

The narrow northwestern coast of Luzon directly facing the South China Sea is the native domain of the Ilocano. Prior to the coming of the Spaniards, the coastal inhabitants were called “Iloko,” which derives from the prefix “i-“ meaning “people of” and “lokong” referring to the low-lying terrain (Alvarez 1969:143149). The Iloko, therefore, are “people who dwell in the lowland,” as opposed to the Igot who are people of the “gulot” or mountains, specifically the Cordillera mountain range. Ilocano is the Hispanized adaptation of the original name.

The geographic depression of the Ilocos region is largely due to the hilly feature of the landscape hemmed in by the peaks of the Malaya range that merges with the higher ridges of the Gran Cordillera Central. The topography of Ilocos projects the appearance of a series of salad bowls rimmed by rolling hills on a cramped table. Being contained in a relatively bare coast, the region is vulnerable to extreme climatic changes. During the dry spell, the land is particularly parched because the eastern ridges prevent the inflow of wind and precipitation from the opposite eastern valleys and uplands.

This coastal region combines starkly contrasting terrains. At its southern sprawl in Pangasinan are fertile alluvial flats that extend from the coast of Lingayen Gulf to the foothills of the Cordillera and Caraballo Sur mountains. La Union and Ilocos Sur towns alternate from hilly to flatland. Ilocos Norte landscape interweaves alluvial plains, hillocks, and deserts; but toward the northern tip, in Pagudpud, the wooded mountains tower directly over the large area situated in the hinterlands occupied by other cultural minorities who have been, to a large extent, acculturated to the Ilocano lifeway.

The Ilocano are found in the original Ilocano provinces of Ilocos Sur, Ilocos Norte, La Union, as well as in the provinces where they have immigrated, namely, Pangasinan, Cagayan, Abra, Nueva Vizcaya, Isabela, Tarlac, Zambales, and some towns in the Visayas and Mindanao.

At present, Pangasinan has more than one half of the region’s population. However, a considerable section of its more than 2,000,000 population would rather call their progeny Pangasinense instead of Ilocano, although they can speak at least three languages, Ilocano included. La Union’s population is slightly more than 500,000, like its two northern neighbors.

Abra has recently been included as part of the Cordillera Administrative Region, although the majority of Abra inhabitants rejected in the 1991 referendum the Organic Charter of the Cordillera Autonomous Region. While many people in Abra Valley trace their ancestral links to lowland communities, they are in fact dwelling in the Cordillera range. The prehistoric migration and trade routes between this valley and the coast are the rivers interlinked with upland horse trails.

At the early stage of Spanish colonization, the maritime trade posts in Ilocos were linked by sailboats and by a lingua franca called *Samtoy*, a contraction of *sao mi ‘toy* meaning “our language here.” The Augustinian Andres Carro noted in his 1792 manuscript that Samtoy was used so extensively that “our predecessors, who

accompanied the said conquistador [Salcedo] used it themselves . . . it came to be common ordinary language in this whole province which comprises all the towns of Bangui to Agoon.” Eventually the natives called it the Ilocano language. Today, there are an estimated 5,656,103 speakers of Ilocano all over the country, constituting 9.78 percent of the total population. Ilocano is the third most widely spoken dialect in the country, after Tagalog and Cebuano. (1995 *Philippine Yearbook*)

History

In the 16th century, the Ilocano who lived in the port towns of Candon, Laoag, Vigan, Lingayen, Bolinao, and Sual were already trading with the Chinese. Compared to Pangasinan villages, the northern Ilocos settlements had a higher population density and advanced agricultural practices. In 1852, Loarca described the natives of the Ilocos as similar in appearance, attire, and manner of living to the mountain dwellers and those of the southern islands, specifically the Pintados (Loarca 1975).

When the Spaniards arrived in 1573, the tight-knit trade posts of the Ilocos put up a fierce resistance against the invaders, so that “more than four thousand houses were destroyed in that year alone by Juan de Salcedo and his men. The depopulation was such that authorities in Mexico were afraid that the Ilocos would not recover in six years or a lifetime. Salcedo subsequently became the first encomendero of the Ilocos. He founded near the old Vigan trade post, the Villa Fernandina, which he named after the Spanish king’s infant son. After he died in 1576, the villa was ravaged by an epidemic. It then fell under the administration of Vigan, and later was incorporated into the town.

All the riverside trade posts from Lingayen to Bangui were the first to be transformed into pueblos organized along the typical grid pattern radiating from the church, plaza, and town hall. From the 17th to the 19th centuries, Spanish control was established systematically through the conversion of the natives.

The process of *reduccion* or of keeping the people “under the bells” forced other natives to migrate to the hinterlands and remote valleys, where they intermingled with the Igorot. For many generations, these new mixed settlements provided a refuge from Spanish raids and headhunting forays of the mountain dwellers until the latter were also converted by the missionaries.

In reaction to the Spanish imposition of more and more onerous tributes and monopolies on the Ilocano, the latter organized several revolts from the 17th to the 19th centuries.

Only 13 years after Salcedo’s death, the people of the northern town of Dingras rose in arms against the colonizers. In 1660, another revolt took place in San Nicolas, Ilocos Norte, led by Pedro Almazan who was inspired by the Malong Rebellion in Pangasinan. But the most renowned Ilocano revolt was that one led by Diego and

Gabriela Silang from 1762 to 1763. This uprising is known today as the Ilocos Revolt because, for the first time, the rebel forces were joined by Pangasinan warriors led by Palaris. Silang succeeded for quite a while in ruling the “Free Ilocos” region until he was assassinated by Miguel Vicos, upon the instigation of the friars. Diego’s wife continued the fight with the help of Tinguian warriors armed with bamboo lances and amulets. When the rebels made their final assault on Vigan, they were demoralized by the superior firepower of the Spanish garrison while the other fighters led by Gabriela’s aides retreated. The debacle forced Gabriela to seek refuge in the Tinguian uplands where she was caught and beheaded. The notable clans of Vigan who supported the Silangs left town. Vicos, the assassin, was appointed *justicia-mayor*, and a monument was erected in his honor at Bantay, Ilocos Sur (now renovated to honor Diego Silang).

After Governor General Jose de Basco imposed the Tobacco Monopoly in 1781 to raise revenue for the colonial government, Ilocano farmers again mounted a series of uprisings in Bacarra and Laoag in 1788, led by Juan Manzano. This was followed by another revolt led by Lumgao, which had religious undertones and which eventually led to the split of the Ilocos province into Sur and Norte in 1822.

The first decade of the 19th century also witnessed the imposition of the Basi Monopoly. The decree banned, on pain of grave penalty and fine, the drinking of basi (sugarcane wine) not bought in government stores. Although the native wine is normally fermented at home, the Ilocano were forced to sell their produce at a low price to the stores, from which they then bought back the wine at a higher price. In 1807 a few years after the imposition of the monopoly, the Ilocano in the northern towns marched with raised bolos and bows and arrows, all the way to San Ildefonso near the capital town of Vigan. The Basi Revolt, which started in the hilly town of Piddig, was led by Pedro Mateo along with a few Spanish deserters from Vigan. The rebels secured the allegiance of the people along the towns they passed. However, the massive mobilization of the disenchanting folk became more unwieldy as the rebels approached Bantaoay River in San Ildefonso. The Vigan colonial forces were well positioned at the southern bank of the river that provided a natural barrier to the rebels. Despite this obstacle, the rebels tried to cross the river, but in this vulnerable position, they were easily routed. Some writers called the revolt the “Ambaristo Revolt” in honor of the bravest right-hand man of Mateo (Ramirez 1991: 6874).

Folk accounts of the early 19th-century revolts must have been current when Fr. Jose Burgos was a young boy in Vigan, and it was perhaps inevitable that he would become a leader of the widespread clerical nationalism or secularization movement of the clergy at the close of the 19th century. When the revolutionary movement led by the Katipunan spread outside the Tagalog region, many Ilocano joined the armed struggle for independence, some emerging as top officials of the Revolutionary Government, like Director of War Antonio Luna. *Katipunero* (Katipunan members) such as Isabelo Abaya of Candon and Eleuteria Reyes of Vigan organized the townsfolk to continue the fight for independence during the Philippine-American War even long after the surrender of many generals close to General Emilio Aguinaldo (Scott 1986:23-

27). Aguinaldo sought sanctuary in the Ilocos hinterlands prior to his crossing the Cordillera on his way to his last stand in Palanan, precisely because the Ilocano defenders were fighting on many guerrilla fronts—from the Cordillera hinterlands like the Amburayan and Abra Valleys to the southernmost tip of Ilocos Norte.

Throughout the centuries of Spanish rule and even after that, the Ilocano were noted for their tendency to migrate. Most of the old towns in the Ilocos spilled over to adjoining sites because of population growth and the limited areas for tillage and habitation. Since the middle of the 18th century, there was a steady migration from the coast to the midlands which was matched by a movement of settlers from the uplands to certain uninhabited coastal sites, particularly in the northern reaches of the Ilocos. Many folk accounts in Ilocos Norte towns trace the original settlers of these towns to Tinguian clans from the uplands who first came down to trade but subsequently founded farming and fishing villages.

