

“Capiznon” is derived from the word *kapis*, a seashell used to make square panes for windows (and obtained from the mollusk *Placuna placenta*) and the suffix “non” or “people.” The term refers to the culture, language, and people of Capiz province, one of Panay Island’s four provinces: Iloilo, Capiz, Antique, and Aklan. The Capiznon people belong to a larger group called Visayan, and the Capiznon language is a subclassification of the Visayan language. The language is almost the same as Hiligaynon, the language of the Ilongo.

Capiz is bounded by the Sibuyan Sea on the north, Aklan province on the northwest, Antique province on the west, and Iloilo province on the south and southwest. Population count as of 1988 was 600,000 (RR’s *Philippine Almanac* 1990). Its capital is Roxas City; its municipalities are Cuartero, Dao, Dumalag, Dumarao, Ivisan, Jamintan, Maayon, Mambusao, Pan-ay, Panitan, Pilar, Pontevedra, President Roxas, Sapián, Sigma, and Tapaz.

History

Folk history recorded in the *Maragtas* by Pedro Monteclaro (1907) says 10 Bornean *datu* (chieftains) landed at a site now known as San Joaquin town in Iloilo province. They purchased Panay from the Aeta, cultivated the land, and renamed the island Madya-as. They divided it into three *sakup* (communities): Irong-Irong, Aklan (which included the area of Capiz), and Hamtik (now Antique). These were loosely united under a government called the Confederation of Madya-as.

When the Spaniards led by Miguel Lopez de Legazpi came to Panay from Cebu in 1569, they found people with tattoos, and so they called it *Isla de los Pintados* (Island of the Painted Ones). How the island itself came to be called Panay is uncertain. The Aeta called it Anipayay, after a plant that abounded in the island. Legend has it that Legazpi and his men, in search of food, exclaimed upon discovering the island, *Pan hay en esta isla!* (There is bread on this island!). So they established their first settlement in the island at the mouth of the Banica River in Capiz and called it Pan-ay. This was the second Spanish settlement in the Philippines, the first being San Miguel, Cebu.

Folk history has several explanations for the name of Capiz. It is said that once, when a group of Spaniards lost their way, they saw a mother coddling her twin sons. When they inquired as to the name of the place, she thought they were asking about her sons, so she answered, “Kapid” (twins). A second conjecture is that the province was named after the twin sons of Datu Sumakwel, one of the 10 Bornean datu who settled on the island. “Kapid” may also refer to Capiz being Aklan’s twin.

Aklan was divided into *encomiendas*—large tracts of land granted by the Spanish king to loyal Spanish subjects. The town of Pan-ay, Capiz, was appropriated by the king in his name, and it became the seat of the chief *encomiendero*, the land grantee whose functions and privileges were equivalent to those of a provincial governor. The riverbanks of Panay, with a scattered population of about 2,000 natives, were

distributed to Spanish soldiers.

In 1703 Panay Island was divided into three provinces: Iloilo, Antique, and Capiz (which then included Aklan). But it was only in 1716 that Capiz was made a politico-military province, which included the neighboring islands of Maestre del Campo, Romblon, Tablas, and Sibuyas. A town of the same name, Capiz (now called Roxas City) was founded in the same year. Before this, Capiz was within the jurisdiction of Oton, Iloilo. Aklan was separated from Capiz only in 1956. Hence, the history of Capiz is often connected with that of Aklan.

Pan-ay, like the other coastal towns of Panay, was beleaguered by Muslim raids. In 1569 the Spanish soldier Juan Salcedo, with a combined force of Spanish soldiers and Aklan and Ibajay warriors, pursued Muslim invaders to Mindoro and defeated them. In 1599 and again in the mid-18th century, Muslim pirates razed Pan-ay and captured a number of its residents.

Throughout the Spanish colonial period, several large and small uprisings occurred in Panay. In 1896 a Visayan chapter of the Katipunan (revolutionary movement) was organized, and on 4 May 1898, the first revolutionary battle in Capiz took place in Panay.

General Esteban Contreras, a fisher and farmer in Capiz, led the Filipino revolutionaries against the Spanish garrison in the barrio of Tanza del Norte, Pan-ay. However, the Spaniards rallied when the Filipinos ran out of ammunition. Pan-ay was razed and 12 of its leading residents were executed. Soon after, General Ananias Diokno was sent by General Emilio Aguinaldo to Pan-ay to help the revolutionaries there. In December 1898, the Spaniards left Pan-ay in defeat.

Barely a month later, American troops landed in Iloilo and Capiz and in February 1899, began bombardment. Generals Diokno and Contreras led the resistance that later took the form of guerilla warfare which continued until their surrender in March 1901. That year, three Thomasites arrived in Capiz; and in 1903 the first two pensionados of the province were sent to the United States.

World War II came to Panay with the Japanese invasion on 12 April 1942, enemy troops landing simultaneously in Capiz, Iloilo, and Antique. This led to the formation of the Panay Resistance Movement, divided into the civil resistance movement and the Panay guerilla force. The end of the Japanese occupation in 1945 revived the Filipinos' active participation in electoral politics and other regional concerns. In 1956, Aklan was finally separated from Capiz with a bill approved by President Ramon Magsaysay.

