo poles used for making handicraft items would displease the *anitos* and would then result in a poor quality product made from the dropped bamboo pole. Among the Manila-educated or influenced residents in the area,

however, the injunction against dropping the bamboo used for the same handicraft products is still imposed but with the explanation that this would result in awkward cracks on the parts of the bamboo used for the handicraft product which would affect its quality.

These two examples illustrate the acceptance of an external influence on a culture and how aspects of tradition are transformed into a new tradition. Moreover, it suggests that there is a process, under ordinary conditions, which can more naturally balance what is traditional with notions of progress and a need for change.

Tradition contextualizes normative injunctions and explains the social basis of human action. The roots of disorder and instability can be traced directly to the breakdown of tradition. Attempts to ignore or destroy folkways, introduce new hegemonies or transgress rights in the name of change can only be anticipated and understood through a deeper understanding of the tensions in Philippine society as expressed in the continuities and discontinuities of its tradition.

III. Folklore at work

A. Folklore plays a key role in validating culture, for it articulates concepts and ideals (previously shared or, in many instances, newly introduced) for members of a society. As Malinowski carefully expressed in Myth and Primitive Psychology:

> Myth expresses and codifies belief; safeguards and enforces morality; it vouches for the efficiency of ritual and contains practical rules for the guidance of man. Myth is thus a vital ingredient of human civilization; it is not an idle tale, but hard-worked active force; it is not an intellectual explanation or an artistic imagery, but a pragmatic charter of primitive faith and moral wisdom...

Thus, when a convention or accepted societal symbol is challenged, a folktale or a myth or a proverb is invoked to strengthen its validity. Folklore strengthens tradition and endows it with greater moral validity. Our very concept of institutions in terms of discipline and control is rendered meaningful by a stamp of tradition.

B. Folklore educates members of society on what their society is all about. A community's lore contains substantial historical accounts, and to the extent that it carries historical dimension, it is valuable in teaching the people its historically rooted identity.

C. Folklore mirrors a society's paramount values. Hence, when burdened with problems and trials, a person may remain sane and reassured upon hearing proverbs with poignant messages or directives. It is a potent integrating force in a society. Instead of chiding or directly warning a person, proverbs, myths or riddles may be used to convey a message in order to minimize conflicts and therefore prevent possible social upheavals. It can be said that folklore has a therapeutic function in maintaining a stable society.

D. Myths and legends carry and project traditional values and ideals generally embodied in the exploits of mythical or historical heroes and such exploits become the model of social goals. Hence, a rallying point is created for members of society to move in harmony, or, at least, consistently strive toward articulated social goals.

IV. Filipino world view

In studying the folklore of marginalized indigenous cultural communities and pre-Hispanic societies in the Philippines, as well as those that have been preserved and adapted in mainstream Philippine culture, artists and social scientists can get insights on the identity and consciousness of Filipinos. Philippine folklore is obviously a source of beliefs, concepts, perspectives, explanations of social and physical phenomena as well as technologies needed to define what is distinctively Filipino. There are researches which convincingly support the claim that local Filipino folklore carries non-Western values and notions of human nature, organization, and technology. Hence, as folklore studies proceed with a multiplicity of data — gathering methodologies, critical studies from different art theories and social science perspectives can proceed with more confidence and depth, including that which claims the cultural specificity of social science theory and methodology. Moreover, it can provide a base on which Filipino scholars can wean their disciplines away from Western tradition, if need be.

In sum, a survey of the broad ethnic base of Filipino thought, as can be found in folklore, would provide essential material useful to the analysis of a Filipino world view. Since it would yield insights into our concepts of life, conflict, survival and death, a deeper understanding of the variety and distinctiveness of the basic way of life of Filipinos can be attained. Through folklore, we may be able to learn more of our forefathers' attempts to mitigate sufferings. Likewise, we can gain insights into our own images of violence or human aggression. We may be able to look at unique

or non-Western concepts of human sexuality in order to understand more fully the postures and views on vital contemporary issues. We may get hold of the fears and uncertainties of previous generations, of how they viewed and overcame the threats of man and nature and the steps they took to mitigate their anxieties. From these insights we shall be able to appreciate and understand better the existing organization of our institutional life.

We shall, therefore, find the roots of many of the problems that we face today as a developing nation as we broaden and intensify our studies of Philippine folklore. This would also give us a better perspective with which to analyze our very basic concepts of leadership, authority and submission, punishment and retribution, social order and control. In other words, we shall be directly participating in the continuing transformations of our tradition from where we may derive the identity vital in making our life meaningful and stable.

In particular, the participation of social scientists in folklore studies can historically situate man and society. The Filipino social scientist could thus help his fellow Filipino clarify the historical roots of contemporary life and reveal how our own images of man and society underwent transformations as portrayed in our folklore.

V. Folklore studies as a collaborative effort

Each study of research on Philippine folklore done in any academic discipline is a contribution to Philippine folklore studies. We have shown above a wide terrain in which the social sciences, for example, can undertake such studies. There may be disagreements among schools of thought on the manner by which the study was made. This is a disciplinal matter, however, and it does not provide a valid objection to our contention that folklore is a proper object of social science research. In fact, it supports another contention made above that folklore studies can pose theoretical and methodological problems which could lead to the growth of an academic discipline should its practitioners take up the challenge.

Moreover, multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary cooperation and exchanges would considerably enrich each discipline in many ways, e.g., psychologists and medical doctors could possibly gain insights on the treatment of psychosomatic cases; philosophers, linguists and anthropologists could share much of their observations and data on folklore for their own theoretical and methodological studies; and so on.

Folklore is an area of study from which the nature of multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary studies can be further elaborated. This is because folklore studies is a spawning ground for cross-disciplinal collaboration and a means of information exchange. Practitioners of the various academic disciplines who engage in it, can document and mull over their experiences and thus determine the limits and prospects of multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary approaches. As to whether it would require or give rise to a unique methodology remains to be seen, but, on an appeal to the principle of generosity, it can be said to be not altogether impossible.

Recommendations

We believe that the Faculty of the CSSP are not as yet as a whole aware of the prospects of folklore studies in the social sciences. Certain steps could then be taken to generate greater interest and, therefore, participation in the Folklore Studies Program. We suggest three:

1. Conduct workshops wherein proponents of folklore studies can present their views on the matter. A call for papers could also be made from which several could be selected for publication, e.g., in the *Diliman Review*.
2. Conduct workshops on methodological issues that are anticipated or have arisen in the conduct of folklore studies.
3. Encourage faculty members to write discussion papers and provide fora to discuss these papers towards developing a research proposal or a journal article or book.

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[1]This paper was submitted to the Programang Kaalamang Bayani of the UP Diliman College of Social Sciences and Philosophy (CSSP) on November 3, 1992.

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A HISTORY OF THE ILOCOS

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A history of the Ilocos begins with the land and the people. What sets apart the Ilocos as a distinct region is its geographical character, that of a land which is hemmed in the west by the Luzon Sea (although we might perhaps call it Ilocos Sea) and by the series of mountain chains comprising the Gran Cordillera Central to the east. From the southern tip of La Union to the northern edge of Ilocos Norte, this nearly 450-kilometer-long land is populated by a people who are known for their thrift and industry. It is these people, the Ilocanos, who are the bearers of culture and the makers of their own history. Thus, this brief account of the history of the region does not emphasize the history of Spaniards and Americans in the Philippines, nor does it revolve around the achievements of historical personalities. Rather, it would look more at the collective history of the Ilocanos, their narrative as a people from the perspective of Filipinos looking at their own past.

Based on archeological and ethnographic data, historians can infer that the Ilocos region has been populated for the past few thousand years, not by so-called migrants such as Malays or Indonesians from other parts of Southeast Asia, but by people who are indigenous to the land. The physical ancestors of the Ilocanos are Ilocanos and not Indonesians or Malays. There were settlements up and down the Ilocos coast and in the riverine areas, settlements which underwent the process of pre-historic cultural evolution evident elsewhere in other indigenous communities of the archipelago. By the 11th century, Chinese merchants began calling regularly on these settlements, as did other travelers, migrants and adventurers from archipelagic Southeast Asia. When Juan de Salcedo, the first Spanish explorer to set foot on the region, arrived in 1572, he found well-populated communities with hundreds of inhabitants, some of which welcomed him. Others resisted the armed presence of these strangers, and the battle fought between Salcedo's men and Ilocanos in Dumaquaque/Dumanguake (Sta. Lucia-Tagudin area) which Salcedo called an "enemy pueblo" was the first instance of anti-Spanish resistance by Ilocanos. Salcedo's exploration of the area was followed by the entry of Spanish missionaries, leading to the so-called founding of several settlements, but historical evidence suggests that these *pueblos* or *ili* (village settlement) had been in existence long before Salcedo's arrival. Salcedo laid claim to all the Ilocos lands in the name of the Spanish crown. He assigned Vigan and Laoag under the command of subordinates who placed the two towns under Spanish control. Salcedo returned to Ilocos in 1574 and made Vigan and its environs his own *encomienda*, which he renamed Villa Fernandina, after a son of the Spanish King Felipe II. Vigan was the third city established by the Spaniards, after Cebu and Manila. The first of several other *encomiendas*, which are administrative jurisdictions for purposes of taxation and subjugation, were created by royal decrees in Balaoan, Sta. Lucia, and Vigan. The integration of the local population into the administrative structure was facilitated by transforming the traditional leaders, the warriors and chiefs of the villages, into a new dominant class of *principales*. With most Ilocanos having been baptized into the Catholic faith within the next two decades, the entire region was declared a province in 1591 through a royal decree.

The Augustinian missionaries assigned to the region were zealous in their duty, and parishes were gradually established in the more populous settlements. The creation of a parish was often recorded as the establishment of a pueblo as well, as people were brought "under the bells," that is gathered in a compact settlement to facilitate the evangelical work of the Spanish friars. The acceptance of the new religion did not entirely supplant traditional beliefs and practices, but the piety of the Ilocanos and their industry were used to advantage by the friars in building churches of stone which have survived to the present. Stories told by local residents indicate that construction of these churches, financed mostly by the tax known as *caja de comunidad* and by additional levies on labor and materials, sometimes was a burden that many found hard to bear. In the town of Sta. Maria, for instance, several dozen families abandoned their hometown and settled in Nueva Ecija to escape the enormous demands for manpower and materials. In several other

towns of Ilocos Norte, there were always reports of townsmen becoming *remontados*, i.e., escaping to the mountains during times of church building.

As Catholicism took root in the lowland areas, the Ilocos became the base of Spanish missionaries bound for the Cordillera areas of Apayao, Abra, Bontoc and Benguet. These areas have been traditional trading partners of the lowland Ilocanos. Gold, iron, timber and forest products were brought down from the mountains, and salt, cotton blankets and Chinese porcelain went up the old mountain trails linking the lowland and the upland. But the generally successful resistance of the Cordillera people against Spanish colonization on the one hand and the acceptance of colonial rule by the Ilocanos on the other gradually created sharper differentiations: feelings of mistrust towards the lowlanders by the Igorots, and feelings of cultural superiority toward the upland people by the Ilocanos, a good example of "divide and rule" to Spain's benefit. The long-established trading patterns between mountain and coastal plain diminished to some degree as Ilocos gradually developed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as an economic region which produced rice, corn, cotton, sugar cane, dried fish, salt, wine and cattle in commercial quantities. These were brought to other areas of Luzon such as Cagayan, Pangasinan, and even Manila by cargo boats which docked in various ports such as Currimao, Salomague, Narvacan and San Fernando. A major export of the region was plain cotton blankets woven in Paoay and some other towns, used not as bedding, but as sails of the Spanish sea-faring ships and galleons. Farmers in the cooler hills of Abra raised wheat for the consumption of friars in Manila. In the 19th century, caravans of Ilocano farmers plied a seasonal circuit from their hometowns to Central Luzon and the Cagayan Valley, selling and buying farm produce and crafted goods along the way. The economic wealth of Ilocos by the 18th century was one of the reasons for Vigan's being designated the new diocesan capital of Nueva Segovia in 1755, replacing Lallo in Cagayan.

The economic prosperity of Ilocos could not, however, hide the sufferings of the people. The head tax called tribute, nearly a dozen other religious and civil taxes, *bandala, polo y servicios, prestacion personal* and the monopolies were impositions by the Spanish colonial state that were never lifted except in times of rebellion. The sufferings of the *cailian* (the ordinary townspeople) were aggravated by the fact that their fellow Ilocanos who belonged to the dominant class, the *principalia* or the *babaknang* (the wealthy), often had identified their interests with the Spaniards rather than with their own people. Revolts in the Ilocos were in opposition to the extractive economic policies of Spain, but many of the uprisings were also directed against the *principalia*, thus indicating a latent class conflict in Ilocano society. In 1660. the revolt of Andres Malong in Pangasinan encouraged two Ilocano leaders, Pedro Almazan of San Nicolas and Juan Magsanop of Bangui to ally with Malong in an abortive attempt to overthrow the Spanish yoke. The revolt which spread throughout Ilocos necessitated one of the largest military and naval operations ever carried out by the Spanish forces in that era. In 1762, Diego Silang began his revolt against the Spaniards and against the *principalia* of Vigan, in the hope that the British invasion of Manila had sufficiently weakened Spain. His assassination by a treacherous associate prompted his wife Gabriela to continue the cause and unite the entire Ilocos, a quest which ended with Gabriela's capture and subsequent execution by hanging in Vigan. A revolt in Laoag in 1788 was in protest against the tobacco monopoly begun in 1782, with some 1,000 people up in arms against the oppressive system. In 1797-98, a revolt of the *cailian* (villagers) in Candon, Sta. Lucia and Sta Cruz was against the abuses of taxation and tribute, but it was also against the arrogant *principales* who collected the taxes and profited from their association with the Spaniards. In 1807, the Basi Revolt, also known as the Ambaristo rebellion, began in Piddig and spread to other towns all the way to Vigan in protest of the monopoly imposed by the government on the production and sale of sugar cane wine. In 1811, a revolt among the fishing villages in northern Ilocos indicated the emergence of a new type of anti-colonial response, the messianic movement. The revolt centered on the belief in a religious leader called Lungao who his followers believed was a savior-god. There was unrest in 1813-14 in the Sarrat-Batac-San Nicolas area, again because of the tribute and the polo. In the 1850s, peasant families in Ilocos Sur and Ilocos Norte migrated by the hundreds to Cagayan and Nueva Ecija as a non-confrontational form of protest. To look at these rebellions throughout the centuries as failure to remove Spanish rule is to miss the point. The revolts were part of the Ilocanos' anti-colonial struggle, and if these had failed, a significant explanatory factor was the absolute ruthlessness of the colonial state in suppressing any act of rebellion, whether through religious interdict, mass executions or massacres.

The political reforms carried out by the Spanish colonial state in the 19th century resulted in the division of the province of Ilocos into Norte and Sur in 1818. Abra was detached from Ilocos Sur in 1845 as a separate *comandancia politico-militar*, and another province called La Union was created in 1850 out of the southern towns of Ilocos Sur and the northern towns of Pangasinan. The political changes of the 19th century were part of a comprehensive reform program started by the Bourbon kings beginning in the late 18th century. These included economic reforms such as the opening of Philippine ports to international shipping, the encouragement of cash-crop agriculture, banking and monetary reforms, and the improvement of infrastructure, as for instance the construction in the 1850s of the Camino Real connecting the coastal towns of La Union and Ilocos Sur up to Vigan. The linkage of the Philippine economy to global trade created an economic boom in some towns of Ilocos. Vigan became a major producer of indigo, and was also a major shipping center. Laoag and nearby towns were major producers of rice which for a time was exported to China and some areas of southeast Asia. The Compania General de Tabacos de Filipinas, popularly known as Tabacalera, set up branches in several towns of Ilocos, such as San Fernando, Candon, Currimao, and Laoag, to handle transport and shipping of agricultural products from the region.

The agricultural revolution of the 19th century wrought significant changes in the social structure of the Ilocos, notably the emergence of rich entrepreneural families (mostly of Chinese extraction) in the larger towns, and of the local elite families as cultural leaders. In the tradition of Pedro Bukaneg, the epic poet of the seventeenth century, the Ilocano *principalia*'s exposure to Western and European culture produced writers, poets, artists and intellectuals. By the second half of the 19th century, the Ilocos region had produced notables such as Leona Florentino, Mena Crisologo, Fr. Jose Burgos, Isabelo de los Reyes, and Juan and Antonio Luna. Less-known writers and authors emerged as well, respected and sought after by the common people. Every town could boast of its dramatists and poets who created plays like *moro-moros*, extended narratives in rhymed form, and shorter recited verses called *daniw*. The cultural flowering in the region was comparable to similar developments in other provinces of Luzon and the Visayas. Big houses of stone and *materiales fuertes* in the two districts of Vigan reserved for Chinese *mestizos* and *naturales* (the *indios*) respectively indicated the wealth of the landed elite families, a development found to some degree in all the major Ilocos towns. The prosperity was limited generally to those with considerable real property, while families without had to migrate to Pangasinan, Nueva Ecija and Cagayan in search of land to till. The outward migration intensified especially in the seond half of the 19th century when many *principalia* families expanded their land holdings at the expense of small cultivators.

The founding on 7 July 1892 of a separatist movement, the Katipunan or KKK, by Andres Bonifacio and a handful of his associates in Tondo, among them Valentin Diaz, formerly of Paoay, marked the beginning of the revolutionary nationalist movement. The outbreak of the Philippine Revolution in August 1896 found the Ilocos provinces seemingly faithful to the Spanish crown, but between 1896 and 1898, the entire region was in the grip of a de facto martial law imposed by the Spanish provincial governors. The pervasive paranoia of the Spanish clergy instigated in August 1896 the arrest of Filipino priests in the Vigan seminary, among them the elderly and respected Fr. Mariano Dacanay. They were detained for several weeks, tortured and brought to the Bilibid Prison in Manila on suspicion of engaging in subversive activities or *filibusterismo*. A mass execution by the Spanish military of more than one hundred twenty civilians from several towns of La Union took place a few months later in early 1898. There was no evidence that the priests and the civilians were revolutionaries, but there were plots being hatched at the time by Ilocanos in Manila to oust the Spaniards in the Ilocos. If there was no revolutionary activity in the Ilocos itself, it may be because the Katipunan had not yet established cells there to organize resistance groups. In March 1898, an uprising led by Isabelo Abaya in Candon against the abusive Spanish friars of the town marked the start of Ilocano participation in the revolution. Separatist movements were soon noted in La Union and Ilocos Norte, prompting the Spanish military to impose dusk-to-dawn curfew and militia patrols against revolutionary infiltrators from the Central Luzon provinces. The arrival of an expeditionary force under Manuel Tinio, one of Emilio Aguinaldo's associates, in July 1898 catalyzed the restive Ilocanos into action. Municipal centers, military barracks and church *conventos* were taken over by the Ilocanos, while the Spanish civilian population in Vigan and several other towns were forced to flee en masse to Aparri, frightened but unharmed. In the liberated towns and provinces, municipal and provincial governments under the

Govierno Revolucionario de Filipinas headed by Emilio Aguinaldo were set up through the election of local officials. Aguinaldo appointed representatives to the revolutionary congress in Malolos. In the succeeding months, taxes were collected, schools run, market places were regulated and civil order kept by the local governments and the people of Ilocos.

The survival of the Philippine revolutionary government was soon in jeopardy when the United States government assumed sovereignty over the former Spanish colonies with the signing of the Treaty of Paris in December 1898. The refusal of the United States to recognize the sovereign government and independence of the Filipinos led to the outbreak of the Filipino-American War in February 1899. By November 1899, the coastal towns of the Ilocos were quickly over-run and occupied by the vastly superior U.S. forces. (Gen. Gregorio del Pilar and nearly all his troops were killed in the mountain pass in Ilocos Sur defending Aguinaldo's retreat from pursuing American soldiers.) The municipal and provincial officials were forced to cooperate with the American military commanders on pain of death. Although the town centers were under American military control, the Ilocanos kept up a sustained guerilla resistance led by Ilocano leaders such as the Villamors and the Reyeses in Abra and Ilocos Sur, and Fr. Gregorio Aglipay and his officers from Batac and Laoag in Ilocos Norte. The combined use of torture, random arson, reconcentration of the civilian population, relentless military operations and anti-nationalist propaganda by the the American forces resulted in victories against the Ilocano revolutionaries. Unfortunately, there were many collaborators who helped the American military, but many more, sometimes entire families, gave all the help they could, or served as soldiers and guerilla fighters for the embattled Filipino republic. The Katipunan of Bonifacio was revived in 1900 by Ilocano guerilla, renamed "*timpuyog,*" and became an effective and dreaded enemy of the occupying American troops and local collaborators. Despite the intense resistance put up by the Ilocano people, the superior resources of the United States gradually turned the tide of war in its favor. By the dry season of 1901, with their men decimated by diseases and casualties, and with hardly any arms and ammunition left to fight with, most of the revolutionary leaders had no choice but to surrender reluctantly to the American military commanders in Laoag and Vigan. Scattered resistance in the remote areas of Ilocos Norte and Abra were all that remained when the American civil government announced the end of the Philippine-American War in July 1902.

The American colonial era brought a period of better economic prospects and a measure of social stability. The impact of the colonial government's domestic policies was evident in four major developments between 1902 and 1941. The first was a revival of the cultivation of cash crops such as sugar and copra for the American market and rice for domestic consumption. Another development was the United States' becoming a destination for migrant laborers as thousands of young men went to work in the orchards, plantations, and canneries of America. The male population in many towns of Ilocos Norte declined. Thus began the stories of the "oldtimers" from America, who returned to the Ilocos in their old age in search of a young wife and a comfortable retirement in the old hometown. A third development was the public school system: Gabaldon-type elementary school buildings were built in every major town and a high school was established for every province. For most Ilocanos, education was the means to a better life for their children, and along with other Filipinos, the Ilocanos value highly a good education. A fourth development was the acceleration of outward migration to Central Luzon and Mindanao "agricultural colonies" under the auspices of the colonial government. Ilocano cultural and linguistic enclaves sprouted in several areas such as Mindoro and southern Mindanao. That American colonial rule meant increased economic opportunities was enough to earn the United States the loyalty of the Ilocanos, and until today, many older people still have fond memories of the American "peace time."