Toward the end of the 18th century, the scarcity of land and population pressure impelled more Ilocano families to set up homesteads in the Cagayan Valley, at the opposite side of the Cordillera, as well as in melting pot areas like Tarlac, Zambales, and Pangasinan. The friars also conscripted entire Ilocano families to join the pioneer settlements in the country's southern regions, including Mindanao and Palawan. When the plantations in Hawaii and the west coast of the United States called for contract workers in the 1920s, most of the adventurous cane cutters and fruit pickers who responded were Ilocano peasants. The laborers who worked in Alaskan canneries were also Ilocano migrants. The struggle of the Ilocano in the United States to fulfill their dreams was chronicled in the novel, *America is in the Heart* by Carlos Bulosan, an Ilocano migrant from Pangasinan, who saw the exploitative system of that period as something more harsh and uncertain than the conditions in the Ilocos farms. Quite a few of those Ilocano migrant workers secured a college education in the United States and came back to the Philippines to teach. Some persistent ones stayed on long enough to earn a pension which they send to their relatives in the Ilocos or use to buy a house and some land in their Ilocos hometown. Many of the new concrete houses rising in recent times amid farms in the Ilocos, from Pangasinan to the tip of Ilocos Norte, have been built by these repatriate Ilocano adventurers or their heirs.

The hidden coves and valleys of the region became the guerrilla zone when the Japanese invaders landed on the Ilocos coast in December 1941. Following the strategy of political control set up by the American colonizers, the Japanese Imperial Army persuaded some local officials to cooperate with them, while they hunted the defiant leaders in their upland guerrilla bases. The lack of unity of the Ilocano guerrillas was partly due to conflicting areas of operation, and partly to the rivalries of American and Filipino commanders.

The coves in Santiago, Ilocos Sur and the remote bays in Bangui, Ilocos Norte were the secret landing sites of supplies from Allied forces. The guerrillas,

however, could not operate extensively because of the cramped coastal terrain and population density. Hence, there were relatively light wartime clashes and destruction during the Japanese occupation. Besides, the Ilocos was then under the care of the Society of the Divine Word whose key missionaries were Germans. There was a concerted effort among these missionaries to impose discipline on the Japanese soldiers who respected the priests because Germany and Japan belonged to the Axis Powers.

The Ilocano were divided in loyalty during the Japanese occupation, as they were under the American regime. Some leaders swayed the people into accepting Japanese control, in the same way Mena Crisologo of Vigan or Claro Caluya of Piddig persuaded the people to show allegiance to the American flag earlier in the century. Pro-Japanese leaders went around the region campaigning in public gatherings for support for the Japanese-sponsored Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. At the same time, some leaders went to the hills to organize guerrilla forces, such as Floro Crisologo of Ilocos Sur and Roque Ablan of Ilocos Norte. Unfortunately, the guerrilla groups were not united and this prevented them from inflicting severe damage to the invading forces. Worse, their disunity sometimes gave rise to fake guerrilla leaders or units who harassed the people more than they fought the Kempeitai forces. The Ilocano guerrillas became more active when the Japanese Imperial Army retreated to the Cordillera upon the return of the American forces and displayed their gallantry side by side with the Americans in the capture of Bessang Pass in Cervantes, where the Japanese concentrated their forces to enable General Tomoyuki Yamashita to regroup his command staff on the other side of the Cordillera. After the battle, many Ilocano were awarded various medals and citations, a few of which later turned out to be dubious, because they are not found in the records of the United States Armed Forces in the Far East (USAFFE).

Right after the defeat of the Japanese Imperial Army, the social and political situation in the Ilocos was not stable because of the lingering effects of the clash of loyalty and the rifts in the community caused by the war, as well as the treasonous acts of certain leaders. The postwar general amnesty program cleared the courts of numerous charges and countercharges arising from the wartime killings and reprisals.

Meanwhile, the Ilocano conscripts to the USAFFE, like other Filipino soldiers throughout the country, were deprived of most of their wartime benefits because of the Rescission Act passed by the US Congress in 1946. Recently, the issue of American citizenship for the USAFFE veterans was resolved with the 1991 approval of the US Congress, but the recent law does not provide for the restoration of financial and other benefits legally extended at the height of World War II. **Economy**

The harsh climatic intervals in the region are not conducive to the lush tropical verdure found in many parts of the country. When the southwest monsoon blows in, the northern reaches of the Ilocos experience the country's highest

average rainfall. Then from mid-November to March, the coast is visited by the Siberian winds, locally known as *amian*, bringing the lowest average rainfall in the archipelago. The deforestation of the range since the Spanish times has caused massive erosion and siltation of riverways.

Largely because of the extreme weather changes and the scarcity of arable land, the Ilocano have evolved an intensive system of agriculture and social values to cope with seasonal adversities: adaptability, frugality, industry, and neighborliness.

To make ends meet, even marginal farm lots are tilled almost all year round to suitable crops. Rice, corn, and various vegetables are the main crops for subsistence in the region. Tobacco and cotton are the cash crops raised after the harvest of the staples. Camote or sweet potato, tomatoes, garlic, and onions are also grown after the rains, both for the table and the markets. Sinait in Ilocos Sur is the garlic trading center. In every town, certain farms are devoted to sugarcane, which is processed into hard brown-sugar cakes, the favorite native wine *basi*, and vinegar. Coconuts are raised in shoreline sitios for the oil which has varied uses among the Ilocano, from massage liniment to expectorant, as well as for the meat used in making *bibingka* (rice cakes) and *bocayo* (candy from grated coconut). Mango orchards now enjoy a boom in Pangasinan.

An extinct farm product is indigo dye, the major export commodity shipped to Europe and the Americas up to the turn of the century. Maguey used to be grown more extensively for making rope, bags, and sandals. Native tobacco, brown and sun dried, has always been grown largely for home consumption and the local market.

Carabaos and cows are raised by the Ilocano for a dual purpose: first as a draft animal for the farm and for transport; and second, for meat. There are not as many goats as hogs and chickens in the Ilocano farm and yard. Deer meat is a delicacy available during the hunting season in the wilds of Abra and Ilocos Norte. Abra is the breeding place for horses used for the *calesa* (horse-drawn carriage) in Vigan and its environs, and the bigger *karetela* designed for transporting harvests from the farms around Narvacan, Ilocos Sur and Bangued, Abra.

Most craft ware of the Ilocano are made primarily for use in their livelihoods: saddle and bridle from Bangued; bamboo and twine baskets from the upland towns; clayware from San Nicolas, Ilocos Norte; *burnay* stoneware jars from Vigan; *salakot* or dried gourd hat from Abra; stone mortar and pestle from San Esteban, Ilocos Sur; *abel* or handloom fabric from Bangar, La Union, Caoayan, Ilocos Sur, and Paoay, Ilocos Norte; shell craft from various towns of La Union; slippers and sandals from Vigan; bolo and scythes from Santa, Ilocos Sur; wooden furniture from San Vicente, Vigan, and Bantay, Ilocos Sur; bamboo baskets and furniture from varied places in Pangasinan. Being utilitarian in intent, these craft ware are generally made to last, and are rarely ornate or decorated.

The exceptions to this pragmatic aspect in skilled artistry are jewelry making (now a vanishing art) in Bantay, Ilocos Sur, and the carving of religious icons, and furniture making in San Vicente, also in Ilocos Sur. Vigan's famous guitar and violin craft is almost a thing of the past while harp making in Bacarra declined after the transistor radio began to blare in farmers' huts an over the region.

Other cottage industries that thrive because of necessity, and not on account of entrepreneurial acumen, are salt making, *bagoong* making, seaweed gathering and processing, meat processing for *longganiza* and *chicharon*, the making of delicacies and sweets for *pasalubong*, and the preservation of fish, including the highly valued fry called *ipon* harvested in certain months along mouths of big rivers. Aquatic food items caught or raised in inland waters and fishponds form a sizeable portion of the Ilocano viand. But fishing is a relatively marginal activity in the Ilocos, mainly because of inadequate gears and lack of entrepreneurs to pioneer offshore trawl fishing.

The colonial vista of Vigan, arising from the rows of brick-and-tile ancestral houses hugging the narrow streets, has made it a favorite place for location shooting among filmmakers, either from Filipino film studios or foreign outfits. As early as the mid-1950s, Hollywood filmed in Vigan *The Day of the Trumpet* starring John Agar. Many period movies made by Fernando Poe Jr. were filmed here. These ventures have given some part-time jobs to Ilocano talents, artisans, hoteliers, and food vendors.**Political System**

Unlike in Cebu or Manila, there were no distinguished chieftains in the region when the conquistadores raided the coastal villages. The political system was rooted in the clan or the extended family structure. This made it easier for the colonizers to establish their encomiendas and political dominance. The clan system also enabled the emergence of leaders and warlords who directed the people in the series of revolts that wracked the region.

As in Mexico, the Spaniards established the pueblos as the first step in colonizing the Ilocos. The church and other ecclesiastical buildings were in the center of the pueblo, as were the politico-military offices and quarters. The plaza and surrounding streets were used for religious rituals and military drills. These streets strung the houses of officials and the principalia who owned most of the landholdings. As in other pueblos, the town planning was compelled by the dual objectives of conquest and conversion.

In the Ilocos, as in other regions of Christianized Philippines, the friars enjoyed tremendous powers.

Under the patronage of the Spanish king, the members of the clergy were exempt from civil governance, nor could they be transferred by the governor general without the king's approval. Thus, the friars combined the powers of the church and royal protection. But in the Ilocos, ever an active base for colonizing the uplands and a region far from the central government, the friars assumed extra powers and privileges over the flock and the Guardia Civil. For one, they were often more up-to-date on

public and private affairs than the local officials. Moreover, elections to political office and undertaking of public projects required friar approval, which has been summed up as “an anomalous exercise of power tolerated by the central government... [that] also frustrated the exercise of local Ilocano power . . .” (Scott 1986:10-11).