Capizeños who have attained prominence include President Manuel A. Roxas; Pedro Gil, founder and editor of newspapers, congressman, and ambassador to Buenos Aires; Vicente Carmona, first president of the Philippine National Bank; Jovita Fuentes, internationally acclaimed opera singer; and Cornelio Villareal Sr., a member, along with Roxas, of the 1934 Constitutional Convention.

Economy

The main products of the province are rice, sugarcane, and coconuts. The nipa palm thrives best along the coast, and the making of nipa shingles for roofing is a lucrative occupation, together with the fishing industry. The buri palm fiber called saguran is made into hats, slippers, mats, household adornments, and sail. Other cottage industries are basket making, mosquito nets, rope, abaca weaving, shell craft, and abaca slippers. The cloth-weaving industry reached its peak production before World War II, but has since declined because the market is flooded with mass-manufactured textiles. The forested areas rich in construction material are now denuded, with the exception of the southwestern part of the province. Sand and gravel are the region's contribution to the country's construction industry.

During the Spanish period, distilleries were erected, the biggest one being owned by Don Antonio Roxas, grandfather of President Roxas. There were no copper mines until 1955, when the Pilar Copper Mines Incorporated was established. Otherwise, the mineral deposits have not been fully tapped.

Political System

Late 16th-century accounts, such as that by Miguel de Loarca and an anonymous manuscript now referred to as the *Boxer Codex*, say that traditional Panayanon government was headed by the datu, who, as head of a sakup, was the judge in matters of dispute, the protector and defender, and a feudal lord. His subjects were called *sinakpan*, whose property he appropriated when they died. Any of the datu's sons could claim succession; hence, warfare could erupt between brothers competing for the throne. Another recourse was for the disgruntled brother of a newly installed datu to start his own sakup.

A class of warriors called *timawa* owed fealty to, and protected, the datu. Their tasks included testing the datu's wine for poison. They accompanied him on raiding forays and were on familiar terms with him. They were themselves descendants of a datu, the first-generation timawa having been the illegitimate sons of a datu and a slave woman. The rest of the *sinakpan* were the *oripun*, who provided the economic and political support for the datu and timawa, since the latter two did not engage in agricultural or industrial activity.

Legislative decisions by the datu were done publicly and with the guidance of the *ponuan*, a council of elders knowledgeable in matters of custom law. Although law was handed down by tradition, amendments could be made with the consensus of the other datu. The datu decided on a case after listening to the sworn testimony of the conflicting parties. All crimes, including murder and disobedience to the datu, were punishable by fines, which could be paid for with servitude.

The first stage of Spanish political control was the encomienda system, which begun in 1571. But because of the abuses perpetrated by the encomienderos, it was abolished in 1720. With the abolition of the encomienda system, Capiz was made a province, called the *alcaldia* and governed by the *alcalde mayor*. The *alcaldia* was composed of pueblos or towns headed by a *gobernadorcillo* addressed as *capitan* (captain). The barrios, called barangay, were headed by a *cabeza de barangay*.

Under American rule, a civil government was established on 15 April 1905. Elections for the first National Assembly were held in 1907, and Manuel A. Roxas of Capiz became the Speaker of the House of Representatives. He was one of seven members of the Constitutional Convention of 1934 who made the final draft of the Constitution, and he went on to become the first president of the Republic.

When the Commonwealth Period was established, provincial and municipal leaders agitated for local autonomy. Gabriel K. Hernandez was elected governor of Capiz, and the title of *presidente municipal* was replaced by municipal mayor.

Meanwhile, the women of Panay also agitated for participation in the electoral process. One of the leaders of the suffragette movement was Atty. Josefa Abiertas (1894-1929), born in the town of Capiz (now Roxas City). The first female member of the Philippine Bar, she actively opposed crime and vice, especially gambling and prostitution, and organized indignation rallies with the help of student leaders.

Today, Capiznon politics is determined by traditional political dynasties, such as those of Roxas and Villareal.

The province of Capiz was created under Republic Act 2711 on 10 March 1917, and is classified as a third-class province based on income. Capiz has two seats at the House of Representatives, and is administered by a governor, vice-governor, and a provincial board (*RR's Philippine Almanac 1990:138*).

Social Organization and Customs

The traditional social hierarchy consisted of five classes: the datu, timawa, oripun, *negrito*, and outsiders from across the seas. According to an origin myth, these classes were the five types of people that made up all of humankind. The term “datu” referred to both the social class and the village head who belonged to this class. He had a retinue of personal vassals called timawa. These two upper classes were economically supported by the commoners, called oripun, who were further divided into 12 subclasses ranging from the *bihag* (captive slaves) to the *tumataban* (“the most respected” commoner, serving only five days of labor per month).

Vertical mobility was possible within this social structure. A slave, for instance, could become free after paying off his debt or as a reward from his master. Slaves could also

go up the ladder of the 12 subclasses within their class. However, the datu kept the noble line unbroken by marrying only princesses of other sakup, whether by proper arrangement or by abduction. The princesses were *binokot* or “wrapped up,” i.e., reserved for an appropriate marriage. The illegitimate sons of a captive binokot princess and the datu became the timawa. Upon their father’s death, they were set free and were called *ginoo*.

By the 17th century, the noble classes, datu and timawa alike, had been absorbed into the Spanish colonial structure; and the timawa, now subjugated by Spanish military might, had to seek a means of subsistence like farming and fabric weaving. The current meaning of the word is “poor or destitute,” evidence of the effect that Spanish colonization had on indigenous society.