A seemingly idyllic era ended with the bombing of Pearl Harbor and the Philippines by Japan in December 1941. The Ilocos was one of the major landing points of the Japanese Imperial Forces in early 1942. In the brutal pacification of the region, thousands were killed in the initial assault and in the succeeding months of military operations. Many cemeteries in Ilocos today have tombs of people who died all on the same day, proof of massacres carried out against the civilian population. The Ilocanos endured the Japanese Occupation for three years while Filipino and American-led guerilla groups, which have since entered into the realm of legendary exploits, harassed Japanese forces from their mountain hideouts until the American forces under Gen. Douglas MacArthur could retake the Philippines. The Japanese military withdrawal in Luzon north of Manila during the time of "Liberation" culminated in the great battle fought by

Filipino and American forces at Bessang Pass,an event which gave rise to stories of buried treasure all over the Ilocos, and of guerilla soldiers with *anting-anting* that saved them from certain death.

The grant of political independence by the United States to the Philippines in 1946 marked the beginning of the contemporary period. Two presidents of the Philippine Republic, Elpidio Quirino and Ferdinand Marcos, were born in the Ilocos. The current president, Fidel Valdez Ramos, traces his maternal ancestry to Batac.

This brief overview of Ilocos history reflects the complex texture of events in this region. What I have tried to show here are the Ilocanos as the main actors in the unfolding drama of history, instead of the near-invisible supporting cast they are made to play in traditional historical accounts. A people's history has been deliberately emphasized here instead of a history of personalities (i.e., heroes and great men) because the people collectively make history as much as leaders do. Seeing "history from below" through the eyes of the colonized, the oppressed, or the unrepresented, would redress the imbalance resulting from the more traditional narratives of heroes and great men which too often neglect the anonymous majority. It enables us to see as well the epic quality of the sweep of events through time and space. A history centered on the people enables us Filipinos to identify with our past because we can see ourselves as the descendants and the inheritors of this historical and cultural heritage. The Ilocanos have a long history and a rich cultural legacy they can be proud of, one that has contributed much to the formation of our nation, and has enriched the Filipinos' national culture as well.

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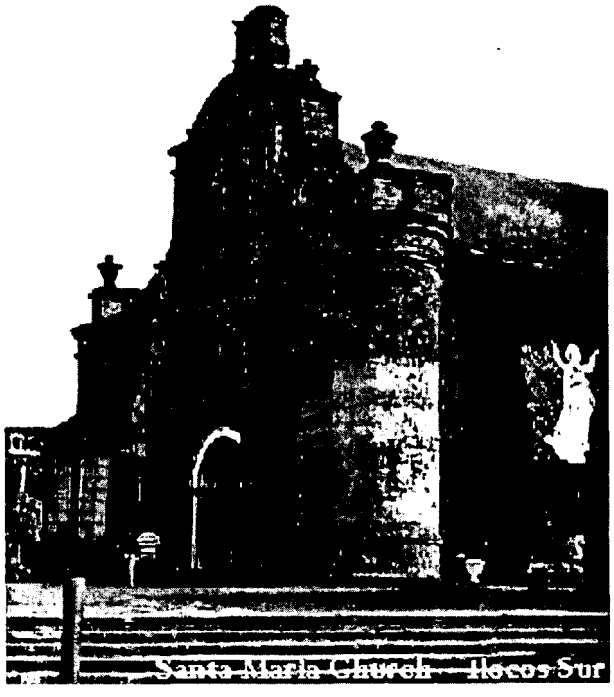
NOTES ON THE STUDY OF OLD CHURCHES IN THE ILOCOS[1]

REGALADO TROTA JOSE*

Old churches are the pride of many Ilocano towns and are seen as potential tourist attractions. Most of the time, however, close to nothing is known about these structures except for oral traditions about "forced labor," "underground tunnels," and "centuries-old antiquity." It is high time we go beyond these stories and strive to increase our knowledge and appreciation of our old churches through a concerted research effort. Through this venue I would like to share some of my experience in gathering data in order to learn more about our old churches.

I. Sources of data

1. **The church complex itself**. One gains insights if the church is viewed as an integral part of a religious complex including the church plaza, convento and inner courtyard, belltower, cemetery, and the chain of visitas. How do all of these figure in past and present community life? All of them should be documented through photographs (exterior and interior, views from different angles, general and detailed shots) and measured drawings. Pertinent church art including altarpiece, pulpits, doors, santos, bells, baptismal fonts, ecclesiastical vessels, vestments, sacristy cabinets, etc., should be likewise documented and inventoried. Look for and copy all inscriptions on church bells and other objects.
2. **Secondary sources**. Research in libraries and look at standard reference books, especially those in the Filipiniana section. Prepare a bibliography; preferably, jot down specific pages or chapters as well as other comments on the titles. It also helps to note down where you found particular titles. Look through the Index to Philippine Periodicals for references to articles in journals and magazines. Search through other bibliographies for more leads.



3. **Oral traditions**. Ask around about ancestral stories regarding the church that may shed light on "forced labor," "torture," "secret and escape tunnels," "buried treasure;" source, procurement, transport and preparation of materials (egg sablot, molasses, etc.); building techniques and processes; attitudes, feelings, and other reminiscences. Record all of these but remember that it is important to contextualize them by noting down the informant's name, age, occupation, religion, etc; do not forget to ask how the person acquired the information or story being recounted to you.
4. **Primary documentary sources**. Search for and collect all old church records and books; most are likely to be kept at the parish office.

Be extremely careful in handling them as most of them are brittle. Classify the books according to the usual categories: Baptisms, Confirmations, Marriages, Deaths; Cargo y Data (Income and Expenses), Inventories, Actas (Circulars from the mother house of the religious order to which the parish priest belongs), Ordenes (Circulars from the local bishop), Padrones de Almas (Census); occasionally, one may find a Libro de Cofradia (Record book of a confraternity) or a Cantoral (chant or hymn-book). Within their categories, arrange the books chronologically, then make a complete listing, including dates of first and last entries. Note: Do not work with fragile documents. Have them conserved professionally first.

One may avail himself of other primary documents and established archives, such as the Archives of the Archdiocese of Manila located in Intramuros, Manila.

5. **Early photographs and paintings**. Ask around for old photos and paintings of baptisms, weddings, funerals, and fiestas. Forgotten aspects of the church such as the old flooring, wall painting, or long-vanished church silver may be espied in some of these photographs.

6. **Laboratory analysis**. To my knowledge this type of research has not yet been applied to the study of old church art. This work will resolve many questions on types of wood and stone used, as well as chemical compositions of bricks, paint and mortar.

7. **Archeology**. Archaeology is not to be practiced except through express coordination with the National Museum. Digging for treasure is never to be engaged in; this only results in damaged walls and foundations and a host of mostly unforeseen problems. Scientific, professional archeology has not been done except in rare cases such as in Santa Ana, Manila, and the Santo Niño Basilica in Cebu City.

II. Putting the pieces together

This will depend on how much material has been gathered. One must realize that, in place of "hard" data, inferences may still be drawn from circumstantial evidence. Always note down sources of data. A list of abbrevations may be prepared to correlate with the bibliography, to simplify the indication of sources. From all sources of information, the data can now be arranged according to the following aspects:

A. Historico-cultural aspects

1. Prepare a list of parish priests and coadjutors (assistants to the parish priest). Be specific about turnovers from one administrator to the next. This list can be formulated through the parish books, names and church bells and from secondary sources. Consider the careers of these priests - age upon arrival at the parish, birthplace, past and present achievements, way of life (saintly or otherwise, builder or evangelizer?). This list of parish priests gives one a framework with which to formulate a parish history and, as a consequence, a history of the building and decoration of the church.

2. Other aspects

Foundation dates of the town and parish (not always simultaneous)

Mother parish
Townsites before the present one; any remains in these sites
Ethnic composition and occupations of the parishioners
Periods of church construction
Type, quantity, sources, preparation and transport of materials
Names, numbers of artists, laborers
Donations, donors, sources of funding
Other expenses
Local traditions - Holy Week, Corpus Christi, Christmas, fiestas
Cults of saints - prayers, music, dances, images, miracles, vows
Role of confraternities
Calamities - earthquakes, storms, fires, floods and changes in the river course, enemy raids, revolts, famine, epidemics
Geographical extent of the parish; range of missionary activities
Number and names of barrios and visitas; growth/reduction/splitting up of the parish
Population statistics (some expert help may be needed here)
The parish seen in the context of the community, the province, the diocese, etc.

B. Artistic aspects

Study architectural and other artistic angles: facade, over-all construction and composition, silhouette, other details.

Compare with examples from within and outside the region, or with those constructed by the same or another religious order.

Establish periods of construction or layers of styles; find out which aspects are earlier, which are later.

Be careful in attributing style; consider first the artistic elements and how they relate to each other.

III. Final notes

This is not an exhaustive listing of research techniques or sources of data, much less of theories. The researcher may devise or discover his own in the course of his work. What is important is that sources are noted down and acknowledged (down to the page number, edition, and translation), and tested for authenticity.

Considering that much is still unknown about colonial Philippine church art, a major survey and study of forms is a prerequisite for any theorizing.

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[1]Compiled and revised from a discussion on the paper "Ilocos Colonial Churches" read by Architect Bienvenido B. Magno at the Mariano Marcos State University, Batac, Ilocos Norte, on January 26, 1995.

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COLONIAL CHURCHES OF ILOCOS SUR

RICARDO L. FAVIS*

Historical background

As early as the 11th century, Chinese traders were already visiting trading posts along the Ilocos coast. Lying at the mouth of Abra River, Vigan (which was an island separate from the mainland up to the 17th century) was one of the more important trading posts. Mountain tribes in the Cordilleras, using the Abra riverine system, brought down to Vigan mountain products such as beeswax, animal skins, and gold to be bartered with Chinese ceramics, beads, processed metal, and woven fabrics. Subsequently, Japanese, Korean, Malay, and other Asian traders followed suit.

On June 13, 1572, Don Juan de Salcedo, grandson of Conquistador Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, arrived in Vigan, then a thriving community of natives and Chinese mestizos. As a reward for his services to the Spanish crown, Salcedo was named the 'encomendero' of the entire province of Ylocos (Ilocos) which then covered the current provinces of Ilocos Norte, Ilocos Sur, Abra, La Union, part of Mountain Province, and the old subprovince of Bontoc. Due to its strategic location and existing commercial ties with Asian traders, Vigan was chosen by Salcedo to be the capital and center of Spanish rule, evangelization and pacification movements in the Ylocos.

In 1595, a papal bull created the suffragan bishopric or diocese of Nueva Segovia in the town of Lallo, Cagayan. The inconvenience of long travel made it necessary for most of the bishops assigned to Nueva Segovia to stay and administer the diocese in Vigan. The seat of the diocese was finally transferred to Vigan in 1758. At that time, the diocese covered the entire northern Luzon including the northern towns of Nueva Ecija and Tarlac. Vigan was automatically elevated to the status of a city and was renamed 'Ciudad Fernandina'. In effect, Vigan was the most important city north of Manila for almost two centuries.

Evaluation of Philippine religious architecture

The most conspicuous reminder of the Spanish heritage in our country today is the colonial church at the center of the 'poblacion' (town). The first church structures were made of indigenous materials such as wood, bamboo, nipa or cogon. In the 1580's, a Jesuit-priest (Fr. Antonio Sedeno) built the first stone building and first tower which formed a part of the walled city of Intramuros. A rash of building high-rise stone structures ensued. The colonizers trained the natives and Chinese craftsmen in the art of quarrying stone and coral, preparing mortar, and molding bricks. However, a strong earthquake necessitated the revision of building regulations. Except for churches, structures had to be limited to two stories high and stonewalls considerably thickened. In most cases, stone was used on the first floor and wood on the second floor. In another local innovation, 'haligis' or 'harigues' (wooden posts) replaced the stone walls as load-bearing components. Likewise, ethnic and pre-Hispanic frameworks utilizing interlocking beams and houseposts held the building structure together. In church structures, huge buttresses anchored the building and transmitted the weight of the roof safely to the ground.

The character of church architecture was influenced by the religious groups which commissioned the structures and the actual builders who were local amateurs and artisans. Based on church designs in Europe and Latin America, churches had to be built for permanence, as well as in awe-inspiring proportions to be effective in drawing more natives to the faith. Since most of the natives were illiterate, the church had to use arts and rituals in building churches and designing religious ornaments as effective tools in communicating with the natives. Western influence is evident in the extensive use of Baroque, Romanesque, Byzantine, Tuscan, Egyptian, and Neo-Classic artistic

forms. Due to the scarcity of professional architects and building contractors, the friars were forced to design local churches based on what they saw in Europe and in Latin America. The actual building of churches was handled by local 'maestros de obras' (master builders) who had practical experience and training. Natives were conscripted to provide labor in building churches and other civil structures.

Aside from the church, other religious structures were the 'monasterio' (monastery) where the friars resided, the 'convento' (convent) which housed the parish priest, the 'campanario' (belltower), the 'seminario' (seminary) erected in the seats of dioceses, the 'cementerio' (cemetery), and the smaller 'capillas' (chapels) in 'visitas' (small villages) outside the poblacion. In the seats of the dioceses headed by bishops, the church was called 'catedral' (cathedral) and adjacent to it was the 'palacio del obispo' (bishop's residence). The only surviving 18th century bishops's residence is located in Vigan. A similarly old seminary in Naga City still remains.

The colonial churches in the Philippines are uniquely Filipino and are therefore part of the Filipino cultural identity. They may look similar to the religious structures in Europe and Latin America, but on closer look they are not. It is true that Western architectural concepts and designs were introduced by the colonizers, but these ideas were adapted to native needs, thereby 'indigenizing' them. The ability of our ancestors in adapting and indigenizing foreign influences has proven to be the strong point of the Filipino cultural identity.

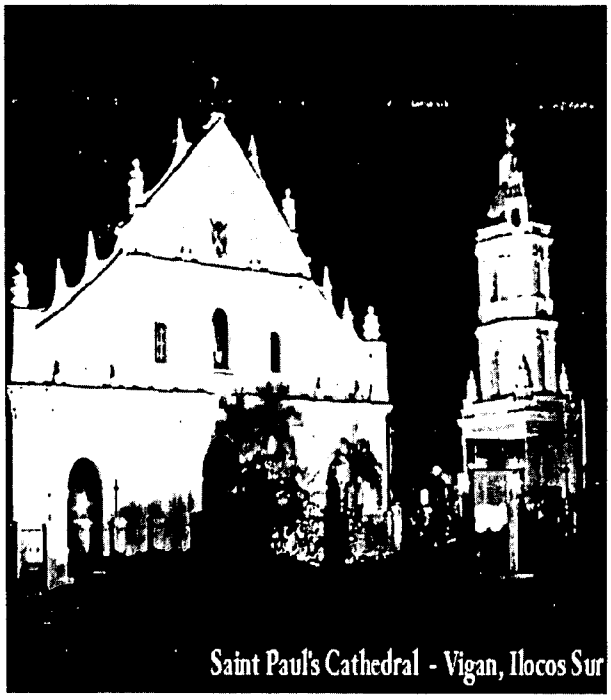
Colonial churches of Ilocos Sur

The early churches in the Ilocos had their belltowers attached to their facades. Since the region lies on an earthquake belt, a high-rise belltower was susceptible to damage, thus endangering parts of the church to which it was attached. Subsequent modifications on church design had detached belltowers, giving rise to an architectural style popularly known today as 'Ilocano Baroque' or 'Earthquake Baroque.' Among the surviving colonial churches in Ilocos Sur, seven stand out not only because of their architectural design but also because of the folklore ascribed to some of them.

St. Paul's Metropolitan Cathedral (Vigan, Ilocos Sur)

Historical accounts cite the existence of an original stone and brick church near the first Spanish settlement named 'Villa Fernandina,' but the exact location is not known. The existing cathedral, completed in 1800, was constructed under the supervision of two Manila-based Chinese 'maestros de obras,' Tomas and Alejandro Arenas. It was the first structure in the Ilocos to use 'tejas' (clay rooftiles). The cathedral originally built with 'sillar' (coral stones) was renovated in 1825 to increase the church height with bricks. Though the exact formula is unknown, the mortar used was a mixture of lime, sugarcane juice, rice straw, and leaf extract of the 'sablot' tree. The architecture is a classic example of the 'Ilocano Baroque.'

The facade incorporates Ionic columns superimposed on Tuscan over-all design, with a touch of Chinese influence in the stylized clouds and a pair of Chinese Fu dogs. The cathedral, measuring 88 meters long and 27 meters wide, has 3 aisles, 8 altars (including the main) and a baptistry featuring a Chinese-inspired wooden 'retablo' (altar screen). Elaborate sculptural embellishments and extensive use of silver ornamentations characterize the altars. Other features


Saint Paul's Cathedral - Vigan, Ilocos Sur

include the bronze communion handrail forged in China, two intricately designed pulpits and a choirloft with a grand pipe organ. A three-tiered, 25-meter high belltower is located 10 meters south of the cathedral facade. Topped with a weathervane in the form of a cock, the belltower has 10 bells, the oldest dated 1776.

Simbaan a Bassit (Cemetery Chapel of Vigan, Ilocos Sur)

The old cemetery was formerly locatd on the northern side of the cathedral. Due to sanitation problems, the cemetery was relocated south of the poblacion. The cemetery chapel, completed in 1852, is the only Ilocos church that features bells hung from 'espadañas' or holes in the facade, a style which was then popular in Latin America.

According to oral tradition, a 'peste' (pestilence) broke out before the turn of the century. The alarming death toll prompted local folks to petition the parish priest of Sinait, Ilocos Sur, to bring the miraculous image of Santo Cristo Milagroso (enthroned in the Sinait Church) to Vigan. Upon its arrival in Vigan, the people started a nine-day novena. The epidemic completely ceased upon the completion of the novena. Recent researches confirmed the high incidence of deaths registered in the church records during the period November 12 - December 22, 1882. Only 1 death was listed on December 31, the day the novena ended. The first thanksgiving day in honor of the Santo Cristo Milagroso was held on May 3, 1883, and celebrated yearly thereafter.

Church of Our Lady of Charity (Bantay, Ilocos Sur)

The Augustinians founded the ministry of Bantay on April 20, 1591, with Magsingal, Lapog (San Juan), and Santa as its 'visitas.' One of the early Augustinian friars assigned in Bantay was Fr. Francisco Lopez who translated the Bellarmine Catechism into the Ilocano dialect with the help of Pedro Bukaneg, the father of Ilocano literature and reputedly the author of the immortal legend, 'Biag ni Lam-ang.' The 1621 Ilocano catechism written in both the Malayan script and the Spanish alphabet was the first Ilocano book. Common prayers included therein are still being recited.

An original undated church had a floor plan similar to a cross incorporating a transept or hall cutting across the nave just before the main altar. The church was rebuilt in 1870-85 and in 1892-98 to assume its present form. At the turn of the century, the roof was made of split bamboo and nipa, which were later changed to galvanized iron sheets. The church incurred substantial damage during the last world war, but was renovated in the 1950's. Legarda describes the church as 'Neo-Gothic in style with some pseudo-Romanesque elements.' The ancient belltower with a Gothic doorway sits atop a nearby hill.

Church of St. Vincent Ferrer (San Vicente, Ilocos Sur)

Canonically established in 1795, the parish of San Vicente was assigned to the Augustinian friars. The ruins at the back of the church suggest major renovations on the original plan of the existing structure. A pair of three-tiered belltowers is attached to the facade but separate from the nave of the church. The church is unique in the construction of columns without pediments, including the columns along its side portal. The ornate wooden pulpit and altar crafted by local artisans are still preserved. In 1949-1951, the convento of San Vicente was used as a seminary for forty refugees from Mainland China.

Church of St. William the Hermit (Magsingal, Ilocos Sur)

The Augustinians established Magsingal as an independent parish in 1676 and continued to administer the place until 1892 when the secular clergy took over. The remains of two massive step buttresses and ruins of an earlier church can still be found near the existing church.

The facade of the church is supported by 3 pairs of engaged columns and features the image of St. William and the insignia of the Augustinian Order (transfixed heart and tasseled hat) in the center. The architecture is attributed to a certin Pablo Tamayo. The outstanding feature of the church is the magnificent wooden altar held together solely by wooden pegs. Crafted by a local artisan, the three-tiered altar has eight niches, each occupied by a statue of a saint. The wooden pulpit and old choirloft are equally noteworthy in their artistry. The ancient belltower is located some distance away along the highway.

Church of Santa Lucia (Santa Lucia, Ilocos Sur)

Santa Lucia was canonically established on January 5, 1586, by the Augustinians. The church has a magnificent tin-plated Renaissance dome crowning the transept below — a unique feature among the colonial churches in Ilocos. The facade is a conglomeration of different architectural styles: Romanesque recessed portals, columns with Egyptian capitals, and stylized Chinese clouds. A four-story belltower stands separate from the church. The holy image of Santa Lucia has been credited with many miracles, attested to by the presence of numerous silver votives (sculpted metals shaped like various parts of the human anatomy, depending on which ailment was cured through the intercession of Santa Lucia) pinned on her white dress.

Church of Nuestra Señora dela Asuncion (Santa Maria, Ilocos Sur)

The Church of the Assumption in Santa Maria, Ilocos Sur, has been recently inscribed in the UNESCO World Heritage List of cultural monuments, along with three other Philippine Baroque churches, namely the Church of San Agustin (Intramuros, Manila), the Church of Santo Tomas de Villanueva (Miagao, Iloilo), and the Church of San Agustin (Paoay, Ilocos Norte). The selection implies that the four churches represent the highest achievement of Filipino craftmanship in the history of local architecture.

The citadel church on top of a solitary hill presents its side and detached belltower to the town of Santa Maria below. A magnificent flight of 'piedra china' (granite) steps leads to a small church plaza squeezed between the facade of the church and a two-story convento. On the other side of the church, another flight of 'piedra china' steps leads down to the ruins of a circular cemetery (with its own chapel) amidst a patch of forest growth surrounded by rice paddies. The simple yet dignified facade supported by two massive circular columns still bears the Augustinian emblem of transfixed heart and tasseled hat. The detached belltower stands at about the midpoint of the longitudinal axis of the nave.

Local legend relates the events that led to the construction of the citadel church on top of the hill. The holy image of our Lady of the Assumption was originally enthroned at an older church located at the foot of the hill. The statue occasionally vanished, only to reappear on top of a guava tree at the crest of the hill where the present church stands. For this reason, the new church and belltower were built on this site in 1810. In 1863, the church was remodeled and the slopes of the hill reinforced with stone boulders.

Conservation of Church Patrimony

In the past, colonial churches were irreversibly damaged by the succession of church authorities who carried out uncontrolled modifications, improper restorations, and modernization. New structures which clashed with the design of the old churches have destroyed the architectural integrity of the church compounds. Despite the presence of legislation that protects the cultural patrimony of the Filipinos, the civil government cannot protect the colonial churches because of the constitutional provision on the separation of church and state.