The political structure was the same for all the pueblos. The principalia elected from among themselves the *gobernadorcillo*, the municipal mayor who was dependent on the support of the *cabezas de barangay* who, in turn, were responsible for collecting taxes and extracting labor services from the citizens. The provincial governor or *alcalde mayor* was most of the time a ceremonial figure, acting more as an overseer for projects originating in Manila. The self-perpetuating principalia carried out civil governance under the guidance of the friars. Because these native rulers were the power brokers of the clans, it was also from their ranks, ironically, that rebel leaders or warlords emerged time and again.

These leaders enjoyed ready support from among their tenants and workers, as well as their extended families composed of blood and affinal relations among other families of the landed gentry. Moreover, they enjoyed the loyalty of the people who were traditionally in awe of the *maingel* (brave and just), the way their highland neighbors and kin followed the *minger* or *mingel*, the brave ones.

Under the American colonial administration, most of these clan leaders in Ilocos who led the people’s fight for freedom were eventually harnessed by the new colonizers in the pacification campaign as well as in the mass-education program. The same method was used by the Japanese invaders but a number of American-educated professionals joined the guerrilla forces in the hills.

The political rivalries today which become volatile during election periods are still driven by this customary leadership based on clan loyalty and on vested interest, centering on the control of the government resources and the yearly tobacco trade. The rise of the Ilocano bloc in Congress from the 1950s to the 1960s was propelled by the tobacco subsidy which was part of the business strategy of deported American tycoon Harry Stonehill. From this corporate base, using the big earnings from the tobacco trade, Stonehill succeeded in manipulating Philippine politics and industry with the help of Ilocano politicians. When Stonehill was ousted from power in the mid-1960s after the investigations of Jose Diokno, then top state prosecutor, the profitable tobacco trade became a source of rivalry among Ilocano politicians.

The gunslaying of the once-powerful congressman Floro Crisolago inside the Vigan Cathedral is believed by many Ilocano to have been linked with the rivalry for the control of the tobacco industry, the major cash crop of Ilocos and the prime factor behind the rise and fall of many Ilocano politicians. Several social scientists have studied the links of the tobacco industry and Ilocos politics, and have shown that, apart from being the most emotional issue among Ilocano voters, trade in this cash crop has provided the financial resources and overzealous supporters during poll campaigns.

This livelihood in the Ilocos became the power lever of some Ilocano leaders who created the myth of the “solid north”—which led to widespread terrorism and electoral fraud. Through the “solid north” scheme, politicians from other regions desirous of the “solid” Ilocano vote were pressured to support the tobacco subsidy and the power play of the Ilocano leaders. Grateful tobacco traders were the main source of money and materials for this type of politicking.

Among the prominent Ilocano leaders of the 20th century are President Elpidio Quirino, President Ramon Magsaysay, President Ferdinand Marcos, President Fidel Ramos, Quintin Paredes, Camilo Osias, Vicente Singson Encarnacion, Benito Soliven, Ignacio Villamor, Jorge Bocobo, Josefa Llanes-Escoda, Salvador P. Lopez, Onofre D. Corpuz, and Fred Ruiz Castro.

Social Organization and Customs

In the 16th century, Loarca and Juan de Plasencia noted three social layers within each community in most parts of the archipelago. In the Ilocos, the top layer was composed of the *babaknang* families who later comprised the principalia; the *cailianes*, who owned home lots but tilled the landholdings of the babaknang clans; and, at the bottom, the *adipen* or slaves who became such by birth or for indebtedness.

Among the cailianes usually emerged the artisans and specialists like the healers, salt makers, stem cutters, and wood gatherers who supported themselves by their labor. They also provided labor to the babaknang when the season called for it, as in monsoon months when the farms required more hands or when the well-to-do needed some house repairs and extra help during banquets and social gatherings. The cailianes normally brought some produce from the farms and orchards for the banquet, and brought home a token of food served at the party. This customary practice of give-and-take has strengthened the bonds between these groups—the upper class providing the occasion and bounty to be shared, the lower class giving their labor and loyalty. Some social scientists prefer to focus on the behavioral and attitudinal aspects by calling it patron-client relationship, where the rich and the powerful serve as the constant source of social and psychological aid when the poorer families are in dire need.

Generally, however, there has been a considerable degree of social mobility among the cailianes, particularly because they have special skills and therefore can migrate or form new homesteads far from the community. In this century, the system of public education and the diverse prospects in professional life have eroded the social barriers of old. Moreover, the migration of Ilocano workers has further blurred this social levelling. Today, the traditional feasts and holidays still revive the social divide between the rich and the poor, or between the old rich and new rich, simply because the trappings of wealth in the past—like lifesized religious statuary and residence in premier blocks of the town—always come to the fore during these social and religious rituals.

Growing up the Ilocano way is to imbibe steadily the customary beliefs and rites, alongside the current trends in culture purveyed by mass media. The cherished beliefs and practices of previous generations can still be observed in some villages far from urban centers, or in families where wisdom and sentiments of the elders hold sway.

Some beliefs relating to prenatal care and child rearing are still observed, though they are waning. These include discouraging women from eating darkskinned fruits lest the child is born dark; and discouraging the pregnant from sitting at the top of the stairs so that their labor pains will not be prolonged. It is also believed that when the child is newly born, unused clothes should not be put on the baby lest the baby grow up wearing out clothes easily.

During courtship, old men are relied upon to provide the discreet motions and verbal performance designed to ensure more positive responses during courtship—when the suitor is shy or the woman’s parents are tight lipped. The “rooster courtship” exemplifies this indirect approach. Here, a suitor provides an old man a rooster to bring to the girl’s father. The old man brings the rooster to the girl’s house and tells the girl’s father that he would like the rooster to crow in their yard. The father asks whether the rooster, meaning the suitor, is “domestic,” meaning from the same barrio, or “wild,” meaning from outside the barrio. The old man identifies the rooster, and soon after divulges the suitor’s name. If the father seems open to the suitor, the old man gives him the rooster.

During the courtship, women are told to be careful and not to give any of their personal effects to a suitor. Since it is believed that personal items bear the owner’s karma or spirit, this taboo would prevent the suitor from gaining full control over the girl’s feeling and soul. To be sure, such a custom or its variations elsewhere in the region is resorted to by suitors from tradition-bound families. But it is more conventional today for the courtship to unfold in schools, parties, parks, and the movie houses since most areas are markedly urbanized. Moreover, public education and mass media have also made inroads into the folk beliefs and practices in the Ilocos.

Among the Ilocano, weddings are the most exuberant of occasions because they either expand or intensify the clan links. It is in nuptial feasts where traditions are most pronounced. Here family relations and pride come to the fore, and rich kinsfolk outdo one another in giving *topak* gifts (cash or farm lots) to the newlyweds. To induce their relatives into giving more, the couple dances continuously, waltzing close to each relative who is then cajoled by the rest to give a gift. Since this contest of gift-giving aims to help the newlyweds make a good start in life, tradition impels the relatives to give whatever they can.

In a similar vein, family reunions during wakes and burials are occasions for tears, laughter, and feasting. Feasting is mostly on meat, a reflection of the underlying cultural belief in sharing meat and blood to reinforce kinship. The festive atmosphere of reunions may be interspersed with sudden tears upon the arrival of relatives.

Another custom shared with the Cordillera inhabitants is the long wake to enable distant kin to bid their last goodbye to the departed. Invariably, those coming from distant places would reveal that a black butterfly had suddenly flown into their living room, a sign that the dead indeed conveyed his/her departure. After the burial, the bereaved family goes into the river or seashore to wash away their grief and the languor from the sleepless nights, when playing cards and mahjong tiles competed with the wailers who expressed the agonies of the clan and the goodness of the departed through the chanting of the *dung-aw* (dirge).

Religious Beliefs and Practices

The Ilocano share many of the animistic beliefs prevailing throughout the archipelago that underlie what has been called folk Catholicism, a blend of precolonial and colonial precepts.

The Ilocano believe in the beneficial and harmful influences of creatures of the netherworld. To the Ilocano, Namarsua is the supreme spirit who created both the world of nature and the spirit realm. The *al-alia* is the spirit of the dead which appears as a hazy pale figure. The *pugot* is the denizen of groves and giant trees which may be harmful if provoked; when friendly, it can be the source of a *taguilinged* charm which gives the possessor the power to make oneself invisible. The *kibbaan* or *ansisit* are the playful dwarves. *Mangyaoaoan* is the spirit hovering in woodlands and streams that play pranks on trespassers. The *manggagamud* (witch) is the scourge in the Ilocano's daily life because it could be a neighbor, a relative, or a co-worker. Many Ilocano today keep bottled potions of roots and oil on the walls of their homes to counteract the witch's spell, or paint blood-red crosses on their doors. Witchcraft is believed to be practiced mostly by women. And it is also the women who are usually consulted about omens and dreams, and the best time to plant, hunt, go to war, and marry.

Ilocano cosmology links the here and now with the afterworld, hence the belief in hovering ghosts during wakes, or in *naluganan* (possessed) whereby the spirit of the dead enters the body of a living person to communicate with certain relatives. Shady towering trees are regarded with awe since it may be inhabited by supernaturals. Anthills and similar protrusions along the road should not be touched lest the elementals are enraged to cause harm. The Ilocano seldom forget to mumble an invocation to the unseen spirits when they pass in a lush corner of a yard or close to a tree trunk. "Dayo, dayo," goes the plea usually said under one's breath. It is actually a contraction of "Umadayokayo," meaning "go away." If one gets a feeling of nausea shortly after, the person is believed to have *nakadalapos* (bumped or disturbed) the spirits lurking around the bushes.