The datu class was also referred to as *manggaranon* (rich), *halangdon* (held in high respect), and *dungganon* (honorable). Among the other halangdon and dungganon were the *sabiosar* (wise), and the *babaylan* (priest or priestess). The datu was also the *agonal* (feudal lord and master) of the timawa and the oripun. Because the present agricultural system maintains feudal relations between landlord and tenant or worker, these terms are still in current use.

The Capiznon kinship system follows the general Philippine pattern, relationships being traced along both paternal and maternal lines, with terms of address for each member of the family. Marriage arrangements follow tradition—parental approval and arrangement, and a ceremony called *pamalaye* or *pabalayon*.

The marriage ceremony itself is festive and costly. The newlyweds may stay with the bride’s family for a few days, then move in with the groom’s family for a longer period, until the couple set up residence, usually as decided upon by the husband, with his wife’s concurrence. In the past, the groom was expected to serve the bride’s family for the first few months.

The father is the head of the family, although household matters—like preparing the meals, buying clothing for the family, entertaining visitors and relatives, attending to the children’s needs—are the mother’s responsibilities. Grandparents are respected and cared for, their opinions sought and their advice followed. In their terminal years they are attended to by the favorite son or daughter. Equal inheritance for the children is observed.

Religious Beliefs and Practices

The early Panayanon believed in many gods. Bululakaw, a bird which looked like a peacock and could cause illness, was said to live in the island’s sacred mountain called Madya-as. A chief goddess was believed to reside in the mountain of the nearby island of Negros Occidental. She was called Laon, after whom Mount Kanlaon is named. Mediators to the gods, also said to be the first priests, were: Bangutbanwa,

who prayed for good harvests and an orderly universe; Mangindalon, who interceded for sick persons and prayed for the punishment of enemies; and Soliran and Solian, who performed marriage ceremonies. Manunubo was the good spirit of the sea.

Traditional folk belief and legend are peopled by mythological creatures. Tungkung Langit is the god of the sky who brings famine, drought, storms, and floods. Lulid-Batang is the god of the earth, responsible for earthquakes and volcanic eruptions. Linting Habugabug is the god of lightning, whose look kills people and who shouts in anger. Launsina is the goddess of the sun, moon, stars, and seas, and the most beloved because people seek forgiveness from her. Burigadang Pada Sinaklang Bulawan is the goddess of greed to whom people pray when they want to get rich. Saragnayan, the god of darkness, has the power to replace brightness with darkness. Lubay-lubyuk Hanginun si Mahuyuk-huyukun, the goddess of the evening breeze, cools people, especially during the summer. Suklang Malayun is the guardian of happy homes, and Maklilum-sa-twan the god of the plains and valleys.

Catholicism and reverence for patron saints have not completely replaced the belief in the *ingkantu* (supernatural beings), which reside in places called *marit*, e.g., cliffs, bamboo groves, boulders, and earth mounds. They either prey on people or, at the very least, play tricks on them. The *ingkantu* are also believed to be fairies that appear beautiful to mortals.

The *palhi* are evil spirits. The *aswang* is a man-eating person. The *gabunan* is an aswang which flies in the form of a huge bat of which there are various kinds: *tiktik*, *kabug*, and *wakwak*. The *tiktik* is a bird that eats human liver. The *wakwak*, unlike the *aswang*, prefers to eat dead persons. The *bagat*, usually in the form of a huge dog or some grotesque creature, preys on lone travelers. The *sigbin*, also a dog, preys on people at noontime. The *bawa* looks like a big hen, but it can easily snap its victim's neck.

The *kama-kama* are dwarfs living in earth mounds, and are lazy and fun loving. The *tamawu/taglugar* are spirits that can be either friendly or evil. They live in resplendent palaces that look like mere boulders to the human eye. When they find a human being attractive, they entice the person to join them; this peculiar act of courtship is called *yanggaw*. The *dwindi* is a dwarf residing in a mound of earth. The *lulid sa bungsud* has a big head, but a small torso and limbs. One who disturbs the mound where it resides falls ill. The *agta* is a very dark, hairy person living in the forest. Although a trickster, it is helpful to people. The *amamanhig* is a dead person who has returned to life and simply echoes everything that mortals say; it has lost the power to think. *Hiwit* or *barang* is a ritual that gives one the power to inflict pain on an enemy.

Belief in the power of the *babaylan* has not completely disappeared either, although their number has dwindled. In pre-Christian times, the *babaylan* played an important political, social, religious, and cultural role. They were advisers to the *datu*, and the spiritual and physical healers of the community. They officiated in ceremonies that marked the life cycle of each villager.

In pre-Spanish times, a significant religious ceremony was held every seven years to pray for the “strengthening of the universe.” The people of all three districts (Irong-Irong, Hamtik, and Aklan) convened near a spring, the waters of which flowed back to the mountains. Here, sacrifices and offerings were made for seven days.

Pan-ay, as the first Spanish settlement in Capiz, became the center of Christian conversion in Panay island. As a parish, it included not only the towns of Pilar, Dao, Pontevedra, and Ivisan in Capiz, but also the neighboring towns of Carles in Iloilo.

The babaylan strongly resisted Spanish rule. They tried to maintain their influence over the Christianized villagers, sometimes succeeding in winning them back to the worship of their anito, and at times actually leading popular revolts.