In Ilocos Sur, the colonial churches have been architecturally desecrated at one time or another. The frescoed ceiling of the Vigan cathedral was painted over. The external plaster that protected the walls (from weathering) of the churches in Vigan, Bantay, Santa Maria and other places were completely removed by church authorities and conniving architects who wanted to enhance the antiquity of their churches by exposing the brickwork. The beauty of the church in Bantay has been destroyed by the fairytale design of the renovated facade and the construction of a gate designed like the logo of MacDonald's. A modern wing-like concrete structure completely destroyed the harmony of the main altar of the Church of Santo Cristo Milagroso in Sinait. The original communion handrails of several colonial churches have been recently removed. The antique tiles on the floor of the church in San Vicente were reputedly sold by a local priest to a greedy antique dealer during his incumbency. Each single colonial church has incurred so much defacement in recent years. Many movable church treasures and ornamentations have likewise been lost to the booming antique trade.

Recent events, however, have restored our collective hope for the protection of the church patrimony. On June 28, 1988, Pope John Paul II issued an apostolic constitution which includes provisions for the protection of the artistic and historic heritage of the Catholic church. From 1988 to 1992, consultations among the various dioceses in the Philippines were

conducted to draw up plans for the conservation of church treasures. Jaime Cardinal Sin set up the Archdiocesan Commission for the Conservation of the Patrimony and History of the Church in Manila on April 29, 1992. Archbishop Orlando Quevedo issued a letter dated January 18, 1994, to the clergy gathering museum artifacts from the entire archdiocese of Nueva Segovia. Finally, the Archdiocesan Commission for the Conservation of the Patrimony of the Art and History of the Church in Nueva Segovia (ACPNS), composed of members of the clergy with a list of the laity as consultants (experts in their own fields and interests), was established by the Archbishop on March 11, 1994, to preside over the protection of church treasures in its archives and libraries, museums, church monuments and religious structures. Among other functions, the commission will oversee the proper conservation and restoration of churches and other church structures. The Museo Nueva Segovia, located at the Archbishop's Palace in Vigan, was inaugurated last June 5, 1994. It houses the exhibit of movable church artifacts and the archdiocesan archives.

Our country is greatly honored by the recent inscription of the four Philippine Baroque Churches in the UNESCO World Heritage List. The honor of the inscription comes with the responsibility of conserving these cultural monuments by the Filipino nation and the Philippine Catholic Church. Conservation can solve the physical deterioration of these monuments. But what is more important than conservation is making the Filipino aware and proud of his collective patrimony. Architect Augusto Villalon who was instrumental in having the four aforementioned churches inscribed in the UNESCO World Heritage List wrote: "Our national patrimony will survive as long as we teach ourselves and our children to nurture it with pride."

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*Engineer Ricardo Favis is connected with the University of Northern Philippines and is active in the Save Vigan Ancestral Homes Association.

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DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE OF VIGAN[1]

FATIMA NICETAS A. RABANG-ALONZO

Evolution and architectural influencess

The design of the Vigan houses was influenced by Mexican and Spanish architecture. However, these houses show traces of having evolved from the Pre-Spanish Ilocano native hut *kalapaw* raised on stilts. The *kalapaw* was roofed with palm-leaf shingles called nipa and walled with the same material or split bamboo.

Around the 16th century of the Spanish period, this native dwelling developed into mortised hardwood boards and timber, and roofed with *nipa.*

By the turn of the 17th century, a new architecture had become evident in Vigan with the fusion of the design of the native hut and the Spanish-styled wood and stone house with tropical modifications that adapted to the hot, humid climate of the Ilocos.

In the 1890s, the Vigan house was well-developed. High ceilinged rooms, large sliding windows, intricately carved wooden *calados* and *ventanillas* provided ample movement of air about the interiors, while the thick brick walls of the ground floor provided adequate protection against the sun, rain, and earthquake.

Significantly, the Vigan houses had their own practical innovations and originality of expression, specially in the use of local materials and the structural adaptations made to respond to the tropical environment which were interpreted by the local builders, resulting in an ingenious local version of the influencing styles. Thus, while these houses are reminiscent of some structures in Mexico, likewise comparable to those found in Spain, it is revealed that they do not exactly look alike.

Architecture

Vigan houses, and generally those of Ilocos, are of two types:

the all-brick 2-storey type and

the 2-storey brick and wooden house and its variation, a second floor wooden *volada.*

The all-brick type

The all-brick type had 60-centimeter brick walls that rose from the ground floor to the ceiling. The ground floor had small windows framed with slightly raised brick with a rock keystone molded from the plaster overlay. These windows were secured by thick diamond-shaped wooden slats, and later by iron grilles. Capiz encrusted window panels on the upper storey slid on grooved wooden sills attached to the exterior wall. Early houses of this kind had no ventanillas underneath the windows. A later model opened up with ventanillas below the window sill protected by turned wooden balusters, and later by intricate iron lace grilles during the last quarter of the 19th century.

Brick houses with wooden second floor with wooden volada

The brick wooden house had 60-centimeter brick walls on the first floor and 30-centimeter wide wooden boards as wall on the second floor. Basically, the architectural features (e.g., window grilles, roof design, etc.) of this type are similar to those of the all-brick type.

A variation of this type, more elaborate than the all-brick ones and identified as being of the Geometric style, is the brick house with the wooden *volada*. This type has wide windows with large, sliding capiz panels. The volada is actually a passageway encircling the sala for the servants to pass around the area discreetly, but it doubly functioned as long balconies hanging over the street.

Plan

Both houses feature a ground floor that opens with an arched doorway wide enough to admit horse-drawn carriages (*caruajes*) directly from the street into an area (*zaguan*) flagged with imported Chinese granite stones. The ground floor is a multi-function area. It is used as a stall for the carriage, a storage for farm produce such as rice, corn and tobacco, a stable for the horses, a house for ornate *carozas* used to carry life-size *santos*, and a warehouse for various merchandise in sacks and bolts. Trading is usually done right in this area.

The staircase is J-shaped with a row of turned molave balusters leading to the second floor. The second floor, roomier than the ground floor, is big enough to accommodate the guests for banquets and balls during the Spanish period.

Tall double doors, rising to more than 3 meters, open to symmetrically-planned rooms. Carved door panels and frames were assembled with mortise and tenon joints so that they could easily be dismantled.

The azotea or tiled patio was either at one end of the *antesala* or at the rear of the house adjacent to the kitchen. One side of the azotea was the galeria that overlooked the open patio for family use. The unceilinged kitchen was almost always a separate structure, constructed entirely of brick with a high gabled tile roof. Its pediment had diamond-shaped vents made out of roof tiles to release smoke.

Early models of both types of houses had roofs of red tiles fired in local kilns, sometimes with separate overhangs (*media aguas*) that surrounded the entire walls above the windows. Later, galvanized iron roofing replaced the roof tiles.

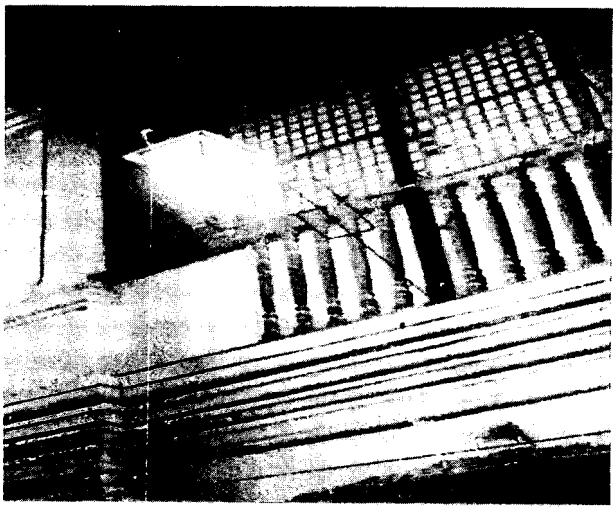
These massive individual structures formed a row of houses that rose directly from the streets in the historic area of Vigan known as Mestizo district. They were built in the 1800s mostly for the Chinese mestizos of Vigan by native workers and carpenters utilizing local materials.

Source of materials

Hard wood such as narra and molave from the forests of Abra were floated down the Abra River towards the China Sea passing through the town of Santa. The logs were steered around Vigan through the mouth of the Mestizo River in Caoayan town. *Ladrillo* or local red brick measuring 2" x 4" x 8" were made in Sto. Domingo town, while *apog* (lime) from the town of San Ildefonso was mixed with a local concoction of the juice of leaves and cane sugar syrup (molasses) to produce the sticky substance that glued the bricks in place.

The use of structural steel in the mid-1800s did not prosper in spite of attempts to introduce the material. Since it had to be imported from Europe, its cost was prohibitive.

All in all, the honest use of the available materials such as brick and wood in the construction of the houses and the practical modifications to suit the Philippine climate and earth quake in their planning, combined with certain touches of other influences such as the neo-classical, Gothic, Victorian and Baroque, characterized the architecture of Vigan houses.



[1]Excerpts from the author's Master of Architecture thesis "Conservation of the Historic Core of Vigan," UP College of Architecture, May 1990. The author is with the University of Northern Philippines and is active in the preservation of the colonial heritage of Vigan.

ILOKO TRADITIONAL MUSIC AND THE LIFE CYCLE

MARY LOU F. AURELIO*

They say that writers feel more fulfilled and happy if their works are read and appreciated by other people. In like manner, I believe that researchers feel the same way. And so, I strongly believe that the joy of sharing the fruits of research must be the rationale behind intellectual gatherings like this.

Ladies and gentlemen, mine is the task of disseminating the results of my research endeavors, specifically in the field of folk music and traditional music. My paper is titled "Iloko Traditional Music and the Life Cycle."

Traditional music is folk music or what may be called music of the people. It belongs equally to people of all levels of musical ability. Transmitted orally, one does not need any special vocal training to sing a folk song, but to sing art music such as a melody from an opera requires professional training.

Since traditional music is transmitted orally from one generation to another, there is no single "correct" version of the folk tune. Hence, there are hundreds of variations of our "Pamulinawen" but there is only one definitive version of the printed form of Beethoven's "Fifth Symphony."

As an active participant in traditional music, the performer and listener are one and the same. Everyone is encouraged to participate and to sing or dance the music. Traditional music is best performed in a natural setting where it is just a part of everyday life. It is seldom played in a concert hall; hence, it reaches a relatively small audience over a long period of time. Commonly associated with earthiness, the traditional musicians see themselves as extensions of community expression rather than as entertainers passing on the music in a timeless continuity.

As defined by Willi Apel, folk music

> ".... develops anonymously usually among the lower classes, together with artless poems dealing with phases of life: work, love, the nursery, drinking, patriotic endeavor, the dance, mourning, and story telling. The rhythm is affected by the words, and the melody is conceived without harmony. It is not written down and hence is known as traditonal."

Our noted Filipino/Ilocano composer Pajaro has defined the folk music of a country as the "unconscious expression in melody of the racial feelings, character and interests of the people." It may be a lullaby, a love song, or a wedding dance. He further stated that a folk song is spontaneous music derived from the culture of its own people and contributing to it. A folk song draws its inspiration and materials from its own environment, which makes it typically an expression of life itself.

This paper is presented from as broad a perspective as possible not only to revive, transmit, or document a dying tradition of a more Edenic time but also to identify and define our Iloko culture, specifically our folk music or traditional music.

Aware of the ever-expanding concept of music and the difficulty of classifying musics according to one common set of criteria, we note the uniqueness of each genre structurally, aesthetically and culturally. As pointed out by Santos (1992), this uniqueness is brought about by a combination of varied factors such as history, poetry, classical and figurative language, wit, and humor. Other influences include the performer's social status, age, gender, physical movement, the musical form, improvisation, vocal quality and other elements.

This paper is in line with a general provision of the Philippine Constitution which states:

> Article XIV, Sec. 14. The State shall foster the preservation, enrichment, and dynamic evolution of a Filipino national culture based on the principle of unity in diversity in a climate of free artistic and intellectual expression.

> Sec. 15. Arts and letters shall enjoy the patronage of the State, shall conserve, promote, and popularize the nation's historical and cultural heritage and resources, as well as artistic creations.

Iloko music in social and religious rites

Music is a vehicle for validating social and religious rituals. Many songs are sung in connection with religious observances during Holy Week, Easter, Christmas, and the observances of various Saints' feasts. Four widely celebrated social and religious occasions are the fiesta, Flores de Mayo, Christmas, and Easter.

The fiesta is celebrated in every Christian town or barangay to honor the feast day of the patron saint. Where Filipino traditional festivities are concerned, it is the brass band which provides music for fiestas.

Flores de Mayo is celebrated in May to honor the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Helena, and the Cross. During the processions, religious songs for the Blessed Vigin Mary are sung.

Christmas, the happiest season of the year, is celebrated to honor the birth of Jesus Christ. To celebrate this blessed event, Christmas songs are sung, highlighted by a holy Mass.

The young people are experiencing greater awareness of these musics; this awareness will hopefully strengthen values education in the curriculum and make them feel proud to be Filipinos. And so, may this folklore conference help in the search for a Filipino identity so as to achieve national solidarity and a feeling of oneness.

Iloko music in the life cycle

Music has accompanied virtually every kind of human activity at some time or place (Miller and Weitz, 1979:593). There is a song for every occasion in the human life cycle. There are lullabies, puberty ceremony songs, courting and marriage songs, family and funeral songs. There are also work songs, songs for war and peace, and a variety of religious songs.

Even among nonliterate peoples, there are many and varied occasions for music in connection with almost every activity (Beals, Hoijer, and Beals, 1977:563). Robert Louie's account of the Crow Indians draws attention to composed lullabies, composed love songs, sacred songs, and songs in connection with ceremonies and rituals.

As devised by Herskovits (1948:238-40), social institutions constitute one of a useful set of categories for the handling of cultural materials. A song marks every point of social organization as in the life cycle, hence resulting in the wealth of birth songs, lullabies, love and marriage songs and funeral songs.

And so, too, in our country, music is woven into the Filipino way of life. Our own folk music is an audible sign of the soundless flow of time about man. De Leon (1976:156-157) claims that our Philippine melodies serve as a living and dynamic force by our singing them in every phase of our daily life and imparting them to our children so that they will continue to perpetuate them.

The Iloko folk music presented here was carefully selected to mark the celebrated events in the life cycle of the Ilocano which begins at birth, continues in love, courtship and marriage, and ends with death.

I. Birth

Birth ushers in the life cycle of man. Undoubtedly, folk music is woven into the Filipino way of life. And so, to celebrate a joyful event, music is played and sung till evening. The newborn baby is lulled to deep sleep through the lullaby.

Duwayya means lullaby. This is an example of a lullaby which a mother sings in lulling or rocking her baby to sleep. As a form of musical discourse, it has only one melodic line which is repeated several times with a limited pitch compass. It is unmetered and the note representation is arbitrary depending upon the singer's preference. The phrases may become longer if the number of syllables in the verse is increased. In addition, embellishment may be used by the singer as in the approach to the cadence point or it can be sung in a plain and simple way.

As indicated by the lyrics, this lullaby is sung for a female child. It expresses her mother's concern that her daughter grow up to be strong and become a respected teacher in the future.

Duwayya
(For the Female)
Sung by Mrs. Magdalena Manuad
Barangay 7, San Nicolas, Ilocos Norte

Ilocano Version	English Translation
Introduction:	
Maturogcan neneng a ta duwayyaenca a	Sleep, my child, and I will lull you to sleep
Tapnon macadamiliac anaccon a ket agirubua- tac tay damili tayo aya.	So that I can make earthenware and I will prepare our materials.
Maturog duduwayyaec cad laeng ta pugot	Sleep, I'll lull you, dark one
Turog duduwayyaec ket niniecon aya bunga	Sleep, I'll lull you and rock you, my child
Niniecon tay bunga ta inton dumakkelen a pumigsa	I'll rock you, my child, so that you will grow up to be strong
Inton pumigsa ket isunto ti cabadanganmi tay obra	When she becomes strong and she will help in the work
Cabadanganmi tay obra ket mapanto met aya agguanta	She will help in the work and she will work diligently
Agagguanta a agsapsapul to tay taraonminto a padapada	She will work diligently to look for food for all of us
Padapada ta inumnumom to cad la aya ina	Equally suitable please, dear girl
To aya ina to tuoc la ken rigat tay adda	Dear girl, that pain and hardship are there
Tuoc la ken rigat tay adda a napan tay anacco sinagsagaba	Pain and hardship only are there and we underwent sufferings
Sinagsagaba nanipud anacco timmaoca	We have undergone sufferings, my child, since you were born
Timmaoca a timmubo ina ditoy daga	Born and grew up, dear girl, on this land
Ditoy daga det balasangco bilbilinenca unay ina	On this land and my maiden, I am inculcating in your mind urgently
Hay bilbilinenca ta dagupto cad amin anacco nga inca makita	Oh, I am inculcating in your mind so to sum up everything that you will see
Inca makita a mabuybuyanto annaco ti dua a bukel a matac	That you will see my child and with both my eyes viewing
Hay di dua bukel a mata ket annaco dicanto cad la pumadpada	Oh, both my eyes and my child do not please be the same
Dicanto pumadpada ta tapnon awanto met anacco pagluluksawanna	Do not be the same so that nothing, my child, will make her feel disgusted
Luksawanna ni inam a ta papayna no dumakkel canto a pumigsa	Your mother will not feel that hopefully when you will grow up and be strong
Dumakkel canto a pumigsa ket balasangco ket pampanunutem unay ina	You will grow up and be strong still think well, dear girl
Pampanunutem unay ida ti rigat mi ken amam bunga nga mang-patpatanorto itay kenca	Think well about them our hardship with your father, my child, to teach you
Itay kenca ta no ipaayto anacco inton dumakkel ket madanonanto met aya ina	Hopefully my child when you grow up and it will come also, my dear girl,
Hay madanonanto coma ti tawen ken aldaw a inca panagbasa	Oh that the year and day will come when you will go to school
Inca panagbasa ket iserrecdacanto met anacco iti escuela	You will go to school and we will bring you my child to school

Hay iserrecdacanto ti escuela ta barbareng	Oh, we will bring you to school that perhaps
matuntun-oan minto coma met ida	we will be able to support you in your studies
Tuntun-oyan mi aya ina ket maisa-pulan	Your studies that hoping you will pass also
minto ti inca panagbasa	this course
Ti inca panagbasa ta bareng mairuar monto	This course that hoping, my child, you will be
met de curso a cuna	like your teacher
Ti curso a cuna ta barbareng incanto anacco	Teaching you and you will study also
maipada tay mangisursuronto annaco itay kenca	my child to be a teacher
Isursuro itay kenca ket macapagadalcanto	You will be able to study to become a teacher
met anacco a meastra	and my child,
Macapagadalcanto a meastra ket anacco	You will remember well all the things I have
tantandaanam kad amin ida	inculcated in your mind
Tandaranam to amin ida ti pamilbilinco	Orders my child especially of your teacher,
unay tay kenca	an honorable teacher
Bilin itay kenca nangnangrunanto anacco't	Honorable teacher, my child and my maiden,
mangisursuro itay kenka nadayawto a meastra	you will be well-behaved, my child
Nadayawto anacco a meastra ket ala balasangco	Oh, you will be well-behaved, ni ni ni ni
agsingsingpet ca unay bunga	go to sleep.

II. Love, courtship and marriage

The Filipino is never more musical than when he is in love. Music is a vehicle for the expression of his emotions, longings and passions which are not revealed in ordinary discourse. Filipino love songs continue to perpetuate the vibrations of the Filipino soul for music.

The following love song, "Dardarepdep," shows the creativity of the Ilocanos in expressing their emotions. From the early serenaders to the Ilocanos in contemporary society, they have a special fondness for love songs which reflect their character traits as a people.

It is common practice among the Ilocanos to sing a love song or to serenade a woman in an announced or unannounced arrangement. However, a man may hire a singer with guitar accompaniment if he cannot sing himself.

"Dardarepdep," is an example of a *tapat.* It is a *harana* in Tagalog, which means serenading a woman through love songs. Usually when there is a young woman visitor in a certain town, the gentlemen serenade her to gain her acquaintance. When they visit her again, the host or hosts would invite the serenaders into their homes to socialize with them.

"Dardarepdep" is sung marked by a combination of regular rhythmic pulses based on poetic meter, recurring tune and motivistic patterns. In comparison with the *duwayya* or the *dallot,* it has a wider pitch compass.

Dardarepdep
Sung by Mr. Ernesto Olarte

Ilocano Version	English Translation
Dardarepdep kaniak ti umapay	Dreams affect me
No dayta ladawam ti agparang	When your picture is in view,
kaniak nasam-it unay	to me it is truly sweet
Sigugutok toy pusok ti ragsak	My heart throbs with joy, at
dagus a mabangaran	once it is relaxed
Ngamin sika't pakasarakan	Because I find you in

Iti pintas ken ayat kasamitan	Beauty and sweetest love
Balud mo toy rikna ken toy biagko	My feelings and my life being tied up with you
Ket ladawam ti innak pagpasagan	And I fall for your picture.
Imnas nga innak indaddaduma	Beauty whom I have chosen
Sika't kapatgan toy pusok	You're the most precious to my heart
Binirbirok ka a mangted bang-ar toy kakaisuna a biagko	I have searched for you to give comfort to my only life
Bituen a naraniag a mangsilaw ti dalan ko	Bright star to light my way
Diak gigiren ti agtuok ken ayat	I'll not be apprehensive in dread of suffering in love
Gapu kenka uray pakatayak	Because of you even though I suffer death
Ngamin ta agnanayon	Because you are highly esteemed
Di agressat sika't namnamak.	I'll cherish you forever
	You are my hope forever.

The next musical genre is the courtship sample of the *dallot* or the *panang-as-asawa*. It is a poetic joust between two singers about love courtship and marriage. Believed to have originated in ancient pre-Hispanic times, especially among the rural folk, it is a duel of words carried on between a representative of the groom's side and a representative of the bride's party. This is done to the accompaniment of native musical instruments like the *apito* or the seven-holed flute and a hard-string Ilocano guitar.

The subject and treatment of the dallot may be determined by the creativity of the singers who are often physically and mentally exhausted by the process of creation. In the Ilocos the genre consists of 5 parts. The melodic patterns feature the voice sliding from a high pitch to a higher pitch after which it becomes normal, followed by low tones then back to a high pitch.