To relieve the person of this malaise, an older relative plucks a twig from a tree, for instance, malunggay, and gently brushes it on the victim's head and body while muttering to the unseen spirit to let go. If the victim's condition persists, the relatives offer *atang*, a ritual food to appease the supernaturals of the wilderness. Author Pedro Gagelonia describes a more elaborate custom of propitiation centered on blood offering. One-half of a white pig is left at the site where the afflicted had a brush with unseen spirits; the other half is taken home to the sick person. The *manglolualo* (prayer

leader) invokes the mercy of the spirits to restore the person's health (Gagelonia 1967:470-471).

Since the Ilocano traditional universe links the natural and the supernatural realms, rites of appeasement and thanksgiving are done periodically for the spirits dwelling in the loam, river, and woodland. This traditional world view, which has persisted in a modified and more casual manner, may incorporate traces of ecclesiastical rites. For instance, upon opening a bottle of liquor, the host usually first sprinkles a few drops of liquor on the ground, like a priest sprinkling holy water. The intent is to offer the *kadkadua* (unseen partners) their share of the repast and merriment.

The religious feasts, like town fiestas honoring the patron saints and the other Christian holidays, are occasions for communal piety or revelry. An elaborate blending of the customary and contemporary beliefs and rituals may be seen in the *defunctorum* that merges animist and Christian tenets. In this rite, the priest leaves the church premises and goes to the orchards, farms, and springs to pray to the in-dwelling spirits to keep on helping the tillers produce food from their domain. After the invocation, the farmer offers the priest a token of the harvest.

Another stark showcase of the fusion of olden and current rituals is the setting up of *abong-abong* (shed for a temporary altar) along the route of the procession during the Holy Week. The bamboo-and-thatch shelter is decorated with a variety of native fruits and flowers. This *abong-abong* rite has affinity to certain rituals of chanting and harvest offering among the upland dwellers. The *lectio* (chanting of the pasyon) echoes the traditional *dung-aw* dirge normally heard during wakes and burials. To the devout, *semana santa* is a very intense period of prayers and processions; to the less pious, it means a series of gawking sessions on the roadside as the procession passes by, and sharing liquor and food with friends and relatives.

Architecture and Community Planning

The major precolonial settlements in Ilocos like Sual (Pangasinan), Balaoan (La Union), Narvacan and Vigan (Ilocos Sur), Laoag and Paoay (Ilocos Norte) were situated along the coast or near the mouths of rivers. This setting was oriented to the easy traffic of trade goods between the coasts and the hinterlands, and foreign merchant boats as well. Thus, Balaoan was quickly renamed "Puerta de Japon" by the Spaniards who saw Japanese boats unloading merchandise there. "Sual," which is the Arab word for port, most likely refers to the wharf for traders retailing goods from Malacca and the southern provinces of China where the "Silk Road" trade had its network of bazaars. This old commercial link brought beads, ceramic jars, and plates to Ilocos which were sold to the mountain dwellers.

The Spaniards transformed these tradeposts into pueblos and garrisons with a central plaza, using the Mexican pueblo complex as their model. They connected these settlements by means of the *camino real* or the royal highway where the king's soldiers and missionaries must pass from one town to the next when delivering royal decrees or quelling dissidents. However, the sea continued to be the principal passage

connecting coastal towns, islands, and nations.

Dominating every town was the *iglesia* or *simbahan* (church). The massiveness of churches and their central location beside the main plaza were due to their dual function in the life of the colonial pueblo. Apart from serving as houses of worship, they doubled as fortified shelters for the townspeople in times of Moro slave raids, invasion, and rebellion. The towering facades of churches face the sea because the highest windows and the niches served as lookouts for approaching vessels or invaders. Many bell towers were built separately and completed later when there was enough money for the big bells from Belgium or Mexico.

Being ideal garrisons and forts, the churches were among the first to be stormed by rebels, invaders, and the Katipuneros. In the layout of the pueblo, next to the church and fronting or flanking the plaza was the presidio or garrison housing the politico-military offices. The other streetblocks were occupied by the houses of the principalia. The plaza and surrounding streets were the sites for military drills, religious ceremonies, and an open market on specific days. The bell tower dominated the whole scene, as the sound of bells determined the tempo of pueblo life, from early morning mass to the evening vespers.

The accent on a tightly knit townsite beside big rivers was for maximum defense, as well as easy access to trade and transport, boats and rafts being then the mode of travel. None of the Ilocos towns erected high walls as defense perimeter, in the style of Intramuros. There were promontories in some towns serving as lookouts for raiding parties. However, on the highest point of the camino real such as in Santa, Ilocos Sur, the Spaniards built turrets for sentries carved out of the rock wall, while a watchtower was built a few kilometers away, in Narvacan. The series of watchtowers along the southern towns of Ilocos Sur were situated such that fires built on these lookouts at night would be visible to the sentries of the next lookouts, who could then build their own fires to warn those manning the next lookout, and so on.

The highest edifice built by the Spaniards combining the functions of a watchtower and a beacon to sailors was the lighthouse on Cape Bojeador, at the outskirts of Burgos, Ilocos Norte, overlooking the perilous eddies of Point Lacay-lacay. It was the main guidepost at the northern tip of Luzon for the galleons returning from Mexico.

The massive churches in Ilocos are the most enduring relics of the colonial period. The most enchanting of the churches is Paoay Church whose “pyramidal structure” has been simply called “earthquake baroque,” or baroque adapted to the realities of Philippine earthquakes. Two violent earthquakes occurred through the long period of Paoay Church’s construction, so the builders erected extramassive buttresses, using building blocks of coral and brick cemented with the mortar and plaster made of molasses, lime, and wood sap.

The hilltop setting of the church in Santa Maria makes it an outstanding landmark. The buttressed walls of brick extend through the entire crest of the hill without

embellishments. From the church two sets of stairs go down—one, to the church cemetery, and the other, to the town. Santa Maria served both as a house of worship and as lookout for raiding parties coming from the eastern hills or the open sea. Since the Santa Maria town square is far from the coast, the hilltop base presents a better vantage point for observing the whole terrain, and provides greater protection for people seeking refuge during raids.

The San Vicente Church is one of the finer examples of the baroque style in the Ilocos. The harmony of columns and windows with the other decorative features exhibit a keen awareness of perspective. The parapet extends along one side leading to the convento.

The Vigan Cathedral or the Metropolitan Cathedral of San Pablo is a showcase of eclectic ornamentation on a basic baroque plan. This admixture of design motifs is the result of a process common to Ilocos churches, where the basic structure is completed but the finish and ornamentation is done much later by a new parish priest or designer, or changes are made by succeeding reconstruction or renovation, after an earthquake or in preparation for a special occasion. Being the seat of the Archdiocese of Nueva Segovia and the site of various religious congresses, the Vigan Cathedral has undergone several facelifts and brick facing. The vaulted ceiling used to be painted with biblical scenes and personages bordered with curlicues. Some leaks in the roof soiled this surface decor, and the ceiling was repainted in the 1950s minus the figures. The tile roofing was added in the early years of the American Occupation through a donation of a Vigan matron. The mural painting on the arch below the choir loft depicting certain religious episodes and turning points in the town's history was done by Arturo Rabara in the 1960s. The ceiling has just undergone another renovation because of leaks and rotting rafters.

The facade of Laoag Church is very similar to that of Vigan Cathedral. The three-tiered design of the facade of the Laoag Church is a fine showcase of Filipino Baroque.

The Aglipay Shrine in Batac has become a tourist landmark since its renovation. The shrine projects a Gothic outline, although the bare walls and roof tiles on the canopy follow the Vigan house prototype. The shrine was renovated, along with other Ilocos Norte historical sites, during the Marcos regime.

The Agoo Shrine in La Union differs in architecture from all the other old churches because, instead of being renovated in the mid-1970s, it was torn down and was completely rebuilt using poured concrete and steel rods. This explains why its lines are more graceful, and its walls much thinner than the old stone or brick churches. Agoo's design was copied from an Italian church.

In colonial times, next to the churches in size and strategic location were the episcopal palace (in capital towns) and the presidio complex housing the offices of the gobernadorcillo, the guardia civil, and the jailhouse. The structure of these buildings was basically similar to the brick-and-tile residential houses except for their large

windows. The schoolhouses set up at the latter part of the 19th century were either an extended part of the convento or an annex whose design followed the old brick buildings, with their slightly arching doorways and windows. The sliding capiz window shutters had protective vertical grills at the ground floor.

In architectural style, most of the old brick-and-tile houses in Vigan differ from the *bahay na bato* in the Tagalog region, because in the latter, the second story usually extends beyond the ground floor by means of overhanging beams and floor joists. In Ilocos houses, the two floors are normally of the same dimension, with ground floor windows slightly arched. Exceptions are in a few houses with an overhanging second floor, like the Florentino house which covers a whole block.

In the Ilocos houses, the lower floor is usually used as storage area for tobacco, rice, the *karo* (floats), farm implements, and others; and as living or working quarters for servants. A grand wooden staircase with carved twin balustrades leads to an *ante sala*. The big formal sala, whose windows overlook the street in front, is usually furnished with carved wood, carved chairs and sofas, round marble-topped tables, pianos, and portraits of ancestors. Adjacent to the sala would be several *cuartos* (rooms) with four-poster beds, *aparador* (cabinet), *tocador* (dressing table), and *mesa* (table). Other rooms include the *comedor* (dining hall) with a long table and high-backed carved chairs and a *platera* (porcelain cabinet rack); the *oratoryo* (prayer room) with an altar for the family statuary; and the *kusina* with its stoves, tables, and benches. Some of the bigger houses have viewing towers and azoteas facing the scenic Banaoag Gap of the Abra River, the old riverway for traders from the inland valleys. Gone now are the rows of tile roofs seen in old photos of the town, although a few still have this cooler but heavier roofing material. Many house owners in the 1950s changed the roof tiles to galvanized iron when saltpond owners from the Tagalog region offered to buy the old tiles for use as bedding in their saltponds.