Architecture and Community Planning

The traditional house of the Capiznon is made of bamboo and nipa or cogon leaves. It is square, with one to two rooms. The roof, *palaya* (pyramid shaped) or *binalay* (hip shaped), is made of either cogon or nipa leaves. The main posts are of *agoho* timber while the smaller posts, roof beams, and rafters are of dried bamboo. Rope and vine are used to join parts together, such as beams and rafters. Instead of nails, which may split the bamboo, wooden pegs and mortise-and-tenon are used.

The walls are of woven bamboo slats, woven *amakan* (bamboo splints), or flattened bamboo nodes. The floor, which is about 1.5 meters above the ground, is of bamboo slats that may be laid in such a way that the nodes form a design. The space under the floor is generally open, but sometimes is used as the shelter for livestock like pigs or chicken or as the rice granary. If so, it is enclosed with woven bamboo slats or bamboo tops and twigs. *Sulay* (props), made of sturdy bamboo, are sometimes used to support the sides of the house. One end is pegged or tied to a section under the eaves, while the opposite end is buried in or pegged to the ground and reinforced by large stones.

Interior partitions, such as those between the living room and kitchen, are made of woven amakan. The kitchen contains the stove and the *tarap-anan*, a bamboo platform standing on stilts above the stove. Placed here are leftover food and kitchen utensils, such as the bayung (bamboo water container), *banga* (clay water jar), *kerosin* (kerosene can), and *kabu* (coconut shells for drinking).

There must be at least one window facing the east, for good luck. For the same reason, the owner marks the number of steps by reciting the words *oro, plata, mata* (gold, silver, death); and the builder must make sure that the steps do not end on the word “death.”

The way the basic house materials are put together fulfills both functional and

aesthetic ends. The nipa shingles on the roof are left untrimmed, so that the effect is a shaggy and informal look.

Window latticework designs may range from the simply geometrical to the ornate. Bamboo strips of various lengths are placed end to end in different positions or laid over other strips to effect intricate geometric designs, such as diagonals on squares, zigzags on horizontal stripes, diamonds within diamonds, sprinkle of asterisks, flowers, crosses, and stars. The Capiznon weaving and embroidery culture is reflected in some windows, which can resemble piña or jusi embroidery or the solihiya (caned) design of living-room furniture.

In the rural areas, the bamboo or nipa house stands squarely in the middle of the field, overlooking the various stages of the agricultural cycle. City or town planning, on the other hand, reveals traces of Spanish influence. The town center is a huge, open square called the plaza, from which streets and houses radiate. The plaza is surrounded by the cathedral, the government buildings, and the stone houses of the traditionally affluent.

The residential stone houses of the Spanish period, some of which still stand today, derive their basic structure from the traditional rural house. The steep roof is hip shaped, originally of nipa but now replaced by galvanized iron; the living quarters are elevated. The stone wall has a wooden frame that still makes use of the post-and-lintel structure, identical to that of the nipa house. The zaguan or stone ground floor is used as an office, storage space, a stable, or a garage. Rooms on the upper floor are a vestibule, living room, bedrooms, a dining room, kitchen, toilet and bathroom.

Church architecture in Capiz is represented by the churches of Capiz City, Loctugan, Dumalag, Pan-ay, and Dumarao. The Capiz City Church has a facade that is almost bare, having less of the baroque features typical of Philippine churches. The Loctugan Church has one story, with flat pilasters and a Graeco-Roman pediment; underneath are triglyphs. The Dumalag Church has a facade that is decorated by small pilasters. Its five-story tower has five bells forged in 1881. The church used to have beautiful paintings but these have become faded and time worn. The facade of the one-story Dumarao Church is a study in contrast: a massive wall, slender columns, and disproportionately small Greek pediment. The uniqueness of the Pan-ay church facade lies in the different shapes of the first story and the second story. Considered one of the most beautiful churches in the country, it is an excellent blend of the baroque and neoclassical styles. Pan-ay also boasts of a bell which is reported to be the largest in the country (see logo of this article).

Visual Arts and Crafts

The traditional weaving method of piña (pineapple fiber) is called *pili* or *sinuksuk*. This is a floating weft technique accomplished after cloth weaving, an intricate process for embellishing piña fabric before it is cut and sewn into a gown. A typical design is a cluster of five-petal flowers surrounding a butterfly. This is repeated in a series along the borders of the cloth.

Abaca slippers, which the town of Loctugan produces, have designs of flora or fauna, woven in simple geometric lines and in red, green, yellow, and blue colors. Sequins and beads of the same colors are attached to those that are worn for special occasions.

During the Spanish period, *capiz* shells were used for window panes on houses and convents. Today, these shells are strung together to make chandeliers or glued together to make lampshades. Shell chimes are strung together in two or three graduated tiers and sometimes painted.

The Visayan skirt is the *patadyong*, a knee-length barrel skirt with inwoven checkered designs in red, green, black, yellow, and white. The upper garment is the thin, almost transparent *kimona*, a sleeveless blouse that hangs loosely down to the waist. It has no openings on either front or back but has a wide neckline sometimes embroidered with flower, tendril, and leaf designs.

Literary Arts

The *patugmahanon* (riddle) is a word game played by adults and children at social occasions, to while away the time, to create camaraderie among warring parties, or simply to entertain. It reveals the people's values, institutions, traditions, customs, and humor which is sometimes risqué.