Reproduced here is a courtship sample of the *panang-as-asawa.*

Panang-as-asawa

Lalakian:	Groom's Party:
Ay umaycam man cacabsat makilin-nawag nga ibanag tay inda panagayan-ayat	Oh, we have come, brothers, to explain that they are getting married
Ay ibanag tay inda panayayan-ayat	Ah, that they are getting married
a ket itattan a denggek man tay capanunutan	and now I will listen to what you'll say
Denggek man tay intay capanunu tan	I will listen to what you'll say concerning
maipanggep cadagitoy annac	these children
Ay maipanggep cadagitoy nga annac	Ah, concerning these children
A ta madadaan cam a mangilaw-lawag	That we are prepared to explain
Madadaam cam nga mangilawlawag ngem	We are prepared to explain but brothers,
ana man abalayan dagitay addang	those steps
Ay abalayan dagitay addang nga intay suroten	Ah brothers, those steps which we will follow
cadagitoy a gundaway	at this time
Cadagitoy aya a gundaway a ket daldallot	At this time still daldallot dumidinallang
dumidinallang	

Babaian:	Bride's Party:
Ay abalayan co unay a abalayan co pagayam	Ah my dear brothers, my brothers, friends,
Abalayan co pagayamco ay nabayag idin ng	My brothers, friends, I have been waiting
ururayencan	for you for a long time

Ay nabayag idi nga ururayenca nga umaymo pangilawlawag	Ah, I have been waiting for you for a long time to come and explain
Panangilawlawag cadaguiti napa-samac cadagitoy nga annak	To explain what happened to these children
Ay napasamac cadaguitoynga annak ngem abalayan makisaludsodak man	Ah, what happened to the children, but brothers, may I ask
Makisaludsudac man tay na abalayan a ta immayca	May I ask why, brothers, you came
Ay itatta nga immayac no mano nga kantidad ti iyawat monto cadagitoy annak	Ah, you come now, how much do you give to these children
Cadagitoy annak ta addanto abalayan nga addanto cad la irecrecda	These chidren that there will be, brothers, that there will be rice to be cooked
Ay addanto cadla indarecda a la pang-abalayan tay punpunuan	Ah, that they will have rice to cook, brothers, supplement what is lacking
Ay mapunpunuan a mapanto met abalayan na isapsapulan	Ah supplement what is lacking and, brothers, to look for
Ay mapanto nay isapsapulan ta addan to met iserbidanto cadagitay patubuenda nga anak	Ah going to look for something that will be of use for raising their children
Patubuenda nga anak no mapanto met abalayan nay madanonan	Raise their children when, brothers, the time will come
Ay mapanto nay madanonan panag-paadaldanto cadagitay anak	Ah the time will come when they will send their children to school
Ay addanto met iserbida cadagitoy annak no mapanto abalayan nay madanonan	Ah there will be also something to serve their children if, brothers, time will come
Madanonan ti panag-adal nga anak	Time to go to school for the children they will raise
Ay patubuenda nga anak ngem diac cayat ti bassit a balaya inkayto iyawat	Ah they will raise children, but I do not like a small house which you will give
Bassit a inca iyawat ta ammoc met abalayan na nabaknangca unay	Small which you will give for I know, brothers, that you are very rich
Ay nabaknang ka unay ket beinte mil abalayan tay inca iyawat	Ah you are very rich and twenty thousand, brothers, is what you will give
Tay inca iyawat ket dinto pay umanay dayta nga innanto pagpaadal	What you will give will not be enough to send their children to school
Ay dinto pay umanay nga innanto pagpaadal no doktor to abalayan tay innanto igraduar	Ah it will not be enough to send him to medical school, brothers,
Innanto igraudar ket maipapilit to abalayan nga incamto punpunuan	He will graduate as a doctor and brothers, we will be obliged to supplement what is lacking
Ay naipapilit nga incamto punpunuan icarcarigatan tanto cad la abalayan tay agbinnadang	Ah we will be obliged to supplement what is lacking, let us try, brothers, to help
Tay agbinnadang ta pobreac met nga incainabalayan	Let us help because I am poor, also whom you have chosen as brothers to help
Nga incainabalayan dumidinallot brothers dumidinallot dumidinallang	Whom you have chosen as brothers dumidinallot domidinallong

III. Death

"Death is a loss, and yet each death participates in the succession of generations, the procession of life." (Komar 1980:395-396). Along this line of thought, music serves as an inspiration and lifts one's spirits. While death was perceived as something horrible in the past, today, through musical activities during the wake, death is now accepted without too much sorrow.

The important function of music and death is pointed out by Jansen (1980), asserting that Gonrang music and ensembles occupied a prominent and central place

in the cultural life of the Simalungun people. Music was used in celebrations ranging from the rajah's coronation to his funeral.

Historians claim that from time immemorial the Ilocanos' lament for the dead, the *dung-aw,* has been practiced. During the time of Philip of Macedon in Asia Minor and the reign of the Caesars in Rome, mourning in court was expressed by hired mourners to ask for the commiseration and sympathy of the people.

In the *dung-aw,* sincere sympathy and genuine grief are evident while tears gush down the cheeks of the wailing reciter who influences the listeners to grieve with her. It is elegiac in theme, poetical in rhyme and meter. The Ilocano dirge is similar to the *dallot* in the sense that it is extemporaneous and has a free rhythm. The death of a mother is expressed in this doleful tune by a member of the family. The sighing and sobbing passages are interspersed in the chanting.

It is customary for the Ilocanos to pray for the dead for nine consecutive nights after death or interment. The evening of the eighth day is the *omras* wherein native delicacies like *niniogan, basi, linapet,* and *patupat* are offered to the souls of the dead. After the prayers, the living can partake of this *atang.* On the ninth day, a Mass is said with *pamisa* or a feast or merrymaking. This practice is also observed on the first month and first year anniversary of the dead.

Included in this Iloko music repertoire is the "Cantaremos" or the Sung Prayer of the Rosary. As recounted by Mr. Marciano Aurelio, a retired school

Dung-aw	Dirge (Lamentation to a Mother)
Ay nanangco agriingca a ta turogmo	Ah, my mother, wake up from your sleep,
Nana ket agmur-murayca	Mother, and shake off drowsiness
Nana bumangonca ta ayna agididdaca	Mother, get up but you are lying down
A ta Nana agsaoca man nagidda ket pumanaw canto aya toy dennak	Because Mother, lying down please speak and you will leave me
A ta Nana narigat ket tay maulila nga mapanawan a bunga ina	Because Mother, it is hard to be orphaned, leaving a child, Mother
A ta Nana ti man ngamin aya gapuna ket pumanaw a narigat tay maulila	Because Mother, the reason is you're leaving and it is hard to be orphaned
A ta pumanawca nga nagubba adda dumteng a rigat tay bunga	Because you leave who carried me as a baby will leave this child encounters hardship
A panawam Nana nga isina nga umulog canton Nana toy dennak	You leave, Mother, separate and leave my side, Mother
Ay Nana awanton mangtagiben kencuana no dumteng tay rigat aya tay bunga	Ah, Mother, nobody will rear her when this child encounters hardship
Ta uray Nana nga adu't caarruba ket Nana adu't gidiatna	Although, Mother, there are many neighbors, Mother there is a lot of difference
A ta Nana adu't dipirenciana a mang tagibento cadagitay bunga	Because Mother, there is a lot of difference in rearing these children
Ay Nana agbabawica ta caasi cam cada agcacaca	Ah Mother, withdraw and pity us brothers and sisters
Ay panawam nga agidda tay dennam ata ket narigat Nana ti maulila	Ah you leave us sleeping by your side because it is hard Mother to be orphaned
Ay nana inton sakbay a pumanawca nga umulogto tay dennam	Ah Mother before you leave to go down from your side
Ay Nana agbalicas canto coma ti sanguananmmi nga agcacaca	Ah Mother you will please talk to us brothers and sister
A ta cunam to Nana a agsarsarita	Because you will speak, Mother
Ay itattan anacco ket panawancay tay dennam.	And now my children I will leave you and go on from your side.

principal, this practice started in Barangay 7-B, Laoag City. The late Mr. Bernardo Domingo, a musician and French horn player, is said to have been the organizer of this activity. He tried to mimic the Latin songs of the priest. The "Cantaremos" was sung in Latin during the nine-day novena to pray for the poor souls in purgatory. For every mystery of the rosary, the choir sings "Virgen Divino" in Latin followed by the "Ar-araraw" or Petitions for the Dead sung in Ilocano. Singing the "Salve Regina" (Hail Holy Queen) ends the novena prayers.

This practice which started in the middle of the 1920's spread to other barangays in the poblacion of Laoag City and to all the towns of Ilocos Norte. Some singers have gone abroad and they still practice this to perpetuate the tradition, much to the gratification of the Ilocanos residing there.

Ar-araraw	Petitions for The Dead
I	
Naasi nga tattao imatanganyo,	Compassionate people bear in mind,
Ti caiget ti purgatoryo -	The rigor of purgatory
Dagiti kararrua indenganyo,	Listen to the souls
Ti as-asugda a napalalo	Their pleadings are excessive
II	
O, Cristianos a kakabsatmi,	Oh, Christians our brothers,
Amangan a nagsaem dagiti tutuokmi;	How painful our sufferings,
Iti irut dagiti kawarmi	The tightness of our chains
A sirereppet ti saka ken imami	That tie our feet and hands
Ti Kaasiyo kadakam iyesnekyo	Your compassion to us
Ikakaasidakam iti Dios Apo -	Intercede for us to the Lord God -
Dagiti kararrua indenganyo ...	Listen to the souls ...
III	
Inanak a mananglilipat,	Children who are ungrateful
Amma ken kakabagian	Fathers and relatives
Asawa nga di agsubad	Spouse who does not reciprocate
Ania didakam maal-lingag	What, you hear us indistinctly
Saan na maisawang	It cannot be expressed
Ti ulpityo, itedyo gagayyem ti tulongyo -	Your cruelty, friends give your help -
Dagiti kararruan indenganyo	Listen to the souls ...
IV	
Ket dakay met a naindayawan	And you also, honorable
Nga agserservi iti altar	Servants of the altar,
Mabalinyo ngata a lipatan	Perhaps you may forget
Dagiti sainnekmi a nasaeman	Our painful sobs
Gapu kadakami idatonyo	For our sake you offer
Ti napateg unay a misayo -	Your Mass that is very precious
Dagiti kararrua indenganyo ...	Listen to the souls ...
V	
Talek pay iti tulungna	Lucky is his help
Ta ita ken inton ipapatayna	For now and when he dies
Agsubali't kamto iti ayatna	We will reciprocate his love
Iti ingetna atipaenminto	His strictness we will try to abate

Ta natan-ok a Dios Apo -	Exalted Lord God
Dagiti kararrua indenganyo ...	Listen to the souls ...
VI	
Ni San Miguel a natudingan	St. Michael was designated
Nga agaywan iti timbengan	To guard the balance
Impatalgedna nga inkam mainanaan	He assured us that we will rest
Kas ti aramid ti tao nga umay mangikakaasi	Like the work of man to come and intercede for us
Itoy novenario kadagiti kararrua iti Dios Apo -	to the Lord God -
Dagiti kararrua indenganyo ...	Listen to the souls ...
VII	
O Dios a nagpaiduma ti imbag	Oh God with His utmost goodness
Denggem a siaasi ti arrarawmi -	Listen mercifully to our pleadings.
Dagiti kararrua indenganyo ...	Listen to the souls ...

In closing, allow me to express my involvement and commitment to make the Mariano Marcos State University Audio-Visual Library the preparatory office for founding a center for Iloko traditional music. Hopefully, this will generate a sensational folk music or traditional music collection movement before initiating an uprecedented large-scale field work project on Iloko traditional music. Finally, I envision it as a permanent task for the nation: the collection and documentation of data on traditional music; research; performing, transmitting and publishing folk music as worthy endeavors.

Above all, let us thank the Almighty God for His gifts to us — our treasures in a rich Iloko cultural heritage.

We shall now witness a live performance of Iloko traditional music or folk music as an expression of community consciousness and a vehicle for meaning in their life and work. I hope that after this presentation, we will all be able to experience a new and unique musical reality.

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FOLK DANCES OF ILOCOS NORTE

TERESITA P. INES*

I. Introduction

Man has danced almost since the world began. He has danced for joy, hate, love, anger and fear. Dance has been related to his religious life and to his social life. Almost every occasion has called for dance, and some dances exist for no reason but to use stored energy and emotion. The art of dance has lived through the centuries and probably, as long as man can move, man will dance. Dance has had a long and honorable history in education. The values of dance to total education are numerous and varied.

Folk dance is a form of art which reflects the Filipino spirit—his love for merriment, his religiosity, his fatalism, his love for ceremony, his joy of living, and his love for showing off.

The Ilocanos possess a unique way of life, arts and culture. Their activities still reflect their customs and traditions. They possess a variety of folklore, literature, music and architecture which is demonstrated in their legends, songs, ballads, musical instruments, and artifacts.

II. Classification of Ilocos Norte folk dances

Based on my researches, there are 36 published and unpublished folk dances of Ilocos Norte. These dances are classified into six categories.

A. Occupational Dances. These dances depict the actions of certain occupations, industries or human labor.

Agdamdamili - Agdamdamili is an Ilocano term which means pot making. This dance originated from San Nicolas, Ilocos Norte, which is famous for its pottery industry.

Agabel - This is an occupational dance from Paoay, Ilocos Norte, based on the cloth weaving industry for which the inhabitants are noted.

Agabel means to weave. It depicts the way Ilocanos produce the popular Ilocano cloth called "inabel".

Binatbatan - Binatbatan is an occupational dance from Paoay, Ilocos Norte. It depicts the beating of cotton pod to separate the seeds from the fibers with the use of two sticks called batbat in the Ilocos Region. Binatbatan, therefore, is derived from the word "batbat." The people of Paoay are known for their skill in weaving the famous Ilocano cloth called abel. Oftentimes, the weavers engage in a contest to decide who could finish first in producing and cleaning more fibers. When the weavers wish to have fun and merrymaking, they sing and dance and use the "batbat" (sticks) to dance with. They dance between and out of parallel sticks without stepping on them, showing their ability, skill and good timing.

Dinaklisan - This dance comes from Currimao, Ilocos Norte, where fishing is the chief occupation. Dinaklisan is an Ilocano term meaning fishing with a net called "daklis."

Hardinera - The title suggests "gardener." The dance reveals or depicts the hardworking trait of the Ilocano. This dance started to become popular during the wartime years in Ilocos Norte.

B. Wedding Dances. These dances are performed by the bride and the groom, friends and relatives, and the in-laws.

La Jota - This Jota dance is usually danced with song accompaniment which is characteristic of many Ilocano dances. During a wedding feast the groom starts to dance alone on the dance floor as a way of inviting his shy bride to join him. As soon as they dance together, the relatives of both the bride and the groom shower them with coins thrown on the floor while others pin money paper bills on their wedding attire.

Pandanggo Laoagueña - This is a wedding dance from Laoag City. It is usually performed by the bride and groom during the wedding reception. Pandanggo evolved from the Spanish *fandanggo.*

C. *Ballroom Dances. These dances are danced in the ballroom.*

Chotis Vintariña - This version of chotis originated from Vintar, Ilocos Norte. The chotis dance was one of the popular ballroom dances in the Philippines during the Spanish regime.

D. *Religious Dances. Religious dances are performed in relation to religious vows, practices or ceremonies.*

Jota de Paoay - This dance is one of the traditional dances of Paoay, Ilocos Norte. One part of the dance, the folk song "Sabunganay" is sung to accompany the dance. The folk song and dance originated from the time the Augustinian missionaries laid the corner stone of Paoay Catholic church in the 17th century. Since then, the Tuesday before Ash Wednesday has been set aside for mardi-gras or "guling-guling".

Sabunganay - Sabunganay, meaning "banana blossom," is a traditional folk song and dance of Paoay, Ilocos Norte, which originated with the establishment of Christianity in the islands. It is traced to the time of the Augustinian missionaries who laid the corner-stone of Paoay Catholic Church in the 17th century. Since then, the Tuesday before Ash Wednesday has been set aside for mardi-gras or "guling- guling."

E. *Courtship Dances. The dances depict in pantomime the* process of courtship.

Esticarro - A courtship dance from Santa Rosa, Sarrat, Ilocos Norte. The unique part of this dance is the placing of the ring on the girl's finger by the male partner.

Kundiman - This dance "kundiman" refers to a beautiful girl who is very much admired for her beauty and grace of movement. A young man is very much in love with her and he dances as he sings to her.

Lablabaan - Lablabaan means two hawks circling each other in the air. This is a dance of the Itnegs of Banna and Nueva Era, Ilocos Norte.

The movements of the hands depict birds flying.

Pandanggo Vintariña - This is a courtship dance from Vintar, Ilocos Norte. It is a favorite folk dance of the people from that place.

Osi-Osi - This lively courtship dance was found in San Lorenzo Village, Laoag City. The common step used was osi-osi. Sometimes this dance is accompanied by a song.

Sileledaang - This is a courtship dance. Sileledaang means "in grief" or "laden with sorrow." The movements of the dancers show their fondness for each other.

F. *Festival Dances. These dances are performed in connection with a celebration, a feast, a barrio or town fiesta, good harvest and good fortune. Festival dances are common. People come together in merriment and dance to their hearts' delight.*

Polka Ilocana - This dance is found in Ilocos Norte, particularly in the town of Paoay. After the liberation of the Province from the Japanese by the Americans in 1945, a group of middle-aged people of the town wanted to have a very lively dance to express their feeling of joy and expectation. They therefore, came up with a dance more lively than the Pandanggo or Curacha, the dances they usually performed. Using their folk song "Pamulinawen," they created this dance which has survived through all these years. Today, this is still being danced during parties and fiestas.

Barkarukong - This dance is derived from the Spanish words "pecho fuera" which means "breast out." This is depicted in one figure wherein the partners emphasize the breast out movement while dancing.

Chotis Dingreña - This is a lively dance from Dingras, Ilocos Norte. An elite dance, it is usually performed during big social gatherings. This dance is used as an intermission dance when the people are already tired of dancing the usual ballroom dances.

Innalisan - This is a lively festival dance. "Innalis" means to transfer from one place to another, one of the characteristics of the Ilocanos.

Ilocana a Nasudi - Ilocana a Nasudi means the lovely Ilocana. This festival dance is a favorite of the people of Dingras. Ilocos Norte. Originally, this dance was accompanied by a kutibeng (a five-stringed instrument). It was originally danced by dancers of barrio Naglayaan, Dingras, Ilocos Norte. Before the Cultural Research Team of the Bureau of Public Schools went to Dingras to study this dance, many younger dancers performed it. Inquiry from old people brought out the "Ling-lingay," a simple folk tune from Dingras which could be used to accompany this dance instead of the foreign folk melody.

Jota Zapatilla - "Zapatilla" is a kind of footwear worn mainly by the young women of the Philippines during the Spanish regime. This version of the Jota was popular in the Ilocos Region. It is simpler and easier to perform than other jota dances.

La Jota Laoagueña - This version of the La Jota came from Laoag City. It was usually danced by elite groups at social gatherings during the Spanish regime.

Kuratsa Paoayeña - This version of Kuratsa came from Paoay, Ilocos Norte. This was very popular throughout the country during the Spanish regime. It is one of the liveliest and best-liked dances. Different regions have their own versions and the movements vary with the individual dancers in each locality, but the traditional elements are retained. Like many other Ilocano dances, it is finished with the arikenken.

Sinanpuggot. This is danced by the natives of the municipal district of Dumalneg, Ilocos Norte. It is called sinanpuggot because it originated from the puggots or dark folk. This is often performed during their festivals, wedding celebrations, and other occasions.

Talip - Talip is a dance from the municipal district of Carasi, Ilocos Norte. It is usually performed by the natives during fiestas, weddings, mourning for the dead, and the ceremony after burial.

Surtido Banna - This festival dance originated in Espiritu, a municipality in Ilocos Norte, formerly known as "Banna." The beauty of the dance lies in the variety of steps and tempo. This dance is a combination of some Ilocano dance steps, as the cross waltz, mudansa, sagamantica and habanera. One of the melodies used in the dance is the famous Ilocano folk song "Bannatiran".

Tadok - This dance is performed by women only of the municipal district of Carasi, Ilocos Norte.

Zapatoti - This is a festival dance usually performed in dance contests (dinnayo ti salsala) held in each purok, and the affair is incomplete without this dance. This is a dance showing off the zapatilla (a woman's footwear) and producing a tapping sound while dancing.

Surtido Norte - Surtido Norte is a dance composed of different steps and music taken from the dances of the Ilocos Region. Of all the provinces comprising the Ilocos Region, Ilocos Norte has the most dances. In this dance, the typical hand movement of the Ilocano dances is very much emphasized. The kumintang is done with a turning of the hand from the wrist, either clockwise or counter clockwise. The fist is half closed with the thumb and forefinger touching each other. This position of the hand seems to imply the characteristic thriftiness of the Ilocanos. It is a characteristic hand movement of Ilocano dances.

III. Basic dance steps and movements/positions used in the folk dances of Ilocos Norte

Dance Steps	Dance Movements/Positions
Waltz step	Kumintang
Close step	Saludo
Korriti	Forearm turn
Three-steps with point	Arms in reverse-T position
Three-steps turn	Arms in lateral position
Mudansa	Join inside hands
Osi-osi step	Do-si-do
Change step	Forearm turn with a kumintang
Chasing	Ballroom dance position
Pivot turn	Stamping
Mincing	Deep curtsy
Step, kick	
Cross-change step	
Gallop	

Dance Steps	Dance Movements/Positions
Sway balance with a heel-place	
Moderate waltz turn	
Running step	
Step-swing	
Sagamantica	
Tortiller	

IV. Cultural traits/customs revealed in the dances

The Ilocano dancers of the far Northern Luzon appear decidedly native in their costumes of local textile weave, peculiar hand gesture, and unbanked sitting on laps in the Ilocano Nasudi, but this nativeness is diminished by the Italian melody used.

It is not surprising to note that there are a number of occupational dances in Ilocos Norte, namely Dinaklisan, Hardinera, Binatbatan, and Agabel which reflect the Ilocanos' love for hard work and perseverance, two of their most treasured values.

The coming of the Spaniards in the sixteenth century marked the conversion of the Filipinos to the Roman Catholic faith and the introduction of Western cultural influence into Philippine life.

The Filipinos, with characteristic adaptability, blended steps and movements, resulting in softer, gayer, freer and more fluid dance movements. The elegance of the carriage of the body and arms of the Spanish dancer is still present, but warmth has replaced the fire and high spirits, resulting in a special kind of stately graciousness. This is evident in Ilocos Norte Jotas, Surtidos, Pandanggos, and Chotis.

The use of the dance movement, kumintang, usually with a closed fist was originated by the early Ilocanos. The closed fist simply implies their characteristic thriftiness as demonstrated in Sabunganay, Osi-osi, Surtido Norte, Surtido Banna, Pandanggo Laoagueña, and Barbarukong.

La Jota Laoagueña, Polka Ilocana, Sabunganay, Lablab-baan, Talip and Innalisan depict the enterprising, active, and tireless Ilocano.