Other buildings around the Vigan plaza, including the historic seminary, were razed to the ground about two decades ago. Some old houses have been renovated to serve as hotels and lodging houses. The former residence of dramatist Mena Crisologo has been transformed into a hotel now called Aniceto Mansion, and the courtyard has been greatly altered. So was the floor plan of this ancestral house which used to be a remarkable prototype of the Vigan houses with a granary and stable behind the house, and fruit trees in the courtyard. A beautiful courtyard newly landscaped is that of the Villa Angela at the southern edge of the pueblo. The present Vigan Hotel used to be the residence of Mariano Villanueva; the Grandpa's Inn is another renovated old house, and the Cordillera Inn used to be a high school for the region's Filipino-Chinese residents. The Burgos House museum is more squat and lies practically outside the enclave of the gentry. In fact, it is on the westside boundary of the *naturales* or natives district not far from the western riverbank. North of the Burgos House is the present provincial jail, and to its south is a school building that formerly housed the defunct University of the Philippines branch in Vigan.

On the opposite side of Vigan flows the southeast branch of Buqid River, more

popularly known as the “Mestizo River” because the old brick houses built on its banks housed the Filipino-Chinese mestizos. The houses in this section are taller and closer to one another. Being the old commercial district of the pueblo, formerly called *kasanglayan* (Sanglay traders zone), the ground floor of these houses were used as stores for wine, clothes, cheese, and candies from Manila, China, and Europe. Others served as repair and service shops, or as storage for cash crops like tobacco and indigo dye.

Just across this river are the farms and ancient facilities for indigo making in Barrio Capangpangan (from *pangpang* or riverbank), as well as for tanning hides of cattle, and slipper making. The indigo dye exported to Europe and America enabled the Filipino-Chinese clans to build big houses and engage in the local trade of rice, gold jewelry, and Ilocano abel blankets and fabrics. Before these products secured an overseas market, the Chinese settlers enjoyed a monopoly of burnay-jar making, a smaller variety of which, called *tibor*, was noted by Antonio de Morga (1961) to have been exported to Japan for tea-drinking rituals.

The location of Vigan—at the center of the cluster of towns specializing in trade and food production—is very revealing of the ecological and economic life in colonial times. South and west of Vigan are the towns of Cagayan, Santa Catalina, and San Ildefonso supplying seafood, vegetables, and salt. To the north are Bantay, Magsingal, and Santo Domingo supplying jewelry, livestock, bricks, and basi in olden times. To the east is Santa, source of bolo and scythes, firewood, and bamboo poles. Further north are the communities producing rice, tobacco, garlic, and baskets. This sizeable area had comprised Salcedo’s encomienda; and Vigan, right from the time of Spanish conquest, had been the commercial hub, seat of ecclesiastical and political power, and later on the region’s education center. Thus arose Vigan’s buildings as centers of commerce and governance.

Houses of the lower class were the simple *balay*, bamboo-and-thatch dwellings that became wooden with brick footing at the end of the 19th century. Today these are mostly a mix of concrete and wood with galvanized roofing, with the general outline of the traditional bamboo-and-thatch house. A smaller version of the thatch shelter built on the farm is called *kalapaw* (hut).

In townsite planning and evolution of building designs, the Ilocos region is highly tradition bound. Only when the American period ushered in the Gabaldon-type schoolhouse and the neoclassical lines in the provincial capitols did the landscape witness a change in architecture. This has much to do with the conservative outlook of the Ilocano as it does with the available building materials and construction technology. The engineers of the American period introduced the durable steel reinforcement and cement, and thus changed the terrain’s face and mood with concrete roads and long-span steel-and-concrete bridges. Time and distance has since been compressed, but not much else has changed in the Ilocano world view, which continues to be rooted in family and community.

Under the Marcos era, new government offices and school buildings were built, while the “Vigan House” motif of plain walls, red tiles, brick columns, and slight arches sprang in lakeside Paoay, in former rice lands of Batac, and in resort houses along the beaches of Ilocos Norte, La Union, and Pangasinan. The renovated Aglipay Shrine in Batac combines this Vigan House motif with the Gothic twin-tower outline. The ancestral house of Juan Luna was practically rebuilt from the ruins while erstwhile simple houses were “restored” into massive and luxurious mansions in Sarrat and Batac. **Visual Arts and Crafts**

The oldest forms of Ilocano visual arts are clay craft, wood- and bamboo-craft, weaving, and stonecarving—all essential in earlier times. The clay pots were for cooking and water storage; the wood and bamboo artifacts for housing, fishing and farming implements as well as weaponry; the stoneware for pounding and milling rice; and weaving for garments and blankets. In ancient times, metal tips of spears may have been bartered with foreign traders or with the Igorot, who may also have brought goldsmithing to the lowland dwellers. Perhaps to this early time belongs a 1-meter wide stone phallic figure dug up by collector Angel Cortez and his workers in Bussawit Hill not far from the town center, and now displayed in a garden beside the church of Magsingal, Ilocos Sur.

Pottery is beyond doubt among the earliest and most developed arts in the region. Claywares are either of the terra-cotta type made by means of the paddle and round stone and fired in open pits, or the stoneware type commonly called burnay which is used in fermenting basi and vinegar, preserving fish with salt into bagoong or storing grains and beans until the next planting season. The main difference between the ordinary reddish clay pot and the burnay is that the former is not vitrified or fused like ceramics by means of high temperature. Moreover, the clay for the burnay is mixed with a little amount of sand which tempers the medium while it is fired to make it nonporous and hard as rock. When buried in soil, this vitrified quality makes the burnay resist corrosion and the chemical changes that the basi or bagoong undergo. Since this stoneware is resistant to the action of salt and fermentation, it was often used in the Spanish galleons for water storage and as chemical containers. In 1609 Antonio de Morga noted that this stoneware is a regular trade item between the Ilocano and Japanese merchants who preferred the Ilocos-made tabor (a small and cylindrical stoneware) to any other Asian ceramic, especially for their tea-drinking rituals.

Another type of this stoneware crafted in Pagburnayan, Vigan, is the wangging which has a bigger mouth. Shaped like an oversized pail, it is commonly used for storing water and salt. The viray (two-masted sailboat) traders from Ilocos in the previous generations preferred the burnay as water vessels the way the galleon sailors did. Besides the traditional types of stoneware, the Vigan potters today produce decorative smaller items like ashtrays, pencil holders, flower vases, and paper weights for the tourist trade. Such smaller items are also meant to maximize the heat in the kiln, since these small pieces can be placed in spaces between the big burnay jars. The burnay cottage industry was in the hands of Vigan Sanglay families for a long time, since the

technology used to be a tightly guarded secret. It was only at the early part of this century when non-Sanglays were allowed to learn the craft. Among the master burnay artisans is Fidel Go, who was given the Manlilikha ng Bayan Award in 1990.

The Ilocano handloom-woven abel fabrics and blankets were also a regular trade item in the galleons bound for Acapulco, Mexico, aside from being used as sails for these trading ships. Many historians have documented how the Ilocano abel became the favorite *manta* (shawls) in Nueva España (Mexico) because a yard of Ilocos manta cost one real while the Mexican made one cost six reales in Acapulco (Corpuz 1989: 91-92). The Indians of Central and North America also preferred the abel because of its durability and inexpensiveness. But when the abel found a ready market in Spain, a high tariff was slapped on each shipment to protect the textile industries in the cities of Cadiz and Seville. The old centers of abel in the Spanish period were Paoay and the surrounding towns in Ilocos Norte; today, the barangays of Bangar, La Union, and Caoayan, Ilocos Sur, are the busiest abel producers.

The abel blankets and fabrics are still common trade items in Luzon and some parts of Mindanao for their multiple uses. Their distinct designs are cherished by those inclined to folk art and artifactual heirlooms. The old, ornate blankets from Abra Tinguian villages, generally called *binacol*, or the rare Kankanay blankets called *kalgo* are highly treasured not only for their antiquity but also for their ritual and mythic significance in the traditional lifeway. These Tinguian or Kankanay abel heirlooms are not products of the highland looms, but are actually the handiwork of Ilocano weavers many generations back. Only a few decades ago did the highland weavers adopt the handloom. According to various anthropologists and historians, the binacol or kalgo blankets were among the major trade goods from the Ilocos, along with ceramics, beads, salt, and dried fish bartered for Igorot gold dust, mountain rice, and forest by-products like almagica, honey, and herbal medicine. The Ilocano also produced the heirloom loincloth of the Igorot who used to make their native G-st:ring from fibrous tree barks.

The other folk arts are beaded slippers, necklaces, and belts made in Vigan, claywares of San Nicolas, Ilocos Norte; limestone mortar and pestle of San Esteban, Ilocos Sur now used as accents in interior decor; leather craft mainly for bolo sheaths with decorative imprints of Santa, Ilocos Sur; the *katukong* (salakot) made of bamboo slivers or gourd shell from Abra; shell craft made into necklace pendants and framed mosaics from La Union towns; bamboo craft including baskets, hampers, and furniture from Pangasinan. While most of these items are made along functional lines, the religious images and wood-carved furniture are more ornate because they are intended to be replicas of colonial models or patterns such as the engraved curlicues of church silverware or the double-headed eagle of the Spanish monarchy. However, some local symbols of fertility and harvest in the form of fruits and clustered blooms are also carved into canopied beds.