Anu nga tanum nga kun sia magpuya sa ulo nagaagi?
(*Puso sang saging*)

What plant bears fruit that passes through its head?
(Banana flower)

Pumungku ang maitum
Tinusluk, sang mapula
Gumwa puti na.
(*Dinaha*)

The black one sat down,
Was pricked by the red one;
What came out was white.
(Rice cooked in a pot).

Pag-abut ni Tatay mu
bumag-id kay nanay mu.
(*Sanduku kag bairan*)

As soon as your father arrived,
He rubbed against your mother.
(Bolo and grindstone)

Isa ka gatus nga magbulugtu,
Lunsay nagakalu. (Bunga)

A group of little gentlemen,
All wearing hats.
(Betel-palm nut)

*Baboy sa Sorsogon
Kun indi pagsakyan, indi magkaun.
(Kuskusan sang lubi)*

My pig in Sorsogon
Unless mounted, it will not eat.
(Coconut grater)

The *hurubaton* (proverb) is most revealing of the natural environment and material culture of the Capiznon. The strong odor of *ginamos* (fermented small fish) is used as analogy for one's foul secrets, as in the proverb.

*Bisan anhun nimu sing tagu,
Kun ginamus nga mabahu,
Siguru gid nga manimahu.*

No matter how well you hide it,
The bad-smelling ginamos
Will always give off its odor.

In another proverb, the *batu bantiling* (basalt) is the metaphor for a hard object worn out by dogged perseverance:

*Ang batu bantiling bisan nga matig-a,
Sa inanay nga tulu sang ulan madutlan.*

The basalt, no matter how hard,
Will soften when continuously wet by raindrops.

Unguarded rice grains are used as analogy for one's carelessness over hard-earned property:

Ang binun-ag nga wala sing bantak tuk-un gid.

Unguarded rice grains being dried under the sun will be picked.

The *lawaan*, a tall, strong tree, symbolizes a person with the same characteristics:

*Lawaan, kun nagatungtung ka sa kataasan,
Kung ikaw sang Dyus pagbut-an,
matupung ka sa ulisiman.*

Lawaan, you may be standing
on the highest ground;
but if God wills it, you will be cut down
to the size of the weed.

The most popular type of narrative poetry is the *kumpusu/composo*, a ballad whose topics range from historical events to love affairs of some people (actual or fictitious) and social conditions. For example, a ballad with bawdy lyrics, “Ang Mga Pampam” (The Prostitutes), describes the forward behavior of prostitutes during the early American colonial period.

*Anyus cuarenta y dos edad sang kalibutan
Amu ang pag-abut kanu nga kadam-an
Ang mga babayi kay nagbululu-ang
Dalaga, may bana, nag-intra sa pampam
Uras igkaaga pampam gapalaligu
Sa higad sang baybay pampam gapululungku
Umabut na gani ang pisti nga kanu
Ang bwisit nga pampam kay nangupu-kupu
Pampam ining pampam
Pampam kanday Felipe
Mas swabi, manami
Pampam kanday Tony
Bayaran mamisu
Dus pisus ang gab-i
Hasta namaaga nimu nga bumbati
Akun naluuyan pampam nga tigulang
Birahan sang kanu, pampam nagasiru
Tungud sadtung armas, malaba kag daku
Ang buwisit nga pampam nagahiku-hiku.*

The world was 42 years old
When many Americans arrived;
The women went crazy,
Single girls and married women became prostitutes,
Every morning the prostitutes took their bath
On the shore, the prostitutes all sat,
But when the American pests came,
The pesky prostitutes embraced them
These prostitutes, oh, these prostitutes;
The prostitutes at Felipe's
Were more suave, more delectable
Than those at Tony's;
Payment was in pesos,
Two pesos a night
And you could use them until dawn;
It was the old prostitute I pitied;
The American attacked,
 the prostitute burped
Because of his weapon,
 that was long and big
The pesky prostitute wriggled in pain.

“Pagkalunud sang Negros” (The Sinking of Negros) recounts a sea tragedy that occurred in 1927, when the interisland vessel *Negros* sank in the sea near New Washington and Kalibo, Aklan, during a typhoon. “Pagbumba sa Syudad sang Iloilo” (The Bombing of Iloilo) narrates the Japanese bombing of Iloilo and the death of many civilians on 18

November 1941. It includes a fictional account of Hitler visiting Roosevelt at the American embassy to warn the latter of the impending war. There are references to the “bestial Japanese” who had the “bad manners” to bomb the “port of Hawaii.”

On the other hand, there are kumpusu that are fictional narratives with a didactic purpose. “Ibon nga Pinis” is about an unfaithful female bird named Pinis. When her husband Bedabid goes searching for food, she has an affair with Jecaro, who happens to fly by. She is left alone in the end, Bedabid having flown away brokenhearted upon learning of her infidelity, and Jecaro having had doubts about her faithfulness to any lover.

Prose narratives consist of tales, fables, and legends explaining the origin of place names, land features such as caves and forests, and other elements of nature such as root crops and animals.

A legend about the Capiznon’s first basic food concerns two brothers and one sister who were suffering as a result of famine. One day the two brothers talked about killing their sister Cayla to spare her from dying of hunger. Distraught, Boaran, the older brother took a walk and came upon an old man who instructed him to do the following: chop up his sister, sow the pieces of her flesh on the kaingin or swidden field, bury her head in the middle of the kaingin, and then build a hut over it. The old man promised that the kaingin would then grow rice grains, coconut trees, sugarcane, tubers, and sweet potatoes. Furthermore, the girl’s life would be restored and she would be sitting in the hut after three days. All that the old man promised came true. But she recovered only long enough to walk back home with her two brothers. After a few words of farewell, she disappeared.