The chasing and korriti steps depict the playfulness and jolliness of the Ilocano. These steps are used in Jota Zapatilla, Nasudi, and Surtido Norte.

Innalisan shows the Laoagueña quest for greener pastures.

Most common of these Ilocos Norte dances is the Saludo. The dancers usually start and end with a saludo or bow. This is a manifestation of the typical Ilocano characteristic which is courtesy.

Some basic steps and movements like the habanera, Osi-osi, and arms in reverse T-position following dances such as Esticarro, Osi-osi and La Jota Vintariña interpret the modest and retiring traits of the Ilocano women.

In the ethnic dances of the three municipal districts of Ilocos Norte (Adams, Dumalneg, Carasi) like Talip, Tadok and Lablabaan are steps of close to the earth type: shuffling, jumps, hop and tortillier. The hands move in time to the music with a variety of hand positions—fingers together or closed fist with thumb out. Arms are extended laterally from the shoulders, moving up and down in imitation of flapping wings. Toes, employing creeping and pawing gestures, are pointed forward, held flat on the ground. The movement is light, the dancers spur the ground with their feet and usually beat the ground and use their heels sparingly. Rising on tiptoe and dropping down again, or first lifting one foot and the the other, the dancer remains in one spot or moves forward to one side, very slowly.

Most steps and movements of the hands go downward to express the affinity with, and closeness to the earth. When the palm faces the earth, this expresses one's reverence to the gods.

Animals, insects, and birds and plants are the center of dances as in the dances Lablabaan and Sabunganay.

There are also dances which derive part of their names from the objects prominently used in the dance. There is the Jota Zapatilla and Zapatoti, so called because the footware of the ladies (the zapatilla) is a focal interest in the dance.

V. Costumes used

A. Girl. Checkered skirt, white camisa with soft sleeves, soft panuelo around the neck.

Boy. Barong Tagalog made of Ilocano woven material and rayadillo trousers.

B. Girl. Serpentina skirt with camisa

Boy. Barong Tagalog and dark trousers

C. Girl. Punong-gipong skirt, an Ilocano checkered woven cloth sewed in even length with zapatilla as footwear

Boy. Ilocano woven barong and dark pants

D. Girl. Maria Clara costume

Boy. Barong Tagalog and black pants

Majority of the cloth used in the costumes is the Ilocano "abel".

The following dances were shown in the course of the lecture:

1. "Binatabat," danced by Prof. Aelila Romero, Dept. Chairperson of the College of Education and Mr. Eric Valero, the choreographer.
2. "Sabunganay." Danced by Director Araceli Gallego and Prof. Rodabeth Santos.
3. "Innalis." Danced by Mr. Iballo and Mr. Rances.
4. "Nasudi." Danced by Nasudi Cultural Ensemble. Younger dancers used the music of "Linlingay," a folk tune which could be used to accompany this dance instead of the foreign folk melody which is usually Italian.
5. "Jota Tabaguilla," danced by Nasudi Cultural Ensemble
6. "Jota Lasagonis," danced by Nasudi Cultural Ensemble

We have also dances called Jota Sapatilla and Sapatoti. One lady showed us her sapatilla and her naguas. It was an authentic naguas. The others used their tambourine. The tambourine is a hundred years old already. (Speaking to dancer) Kindly turn around please, to show off your payneta and your Ilocano comb. They are antique. See also the matching earrings.

Ilocanos wear different kinds of skirts. Some have the same length all around. Others have tails flowing which are called Isput. Skirts with one length all around are called pong-gipot. Prof. Rodabeth Santos wore her stiff camisa and stiff panuelo. These are usually worn during social gatherings and when the old women go to church. It is formal wear for some, but for others, such as old women, it is more like a casual dress. There are two types of naguas. One is just an ordinary skirt. The other is like a tunic.

Camisas are sometimes embroidered. When we have the kimona, which the women wear for work.

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ILOCOS RITUALS

ERNESTO MA. CADIZ*

Introduction

Rituals pervade the various aspects of an Ilocano's life. By ritual is meant any practice done or regularly repeated in a set precise manner so as to satisfy one's sense of fitness and often felt to have a symbolic or quasi-symbolic significance (Webster's Dictionary, 1971). According to Taylor (1973), Honigmann suggested that a ritual is the symbolic expression of the sentiments which are attached to a given situation. He mentioned also that much ritual is religious, but a great deal occurs in technological, economic, kinship, political, and other activities. The rituals performed by the Ilocanos are done for various purposes.

The Ilocanos occupy the Ilocos provinces consisting of Ilocos Norte, Ilocos Sur, La Union, and Pangasinan. However, the setting of this paper is limited only to the province of Ilocos Norte.

Ilocos Norte is situated at the northwestern part of the country, extending for about 140 kilometers in length occupying the coastal plain in the northwestern corner of Luzon. It has no wide plains like those in Central Luzon. The land area is approximately 338,680 hectares. The major portion consists of forest land and only a small part, composed mostly of narrow arable and irrigated farmlands, is cultivated. The rest of the province are hilly and rocky and have barren soil that yields poor harvest. The western side of the province is sandy, while the eastern part is clayey because of the soil that is washed down from the mountains during the rainy season.

The province is composed of 22 towns. Laoag City, a chartered city and the provincial capital, serves as the nerve center of all activities in Ilocos Norte.

Agriculture is the major industry of the province. Rice is the principal crop grown. Besides the production of rice, crops such as tobacco, garlic, corn, vegetables, and fruit trees are also cultivated or planted for family consumption and the market.

This paper aims to present some of the Iloco rituals in Ilocos Norte. More specifically, it endeavors to identify and describe the agricultural rituals, *panagkanaganan* ritual, marriage rituals, and death and burial rituals of the Ilocanos in Ilocos Norte.

The data in this paper were gathered through the use of unstructured interviews, key informant technique, and participant observation.

Agricultural rituals

The Ilocanos perform some rituals in the various work stages of their agricultural activities. These rituals have several purposes as illustrated in the following:

Determination of the lucky days

Lualo (prayer) rituals. The Ilocanos believe that there are lucky days and bad days. Thus, the farmers pray the Apostle's Creed in order to determine the lucky day for the *panagbonubon* (sowing of rice seeds). He starts counting "one" when he says *Mamatiak* (I believe). If the phrase *bugbugtong nga anak* (only son) falls on a day considered bad, the farmer will not start the sowing of rice seeds because it is perceived that there will be only one seedling that will survive. Praying the Apostle's Creed ends on the 14th count. The day on which the 14th count falls is considered the best day for starting the *panagbonubon*. This is a sign to the farmer that all the plants will survive and will have a bountiful yield.

Expression of gratitude

Panagniniogan ritual. The ritual of Ilocano farmers related to the *panagraep* (transplanting of rice seedlings) is the *panagniniogan* (cooking of glutinous rice in coconut juice). This is done before and after the transplating of rice seedlings. The *niniogan* (cooked glutinous rice in coconut juice), a cooked egg and a little amount of *basi* (fermented sugarcane juice) are placed in a certain part of the house or at the center of the field as *atang* (food offering). This is performed as

a manifestation of thanksgiving and to insure a bountiful harvest.

Pagringpasan rituals. The *pagringpasan* (end) ritual is performed when harvesting is almost finished. The farmer leaves three small bundles of rice with nine stalks in each bundle by burying these in one corner of the field where he harvested last as a share of the farmland used. After which the housewife cooks the *niniogan* and offers it as *atang* in the area where the husband buried the stalks of rice as a way of expressing their gratefulness to God and the land used.

Insuring a bountiful harvest

Lualo (prayer) ritual. When the farmer transplants the first rice seedling, he performs the *lualo* ritual by praying the Apostle's Creed, and after saying the phrase *inyanak ni Virgen Maria* (born of the Virgin Mary), he immediately transplants the seedling. This is believed to insure a bountiful harvest because the blessedness of the Virgin is transferred to the soil's fertility.

Manunek ritual. The Ilocano farmer performs the *manunek* (transplanting the first seedling) ritual at the start of the transplanting of rice seedlings. This ritual is done on the day which is considered a lucky day and is performed by either a man or a woman. If a woman does it, before going to the field, she must take a bath, eat a full meal, put on clean clothes and *wakrayen* (untie and spread) her hair. It is believed that this will induce a more bountiful harvest. This ritual necessitates the recital of the Lord's Prayer by the performer. As the performer says the verse "Give us this day our daily bread," she transplants simultaneously the very first seedling. A small bamboo cross is planted in the area where the first seedlings are sown.

Sallabay ritual. The *sallabay* (carrying a person on the back) ritual is done during the first day of planting corn. The farmer brings a child with him to the field and carries him on his back as he plants the very first seed. This ritual is performed in the belief that this will induce the corn plants to bear many fruits.

This ritual is done also in the planting of coconuts. However, instead of merely carrying the child on his back, the farmer also has to carry a child on his shoulders. This is done in the belief that the coconut plant will bear more fruits.

Tying the Bisukol shells ritual. There are some Ilocano farmers who string the *bisukol* (snail) shells and tie the string of shells on the coconut flowers. This is done in the belief that this will induce flowers so that the coconut will bear many fruits.

Panagniniogan ritual. The first fruit of the coconut is used in making the *niniogan.* A portion of the *niniogan* is offered as atang under the coconut tree while the rest is eaten by the owner and some of his neigbors under the same tree, believing that God will give more blessings and that the tree will bear more fruits. There are those who let the children eat the *niniogan* under the coconut tree. While eating, the children are instructed to encircle the coconut tree. After eating, the remaining *niniogan* is wiped or rubbed on the trunk or base of the tree. The children are also told to wipe their hands on the trunk of the tree before leaving the place so that the plant will bear more fruits.

Innagaw ritual. There are those who give the first bunch of fruits of the coconut to a nearby *natayan* (bereaved family) to be roasted over the *atong* (a piece of wood that burns the whole day and night in front of the house within the duration of the wake). When the coconut fruit is roasted, those present in the wake are *aggi-innagaw* (grab for a share of the roasted coconut). Upon seeing this, the coconut tree is believed to say, "Ah, my fruit is not enough for them. They like it very much. So next time, I will bear more fruits."

Candle light ritual. Ilocanos light candles beneath their fruit trees on the evening of All Saints Day while others shake the trees (when they are not yet so tall) during *Sabado de Gloria* (Black Saturday). They also light candles under the trees after the procession on Good Friday. These rituals are done in the belief that the trees will be induced to bear more fruits.

Carrying a big basket ritual. In picking the first fruits of the vegetables, the harvesters carry a big basket, pretending that the load is heavy. As he reaches home, someone is asked to help bring down the basket. In this connection, nine unbroken grains of rice are buried by the picker or harvester near the roots of the plant where the first fruit was taken. This is performed in the belief that this will induce the plants to bear more fruits.

Parading with the seeds ritual. In the procession on Good Friday, the old women bring with them some seeds intended for planting. These seeds are planted the following day which is called *Sabado de Gloria.*

The Ilocanos believe that in parading the seeds in the Good Friday procession, the seeds are blessed and when these are planted, they grow faster, taller and healthier and bear more fruits.

Distributing the first fruit ritual. The first fruit harvest is divided and distributed in the neighborhood. This is done in the belief that the plant would say, "Ah, many want my fruits. I will bear more fruits next time."

Insuring good quality of products

Manipdul ritual. The *manipdul* (gathering a few fruits before the others are finally harvested) ritual is performed by either the husband or the wife or both or many of the capable members of the family. The assigned person goes to the ricefield and gathers 20 stalks of rice, then prays and asks God to bless their harvest. The 20 stalks of rice may be placed at the *kasuoran* (above the kitchen stove) or buried in one corner of the ricefield. It is believed that placing the palay at the *kasuoran* facilitates the drying up of the rest of the palay to be harvested. Burying the palay in one corner of the field symbolizes the farmer's gratitude to the soil.

The *manipdul* ritual is performed early in the morning or dawn. This is done in the belief that this will make the panicle have good-quality grains called *namsek* (fully filled).

The farmer who performs this ritual avoids urinating or moving his bowels before proceeding to the field. While he cuts the stalks, he avoids stepping on the standing rice plants. These measures are observed so that the grains will not be broken into very small pieces when pounded or milled. Upon reaching home, the farmer bundles the stalks and inserts a stone in the bundle. The stalk bundle is hung at a place where it is seen everyday above the *kasuoran.*

The Apostle's Creed is recited in the performance of the *manipdul* ritual. When the performer of the ritual says the word *langit* (heaven), he simultaneously cuts the stalks. It is believed that this will enable the farmer to have a higher yield during that harvest season because heaven symbolizes something that is high. He avoids starting to cut the stalks at the word *gaga* (earth) because this might only result in a low or poor yield, the earth being below heaven. In addition, the first *gemgem* (a handful of stalks) is placed in a certain corner of the field and then a stone is placed above it so that the grains to be harvested will not be broken into small pieces when pounded or milled.

Eating sweet rood ritual. Before the farmer proceeds to the field to transplant the native tobacco seedlings, he chews any kind of sweet food, particularly molasses. This is done for the purpose of making the tobacco leaves not bitter but delicious and sweet.

Mamaen ritual. When the farmer plants the first tobacco seedling, he chews also a complete set of *mamaen* (a combination of betel nut, tobacco, lime and betel leaves) and drenches the first seedling with his spittle as soon as this has been transplanted. It is believed that this ritual will cause the plants to produce scaly, reddish brown leaves which are considered the marks of a good quality of native tobacco.

Panagniniogan ritual. In the planting of garlic, the *niniogan* is brought to the planted area together with an egg and a little amount of *basi* at the place where the farmer started planting. These are offered as *atang* for the spirits. This ritual is done in the belief that the garlic bulbs will be bigger and will be as white as the egg that was offered.

Touching the sex organs ritual. Before the first garlic clove is planted the man should touch his testicles and the woman should also touch her breasts. These are done in the belief that the size of the bulbs will grow as large as the sex organs touched.

Putting a big stone in a corner of the field ritual. It is believed that in starting to plant garlic, the one who starts planting brings with him in his pocket a big and round stone. This is placed in a corner of the field to be planted in the belief that the bulbs will become big and round.

Panagpayangyang ritual. Before harvesting the garlic, the owner, preferably the male, randomly uproots 5-10 bulbs from the field. He bundles and hangs these on top of the stairs or in places where smoke passes through so that the bulbs will be *mayangyanagan* (to become dry). It is believed that this will hasten the maturation of the unharvested garlic.

Mangipastrek ritual. The *mangipastrek* (to put something inside) ritual is done when the farmer stores his rice harvest. Both the husband and the wife perform this ritual. This is done early in the morning or at dawn

when there are no other people around yet. The husband and the wife open together the granary or the bodega. They carry together one *pungo* (a big bundle consisting of six small bundles of palay) or one cavan of palay and place it inside the granary or bodega. While they are performing this ritual, neither one of them talks or whispers; instead, they merely make signs in order to communicate with each other. This ritual is done for the purpose of making the harvest last long. After this ritual, the rest of the produce is ready to be stored. When the task is accomplished, the *niniogan*, which symbolizes gratitude, is cooked.

There are farmers who believe that the best time to store the very first rice harvest is at the time when the moon is at its first quarter. The farmer goes to the granary or bodega bringing with him three stones, forms these into a *daldalikan* (stove formation), then covers them with three bundles or one cavan of palay. While performing this ritual, the farmer avoids swallowing even a little amount of his saliva so that his harvest will not be consumed easily. While the husband performs this ritual, the wife cooks the *niniogan* to be offered as atang by the husband at the granary or bodega. While the *atang* is being offered, the husband calls the spirits around the place to come and eat their share.

Panagkanaganan ritual

The Ilocanos in Ilocos Norte have a unique way of celebrating their birthdays. This is evidenced by the following rituals:

Panagkanaganan (birthday) ritual. The singing of the song, entitled *Kanaganan,* is a very important part of the celebration of birthdays in Ilocos Norte. At the start of the song, the celebrant is seated at the center of the hall. All the well-wishers stand to sing the song. At the second stanza, as *Balangat a naurnos* is sung, the closest kin or an honored guest is made to march towards the celebrant with a crown of flowers to be placed on the celebrant's head at the phrase *isaad ita* ulom. Then he kisses the celebrant's cheeks or shakes his hands. In the next stanza, the guests or an honored guest is asked to offer a bouquet at the words *yawatmi kenka* and performs the same handshake or kiss. The rest of the song is sung, followed by "Happy Birthday To You." At this point, grains of rice which have been passed around during the singing are strewn over the celebrant by all in attendance. After this, everybody shakes the celebrant's hands or kisses him.

Marriage rituals

There are several rituals that are interwoven in the Ilocano marriage. Like the other Ilocano rituals, these are performed also for various purposes, like the following:

Means of communication

Dallot rituals. The *dallot* (an ancient folksong of the Ilocanos) ritual is sung in two stages of the pre-wedding arrangements, namely the *danon* or *panangas-asawa* and the *panangyawat* (giving) of the *sab-ong* (dowry) and *parawad* (gift for the girl consisting of money and jewelry). The *danon* or *panangas-asawa* is the stage when the relatives of the young man go to the house of the young woman as scheduled. The purpose of this meeting is to formalize the young man's intention to marry and obtain the approval of the girl's parents. In the *panangyawat* of the dowry and the *parawad,* the papers of the dowry or the gift of money and the jewelry promised are presented and handed to the bride-to-be. Likewise, the *parawad* is given to the parents of the girl. On both of these occasions, the *dallot* is sung as a means of communication between the boy's and girl's parties.

The *dallot* is accompanied by a *kutibeng* (a stringed musical instrument) and a *pito* (native flute; *pito* means seven; the native flute has seven holes). The *kutibeng* provides accompaniment to the singing of the *lalakian* (a representative of the groom) while the *pito* provides the prelude to the singing of the *babaian* (a representative of the bride). The singing of the *dallot* is done alternately by the *lalakian* and the *babaian* until they have sung all they wish to convey.

Fostering egalitarianism

Aggiddan nga Umuli/Sumrek ritual. When the newly married couple arrive home immediately after the marriage ceremony in the church or after the civil wedding, they are told to *aggiddan nga umuli* (go up the stairs at the same time) or *aggiddan a sumrek iti balay* (enter the house at the same time). The Ilocanos believe that the husband or the wife should not dominate each other. Thus, this ritual indicates the desire of the Ilocanos to foster egalitarianism in the family where the husband and the wife equally share authority in the family.

Fostering an abundant life

Waris ti bagas/sabsabong ritual. The bride and groom are met at the door with the *waris* (shower) ritual of *bagas* (rice) or *sabsabong* (flowers) when they arrive home immediately after the wedding ceremony. This is done for the purpose of fostering an abundant life for the newly married couple.

Eating of the Pinablad nga Utong ritual. The newly weds are given *pinablad nga utong* (boiled beans) as their first food at the wedding feast. The *amma iti kasar* (godfathers) and *inna iti kasar* (godmothers) are also given one boiled bean each which they eat first at the wedding feast. This ritual is done for the purpose of fostering an abundant life for the newly weds and for them to have several children.

Asking for blessing

Mano ritual. The newly weds go around greeting their visitors and asking their blessings through the *mano* ritual. They either kiss the hands of their parents, godparents, and relatives or put their relatives' hands on their foreheads.

Lualo ritual. An improvised altar is prepared at the sala. The couple kneels on cushions immediately upon arrival at the house while the others kneel on the mat spread before the altar. This ritual is done to ask for the blessing of the Almighty.

Determining whose life is longer

Candle ritual. The bride and groom are given one lighted candle each as they enter the house after the wedding ceremony. This is done to determine who of the couple will have a longer life. It is believed that the one whose candle light dies ahead is going to have a shorter life.

Symbolizing the husband-wife economic responsibility

Aras ritual. The husband-wife economic responsibility is symbolized in the *aras* ritual. This ritual is performed in both the Roman Catholic and Protestant weddings. The *aras* consists of thirteen one-peso coins prepared by the parents of the groom to symbolize the earnings of the husband in twelve months or one year plus earnings from other sources. In the Protestant wedding, the coins are placed on a porcelain or glazed ceramic plate. In the Roman Catholic Wedding, the aras, are placed on a small heart-shaped cushion. In both, the *aras,* are carried by the coin bearer who is usually a young boy. In both the Roman Catholic and the Protestant weddings, these coins are given to the groom who hands them to the bride through the guidance of the priest or minister who asks the groom to follow after him, saying: "Receive the symbols of my earnings. Keep them." They are given to the bride in recognition of her culturally defined role as the keeper or "treasurer" of the family income.

Symbolizing unending love

Ring ritual. The love between the husband and the wife is viewed as unending. This is symbolized by the ring which has no end and no beginning. The priest or minister puts the ring on the groom's finger. Then the priest or minister gives the other ring to the groom who places it on the ring finger of his bride.

Symbolizing brighter and longer life, protection and unity of the couple

Candle ritual, veil ritual, and cord ritual. The other rituals performed during the wedding ceremony in both the Roman Catholic and Protestant weddings are the candle ritual, veil ritual and cord ritual. The candle symbolizes a brighter and longer life for the couple: the veil means protection, and the cord signifies the unity of the couple.

Symbolizing cohesiveness and reciprocity

Bitur or Tuptopak ritual. The *bitur* (literally, bitur means to drop some money) or *tuptopak* means something to be dropped) is the last ritual in the wedding. This ritual involves the voluntary giving of cash to the newly married couple by the relatives and friends of the family. It symbolizes the readiness of the relatives and friends to pool together their resources to give economic assistance to the newly married couple. The cash given is called *bitur* or *tupak.*

There are variations in the performance of the *bitur* or *tuptopak* ritual. One is to spread a mat on the sala where two men - one representing the bride and the other representing the groom - squat at opposite ends. The representative of the bride shouts, "*Nababaian, nababaian* (a call for all the relatives of the bride) and the represenatative of the groom counters, "*Nalalakian, nalalakian*" (a call for all the relatives of

the groom. The money is dropped on the plates provided for the purpose, one for the bride and the other for the groom. The giver and the amount given are listed by a recorder, for it is expected to be repaid when a child of the giver marries. Another way of doing it is to place a table on a clear space outside the house. Someone asks in a systematic manner for the help of the relatives and friends of the groom in the following order: godparents, parents, relatives and friends. This is done also with the relatives and friends of the bride. Another procedure is for the newly married couple to dance to the tune of the *pandanggo.* While the couple are dancing, the people drop money bills on the floor. The couple pick up the money. Another is for the couple to dance to the tune of a waltz. While they are dancing, the people pin money bills on the clothes of the bride and the groom.

Drinking *basi* and liquor by using one *buyuboy* (big polished coconut shell) is an important part of the ritual. This is to signify the intimacy and oneness of the people.