Harvest too is the theme of the elevated bamboo trellis called *ramada* (“a framework of branches”) used as decorative archways during fiestas. These big bamboo lofts are hung with clusters of coconuts, macopas, bananas of different varieties, caimitos, mabolos,

nangkas, and all such bounty from the farms and orchards that sustain the folk during the dry spell. The ramada is a sort of thanksgiving altar.

Some Filipino painters who made a name here and abroad have Ilocano roots.

Juan Luna won a medal for his *Spoliarium* at the Madrid Exposition of 1884.

Macario Vitalis lived and painted in Brittany, exhibiting in Paris and other parts of Europe in the post-World War II era. In the last three decades, Ray Albano, Santiago Bose, Aca Verzosa, Roberto Vilanueva, and Willy Magtibay have created notable pieces of contemporary art.

Aside from the muralist Arturo Rabara who took up painting under Vicente Manansala, the region's younger painters are Ashley Martinez, Rex Avila, Catherine Bautista, Rey del Mar Sumabat, Amante Quias, Neopito Lagasca, Teodoro Lagasca, Jerry Amadar, and David Pichay. Sumabat has won several awards in national painting competitions sponsored by Shell Company, Philippine Long Distance Telephone (PLDT), Metrobank, and others. Quias, a renowned watercolorist, is now based in Los Angeles, USA. Pichay is largely a self-taught artist, who was inspired by a retired art teacher Felicísimo Amores.

The rarest and most important paintings in the Ilocos are the Basi Revolt series on display at the Jose Burgos House, now under the custody of Filipinas Foundation. Esteban Villanueva's series of 14 oil paintings provide a visual history of the Basi Revolt, from the massing of rebel troops in the rolling hills of the northern towns to the public beheading of captured rebels. The battle scene along Bantaoay River in San Vicente shows the Ilocano, armed with bows and arrows, facing the guns of the Guardia Civil and their native allies. Another painting depicts the townspeople rushing to seek sanctuary inside the cathedral as a drummer sounds the alarm. Another scene shows a Spanish military official scolding the *gobnadorcillos* of the southern towns for arriving too late with their promised reinforcements, and another depicts the brutal hanging of the defeated rebels. Belonging to the *naif* tradition, the painting renders figures on a two-dimensional perspective, and shows the officials and *hidalgos* as bigger, towering over small folk like well-dressed giants among peasants.

The wall paintings of saints in the Vigan Cathedral were done by an Italian painter based in Manila who did not sign his works. A veritable trove of colonial art is the archbishop's residence in Vigan, which has a collection of large oil paintings depicting ceremonial scenes, portraits, and official seals of bishops and archbishops of the diocese of Nueva Segovia; silver *relicarios*, *ciboria*, *candelabra*, and other examples of religious colonial silver; and distinctively carved colonial furniture.

A distinct example of Ilocano religious folk art is the set of *ex-votos*, thin silver medallions or plaques pinned to the *santos*' robes in thanksgiving for favors received or requested. Shaped like eyes, legs, arms, noses, ears, and so forth, these are pinned or decorated on the favored saint. The statue that has been almost completely covered by *ex-votos* is that of Santa Lucia in Santa Lucia, Ilocos Sur.

Jewelry continues to be done by a few smiths of Bantay. Their grandfathers used to craft ornate necklaces like the *tamborin*, *cadena*, and *sinan-alokon*; varied earrings like the *sampalok/crolia/rosita* (seven gems), *tagaan* (three gems), and *dos amante* (two gems). Using pearls, diamonds, rubies, and rare corals, they fashioned rings like *domino*, *amante*, *tipani*, *dos amante*, and *rosita*. Abra traders are the usual source of gold. The silver used for base comes from peso coins minted in the American period.

Sculpture has seen better days in Ilocos when those who worked with plaster and cement were busy sculpting likenesses of religious figures or Filipino heroes either in the round or in relief, for altars, monuments, and family mausoleums. An old wood carver in San Vicente still fashions religious icons mostly using santol wood. The makers of violins, guitars, and violas in Vigan have stopped producing the instruments, the last artisans simply accepting repair jobs for their products done decades ago. A young artist, Melanio Andino, used to export macrame with clay vases and figurines to New York in the 1970s. He designed tiny figures and let the traditional Vigan potters produce them. Also in the mid-1970s, Andino developed and marketed the now famous red square “Vigan tiles.”

There is a brisk business in heirloom furniture and reproductions, and antique jars and porcelains as well. The main shops for antiques and wood-carved items are found in the old section of Vigan where the Ilocano baskets, drapes, and jars are also available. The notable sculptors at present are Boy de Peralta who specializes in wood murals, and Jun Lazo who is continuing the tradition of carving santos in San Vicente, Ilocos Sur.**Literary Arts**

Poetry in Ilocano has its origins in the folk *burburtia* (riddles) and *pagsasao* (proverbs). Embodying wisdom of the ages, these are usually passed from grandparents to grandchildren, during leisure hours. The riddles come in couplets, with closer attention to rhythm than to rhyme. The metaphorical expressions usually reflect analogies in nature and the domestic or work setting. While riddles are crafted to be witty, they are also primarily meant to be entertaining and easy to memorize. Most riddles are couched in irony and paradox but bare the similarities of ordinary objects with the varied conditions and cycles in life, as in:

*No baro narukop
No daan nalagda.*

When new it's weak
When old it's strong.
(Mixed soil and carabao dung pounded
on the ground as bed for pounding rice)

*Idi naparsua toy lubong inda met naparsua
Uppat nga agkakabsat di pay nagkikita.*

When the world was created, so were these
Four brothers who have not met since.
(The compass' four directions)

*Ania ti banag a no ikkatam
Dakdakkal ti inna pagbalinan?*

What is that which you take from
But becomes bigger? (A hole)

Here are some pagsasao:

*Ti makaturog, makamukat;
Ti nasalukag, agbiag.*

He who sleeps shall have moths;
He who is diligent shall have a full life.

*No agmulaka ti unas
Di na ka pay taliawen ti lumabas
Ngem no adda basimon a naimas
Sarungkarandaka uray ania oras.*

When you are planting sugarcane
Passersby don't even glance at you
But as soon as you have tasty basi
They visit you any hour of the day.

*Sadino man ti papanan
Sumursurot ti nakairruaman.*

Wherever one goes
Custom always follows.

Oral literature is often chanted by the Ilocano as part of their rituals proper to the life cycle, or as provider of tempo in the work sites, as exemplified by the rower's song, "Pamulinawen" (Stonehearted). The famous folk ballad "Marba Koma Diay Bantay" (Would That Mountain Crumble) follows the rocking motion of the cradle when lulling a baby to sleep.

A native poetic form that is more demanding is the *arikenken*, an impromptu joust between a man and a woman, usually held during a bridal party and centered on the rights and responsibilities of the wife or the husband. Stock phrases and metaphors are often used, specially since the performers must dance a bit while spouting measured verses in tempo with the body movements.

The most cited Ilocano narrative which is chanted in verse is Lam-ang. Invested with supernatural powers, Lam-ang is born fully grown, and having dreamed of his father's death in the hands of tribal foes, immediately engages in a dangerous quest for him. After fighting single-handedly a big band of Igorot, Lam-ang emerges victorious with the use of his magical weapons. After this victory, he decides to court and eventually weds the loveliest woman in Kalanutian, Ines Kannyon. In his last adventure, he decides to look for the *rarang* (big clam) but he instead gets devoured by the *berkakan*

(giant fish). In the end, however, he is resurrected in a mystical rite involving his magical animals and the skirt of his wife.

Several scholars have cast doubt on the legend's precolonial antiquity, pointing out that the transcription by Pedro Bukaneg has never been discovered and that the Ilocano text includes both Christian elements and Chinese details. Nonetheless, the verse tale of Lam-ang stands out as a well-crafted piece of Ilocano poetry. Old men still recite fragments of the Lam-ang legend in the chanted style of the traditional oral verse called dallot, usually performed by older men and women to newlyweds. Dallot chanters normally perform some basic dance steps of the *pandango* or arikenken while counselling the young couple on the pitfalls of marriage. The lines are rich in analogies, often improvised but always in regular rhyme and rhythm.

Written poetry started in the early 17th century, when the Augustinian friar Francisco Lopez published the Ilocano translation of Cardinal Bellarmine's *Doctrina Cristiana*, 1621, with the literary assistance of the Ilocano-Tinguian Pedro Bukaneg, and the *Arte de la lengua Yloca* (Grammar of the Iloco Language), 1627. These texts are very significant because they pioneered the use of a Romanized orthography for Ilocano. The *Doctrina* carried the earliest transcribed poems in the Ilocano script as well as a segment of an ancient Ilocano manuscript, while the *Arte* included a section on the rules for writing poetry.

From then on, the customary crafting of proverbs and riddles for the purpose of teaching folk wisdom or entertainment during social gatherings expanded to the printed medium, thereby making them more permanent and easier to convey from one generation to the next. Using the rules on poetic craft of Fray Lopez, Ilocano writers began to publish poems in the 18th century, mainly on religious themes. Jacinto Kawili was the most notable among the pioneer poets. The didactic writings of the friars in Ilocano dominated the scene up to the middle of the 19th century, since printing served religious instruction and the printing presses were in the hands of the clergy. Literary production was oriented to inculcating piety and loyalty among the people.