Then there is the legend of the origin of the name of the town Dao. When Datu Bangkaya was ruler of Aklan after the Confederation of Madya-as, he ordered the barangay to look for areas on which to establish settlements. Two barangay, led by Isada and Paro, went in opposite directions on the river, starting from a common point called Catabanga. They met at a bank near a big tree called dao. Today the natives of Dao recognize Isada and Pedro as Dao’s founders. Spanish accounts, however, say Dao was founded in 1835.

“Basilio” is a kumpusu that hints at a natural cause for a man’s aswang behavior (i.e., cannibalism). Basilio has broiled and eaten his own child and is therefore condemned by law and social opinion as an aswang. Reproaching him, his wife recalls a period of famine when they shared a handful of rice. Hence, these lines hint that Basilio’s crime may have been provoked by extreme hunger and therefore give a clue as to the economic conditions of the people.

Besides the kumpusu, other types of folk songs are: the *copla* (light song), subtypes of which are the lullaby, children’s song, game song, animal song (used to accompany spontaneous folk dancing), *panawagon* (love song), work song, war song, and the *luwa*, which is sung at the *bilasyon* or vigil for the dead.

The most popular lullaby in Panay is “Ili, Ili Tulug Anay,” which is also well-known nationwide:

*Ili, ili tulug anay
Wala diri imu Nanay
Kadtu tinda, bakal papay
Ili, ili tulug anay.*

Little one, little one, sleep awhile;
Your mother is not around;
She went to the market to buy bread;
Little one, little one, sleep awhile.

Children sing while they play group or individual games. Some of these game songs are about animals whose behavior the children imitate with gestures as they sing, as in “Tung-tung-tung-tung Pakitung-kitung”:

*Alimusan sa pinggan
Ginabantug nga indi masud-an
Ginkuha kag ginsud-an
Nagtambuk kami tanan.*

The catfish on the plate
Known never to be made into a viand
It was caught and made into a viand
We all got fat.

The panawagon (love song) is usually about unrequited love, and may sometimes express the hope of winning the heart of one’s beloved, as in “Ang Timawa” (The Lowly One):

*Imu nga ginsikway ining pubri ku nga dughan
Sanglit kay timawa ining akun kahimtangan
Kay ikaw gid, Inday, pinalangga ku nga tunay
Sanglit kay timawa, antusun, Inday,
ang imu pagsikway.*

You forsook this poor breast of mine
Because of my lowly state;
But you, Inday, are my true love
Because I am a lowly one, I shall bear,
Inday, your forsaking me.

The work song “Filemon” is the best known of the very few extant today:

*Si Filemon, si Filemon
Namunit sa kadagatan
Nakakuha, nakakuha
Sang isda nga tambasakan
Ginbaligya, ginbaligya*

*Sa tindahan nga guba
Ang iya nga nakuha
Ang iya nga nakuha
Igu lang ipanuba.*

Filemon, Filemon
Went fishing in the sea
And what he caught, what he caught
Was tambasakan fish
He sold them, he sold them
At the dilapidated market
And what he earned
And what he earned
Was just enough for tuba.

An example of a kumpusu about war is “Si Deocampo kag si Villamor” (Deocampo and Villamor):

*Akun kumpusuhun yadtung si Deocampo
Sanglit kay abyadur siang Pilipino
Sia ang nangahas sa pagbumbardiyu
Sa banwa sang Hapon sa syudad sang Tokyo
Anay sang didtu na sia sa Pacifico
Siang inabutan kinsi ka iruplanu
Iya nga gin-away sanglit kay kuntraryu
Naubus ang kinsi, bumulus treinta y ocho
Yadtung treinta y ocho iya pinaluta-lutayan
Bali veinte y ocho ang iya natugdang
Sa tagipusuun sang iya nga nasyun
Tagipusuun nga Pilipinhun
Amu ang gugma sang dalagang bukidnun.*

I shall narrate Deocampo's story
Because he was a Filipino pilot
He it was who dared to bomb
The country of Japan, the city of Tokyo
When he was over the Pacific Ocean
He was overtaken by 15 airplanes
He engaged them in battle
because they were enemies
All 15 were demolished, were
replaced by 38
These 38 he fired at wildly
All in all he felled 28;
In the heart of his nation
A heart that was Filipino
Was the love for a mountain lass.

During vigils for the dead, the people sing the luwa to while the night away and to keep from falling asleep. These may be humorous, sentimental and mournful, or didactic, i.e., expressing allegorical lessons about life and using nature symbols. Below are two humorous or whimsical luwa:

*U ispusibli nga manayuk-nayuk
Vamos sa katunggan, kitay manamiluk
Pagdala sang wasay, pagdala sang pasuk
Langgaw nga dalisay
Ay, ay, nga makaluluuy.*

O ispusibli that is tall
Let's go to the swamp,
 we'll gather shipworms
Bring an ax, bring a pasuk
Pure vinegar
Ay, ay, you look pitiful.

*Didtu sa amun sa Capiz,
Banwa nga naturales;
Nagadalagan ang ibis,
Ginalagas sang kamatis.*

In our place in Capiz,
Town that is natural;
Small fish are running,
Tomatoes are chasing them.