At the end of the ritual, the money collected is handed to the groom who in turn hands it to the bride who keeps it for future use.

The *bitur* or *tuptopak* ritual demonstrates the cohesiveness as well as the reciprocity that characterizes the relationship of the Ilocanos.

Death and burial rituals

The Ilocanos perform different rituals in relation to death and burial. These are done for varying purposes as shall be seen in the following description of the rituals:

Dying peacefully

Jesusan ritual. (Jesusan is commonly pronounced as Kissusan by the old folks). When a person is between life and death or is agonizing, a relative, usually a pious old woman, is asked to whisper "Jesus, Maria y Jose," saying it close to the ears of the dying person many times. This is done to invoke God's mercy on his soul so that he dies peacefully.

Forgiveness of sins

Pulot ritual. When a person is dying, a priest is called to bless him. The ritual is called *pulot.* The priest or a religious leader prays the Lord's prayer, touching the mouth of the dying person to end the ability to utter words, the eye to stop seeing, and the ear, to stop the capacity to hear. The priest asks the dying person to follow after him while he recites the *pulot.* This is done so that the sins of the dying person are forgiven and he is worthy to join his Creator in Heaven.

Preparing the dead for the journey to the life-beyond

Bathing ritual. To prepare the dead for the journey to the life beyond, an old woman or widow bathes the corpse at the center of the house. During this ritual, the corpse follows the direction of the floor to ward off the spell of death from the family. The hair of the deceased is not combed but left hanging free for it is believed that combing would make the visitors catch cold. Then both hands are made to clasp a small cross made from a palm leaf (*silag*) and a rosary on the chest. A coin is put in the mouth in order to prevent the outflow of body fluids. After bathing the dead the old woman or widow washes her hands and the hands of those who helped her in warm water mixed with *basi* and with some coins immersed in it. This is done so that they will not suffer from muyeng or rheumatism.

Announcement to the people and the spirits

Atong ritual. When somebody dies, an *atong* (piece of wood or log that is kept burning) is placed near the gate of the bereaved family. The *atong* is kept continuously burning until the burial. This is done to announce to the people and to the evil spirits that somebody in the house died. The rising of the smoke is believed to help the soul in its flight to the afterworld. Furthermore, the fire drives away the evil spirits. Everyone is prohibited from stepping on the *atong* unless it is sprinkled with *basi* just after the corpse is brought out of the house to avoid illness or lameness. The ashes and the unburned wood of the *atong* are gathered and thrown into the river during the burial.

Expressing lamentations, requests, intercessions and pieces of advice

Dung-aw ritual. The *dung-aw* (dirge) expressed in loud cries and lamentations of the bereaved family announces the sad news to neighbors who in turn, transmit to others that somebody died. Every day during the duration of the wake relatives wail over the dead and recount his good deeds. The relatives usually

deliver a *dung-aw* as soon as those who live in distant places arrive. When it is done by a close relative, the *dung-aw,* as an emotional outlet and as a moralistic piece, always makes hearers cry. The singers are usually female relatives (or professional *dumudung-aw* in the absence of capable relatives) who take turns lamenting in a lyric mood before the coffin. Bereaved children or relatives talking with the dead while crying can also be considred as delivering a *dung-aw,* for their love, repentance for sins of commission, unfulfilled dreams and the like are sincerely expressed.

Most of the *dung-aw* is either expressed in the third or in the first person and the text is either traditonal or one which is extemporaneously composed. The melody of the dung-aw varies according to the place and to the singers. The *dung-aw* is interwoven here and there with requests, intercessions or pieces of advice.

Bidding farewell

Mano ritual. Before the bier is brought out of the house, the family members pay their last respects in a special way. They perform the mano ritual which is the customary kissing or putting of the dead person's hand on one's forehead. In some places, a more elaborate version of this practice is observed especially when the deceased is a parent. All the relatives fall in line to kiss the hands and feet of the deceased that were *naktang* (tired) from walking while taking care of them when they were still young children. After this, the bereaved family and immediate relatives gather around the coffin and, again, the *dung-aw* is recited.

Avoiding early death and confusing the ghost

Rotating the coffin ritual. When the coffin is brought out of the house for the burial, it is rotated and counter rotated three times before the door or gate. This is done to avoid the early death of the bereaved family and to confuse the ghost so that it will not know where to return.

Wishing good luck and happy trip

Showering rice and water ritual. Rice and water are showered on the coffin when it is brought out of the house. This is done to wish good luck and a happy trip to the deceased and to drive away the spirits.

Driving away the ghost

Closing the house ritual. After the coffin is brought out for the funeral, the entire house is closed. This is done to drive away the ghost so that the occupants will not be disturbed.

Avoiding early death

Pot breaking ritual. When the bier is being brought out of the house, an earthen pot is broken in front of the door. This is done to avoid the early death of the bereaved family members.

Carrier of the soul of the dead

Beheading a chicken ritual. A chicken, hen or rooster, is beheaded and thrown out into the yard opposite the door or stairs. The beheaded bird is believed to carry the soul of the dead man across the river bank of death. It is believed that it will also herald the soul's arrival at the final destination or heaven's gate before St. Peter.

Driving away the evil spirits

Vinegar sprinkling ritual. An old woman sprinkles all parts of the house of the bereaved family with vinegar especially where the coffin was placed after it is brought out. This is done to drive away the evil spirits that are still hovering around the house.

Bidding farewell

Shaking hands ritual. In the case of the married, the widow or widower shakes hands with the deceased spouse and does not follow the procession to the cemetery. This is done in the belief that since the couple were united in marriage in the church, it should also be the fitting place for their separation. The remaining spouse goes home. If the deceased is a child, the parents are not allowed to go to the cemetery. It is believed that if they do so, one of them or another child would also die soon.

Avoiding being haunted by the ghost

Touching the coffin ritual. Before the coffin is buried, everybody present touches the coffin. This is to avoid the anger of the spirit of the dead so that it will not haunt them.

Avoiding dizzy spells

Throwing a handful of soil or sand ritual. People present at the burial throw a handful of soil or sand on the coffin before it is finally covered. This is done to avoid *maan-annongan* (affected by dizzy spells).

Removing the spell of the evil spirits

Diram-os ritual. Just after the burial, the mourners go back to the house of the bereaved and upon arrival the *diram-os* (face washing) and *boggo* (hand washing) rituals are performed. The face and hands are washed with lukewarm water mixed with *basi* or vinegar, then the neck is massaged and the forehead is slapped lightly. The ritual is performed by a widow in front of the door or gate of the house of the bereaved family. This is done, in their belief, to immunize themselves from the spirit and odor of the dead and from any kind of spell of evil spirits.

Golgol and didigos ritual. The *golgol* (shampoo) and *didigos* (bathing) rituals are performed in the river or in the sea a day after the burial. The bereaved family, close relatives and some of those who joined the funeral march participate in the rituals. They bring with them a pillow, a coconut shell with betel nut, tobacco and match which they will throw into the river. The *arutang* (dried rice straws) are burned then mixed with water and strained. The strained water is mixed with vinegar or *basi*, ginger and pomelo leaves. A bolo is placed where one stands as he undergoes the ritual. A widow or the oldest among the group administers the *golgol* by pouring it starting at the head then going to the back before she turns and pushes the partipicant into the sea or river. The one who receives the *golgol* faces the flow of the river downward. The widow or widower is the first to be administered the *golgol,* followed by the parents, brothers and sisters, sons and daughters and others who are there for the ritual. As the mixture is poured, the one administering the ritual asks the spirit of the dead to leave them. The ritual is done to ward off the spell of the evil spirits and to avoid suffering from a terrible headache.

Removal of the mourning clothes

Waksi ritual. The *makatawen* feast marks the first death anniversary celebration and the end of the mourning period. The feast is held in connection with *waksi* or the removal of the mourning clothes. A prayer is said in the *waksi* ritual by all the members of the bereaved family. After the prayer the members of the bereaved family remove their black veils and later wear any color of attire.

Concluding remarks

The foregoing discussions presented, identified and described some of the agricultural, birthday, marriage, and death and burial rituals in Ilocos Norte. These rituals are performed to manifest or express the aims or purposes of the Ilocanos in the various aspects of their lives.

These Iloco rituals are components of the Ilocano identity. It is necessary to have a closer look into these rituals not only to have a better understanding of the Ilocanos but also to determine their relevance to the imperatives of national development, the fostering of national self-respect and dignity, and the search for national identity.

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FOLK SONGS OF THE PHILIPPINES*

DAMIANA L. EUGENIO

A folk song is a song that has been handed down orally from one generation to the next. What Evelyn Wells said about the ballad, or narrative song, applies to folk songs in general:

> It is the product of no time or person; its author, if ever known, has been lost in the obscurity of the past and in the process of oral tradition. Its medium is word of mouth rather than print. It goes its way independent of literary influence, carrying for a while the accretions of this or that day or singer, but sloughing them off as it passes to the next. It has no one original text, being freshly created by each successive singer as he makes his own version. It has periodically risen to the surface from the underground stream of continuous tradition, and has been caught and fixed in print, but it differs greatly from its printed form because of its unconsciousness of literary conventions.[1]

The Philippines has a rich folk song tradition, for songs mark every stage of the life of the Filipino, from the moment he is born to the day he dies. In this paper, I shall try to give a brief glimpse into this rich folk song repertoire and point out what kind of songs Filipinos sing as they go about the business of living.

To systematize this study, I have classified the folk songs, first, into narrative and non-narrative. All songs that tell a story fall under narrative songs, which I loosely call ballads. The non-narrative songs I have classified further, following roughly the stages of human life, into lullabies and children's songs, songs about nature, songs of family life, songs about the Filipino maiden, didactic songs, love, courtship, and marriage songs, occupational songs, social protest songs, songs of friendship and conviviality, humorous songs, religous festival songs, and songs of death and mourning. Inevitably, there is some overlapping among categories; some humorous songs and ballads are also children's songs, etc. But the system of classification will serve as a guide to discussion.

Narrative song: Ballads. It is disappointing and a little puzzling that the Philippines is not as rich in ballads as, say, England or the United States. It is also interesting to note that in the whole Philippines, it is the islands of Panay and Negros that are the richest in ballads, known there by the term *komposo.*

The best and most popular ballad among the Tagalogs and Pampangeños is "Ang Batsilyer," a didactic song which narrates how a proud and pedantic college student was humbled by a lowly boatman. Other Tagalog ballads are religious in nature, recounting miraculous punishment of sin and rewarding of virtue. The Visayan komposos, on the other hand, tend to narrate sensational happenings: calamities and disasters, tragic love affairs, domestic tragedies, and executions. The violent earthquake of 1948, for instance, is narrated in a Hiligaynon ballad. The execution of a young girl by drowning for being "a disobedient child" and for "going into an unfaithful love affair" is the subject of another. The outbreak of World War II is the subject of many komposos. Also narrated in the ballads are the hardships suffered by the people, the heroic exploits of Filipino pilots, and the return of MacArthur to the Philipppines. The richness of Panay island in ballads is shown by the fact that Dr. Herminia Meñez,[2] a native of Aklan now residing in the United States, was able to collect 100 ballads from Aklan during the Fall of 1978. She has done an interesting study of the ballads of domestic tragedy in Aklan.

Noticeable about Philippine ballads is the seeming fondness of the folk for narrating stories with animals and plants as characters. They are shown holding meetings, elections, even gambling sessions; that is, doing things human beings normally do. Thus in the Tagalog songs, "Ang Pulong ng mga Isda," the turtle is king, the *kandule* is priest, the *lapu-lapu* is archbishop, and the *dilis* is the policeman. A Cebuano ballad, "Hantak sa Kalanggaman," describes a gambling session among birds. Another Cebuano ballad, "Pista sa Kanlinao," narrates how a musical band composed

of animals played at a dance, with eels playing the clarinet; the turtle, the drum; the lizard, the saxophone, etc. The plant world is not left out. In a song, "Giyera ng Gulay," the *pipino* is king, the *malunggay* is queen, and Donya Patola is their princess. The songs are humorous in effect and are probably intended for children. They are definitely instructive, for each song reads like a catalogue of either fishes, birds, or plants.

Lullabies and children's songs. Like the lullabies of other people, Philippine lullabies tend to be soporific in tune and sometimes nonsensical in text. In the majority of examples, however, the text tells us something about the folk—their family life and their workaday world. The singer is not always the mother but an older sibling or relative, perhaps even just a neighbor. In many lullabies we find lines like:

Tulog na, bunso ko	Sleep now, my child
Ang 'yong Ina ay wala	Your mother is not here
Darating agad ang iyong tatay	Your father will soon arrive
May dala dalang tinapay at suman.	Bringing bread and *suman.*

The mother and father are away working at some occupation and the care of the child is left to its older siblings or to relatives. In one Tagalog ballad, the singer, apparently a teen-aged girl, adds a bit of moralizing about love at the end.

at bihis ng bihis	and keep on changing clothes
Marami mang damit ay siyempre mapupunit	Though you have many clothes they'll surely get torn
Gayon din naman ang gawang umibig	In love it's the same
Kung bago nang bago'y walang masapit	If you keep changing lovers you won't get anywhere.

(Pagpapatulog sa Batang Kapatid)

In a Bukidnon lullaby, the singer is probably just a neighbor:

Though he is not my own
I will take care of the baby,
So that when he grows up
I can request him to do things for me.
(Pamuwa sa Bata)

Children's songs take us to the happy and carefree world of the child—a world of fun and games, of jokes and laughter, with time spent mostly outdoors, climbing trees and picking fruits, catching fish in nearby streams, or just playing in the street on moonlit nights. In this world even poverty wears a pleasant face. When the child sings "Bahay Kubo," it is not a squalid squatter dwelling he describes but a neat little house set amidst a garden planted to all kinds of vegetables—a truly idyllic scene which gives an impression of peace and plenty.

The child's closeness to nature is expressed in songs in which he mimics the movements of certain animals like the crab (Tong, tong, tong, Pakitong-kitong) and talks to them (The Cuckoo, the Taring-ting Bird, etc.).

Songs about the nature. Filipino folk love to sing about the natural world around them—the plants, the birds, the fish, and even the moon and the streams. One senses in these songs a feeling of closeness and harmony with nature. The plants, the birds, etc. are kindred spirits that they talk about and converse with. In some of these songs, there is such attention to detail which suggests an intimacy born of long and careful observation. "Ang Makahiya," for instance, is described thus:

Ang dahon ay maliliit	The leaves are small,
Maliliit na halaman	a little plant
Na sa lupa'y nakahimlay	Which reposes on the
Sumusupling, gumagapang	ground, growing, creeping.

The singer sees its resemblance to a human being with a heart that can feel:

Ang dahon ay nakabuka	The leaves are open,
Sa hangin ay sumusuyo,	pleading with the wind.
Dahan-dahang tumitikom	Slowly closing when
Pag may kamay na humipo.	Touched by the hand.

The folk's knowledge of the economic, medicinal, and other values of certain trees and plants is reflected in the songs. The malunggay tree, for instance, is good:

Boil the leaves, sip the soup
And see how muscular your arms could be.
(Ang Kamalunggay)

The Bikol songs, "Mansi Pansi" and "Nalakaw si Artamisa" enumerate the many plants that have medicinal, culinary, or cosmetic uses. Some of the songs merely describe the things of nature—the *sampaguita, ilang-ilang,* and *sampaka* in a flower garden; a tree on top of a hill, ten birds all flying together to the coconut tree, two birds kissing in a tree, or a bird singing in a tree. But many of them address these plants, birds, and other living things in nature, suggesting a feeling of kinship and intimacy with them. Such lines as the following are common:

O pretty little maya
Sing us a sweet melody.
Maya, don't be ashamed
before the other birds.
Oh, butterfly, if you fly
take care of all the flowers.

In one song, a little boy feels very protective over a bird and warns it: "Taring-ting, fly away now/for the high tide will soon come." Similarly, the singer in "Daguiti Maluk" feels very protective over the *katuray* and the tobacco he had planted and warns the crow and the horse not to destroy them. The popular "Ahay, Tuburan" is a beautiful but sad song of farewell to a mountain rill, "whose water so clear gushes down the hill." The singer, apparently a little girl who has to leave for town to study, promises to come back; "I will come playing another day."

The Filipino Maiden. The proverbial "Dalagang Pilipina" has been made much of: each region in the country has its own songs in praise of its maiden. Thus we have songs entitled "Taga Bikol," "Ilocana a Nadayag," the Boholano "Dalagang Tagabukid," the Waray "An Marol," "Daragang Taga Cuyo," etc. The composite picture that emerges from all these songs is of the maiden who is a paragon of beauty and virtue. Tagalog songs like "Dalagang Pilipina," "Sa Silong ng Langit" and "Lulay" say it all. The Dalagang Pilipina is as beautiful as the morning star (parang tala sa umaga). She is, besides, "bulaklak ng lahi," "dangal nitong bayan," and above all, hard to get. Bicolanos add that she has good manners, is always happy, amiable, and a good friend. Ilocanos stress her industry, humility, goodness, and sincerity. To the Samareños, "the sampaguita of Catbalogan" is famous for her smile, known for her laughter, and socially accomplished—she knows how to dance and sing ("An Marol").

Didactic songs. In the study of Philippine folk songs, Felixberto Sta. Maria notes "the native predisposition to moralizing" among Filipino folk. They do this moralizing directly:

> The folk seem to be strongly inclined to point out in clear terms the didactic value of a situation. Seldom do they leave the listener to discover for himself the implied moral lesson.... The important thing is that whenever a story illustrates a moral, this moral must be stated plainly for all to see and ponder, so they may not fall into the same mishap.

Often, as in "Ang Batsilyer," the moral is tacked on at the end of the song. There are entire songs, however, that are moralizing, and these are what I call didactic songs. They are mostly in the form of advice to young unmarried women. At the head of this group, however, I place a melancholy, philosophical song entitled "Lumabaylabay nga daw Aso," which mourns the transiency of life—

"Everything in this world fades away like smoke and
the sweet turns to bitter, alas"

Of the songs advising women, a Tagalog song advises against living together without the benefit of marriage and against marrying a widower (Tungkol sa Pag-aasawa). Another song asks a girl to choose between marriage and elopment:

In marriage, there is kneeling
In elopment, there is pulling.

(Inday, Magpili ka Lang)

Several songs[3] warn women against the deception of men. Men are bees who, after sipping a flower's nectar, "will fly away and then will laugh at her" (Ang Bubuyog at Bulaklak). One song rebukes women who are too much in a hurry to accept a man's offer of love, afraid lest there be no other men to choose from (Mangmang na Babae at Salawahang Lalake). She should not allow herself to be taken in by a man's fine clothes and flattering words. A Bikol song directly tells women not to believe the professions of love from the lips of men (Hulit sa mga Babae). This is seconded by an Iloko song which tells women to take care of their honor and not to hurry. Another Iloko song advises prudence in order "to escape the pain of false love (Nasudi ni Ayat). A woman about to be married is exhorted in a song to think carefully before turning her back on maidenhood, because maidenhood is the

happiest part of life, whereas married life has its problems (The Life of a Maiden).

On the subject of education, a Hiligaynon song cites the big advantage to young people of being educated: "An ignorant young man is easily fooled" (Katahum sang Kaanakan). On the theme of ingratitude, one song features an *anahaw* hat which is reproaching its owner for discarding it in favor of a red umbrella, but coming back to it after the umbrella was destroyed. The song has a counterpart in the proverb:

Nang makakita ka ng damit na payong
Ang imbing anahaw pinatapon-tapon.
(When you found a cloth umbrella
You cast away the lowly palm leaf hat.)

Love, courtship, and marriage songs. Songs about love and courtship easily dominate the field of Philippine folk songs. What is love? Two songs give contrasting pictures of love. To a Tagalog song, love is a flower that would like to sprout on earth, but true to its paradoxical nature, it will wither in the rain and will freshen up in the heat of the sun. Its leaves will wither and fall if the loved one will ignore it (May Isang Bulaklak na Ibig Lumitaw). A Cebuano song, however, portrays love as mischievous; "were it a horse, it would kick, kick, kick, and likely hit us" (Malditong Gugma).

Songs satirize old men who fall in love with young girls. The popular Iloko song, "Ti Ayat ti Maysa nga Ubing," contrasts the love of the young and the love of the old. The love of the young "is like a newly opened flower in the month of April, whereas that of an old man, especially if he is already senile, is bitter. "So, Grandfather," the song advises, "you must find an old widow who is fitted for your gray hair."

Courtship. In the world of our folk songs, courtship may be an arduous undertaking for a young man, simply because, as we saw in the songs about the Filipino maiden, our ideal Filipino girl is hard to get. As the song "Lulay" says:

Lumuluhod ka na'y di ka pa mandin pansin,
Sa hirap ikaw kanyang susubukin.
How hard it is, complains a young man,

Ikaw sampagita sa bulaklakan
Ang nag-aalaga at pinagyayaman
Ako'y paro-parong nahihirapan
Magtimpi ng aking pamamaraluman.
(Kay Hirap, Dalaga)

Courtship customs prescribed in the songs are very conservative. Good breeding demands that the young man seek the permission of the girl's parents before he starts courting the daughter. As a song says:

Bago ka pumitas, magsabi ka muna
Kay ama't kay ina,
Magsabi ka muna. (Di Baga'y nung Una)

In a playful song, however, a brash young man boldly calls at a home and asks to be admitted because he would like to see the young daughter of the house. An interesting situation arises when the girl and the boy had known each other before. But then when it turns out that the girl was small, the boy ignored her; now that she has grown into a beautiful young lady, he would like to court her. The girl reproaches him:

Di ko nilalahat ang lalaki ngayon
Di pa nanunuyo gusto na ay tugon,
Ang nakakatulad ay 'sang punong kahoy
Gusto nang pasanin di pa napuputol.
(Manliligaw)

The answer of the girl, of course, is that he had come too late:

Nang pumarito ka'y lagas na ang tangkay
Buko ma'y wala na nasa ibang kamay.

In a similar situation, the girl in a Capisnon song says "NO" indirectly by setting impossible tasks for the suitor:

"I shall accept your love when the tanglad bears flowers."
"when the stone softens," "when the mountain gets levelled"
"when the water hardens," "when the plains get high,"
"when the sky gets low," (When I Was A Small Girl)

Quite different is the situation when it is the ardent suitor who makes extravagant promises to the loved one. One lover will make the girl happy "by sewing the stars to make a necklace for you" and "by cutting the moon in halves to make a crown to put on your head" (Atsing Neneng). A Gaddang suitor says:

"Oh that I were a new comb
So that I could rest on your crown, dear,
To help straighten your beautiful hair

This curly hair so nice to fix.
(Bersu na Agganggam)

In a Pangasinan song, the suitor says:

If I were to love that beauty of yours,
I'll not allow you to get out
When the weather is bad.
The floor you'll step on
I'll cover with a handkerchief.
(No Siac so Mangaro)

The Ilocano lover adds:

"If you were only a piece of lollipop
On my tongue I would keep it
On my tongue I would keep it
Rolling and caressing it there.
(No Siak ti Agayat)

Among the Bontocs, young boys and girls socialize at the *ebgan,* the girls' sleeping place. They sing the *day-eng*, a kind of dialogue song between the girl and the boy. The girl's remark below makes reference to an old custom of the boy's rendering personal service to the girl's family:

Gee' it's good that you came
As long as you can endure
Feeding the pigs.