Among the earliest daniw (poem) written in Ilocano is "Pampanunot Ken Patay" (Meditations on Death), 1627, composed of 10 quatrains on the meaning of life's trials up to "sentencia nga ududi" (the final judgment day). Isabelo de los Reyes and Leon Pichay attributed its authorship to Bukaneg mainly because of its humility and hint of protest; others, however, say these were written by a friar. Upon closer analysis, the first three quatrains bare enough sentiments that probably could not have been felt by a friar (translations by A. M. Azurin):

*Daytoy kitak a nakaapaprang
ti sarming a paganninawan
iti tungpal a kailalaan,
ken amin nga ubbaw nga ag-aguman.*

Dagiti agturay a mannakabilin,

*babaknang, agtutubo ken ubbing,
lakay, nalaad ken nalaing
kasdanto kaniak amin.*

*Iti biag saan a maigawid
ta iti patay kas buis nga awan makapagkalis,
iti panangyawat a pilit...*

My appearance, so horrible
still reflects as a mirror
on the mirror where it is reflected
and all the good material things craved for.

The rulers ever powerful
the rich, the youth and children,
the old, ugly or wise
like me shall all become.

Life goes on inexorable as death, just like
taxes that no one can evade,
as its giving is imposed...

Pablo Inis was born in 1661 in Sinit and, like Bukaneg, was intellectually bolstered by a friar. At 20, he began writing poems in praise of the Creator and the patron saints. Typical of his poems is "Pagdaydayaw Ken 'Apo de la Rosa, Katalak ti Sinit" (In Praise of our Lady of the Rose, Patroness of Sinit). The first 3 of 10 stanzas follow (translation by Pablo Ramirez):

*Bituen ti In agit a karaniagan,
Emperatriz a katan-okan;
De la rosa silaw a kasilnagan,
Tulongannakam a kaasian.*

*Sinit ti pangnagan
Ti Barrio a nakaipanam
Nga isu a nagayatan
O ina ti Dios a katan-okan.*

*Ta tiulongmo di lumangan,
Ken asim a nalipiasan,
Kadagiti naayat a sumangbay,
Iti puso a napasnekan...*

Brightest star of heaven,
Our empress most noble;
De la rosa, light most radiant
Help us in our great need.

Sinit is the fair name;
It was the place you chose,
Of your village residence,
Sublime Mother of God.

Your kindness and support
Without cessation go
To those who want to take
Refuge within your heart...

By the middle of the 19th century, this pious and didactic sentiment was still the main, if not sole, thread of Ilocano poetry and all of literature in the region. So much so that the literary turning points were then impelled by this catechistic drive, as in the landmark publication of the *Pasion de nuestro Señor Jesu Christo escrita en lengua Ilocana por el M.R.P. Fr. Antonio Megia* (The Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ Written in the Ilocano Language by the Very Reverend Fr. Antonio Megia), 1845.

Noteworthy in all these efforts was the steady development of writing skills and styles in Ilocano—not Spanish, which was not propagated by the friars. The poetic idiom of the daniw, in the works of poets like Jacinto Kawili of Batak, Ilocos Norte, started to come close to the vernacular as ordinarily spoken; although still religious in theme, it was less confined to the usual phrases in prayer books. Evidence of this change is Kawili's poem "Ni Managindadakkel" (The Braggart) whose first of eight stanzas reads:

*Kasano aya a kitaen,
ti tao a managindadakkel?
Di kad tungpalna laeng ti rigat a nadagsen...
no malabes dagitoyen?*

How then shall one view
a person who is a braggart?
Isn't it that he is bound to face grave sufferings...
when all these have gone out of bounds?

A generation later, this more casual tone turned more secular in theme and sometimes satirical in tone in the hands of Leona Florentino who read her poems during gentry gatherings in Vigan. This new kind of daniw focused on social manners, and showed a blend of gentility, irony, and humor. Through Florentino, the daniw also emerged in the international scene when her poems in Ilocano and Spanish were included in a bibliography of poetry, the *Bibliothèque Internationale D'oeuvres de Femmes*, edited by Andzia Wolkska in 1889. Florentino's poems were also exhibited at the World Exposition in Madrid in 1887 and in Paris in 1889. Fragments of different poems she wrote for close relatives are (translation by M.A. Foronda Jr.):

*Anansata no ragsac ti maysa, ragsacyo a dua,
no rigat ti maysa, rigattayo met a dua;
aday-oanyo ti ilem quen panagdudua
a mangirurumen ti sudi ti panagtalentalec ti agasawa.*

Therefore let the joy of one be the joy of both,
the hardships of one, the hardships of both;
shun jealousy and suspicions
which destroy the luster of the couple's trust

• • •

*Sabong ti cayarigan
ti macagteng ti quinabalasang
quet ti banglona nga agpanapan
ti macasay-op inca bang-aran.*

One who reaches maidenhood
is likened to a flower
and her fragrance is
unto one who breathes it, a balm.

• • •

*Sapaem ngad a liclican
daytoy cadaoyan a cadadacsan;
ipaquitam la ti lasbangmo quen rangpayam
uray no quinabaquetmo ti madanonan.*

And so try to escape
this most evil of states;
just show your loveliness and grace
even if you have reached old age.

• • •

*Ragragsaquem la dayta naquemmo
nangruna no maquitam ida nga agcariño
ni Baquet D. quen ni M.
ta casda la tugui iti cabudo.*

And just console yourself
especially when you see
Baquet D. and M. manifest their affections
for they are as itchy as the tugui (a rootcrop).

Narrative poetry emerged in the form of *corridos* or romances rich in episodes testing the hero's faith, valor, and sense of sacrifice. When the trials became impossible to overcome, there appeared a divine savior, or the heroes assumed magical powers. Because these romances were to show the way to the true kingdom and the glorious life, the Ilocano called them *panagbiag* (the way to live). Soon they supplemented the stories of the miraculous lives of saints contained in the novenas. Among the most popular korido were *Bernardo Carpio*, *Siete Infantes de Lara* (Seven Devils), *Rodrigo de Villa*, *Gonzalo de Cordova*, *Principe Amante* (Prince Amante), *Ari Villarba*, and *Princesa Florentina* (Princess Florentina).

The latter part of the 19th century saw the emergence of a religious chanting ritual following the publication of the *Passion* by Megia. This was the fusion of the customary *dung-aw* (dirge) and the Passion, but with a big difference from the original story of the salvation-through-sacrifice role of Christ. This dirge revolves around the

grief of the Virgin Mary over the sufferings and death of Christ. Apart from *Lam-ang*, it is the colonial era's prime narrative poem, whose printed form is called *sudario* from the Spanish "sudar", meaning "to perspire." *Sudario* literally means "a piece of cloth for wiping off perspiration," but among the Ilocanos, it connotes a handkerchief for wiping the tears of the Blessed Mother by men and women during Lent, before an improvised shed and altar called *abong-abong*. The whole practice is called *agpa-leksyo* or *lectio*.

The *sudario*, subtitled *Dung-aw ni Apo Santa Maria iti Panagtutuoc quen Ipatatay ni Apotayo a Jesucristo* (Dirge of the Blessed Virgin Mary on the Passion and Death of Our Lord Jesus Christ) clearly combines the theme and idiom of the *dung-aw*, thus making the Virgin Mary mourn like an ordinary Ilocano mother over her dead son. This is evident right in the first stanzas (translation by Pablo Ramirez):

"O Dios Ama"

Lectio Nga Umuna

*O Dios Ama badangannac
Taliaoem cad toy casadsaad
Ta aoan naganac caniac.
Sangsangailiac ditoy a ciudad
Quet aoan balay a pagyanac.*

*Aoan di nasam-it nga asaoac
A Jose nga catulongac
Aoan met pangital-liaoac
Cadaguitoy nadam-egan a matac
Tapno maitabon coma toy anac.*

*Naquemmot tinungpalna
Quet bilinmot sinungpotna;
Caasiam ngarud unay ita
Toy nacacaasi a bangcayna
Tapno maitanem coma.*

*Ay! anacco a maymaysa
Ania ti aramidec quenca
Sungbatam cad toy ina;
Tapno ammona ti aramidenna
Itoy baquim a naca-ilala...*

"Oh God the Father"

The First *Lectio*

Oh, Lord the Father, extend me thy aid!
Look upon my condition appalling,
I am all alone—an orphan—
Alone, a stranger in this town
And shelter I have none.

My Joseph, my own beloved spouse—
He, too, is gone—my better half,
To whom I, could direct my tearful eyes,
To whom I could ask for needed help
That my dead son be entombed.

Thy will, he has willingly taken;
Thy order, he has followed.
Extend then, Oh Lord, thy help,
That this pitifull cadaver,
To its resting place be taken.

Ay! my son, my only one,
What now shall I do to you?
Speak out, oh my dearest son.
To your mother, give your word
That she may do what is proper...

Two major types of Ilocano poetry were quite well-known at the turn of the century: the folk spiritual exemplified by the *sudario*, and the lyric-secular embodied by Leona Florentino's poems. This is an unconventional way of classifying poetry but it is the most precise since in the Ilocos, the *daniw* as printed was an offspring of prayers and the printed *novena* pamphlets. The secular mood and theme of the humanistic Renaissance was just emerging in the poems of Florentino.