The go-betweens who recite the luwa in the courtship ritual may deliberately use ambiguous and circumlocutory language, which keeps the audience in suspense regarding the sincerity of their declarations.

*Ang gugma mu, Nunuy, kun hantup sa bu-ut:
Bumugsuk kay balay sa pusud sang lawud;
Salugan muy tapi dindinan muy pawud,
Aptan mu sing pakpak sang banug.*

If your love, Nunuy, is sincere,
Build a house in the middle of the ocean,
Make the floor out of wood,
 the wall out of nipa,
And the roof out of bat's wings.

In the parlor game, the man and woman take turns reciting, and whoever recites the greatest number of luwa wins the game. A luwa recited by a woman is the following:

*Ang bulak sang tanglad kay pitu ka batu,
Kuha-un ku ang apat mabilin ang tatlu;
Tagaan ta, Nunuy, dyutay nga termino,
But-un ta ugaling maghumuk ang batu.*

The tanglad flower has seven stones,
I pick four and three are left,
I'll give you, Nunuy, a small condition,
I'll marry you when the stones soften.

A man's luwa is the following:

*Malayu nga lugar ang akun ginhalinan,
Tupad sa Oriente, dayun sa Sidlangan;
Madamu nga bulak ang akun nagihan,
Solo ka lang Inday ang akun mahamut-an*

From distant places I have come,
From the Orient, toward the East;
I have passed many flowers,
But you alone have the fragrance
that pleases me.

Performing Arts

The *toltog palanog*, a clay flute, is the earliest percussion instrument in Panay. It has three holes at one end and two at the sides. There are several kinds of *tulali* or bamboo flutes, including the *pasyok*, a child's flute made of stiff rice straw; the *dios sios*, a set of reeds of different lengths, tied side to side; and the *budiong*, a shell, with the pointed tip cut off.

The *tan-ag*, made of two pieces of light wood, is the earliest percussion instrument. A set of these is called the *dalutang*. The *bunkaka* or *takup* is a section of bamboo with a split end. It is held in the right hand and struck against a pole in the left hand. Different ways of striking cause variations in rhythm. The *bulibaw* is a drum made of hollowed-out wood topped by animal skin. The *ludang* is a smaller drum that is held on the lap. The *lipakpak* is a clapper made of a narrow section of bamboo, two nodes long. It is split in two down to one node. The lower half is the handle.

The native guitar goes by various names: the *pasing* ("to strike"); *boktot* ("hunchback"), because it is made of coconut shell; or *culating*. The strings are made of fibers or any twine. This is used to accompany the singing of the panawagon or the kumpusu. A guitar with six strings made of hemp, banana fiber, or *lukmo* is now called the *sista*, from the Spanish word *sexta* or "six."

The *buting* is a thin bamboo tube with two ends that are strung with hemp or any fiber, so that it bends like a bow. The *kudyapi* is a violin made of this light wood and strung with hemp or banana fibers. The *subing* or jew's harp is made of a narrow and thin piece of seasoned bamboo with a strip cut in the middle. One makes this strip vibrate by gripping the solid end with the mouth, holding the middle with one hand, and striking the other end with a finger of the other hand.

The first four lines of the typical Capiznon folk song established the melody, which is repeated thereafter. The kumpusu is sung to a preset melody, which has become part of the traditional repertoire of the singer. The panawagon is a plaintive love song, usually about unrequited love. It is sung at a *harana* or when the man serenades his ladylove beneath her window.

Many indigenous folk dances are mimetic, such as the *tinolabong*, named after a heron called *tolabong*, with a long neck, long legs, long tapering bill, large wings, and soft white feathers. It is a favorite dance of the mountain people of Panitan and Loctugan. The female dancer wears a red or white skirt and a white loose blouse with long sleeves and a close neck. The male wears red or white trousers and white *camisa de chino*. Both are barefoot. The dance begins with the dancers posing in the resting position of the bird, their hands formed like the heron's bill. The dance imitates the heron's movements. The *dagit-dagit*, meaning "to swoop," is part of the farmers' celebration of a good harvest in Barrio Yabton, Ivisan. The female wears a patadyong and kimona. The male wears a barong tagalog and trousers of any color.

A dance in Tapaz is the *inagong*, believed to have been introduced by a sultan who sought refuge among the natives of Libacao, Aklan, when the revolutionaries arrived. The female wears a patadyong and camisa with *maria clara* sleeves. A piece of cloth, about 2.5 centimeters wide, from which dangle silver coins, is tied around the forehead. Another piece of cloth with coins is used as a necklace. The male wears trousers and a shirt of any color. A long red band, 7.5 centimeters wide, has one end hanging behind the neck and is worn crossed on the chest, wound around the waist, and knotted behind. Each dancer carries a triangular red kerchief about 60 centimeters long.

A courtship dance in Cabugao is *sa-ad*, meaning "a promise." This is based on a legend about a man called Indo, the best singer in the area, who fell in love with Aning. He courted her and served the family but ended up brokenhearted. He composed a song called "Sa-ad," which became the basis of this dance. The female dancer wears a patadyong and camisa with stiff sleeves and a soft pañuelo over one shoulder. The male wears barong tagalog and trousers of any color. A courtship dance of Barrio Lamot is *timawa* ("the pitiful one"), based on the story of a man and a woman, both *timawa*, who meet at a social gathering and fall in love. The female wears a maria clara costume and the male wears a barong tagalog and black trousers.