It is probably in such a setting that the playful song is sung, in which the suitor tells the girl that he will give her:

a sack of ashes for her face powder
two old padlocks for her earrings
a cut from a G.I. pipe for her ring
horse hide for her shoes
(Maseg-ang ka Maseg-ang)

Serenades. During the period of courtship, the serenade is standard practice, and some of the most beautiful love songs are sung to serenade the loved one. In Tagalog serenades, hyperbole is the main device used to win the sympathy of the girl, so she will look out of the window. In "Ala-ala Kita sa Aking Pagtulog," the lover says that when he sleeps,

Ang binabanig ko'y luhang umaagos,
Ang inuunan ko ay sama ng loob.

- - - - -

Di ka na nahabag di ka na naawa
Lusak na ang lupa sa patak ng luha.

In "Sa Pinto ng Langit," the exaggeration is even more:

Sa lungkot ng buhay, sa gitna ng lagim
Malapit na akong bangkay na tanghalin
Kaya dungawin mo, ng magtamong aliw
Buksan mo ang pinto ng langit sa akin.

Some serenaders are extremly polite and apologize for the lateness of the hour (Harana - 1918). A Bikol suitor is very humble and would be happy with little:

If you choose not to let me in
At least look out on me with your beautiful eyes.
If at the window you cannot be while I sing
At least wake up and hear the message I bring.

Truly devoted lovers even express a willingness to die for the loved one:

Oh, lady whom I adore, listen and pity me
If it's your wish that I die, then I will.
(Ton-ton-tonen naka toy Ayat)
And I'll go to the grave soon
For no other cause but you, dear.
(Ope Immangque Wayi)

Wedding songs. Wedding songs among the Tagalogs are generally sad, because the idea of married life expressed in them is a gloomy one. The burden of married life is placed on the bride. She has to do the adjusting to her husband. Her world now revolves around him. She has to give up all her friends, forsake all her former pleasures, and concentrate on pleasing her husband, lest he be displeased and beat her. This is the bleak picture of married life portrayed in the Tagalog "Paalam sa Pagkadalaga." In "Mga Payo sa Bagong Kasal," the contrast between the single and the married life is made thus:

Buhay na dalaga ay masaya sa lahat
Pag nag-asawa ka'y diyan na ang hirap,
Makatagpo ka pa ng lalaking tamad
Para kang nagpasan ng krus na mabigat.

A Bikol song also opens with the gloomy:

You are to be pitied, my sister,
You are now separated from Mother
What you have to obey now

Are the rules and wishes of your spouse.

(Bagong Casal)

A Pangasinan wedding song is an exception to this gloomy mood of Tagalog and Bikol wedding songs. It is a happy song which begins:

I'm going to meet my daughter-in-law
I'll dance for her the kindo-kindo
Then I'll let her sit by my side
As a gesture of true love.

(Abeten)

It then gives a beautiful picture of married life with husband and wife loving and helping each other.

A Bukidnon wedding song sung by a parent gives a similarly cheerful picture of married life:

We have put their souls together
And they will live as one
And their hearts combined into one.

In a Gaddang song, the parents are more practical. They give their newly wed children money to start life with and express a hope that they raise children who will be good citizens of the country (Annutun).

Songs of family life. Our songs of family life express our ideals about the structure of the family, the respective roles of the parents and children, and the love that should bind the members of the family to each other.

Family unity is emphasized in the Bikol folk song which says that the family is a tree, with the father as the trunk, the mother as the branches, and the children as the fruits. Having children is desirable because according to a Gaddang song,

They help remove the hardship in life
Much more if they are learned
They are indeed a balm in life.
They are the fruits we reap.

(Mapia nu wara Anak)

The parents' love and concern for their children make family life happy and secure. In this Cebuano folk song, a child feels secure in the love of her parents:

I am my father's darling
My mother takes good care of me
When to school I'm about to go
My mother gives me some money
In the morning my face is washed
And my clothes are changed
And when I eat they watch me
And they drive the flies away.

(Pinalangga 'ko)

The children in turn return this love and express it in songs, of which the Bikol "Si Nanay, Si Tatay, di ko Babayaan" is the best known. Other songs sing of the value of a mother's love, a mother's kiss, and the concern of a father for his children

Growing up in a happy family makes one sad to leave it to get married. A young man feels this way as he says goodbye to his childhood home:

Fare thee well, my home,
Where I spent my happy young days
Farewell to you, my yard,
Where I played many games with
my friends.
Goodbye to you, beautiful garden of love
Goodbye, dear Father and Mother,
Brothers, sisters, and all
Till death take us apart.

(Panagpakada)

If to be able to enjoy parental love is a great blessing, to be denied it because one is an orphan is a great sorrow. The very many songs of orphans in our Philippine repertoire only show how intense a feeling of loss is felt by orphans. We have such songs from every region in the country. Typical is this Tinguian song:

When I was still small
I was full of joy
But now that my mother and father are gone
Life is so hard for me.

(Kanta ti Ulila)

Songs of friendship and conviviality. The occasions for songs of friendship and conviviality are social visits, so that most of the songs are songs of welcome and farewell. Typical is the Hiligaynon song which says:

Thank you for coming to our lonely barrio
Thank you for the joy that you have given us.

(Bilang Handuman)

The tribes of the Mountain Province also have many short songs of greeting to make their guests feel at home. Typical are:

We are happy you came,
Ay, Salidommay

Crown your guests, relatives with feathers
To make them feel at home.

Honored brothers, let me greet you
For being here today
We thank the Lord for this meeting
Though we've been apart
We've come to know each other.

A beautiful song is that sung by the Tagakaolos, a mountain tribe in Mindanao, for their hosts in the lowlands:

May their generation flourish
- - - - -
For us in the mountains
Our song rolls down to the beach
So that it can give some joy
A remembrance while we are not yet dead.
(Tigbalayan)

The Ilocanos have a special song of greeting for a birthday celebrant. It is sung while the celebrant is being crowned with flowers.

The drinking songs come mostly from the Bicol region and from the Visayas. One Bikol song describes men drinking until they collapse on the bench after the tenth glass (Plastado sa Bangko). Visayan drinking songs are sung lustily and boisterously, inviting everybody to drink and help catch the chicken for their *sumsuman.* A drunkard, according to a Waray folk song, goes to the store to drink glass after glass and when he gets drunk, he just lies in the street until morning (An Parainum).

Humorous songs. The Filipino folk's sense of humor is expressed in these folk songs. From the sample that we have, we can say that the Filipino folk find humor in tall tales using atrocious exaggeration; in impossibilities that happen and in making fun of human foibles and frailties.

A typical tall tale is that told in a Tagalog song about a flea that was butchered, yielding nine jars of lard. Its skin was made into chair covers (Kundiman in 1800). Of the same type of humor is the song which tells of a crab so big that it took seven persons to lift its pincers alone, or of that other crab which was bigger than Palo's cathedral, or a gabi tuber that was bigger than the Rizal monument.

Plants that grow miraculously are another source of humor. In one such song, the singer says that he planted a piece of ginger. It grew to be a gabi plant; it bore a mango fruit; it ripened into a papaya fruit; but when it fell to the ground it was a beautiful girl (Kapirasong Luya). Similarly, in "I Planted a Kamantigue," the plant bore 50-centavo coins.

Another situation which is considered humorous is that in which impossibilities happened when four beggars got together: the lame danced, the dumb song, the blind watched, and the deaf listened. A similar thing happened when a lady wrote something which was dictated by the dumb, written by an armless person, read by the blind, and heard by the deaf (Kampo ni Cadio).

More subtle humor is found in songs that satirize human foibles and frailties. A man, for instance, says he will settle for a dark-skinned girl because she is not choosy about food. In another song, a man, refused by a beautiful girl because he is cross-eyed, says he will just look for a spinster, who is not choosy.

Occupation songs. Our occupational songs present an interesting variety of jobs that Filipino folk engage in for a living—farming, share-cropping, barbering, dancing, embroidering, fishing, being a househelper, hunting, pot-making and salt-making, sewing, tailoring, stevedoring, tuba gathering, woodcutting, and wooden shoe-making. The songs give us an insight into the feelings, longings, and outlook on life of Filipino workers.

The greatest number of songs are about farming, reflecting the predominantly agricultural nature of our country. While the rice-planting song describes planting rice as back-breaking work, the rest of the songs are cheerful in tone. Rice farmers are praised and shown as taking their difficulties in stride and being able to enjoy life. The sharecropper's lot is harder. He earns one ganta of palay a day, and at the end of the day, he has no food ready for his tired body.

The barber takes pride in his work because he can make even a king or an archbishop bend his head while he is cutting his hair.

The dancing girl feels like a bird who flies and flies and changes her clothes frequently because she has to dance four days a week.

The girls who work at embroidering like their work because they do not have to be exposed to the heat of the sun and because they are able to dress up and go out on Sundays and buy things on credit.

The fisherman is happy with his lot because although he works hard, he is able to provide for the daily needs of his family.

The househelpers complain about their work. A servant girl in particular is miserable because she longs to study, but this seems hopeless in her present situation.

The seamstress also complains about her hard work. She sews night and day but she cannot save anything because she earns only enough for food.

The tailor complains of overwork because his wife is a gambler and loads him with work so he could give her money to gamble with.

In general, the Filipino workers who sing these songs are fairly contented with their lives. They accept the difficulties of life philosophically (such is life) and are able to find joy in life.

Social protest songs. Some of the songs reveal social problems like social inequality, poverty and unemployment, and these I call songs of social protest. Some singers feel they are inferior to the rest of their fellowmen because they are black-skinned, or because they are from the mountains and are uneducated, or because they are poor. One Hiligaynon song begins with the lines:

"My skin is black, my face is ugly
I cannot join other people
I am only good to stay at home
to run errands for my father and mother.

(My Skin Is Black)

The Aetas of Panay, on the other hand feel differently. They take pride in their race because they are the oldest inhabitants of the Visayan region:

Although we are dark Negritoes
We are worth our weight in black diamonds
We're costly as gems
The reason for this great pride
Is that we're oldest of all!
First of Visayans are we
And even older than the Spaniards.
Hurray!

(Ate, Ate)

A young man from the mountain is sorrowful because having been brought up on the mountain, without an education, he suffers from a terrible inferiority complex. He feels incapable of mixing socially with other young people. He blames his father for not sending him to school. (Ako Ining Kailo Solterong Bukidnon)

Poverty as a social problem is the theme of several songs. In a Cebuano song, a little girl describes a life of direst poverty:

Some folks may be very poor, but
We're poorest of them all
Camote is our food.

- - - - -

I have only one dress
And it is very torn.

(Imol Man Ang Iban)

High prices and unemployment are the theme of a Hiligaynon song, which makes reference to the control by Chinese of the rice retail trade:

The rice grains of the Chinese give a shudder
Its price gives a fever.

(Ang Bugas sang Intsik)

A case of the exploitation of poor workers by rich employers is portrayed in a song, which says:

We are working, we are working
For the rich man
We eat at two o'clock
We are sent home at angelus time.

(Mamugon Kami Mamugon)

Religious festival songs. Many feasts dot the Christian Filipino calendar, but only a few are celebrated in songs. Christmas, of course, is the subject of the greatest number of songs, followed by All Saints' Day

and the May Festival in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Some saints like St. Joseph and St. Isidro (May 15) have also been praised in songs, an indication of their popularity among the folk.

It is very gratifying to discover the great number of Christmas carols now available from different regions of the country. It is also interesting to discover that the tune of a very popular Tagalog carol, "Ang Pasko ay Sumapit," came from a Cebuano Christmas carol. The *panunuluyan*, or the seeking for lodgings of St. Joseph and the Blessed Virgin Mary on Christmas eve is narrated in some songs.

Al Saints' Day songs almost always feature the "holy souls" going from house to house asking for alms and prayers from the living, requesting the householder to please hurry lest the gates of heaven be shut against them. In a Pangasinan song, the souls also complain of the neglect of their relatives:

> You men on Earth, whether wife or child of ours
> How cruel can you be to forget us so early.
>
> (Taotaoag)

The songs for Lent center around the devotion to the Holy Cross and are mostly penitential in spirit. The "Alabasyon" and the "Patawara" of the Bikols are sung while the cross is taken from one house to another.

There are many songs for the May devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary. Most of these songs are sung while flowers are offered in procession every afternoon. In the song, the devotees praise Mary as the most blessed of all women, express love for her, and promise to offer her garlands everyday.

Death and funeral songs. In some parts of the Philippines, songs of mourning for the dead are sung by those keeping vigil. They play games like "Juego de Prenda" or passing the ring around and some kind of handkerchief game to while away the time. One song, "Lamay sa Patay," cautions the players not to make too much noise and to pray for the soul of the departed. In other parts of the country, like the Ilocos and Mountain Province, the song really mourns the dead. The songs address the dead person and talk about his family. In the West Bontoc "Baya-o," a man sings the funeral song for his brother-in-law as a duty of a member of the family.

Conclusion. We see through this survey that folk songs play an important part in the daily life of the Filipino. They express his character, his longings, his customs, his ideals, his inter-personal relationships -- his worldview. It should be the duty and pride of every Filipino to know these songs and to preserve them.

Notes

*Paper read at the Folklore Conference on the theme: "Ang Folklore sa Buhay Pilipino," sponsored by the U.P. Folklorists, Inc., Faculty Center Conference Hall, U.P. Diliman, May 27, 1990. Dr. Eugenio is Professor Emeritus at the Department of English and Comparative Literature, UP Diliman. She is one of the founders of the UP Folklorists and regarded as "the Mother of Folklore" for her extensive research and publications on proverbs, folksongs, legends. Her latest book, *Philippine Folklore: The Epics* will be released soon.

[1]Evelyn Wells, *The Ballad Tree* (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1950), p. 5.

[2]Dr. Meñez is a Research Associate in the Folklore and Mythology Center, UCLA. She was formerly a Professor of American Multicultural Studies, California State University, Sonoma, California.

[3]*The Philippines in Song and Ballad* (Manila: Cacho Hermanos, Inc., 1976), p. 19

THE USE OF FOLKLORE IN NAIVE ART

ALICE G. GUILLERMO*

Folklore plays a central role in *naif* or naïve art, particularly painting, both as subject and as style. *Naif* or naïve art has always been an important cultural and artistic expression all over the world. In relation to the mainstream art of the *beaux-arts* academies, *naif* art, whether as painting, sculpture, or other forms, has always had an alternative, if not oppositional character. In the visual arts as in literature, it partakes of the carnivalesque quality identified by Michael Bakhtin which at certain periods explodes and irrupts into the placid surface of the status quo with its unbounded energy and laughter or idiosyncratic verve, defying entrenched authority and bourgeois academic norms.

It is of note that the term *naif art* is of Western derivation, the word itself being French, the masculine form to the feminine form of *naïve.* It is validly used in European and colonial European art contexts to distinguish mainstream academic art or canonized works from that produced outside its influence. The term *naif* or "naïve art" is preferred to *primitive art* which connotes immaturity or deficiency, a term used with a clear Eurocentric bias when applied to non-Western art forms, although it is also used for some forms of Western art before the Renaissance. It would be erroneous to apply the term "naïve art" to the art of non-Western or Asian countries, particularly those with strong indigenous figurative traditions. *Naif* or naïve is not applicable to these contexts. In traditional Japanese art, particularly of the 13th century Heian Period, the divisions consisted of aristocratic art depicting the life of the court with its own conventions, and folk genre depicting the life of ordinary people with a greater spontaneity of style and a sharper characterization. The *zen* paintings of the Chinese and Japanese literati with their sparks of insight also belong to a separate category of artistic practice. It is also questionable if the contemporary paintings of Chinese peasant women can be called naïve art in relation to a dominant aristocratic canon, but they rather constitute a particular artistic sector which has developed its own idiom. In the Philippines, the term "naïve art" is applicable because the European *beaux-arts* Academy was transplanted into the country under Spanish colonial rule. Thus, art production can be viewed vis-a-vis the influence of the Academy and canon-making institutions.

The related term "folk art" is primarily applied to handcrafted objects which combine design and function in cultural traditions including textiles, pottery, and basketry. They are made of materials culled from the local environment and are mainly produced in the interval between the planting and harvesting seasons. When paper, canvas, and pigments are available, folk paintings, identified with a particular region, can be produced. These necessarily have a communal character and may manifest a particular stylistic tradition. In contradistinction, naïve art does not necessarily have the communal character that folk art has, although it mainly draws its energy and inspiration from the life and culture of the folk. The term "folk sculpture" can be applied to traditional terracotta forms, as in the lively Mexican tradition of tree-of-life candelabra figures. But an individual artist creating his/her original forms while drawing from folk style and using folk technology may be said to be doing naïve sculpture or naïve art in general to the extent that one gives free rein to one's individuality in one's work and can also be said to be doing folk sculpture to the extent that one merges and adapts traditional and communal forms.

Although naïve art may include the creative expressions of children, as an art term it primarily applies to the conscious artistic productions in painting and sculpture of both unschooled or self-taught artists and *beaux-arts* trained artists. However, the terms "unschooled" or "self-taught" require further qualification. These are, for one, terms which are relative to a school which is the fine arts academy, the *beaux-arts* or canon-making body with its related institutions which function to include those artists working outside the academy either by social circumstances or by choice. But again, there are two kinds of unschooled artists. There are naïve artists in rural villages who may be practicing their art

individually or communally, as well as those belonging to migrant or ethnic minorities in advanced capitalist societies who work as a group in a communal situation and who share and continue the artistic tradition of the community. Then, too, there are the unschooled artists who work as highly creative individuals in an urban context and who crystallize their personal visions in the artistic medium of their choice. Moreover, a large number of naïve artists practice their work in obscurity and remain anonymous unless they are discovered, like Grandma Moses, by art connoisseurs. Also of note are community painters without academic training who appropriate public spaces to do murals on the history and popular struggles of their community, as the Chicago mural painters. Finally, naïve art can also be done by schooled artists who trained in the *beaux-arts* and who absorbed its lessons. However, they have chosen to "unlearn" these lessons and to liberate themselves from the canons in order to seek deeper sources of creativity and develop fresher and more authentic visual idioms, as well as to explore artistic resources and possibilities from the alternative aesthetics of the folk traditions. It is in the work of schooled artists who prefer to pursue an artistic alternative that naïve art achieves its most sophisticated forms.

Relation to the oral traditions

Much of naïve art naturally springs from a country's oral traditions which continue to thrive in the rural countryside which has remained agricultural, even feudal, vis-a-vis the industrial sector and where orality predominates over literacy. With migrations from the towns to the cities, the people bring their folklore with them which they use as their guide. In music, orality manifests itself in the large body of unwritten music, songs or instrumentation without scores, which place importance on spontaneous and creative improvisation. In the visual arts, it shows a spontaneity of imagery and form liberated from academic convention.

Drawing from folk orality, as in the large body of folk songs, folktales, epics, and legends, naïve art shows many parallelisms with the qualities of orality. It shares in common the narrative élan of the born storyteller, mesmerizing the viewer with sparking inventions. Naïve art has the sense of play that belongs to folk orality, as with the riddles, the conundrums, the poetic jousts, the lively exchanges of witty sayings and puns. In naïve art, humans are not only the original *homo faber* but *homo ludens* as well, rediscovering the spirit of play, often within a communal context. Naïve art also shares the humor and wit of the folk oral traditions. Moreover, it is a particular kind of wit that often plays on reversals of position, as in the deconstruction of common expectations, of social pretensions and illusions, of traditional power and privilege. A Filipino folk song, *Doon Po sa Amin*, interpreted as a painting by Aro Soriano, narrates the story of four beggars: the cripple dances a jig, the blind man watches, the deaf man listens, and the mute one sings a tune. Implicit in this narrative is a reversal, whether real or imaginary, of traditional roles and positions in the social order. Likewise, as in the oral mode, naïve art possesses a strong dialogic character, creating a communicative social situation.

Inherent in orality is a keen sense of the natural and social environment. The observation of the natural environment, of plant and animal life, can manifest a prodigious quality that stems from a child's sense of marvel that has never faded with adulthood. In the characterization of figures or living creatures in general, there is the talent for bringing out the telling and essential detail. It is from nature that folk symbols are drawn, a rich field which the artist eagerly explores. This closeness to nature is seen in the numerous references to plant and animal life. Underlying the improvisation and spontaneity of naïve art is a communal character based on shared values, codes, and symbols. Naïve art is also kin to the folk art traditions such as textile weaving, basketry, and pottery, the processes of which are orally transmitted from one generation to the next, and like them, it is continually being renewed because it draws its vitality from the inexhaustible culture of the people. For all these, naïve art challenges the academic distinction between "high art" and "low art" or "fine arts" and folk or applied arts.

Other sources and affinities

Naïve art also shows affinities with children's art, with so-called primitive or tribal art, the art of schizophrenics, and with dreams and the visions of clairvoyants and adepts. Its similarity with the art of children lies in its unjaded way of looking at the world, its sense of marvel, its playful quality, its closeness to the mainsprings of life, its innocent fearlessness and love for all creatures. It shares the magic of primitive or aboriginal art, but while naïve art does not have the strong emotional charge that arises from religion, ritual, and taboo, it shares it underlying sense of

community and sensitivity to all living things. It has affinities with the art of schizophrenics dredging the depths of the unconscious to bring to the surface of jewels of beauty and terror. From this, naïve art often shows a surrealistic quality in its striking juxtapositions of imagistic elements and in its mystery and mood. When clairvoyants, visionaries, and people gifted with extrasensory perception draw or paint their visions, these have a naïve quality because of their unspoiled originality of form, as in the representation of symbolic figures surrounded with spiritual auras or apparitions with a penetrating luminous presence.

Art outside the academies

Naïve art, while it is doubtless an important genre, generally does not have nor does it seek to have a mainstream character, although it has found hospitable venue in prestigious museums and galleries all over the world. This is because it thrives outside the canons of the *beaux-arts* academies. Its origins are altogether different. In Europe, academic art and its institutions originally grew out of the royal courts which laid down its aesthetic canons linked to the glorification of the king and the ruling class. On the contrary, naïve art prospers in folk urban communities outside the centers of power. It often has the oppositional artistic power of traditionally marginalized groups.

Its very approach is different from that of academic art, from the "fine arts" which is self-conscious and often filled with ponderous importance. Naïve art, on the contrary, rediscovers the sense of play in art and the spontaneous pleasure in art-making; it thrives on magical charm, playful enigma, and indirection. While naïve art may not be consciously anti-academic, its figurative style is non-academic if not anti-classical. It is not bound to the *beaux-arts* conventions with respect to the proportions of the human figure, but is closer to medieval figurative styles, as exemplified, for instance, in Tarot card figures or International Gothic figures with their expressionistic quality, as in the genre stone reliefs of the medieval cathedrals. Because of these stylistic affinities, naïve art often shows a distinct tendency towards genre and narrative. And in this respect, one recalls the division, found in the arts of many countries, such as Japan, between the aristocratic mode which is formal and hieratic, used in the representation of religious or ruling class subjects, and the popular mode which is informal and used for lively secular genre for the depiction of tales about ordinary people in a wide range of activities, as well as animals in fables, all in a fluid, spontaneous style.

Qualities of naïve art

From the works of the many naïve artists all over the world, it is possible to distinguish certain recurring qualities, whether the works be in two- or three-dimensional form. In painting, the spontaneous impulse in naïve art easily favors line drawing marked by a remarkable sensitivity and plasticity suitable to the wide variety of its subject matter, rather than heavy modeling or chiaroscuro. Many naïve paintings show a meticulous attention to detail, as in some portraits in the miniaturist style. They may possess an exquisite craft-like quality, as found in embroideries, paper cut-outs, or pierced woodcarvings. Figures, such as flowering plants of a scale as big as trees, painted in decorative detail and brilliant, vivid hues, may possess an iconic character, like magical symbols. Thus, form itself can have a magical aspect, as in a sacred icon or a precious jewel because of its sheer intensity and concentration. In genre and narrative subjects, there may be an eminent plasticity of form in clearly delineated figures, a fluidity of line that leads itself easily to charming and humorous caricature.

The naïve style is generally two-dimensional, with limited or no modeling for full figures as for landscapes with figures. When full figures are depicted in genre focusing on different activities, the emphasis lies on the general posture, gesture, or implied movement with little articulation of the muscles and joints. Even schooled artists have used this style in representing the folk to signify qualities of simplicity, modesty, and childlikeness. While such a style may tend to be static, naïve artists may develop a dynamic style in their concern for plasticity of form resulting in a more buoyant, playful quality.

Naïve paintings show a different sense of space and time. They show indigenous or pre-Renaissance spatial systems other than linear single-point perspective. Implicit in Renaissance perspective is the ideology of man as the center and master of the universe with his project of the conquest of nature, rather than that of man as part of nature which he must protect and preserve as the basic condition of his survival. Instead of linear perspective, naïve art may often show conceptual perspective which, as in early Egyptian art, indicates what one knows of the subject with the need to inventory or enumerate all its parts to ensure its

integrity of form. In landscapes, the ground may be tilted upwards in an almost flat composition to provide a foil for the various elements of the scene, including structures, groups of trees, people in procession, and single figures. Color is likewise liberated from conventional harmonies, thus giving rise to unexpected coloristic effects with new and rich significations. Style, then, is crucial in naïve art. But, all in all, the eye of the naïve artist is the fresh and unflinching eye which is privy to beauty and terror in its exploration of the objective and subjective worlds.

Relation to modernism

Through the centuries, especially during the height of classical academism and before the advent of modernism, naïve art was relegated to the margins and excluded by the canons from the legitimate art of the salons. But beginning in the late nineteenth century, modernism with its democratic potential created a space for naïve art. With the prodigious expansion of artistic resources and discovery of new sources of inspiration that came with the modernist project, recognition was accorded to other artistic cultures and expressions outside the *beaux-arts* academies and the Western tradition of canonized works. Importance was given to new sources of artistic inspiration such as dreams as in surrealism, children's play as in fauvism, and "primitive" and tribal art as in the cubist's discovery of African sculpture. It was with modernism that appeared the great naïve painters. Henri Rousseau and Marc Chagall, Grandma Moses, the French Seraphine and the Mexican self-portraitist Frieda Kahlo, and many others lesser known. Not to be overlooked are the many Yugoslavian naïve painters which constitute a school the brilliant paintings of which are known the world over. With respect to modernism, however, there are naïve artists who work outside modernism, such as Grandma Moses, but there are many naïve artists such as Henri Rousseau and Marc Chagall who developed their style from within modernism. This latter is seen in the case of many Filipino artists.

The power of naïve art

The merits of naïve art go beyond its artistic qualities to its healing power so necessary in our time. This quality, however, does not stem from a conservative ideology that would neutralize issues or ignore class tensions. But naïve art seeks to regain the lost harmony of man and nature at a time when people are faced with the great danger of ecological destruction and the disappearance of many species of living things due to the rampant pollution of the ecosystem. A basic theme of naïve art is that of the Peaceable Kingdom where humans respect and preserve nature rather than pillage it ruthlessly for material gain. Naïve artists have a keen sense of the organic vitality of nature from which all life draws sustenance. The French artist Henri Rousseau celebrated nature's power, abundance, and mystery in lush images of tropical rainforests in the midst of which a beautiful nude may majestically recline, the goddess of nature. In many paintings, plant and animal forms seem to have a secret, magical life of their own as the French Symbolists believed.

Much of the content of naïve art reconciles humans to the subconscious/unconscious levels of the mind of which the conscious, logical mind is but the tip of a vast iceberg. Both the production of naïve art and its contemplation make men and women come to terms with the repressed contents of their mind. This, however, does not necessarily imply a direct or conscious Freudian influence, but it may be more in an indirect or intuitive way. In Henri Rousseau's *Sleeping Gypsy,* the colorful figure of the gypsy lying asleep on the ground with his guitar and flask of wine beside him is visited by the lion symbolizing his repressed fears and terrors which, however, have become sublimated into a figure of benign power and beauty. In naïve art often intuitively operates the classical psychoanalytic methods of the interpretation of dreams and free association through which it approaches surrealism. Its use of symbols is intuitive and poetic. Naïve paintings often express eroticism combined with romantic desire and longing, as in Chagall's celebration of his bride, and nudes often form part of its subject often within a narrative of desire. Repressed contents, erotic or guilt-laden, find release and sublimation in naïve art.

The healing power of naïve art is particularly significant because it often contains much that is autobiographical on the part of the artist. The primary subjects are the artist's familiar environment, his/her family and figures of influence, as well as life episodes and narratives. The artist is often central to these and naïve art functions as a vehicle for self-scrutiny or may even satisfy the desire for social display. In self-portraits the artist may come to terms with the question of personal identity, its contradictions and traumas, as well as its different roles. The Mexican artist Frieda Kahlo's work is an unflinching autobiographical disclosure and a fierce exploration of identity.

Likewise, because of its autobiographical content, some kinds of naïve art, in the art-making process, may function as the symbolic working-out of a problem, not unlike the case of the drawing of the Caduveo Indians which Claude Levi-Strauss cited as an example.

Part of the healing power of naïve art is its therapy of play. Men and women need play with a healthy, joyous character to break the monotony of everyday routine and maintain mental equilibrium by relieving stress. This is particularly true within the prevailing system in which workers are alienated from their labor and are filled with boredom and anxiety. Only when the alienation of labor is overcome with the change of the system will art become an essential part of the production process and the workers' artistic creativity will finally be allowed to find expression.

Naïve art when created in relation to a community keeps alive communal values of support, caring, and cooperation. It perpetuates the narratives that constitute the history of a community. A powerful example of such art is seen in the work of an Australian group of artists in the late 1930s, the Angry Penguins. A number of them, including Sydney Nolan dealt with political issues affecting their communities. Through their perspective, their heroes are the people's heroes rather than the personages exalted by the ruling classes, so that often a reversal occurs in the narratives: those named bandits by the ruling classes are the people's heroes who become legends that bind the people of a community together. It is important to note that oral folk narratives have at least a latent class content and may reveal the kernel of an oppositional character to the prevailing order when explored in depth.

Even as a detailed record of society, its genre activities or historical or communal events, as in the work of Grandma Moses, naïve art has a therapeutic function. It becomes a valuable repository of a community's memory, especially in periods when rapid changes occur. The images of naïve art in this case become a visual testimony of a community's shared history.

Early naïve art in the Philippines

Naïve art in the Philippines draws its inspiration from various sources. The first of these are the oral traditions, such as folktales and beliefs, rituals, proverbs, riddles, and folk songs. The second consists of the folk and indigenous artistic traditions as expressed in material culture, such as the naïve ***bulol*** or guardian figures of the Cordilleras, handwomen textiles with their designs and motifs, basketry, paper cut-outs, and *papier mache* figures. In colonial art, there are the folk santos or carved holy images for household altars, the style of which has an archaic precolonial character.

The Philippines had no two-dimensional figurative tradition before the coming of the Spaniards. Except for inscriptions on the walls of caves, such as those found in Angono, Rizal, there was no practice of drawing on flat surfaces. There was, however, a woodcarving tradition of indigenous deities and *anito*, nature and ancestral figures, in the Cordillera highlands and an elaborate open-work panel woodcarving in Mindanao. However, naïve painting as such began with religious subjects, representations of the saints, the Holy Trinity, the Passion of Christ for private devotions, as different from the works commissioned for church altars (although a number of these also exhibited a naïve and regional style). The paintings for home devotion were often done on wood panel which was the readily available material. A significant aspect of their naïve character was that they may have been done outside ecclesiastical supervision, as can be seen from their occasional unorthodox iconography, such as the representation of the Holy Trinity as three figures seated side by side. They showed no attempt to approximate the classical academic style of figuration with its canons of proportion, possible also for lack of models.

With the secularization of art and the growing patronage of the new merchant class in the mid-nineteenth century, a vogue for portraiture emerged. The new merchant of *ilustrado* class, which gained from the opening of the Philippines to world trade and the introduction of cash crop agriculture, commissioned portraits to celebrate their economic prosperity. These paintings which graced the salons of the wealthy were done in the miniaturist style, that is, marked with the same concern for exquisite detail seen in the fashionable miniature paintings for lockets. This was eminently suited to bring to the fore in a consummate linear style all the magnificence of the intricate embroidery of the garments and fashion accessories of the day. The products of the culmination of this genre in the latter part of the nineteenth century cannot be considered naïve as such, since they consciously approached academic conventions in the representation of the figure; however, the original

impulse of this art was undoubtedly naïve in its meticulous attention to material detail and in its craft-like virtuosity. Such portraits were also prevalent in nineteenth century Mexico and the United States under conditions of socio-economic transition and change.

Artists with folk tales

The Philippines has a number of contemporary painters who have dealt with the folk theme in their works, among them Lazaro Soriano, Manuel Baldemor, Mario Parial, Antonio Austria, Norma Belleza, Brenda Fajardo, and Jose Blanco. While all of them deal with folk themes, they show different degrees of affinity to naïve art, some closer to it than others. All of them attended fine arts colleges, some of them even art professors, and they developed their painting styles from within the modernist context. What is common to them is their affinity with the folk and their development of figurative styles more expressive of the folk.

Lazaro "Aro" Soriano—he signs as "L'Aro," being a pun on a French name and the Filipino word for play—rediscovers the pleasure of art as play. For him, his creativity comes in part from "unlearning art school." Of the naïve artists, it is L'Aro who has drawn most fully and consistently from the folk traditions. He has done several painting series on folk songs, riddles, and proverbs. His subjects are drawn mainly from the agricultural occupation of the countryside, although they may be also from the contemporary urban setting. This is seen in the ubiquitous street urchins, as well as scenes from the domestic context of the family. In order to bring out the relation of art and folklore, Aro has often written in script the word of the folk-song, riddle or adage along the borders of his painting. This device is part of the naïve quality of his work. For the folk who live in a predominantly oral culture, the written word often has a precious, magical character as seen from the fact that they traditionally like to emblazon their names or epithets on their prize material possessions, such as boats or jeepneys.

L'Aro's paintings show an exuberant vitality of natural forms in the trees and vegetation which are not inert but which possess an exciting tension, calling to mind Hokusai's great wave. His paintings play on the quality of surprise as he does not hesitate to juxtapose varying elements and symbols. His riddle paintings, for instance, have clues meant to waylay the viewer. Because of his wide-ranging subject matter, his work often reveals a light satiric vein, as in his painting of the so-called EDSA revolution which brought Cory Aquino to power and his painting of the electoral candidate, a semantically rich painting. Naïve art can be politically astute—it is not an innocent eye separated from contemporary reality, but it can combine play and satire on current issues. In fact, its acuteness can be disguised by its naïve form.

Manuel Baldemor has his own individual approach to art. His primary and inexhaustible inspiration in his small hometown of Paete, well known for its tradition in woodcarving, particularly of religious figures or *santos* and colorful paper mache or *taka*. Since the artist settled in Manila, it is with a loving nostalgia that he continually recreates his hometown in images in various media: oil paintings, collages, watercolors, woodcuts, and paintings on glass. His paintings are like a narrative tour of the streets and landmarks of Paete, its church, its charming modest houses with their flower box windows, against the Sierra Madre mountains. Sometimes, a cloudburst opens above the town to reveal the Crucified Christ or the Virgin Mary like the town's exquisitely carved *santos* festooned with garlands of fragrant *ilang-ilang* blossoms. Part of the narrative quality of the work comes from his subject matter of festivals with its rituals, games, and processions which wend their way through the town and create a continuity of imagery. In all of them, there is an irresistible feeling of joyous innocence and childlike play within the warmth of a well-knit community. His style is inspired by Filipino folk aesthetics, its bright and warm colors, curvilinear lines, penchant for ornamentation, two-dimensionality, and *honor vacui*. His very style and materials make allusions to the folk arts of woodcarving and paper mache of his hometown.

Antonio Austria, a professor of painting, works in the naïve style. His subjects are of the folk in a modest urban setting: their petty commerce, games, simple pleasures, and occupations with a communal spirit. Some paintings show small-town entertainment's in open-air folk theater. He uses a wide range of colors and applies them in several levels to create a rich chromatic effect. The naïve quality of his art is apparent in the figurative style of short, squat figures with tubular limbs, as such, they integrate easily into the over-all design of the paintings which consists of a large number of interlocking elements that are part of the everyday life of the folk.

There are other artists, such as Brenda Fajardo, Mario Parial, and Norma Belleza whose paintings have certain qualities of naïve art. Brenda Fajardo has moved from the classical influence of her fine arts background towards stylistic distortion. She has developed a naïve figurative style that borrows from medieval Tarot cards for fortune-telling. As indigenized, the Tarot figures stand for key personages in Philippine history, past and present, as well as for types from different classes, implying the different social forces entering into relationships and contradictions. She has also done interpretations of indigenous myths in a flat decorative style with new ways of managing space.

The paintings of Maria Parial share the organic vitality of naïve art, but while they are strong in color and design, they do not have the playfulness and insouciance of naïve art. Instead, his works intentionally aspire to a formal beauty. Another artist, Norma Belleza, represents the folk as stocky, vigorous figures in genre paintings of brilliant colors.

In the Philippines, naïve artists usually work in a style reflecting Filipino folk aesthetics as in the use of bright and warm colors, flatness or two-dimensionality in figurative representation, curvilinear lines, and the filling up of the entire pictorial space. But these qualities as signifiers have their own signification's clustering around folk festivals in the celebration of abundant harvests. However, it is necessary that naïve art not turn away from contemporary reality but must invigorate itself in the living material of our time.

In these fast-changing times marked by the loss of values, naïve art upholds artistic integrity and harmony with the natural universe, at the same time that it has a democratic aspect in its feeling for the folk. But with the rapid growth in computer and communications technology with their strong influence on contemporary art resulting in the transformation of familiar concepts of art, what is the future of naïve art?

There is always optimism for naïve art. This hope lies primarily in bringing out its progressive potential as an alternative art which is indeed not a simple thing in our time when popular struggles have become increasingly complex. But a naïve art grows out of the folk, it can make itself part of the unfinished struggle for a future order of human realization through the empowerment of the people themselves who are the producers of the wealth of the land.

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[1]Critic and art historian, Dr. Guillermo used to chair the Department of Art Studies, UP Diliman. She won the Criticism Award from the Art Association of the Philippines in1976 as well as the Palanca Award for Essay, and has a number of books and reviews to her credit.

PSSC NEWS

PSSC General Membership Meeting

The Annual General Membership Meeting of the Philippine Social Science Council took place on 19 February 2000 at the Eufronio M. Alip Auditorium of the PSSCenter. It was presided over by Dr. Cayetano W. Paderanga, Jr., who also presented the Chairperson's Report on the main activities and accomplishments of PSSC for 1999. Dr. Ana Maria L. Tabunda, past treasurer and member of the 1999 Finance and Personnel Committee, likewise presented the Treasurer's Report. The Council also welcomed the *Institute for Popular Democracy* as its 38th Associate Member.

Following the newly amended PSSC By-laws, the Board of Trustees reconstituted itself into the transitory Governing Council which is PSSC's policy and decision-making body. The transitory Governing Council will serve for one year, until the designation of the successor Governing Council which will assume office on 1 March 2001. The transitory Governing Council re-elected its officers for 2000, namely: Cayetano W. Paderanga, Jr. (Economics) as Chairperson; Ana Maria L. Tabunda (Statistics) as Vice-Chairperson; and Alex B. Brillantes, Jr. (Public Administration) as Treasurer. PSSC Executive Director Virginia A. Miralao serves as the Secretary of the Governing Council.

Earlier, PSSC's Associate Members held a breakfast meeting and discussed future activities and sharing of information. They agreed to sponsor a lecture series on poverty and environment.

PMRN General Assembly

The Philippine Migration Research Network (PRMN), which plans and implements the activities under the UNESCO Management of Social Transformations (MOST) Program based at PSSC, held its 4th General Assembly last 4 February at Bayview Park Hotel, Manila.

Commissioner Mercedes B. Concepcion of the Commission on Population delivered the keynote address, followed by the following paper presentations: "The Social Construction of Filipina Entertainers Abroad" by Dean Aurora de Dios of Miriam College; "Trafficking of Filipinas in Korea" by Rev. Kim Enju of the Korea Church Women United; and "Returning to the Philippines: Challenges Facing Migrants and their Families" by Dr. Maruja M.B. Asis of the Scalabrini Migration Center.

Two other papers were presented in the afternoon. "Preliminary Study of Foreign Nationals in the Philippines: Strangers in our Midst?" was contributed by Prof. Jorge Tigno of the UP Political Science Department while Prof. Stephen Castles of the University of Wollongong, Australia and Director of the Asia Pacific Migration Research Network (APRMN) Secretariat, presented "International Migration and the Nation-State in Asia." The General Assembly was concluded by the reelection of the PMRN Executive Committee members to another term.

Textbook Review Project

The UNESCO National Commission of the Philippines and PSSC undertook a joint project which reviewed the social and human sciences content and framework of basic elementary and secondary school curricula and textbooks.

Dr. Flor Hornedo of the Ateneo de Manila University Filipino Department and Ms. Felice Sta. Maria of the UNESCO National Commission's Social and Human Sciences Committee were co-chairs of the Project which reviewed textbooks in five subject clusters namely: Science and Math; Language (English and Filipino); Social Studies, Culture and Civics; PE, Health and Music; and Technology and Home Economics. Content experts, supervisors, teachers, book writers and publishers, and social scientists discussed the results of the review at simultaneous roundtable discussions at the PSSCenter on 26 February 2000.

The revised papers and the results of the discussions were presented to DECS officials for proper action on the recommendations of the Project. The papers are also being published and will be available by September this year.

Research Outreach Training Program

A 3-day training-workshop on Thesis/Dissertation Proposal Writing was conducted by the PSSC under the Research Outreach Training Program last 3-5 May 2000 for the Philippine Association of State Universities and Colleges (PASUC) Region 8. Dr. Cecilia Conaco of the UP Department of Psychology and Prof. Stella Go of De La Salle University Department of Behavioral Sciences were the resource persons of the training-workshop held at Leyte Normal University. Forty two teachers and graduate students attended the training.

A similar training-workshop was held in Central Luzon State University, Muñoz, Nueva Ecija on June 8-10, 2000. The activity was sponsored by the CHED-CLSU Zonal Research Center for Region 3, and was attended by 42 participants from 15 schools in the region. Training was provided by Prof. Stella Go and PSSC Executive Director Dr. Virginia A. Miralao.

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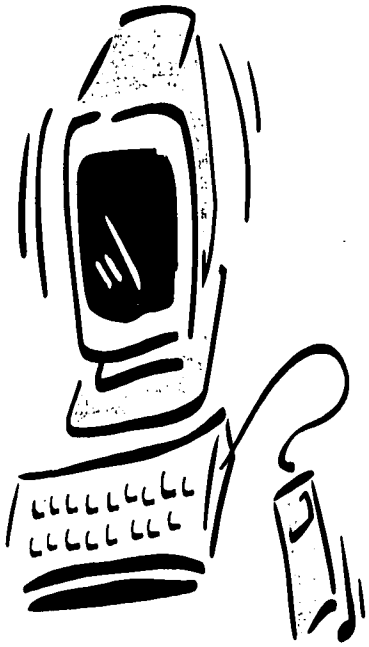

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	1 (2)		7 (2)		12 (5)		19 (4)
1974	2 (1)		7 (3)	1985	13 (2)	1992	20 (1)
	2 (2)		7 (4)		13 (3)		20 (2)
	2 (4)	1980	8 (2)		13 (4)		20 (3)
1975	3 (2)		8 (3)	1986	14 (1)	1992-	20 (4)-
	3 (3)		8 (4)		14 (2)	1993	21 (1)
	3 (4)	1981	9 (1)		14 (3)	1993-	21 (2-3)
1976	4 (1)		9 (2)		14 (4)	1994	21 (4)-
	4 (2)		9 (3)	1987	15 (3-4)		22 (1)
	4 (3)		9 (4)	1988	16 (1-2)	1994	22 (2-4)
	4 (4)	1982	10 (1)		16 (3-4)	1995	23 (1-2)
1977	5 (1)		10 (2)	1989	17 (1)		23 (3-4)
	5 (2)		10 (3)		17 (2)	1996	24 (1-2)
	5 (3)		10 (4)		17 (3-4)		24 (3-4)
	5 (4)	1983	11 (2)	1990	18 (1)	1997	25 (1)
1978	6 (1)		11 (3)		18 (2)		25 (2)
	6 (2)		11 (4)		18 (3)	1998	26 (1)
	6 (4)	1984	12 (1)		18 (4)		26 (2)
			12 (2-3)	1991	19 (1-2)	1999	27 (1)
							27 (2)

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