The *escotis* is performed by the mountain people of Capiz at a housewarming party, in order to test the strength and durability of the new house. The female wears a *siesgo* skirt with a voluminous underskirt, a kimona, and soft pañuelo over one shoulder. The male wears a camisa de chino and trousers of any color. Both are barefoot. They dance in sets of four pairs in square formations. In Roxas City, the *escotis* is danced at special occasions like weddings or baptismal parties.

People living in the hinterlands of Tapaz are variously called the Sulod, Montes, Mundo, Bukidnon, or Buki. One of their dances is *binanog*, which imitates the movements of the hawk. The female wears a long-sleeved piña blouse and a patadyong. Strands of silver-coin necklaces, of Queen Isabel and Alfonso XII vintage, cover the breast down to her waist. The male wears a loincloth embroidered with geometric designs or conventional figures like the lizard. Each dancer holds a large scarf in both hands and moves it around throughout the dance.

The roots of Capiznon drama are, in ritual, such as the babaylan rites for appeasing spirits and curing the sick (still practiced today), which include mimetic elements and chant; and second, in the verbal games played at wakes. In the rituals, sacrifices are offered, prayers chanted, and symbolic dance motions made. In the verbal games, a semidramatic situation pits men against women in poetic jousting. At the nightly vigils during a wake, for example, the men and women compete in the reciting of the luwa. The gentlemen pay compliments, boast about bravery, distances traveled, or hardships undergone; and the ladies answer coyly, also in verse.

Religious drama and dramatizations in Western Visayas include the forms found in other regions: the soledad on Easter morning, in which the black-veiled Mater Dolorosa wanders through the town in a lonely vigil, then meets the *carro* or float of the risen Christ; the *taltal* or passion play on Good Friday; the Easter procession of the Resurrection, in which a boy and a girl dressed as angels recite poems to the Christ and the Virgin; the *Constantino* in May, dealing with the finding of the Holy Cross; the pastores or *da-igon* at Christmastime, in which songs are sung by the “shepherds” worshipping the infant Christ.

Except for occasional revivals and revitalized forms, there are few full-length presentations these days.

Stage drama seems to have begun in the 19th century with the *kulukyu* or *moro-moro*, which is adapted from the korido (metrical romances). This, as in other regions, had Moors, called *pulahan* because they wore red, and Christians, called ituman because they wore black. The plays were staged in makeshift open-air stages at fiestas, in plazas, cockpits, theaters when available, marketplaces, and carnival auditoriums. These were staged well into the next century, although early in the 20th century, the sarswela (musical play) replaced the *kulukyu* as the most popular drama form.

In Roxas City, the *halaran* (“place of offering”) Festival is held for three days in October. Begun in 1975 by then Capiz governor Cornelio Villareal Jr., the festival was originally a dramatization of the pre-Christian practices of the Capiznon’s Malayan ancestors. However, in 1981, this feature was replaced with a Catholic form of celebration; and a Holy Mass opened the festivities.

The highlight of the festival is a fluvial parade on Pan-ay River, with two rows of *biniday* (sailboats). The passengers are dressed like Malayan aristocrats of the old days, sailing toward each other. In 1985, a pageant of the province’s history, from the time of the aboriginal Aeta to the present, was added, and on the afternoon of the last day, there was dancing in the streets. • R.C. Lucero with notes from E.A. Manuel/Reviewed by A. Magos

References

Buckland, Ralph Kent. *In the Land of the Filipino*. New York: Every

- Where Publications, 1912.
- Clavel, Leothiny S. "The Oral Literature of Capiz." Master of Arts thesis, University of the Philippines, 1972.
- Fajardo, Libertad V. *Visayan Folk Dances*. Manila, 1966.
- Fernandez, Doreen G. *The Iloilo Zarzuela: 1903-1930*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1978.
- Funtecha, Henry F. *Popular Festivals in Western Visayas, Monograph Series No. 1*. Iloilo: Center for West Visayan Studies, University of the Philippines, Iloilo, 1990.
- Galende, Pedro G. *Angels in Stone*. Pasay City: G.A. Formoso Publishing, 1987.
- Monteclaro, Pedro A. *Maragtas*. Iloilo: El Tiempo, 1907.
- Orosa-Goquingco, Leonor. *The Dances of the Emerald Isles*. Quezon City: Ben-Lor Publishers, 1980.
- Philippine Craftsman*. Vol. 1, No. 4 (October 1912): 332.
- Regalado, Felix B. and Quintin B. Franco. *History of Panay*. Panay: Central Philippine University Press, 1973.
- Regional Map of the Philippines—VI*. Manila: Edmundo R. Abigan Jr., 1988.
- Reyes-Tolentino, Francisca. *Philippine National Dances*. Manila: Silver Burdett Company, 1946.
- Romualdez, Norberto. "Filipino Musical Instruments and Airs of Long Ago." Lecture delivered at the Conservatory of Music, University of the Philippines (25 November 1931). Manila: National Media Productions Center, 1973.
- RR's Philippine Almanac: Book of Facts 1990*. Aurora Publications, 1990.
- Zialcita, Fernando N. and Martin I. Tinio Jr. *Philippine Ancestral Houses (1810-1930)*. Quezon City: GCF Books, 1980.