In the hope of widening the path towards a secular direction, Florentino's son, Isabelo de los Reyes, began publishing in the 1890s his Ilocano translations of European and Chinese poetry in order to expose Ilocano writers to the great literary traditions of the world. In 1926, the first comprehensive anthology of Ilocano poems came out showing a variety of forms and influences. Titled *Sangcareppet A Dandaniw, Parnaso Ilocano* (A Sheaf of Verses, Ilocano Parnassus), it was edited by Mauro Peña of Sarrat, Ilocos Norte, and Antonio Fogata of San Narcisco, Zambales. The poems showed a loosening of meter and experimentation in form. The book included samples of the *satira* (satire), *epigrama* (epigrams), *eucaristico* (poem of thanks), sonnet, ode, and others. Also included were Ilocano versions of the "Marcha Nacional Filipina," Rizal's "Mi ultimo adios," and German, Chinese, Spanish, and Italian poems as translated by de los Reyes. Notable in this early volume was its national and international flavoring, although the staple was Ilocano poetry.

The generation of poets during the first decades of American Occupation acquired the confidence to engage in public demonstration of their talents in impromptu versified debates incorporating the traditional *arikenken* poetic joust and the newfound idiom about contemporary issues, the *bukanegan*. Named after Bukaneg and introduced in the 1930s as the Ilocano counterpart of the Tagalog *balagtasan*, this public poetic joust usually revolved around the contrasting virtues of Beauty or Wisdom, Youth or Age, Learning or Wealth, Reason or Heart. From the 1930s to the 1950s, *bukanegan* was a lively feature in fiestas and big school affairs. At its height in the mid-1930s, the Manila Grand Opera House was the venue for the *bukanegan*, pitting the talents of

Leon Pichay and Victorino Balbin before an audience of Ilocano luminaries in government and business.

A volume, *Bukanegan A Nagrurupiran* (The Bukanegan Joust), was published in 1934, featuring the poetic contest among Mariano Caerlan who spoke for *Sanikua* (Wealth); Godofredo Reyes, *Adal* (Learning); and Leon Pichay, *Dayaw* (Honor). In the 1960s, with the spread of the transistor radio, these jousts left the stage to go on air every weekend in some radio stations in the Ilocos and Pangasinan. Thus it gained a larger audience. Sometimes, it would be featured by drama troupes invited to perform during town fiestas and other gatherings. In the history of the bukanegan, no poet ever reached the eminence of Pichay, who, in his time, was invited all over the Ilocos during town carnivals to deliver encomiums to the carnival queen and her court. Thus was Pichay conferred the title “King of Ilocano Poets” and chosen to introduce the *Dallang ti Amianan* anthology of verse.

After the war, the anthologies mostly published by Gunglo Dagiti Manunurat nga Ilocano (GUMIL) that carried poetry were: *Ballatinaw* (Mahogany), edited by Godofredo S. Reyes and Pelagio Alcantara; *Pamulinawen* (Stonehearted), edited by Jose A. Bragado and Benjamin M. Pascual; *Kutibeng* (Native Guitar), edited by Marcelino Foronda Jr.; *Dandaniw*, edited by Padta Saludes; *Sakbay a Lumnek ti Init* (Before the Sun Sets), edited by Jaiine Lucas and Antonia Cabuyadao; *Alintatao* (Pupil of the Eye), edited by Reynaldo A. Duque; *Ani 7* (Harvest 7), edited by Herminio S. Beltran Jr. and Jose A. Bragado; and *Talibagoh* (Apex of Virtue), edited by Benjamin M. Pascual, Jose A. Bragado and Cles B. Rambaud. Most of the anthologized poems first appeared in the Ilocano weekly *Bannawag*. While this magazine is a great boost to Ilocano talents, it is also regarded as a constricting medium for creativity, as some Cordillera-based writers find it oriented to the lowland market.

The past two generations have seen many Ilocano expressing their poetic imagination in English or in Filipino. A recent phenomenon is bilingualism as practiced by Reynaldo Duque and Juan S.P. Hidalgo Jr. (Ilocano and Filipino), or Alejandro G. Hufana and Benjamin M. Pascual (English and Ilocano), and Herminio Beltran Jr., Arnold Azurin, Pelagio Alcantara, and a few others who are trilingual poets.

The earliest prose forms in Ilocano literature are the folk narratives which include myths, legends, and trickster tales. These used to be handed down through the elders’ nighttime storytelling; now they are propagated in schools as part of cultural studies, particularly those on the folk history of towns, mountains, and lakes. Among the Ilocano, the myth of “Angalo Ken Aran” is a favorite in explaining the origin of the region’s rivers, lakes, and first inhabitants. The male Angalo and his mate Aran were the first creatures of human form, but they were giants. The entire land was their domain; the entire shoreline was their playground. Whenever they chased each other, their gigantic footprints and trails sank parts of the ground that soon became rivers and valleys. When they took a bath upriver and grappled with one another in horseplay, the entire area sank under their weight. Rainwater filled it up, and the

sunken areas turned into lakes, while the rim became the hills. This myth supposedly explains why there is often a big stone shaped like a giant's footprint in lakes and lagoons in the Ilocos. Once Angalo and Aran played on the shore during which Angalo piled up stone, shrubs, and sand, modelling his creation after Aran's bosom. Thus was formed the Suso Beach in Santa Maria, Ilocos Sur with a prominent hill shaped like a giant breast. Other towns add on their version to explain any local dominant land feature. But they invariably agree on the origin of the first Ilocano; they were mud figures molded by these giants that later on gave life to earthen figurines. Thus did the Ilocano brown ancestors come to be.

Many legends are told to explain the origin of a town's name. In Narvacan, some people say that the lone mountain overlooking the wharf in Barangay Sulvec is the overturned ark of Noah. When it was yet capsizing, a member of this refuge vessel shouted to his companions "Marba kan! Marba kan!" (Your are tumbling over), and eventually this cry of alarm became the root of the name of the original settlement.

One version of the legendary origin of Paoay Lake follows exactly the biblical episode about the wrath of the Almighty on Sodom and Gomorrah when Lot's wife looked back to see the destruction of the sinful cities and turned into a pillar of salt. In this Paoay Lake tale, the old villages locked in competition over lavish clothes and jewelry are also called by biblical names or adaptations such as Siduma and Sintapuli. The vain inhabitants were punished by the deities through a big flood. Another tale on the Paoay Lake as told by a Paoayeno, Mario Plan, is more ethnic in orientation. A long time ago, the Dakkel a Danum (large watering hole) was not as big as it is today, it was just an ordinary lake. The Tinguian built houses along the lake. It was at this time that the Spaniards came to baptize the Tinguian. Those who refused baptism ran inland while others stayed to become Christians and became the ancestors of the people around the lake. Years passed and the lake became bigger and bigger until the Tinguian houses were covered with water. During the dry spell, some poles could be seen thrusting out of the water, and later generations believed that these were relics of the flooded houses.

Other olden tales intended for entertainment are the Juan Sadot (Lazy Juan) stories usually told by grandmothers to the young to send them to bed. Juan Sadot is a moron; in these yarns, he acts silly because of his failure to understand his errands or situations confronting him. One episode goes this way: Juan Sadot and his grandmother were walking by the river (here the narrator tells details of what they see along the way to show the half-witted reactions of Juan). They suddenly saw a group of people fishing out a drowned man. They went closer and saw the crowd wrapping the victim with buri mat, but covering their nostrils because the corpse was already decomposing. Juan asked why the corpse smelled, his grandmother said, "Because he is dead." "Why are they bundling him in a mat?" asked Juan. And the old woman said they were preparing to bury it. Later in the evening, as the old woman was trying to catch sleep on her mat, she quietly emitted a sudden foul odor. Juan smelled the terrible stench. Thinking that his grandmother was dead, he rolled the mat around her and began hauling her down the stairs.

During the Spanish period, the pueblo children and adolescents lived a regimented life: holy mass in the morning, prayers and singing hymns before lunch, catechism sessions in the afternoon followed by the vespers and a novena in any of the houses in the poblacion where a religious ritual would be making the rounds in the neighborhood. To further strengthen this colonial mold of social life, the lay leaders distributed prayer pamphlets with religious poems interwoven in the novenas, and booklets on the lives of saints. Along with these reading materials came the korido volumes to inculcate loyalty to God and the Spanish king.

The korido romances directly influenced the first Ilocano novel *Matilde de Sinapangan*, written by Fray Rufino Redondo who was awarded a gold medal for his novel and short stories during the 1892 Candon town fiesta. Literary historian Leopoldo Yabes once noted the excessive moralizing of this novel about a barrio girl who triumphed over the difficulties in upholding the Christian rites and beliefs. The succeeding novels did not transcend the mawkish, simplistic, and moralistic plot of the koridos. In 1909 Mariano Gaerlan wrote *Biag ti Maysa a Lakay Oenno Nacaamames a Bales* (Life of an Old Man or Frightful Revenge). In the same year, C.A. Duque's *Baltazar* was published, followed by Facundo Madriaga's *Uray Narigat No Paguimbagan* (Bearing Difficulty for the Good) in 1911. This phase of the Ilocano novel, dubbed by critics as the Tearjerker Age, extended until World War II.

The shocks and stresses of war affected the traditional moorings of society and the Ilocano novelists reflected these changes and traumas in their works. Similarly, since most Ilocano novelists at this time had gone through college, every popular foreign novelist's style and subject was a source of inspiration. Thus emerged the stage of experimentation among Ilocano novelists. Those who blazed the trail included David Campaño, Jose Acance, Arsenio Ramel Jr., Hermogenes Belen, Gregorio Laconsay, Marcelino Foronda Jr., and Constante Casabar. In the *Bannawag*-serialized works emerged the folklore, landscape, and personal anguish of the Ilocano as homestead seeker, migrant worker, landlord, professional, guerrilla, lover, or provinciano newly arrived in the city. An outstanding novel in this batch because of its realism and sustained intensity was *Dagiti Mariing Iti Parbangon* (They Who Awake at Dawn) by Casabar, who exposed the vile practices of usurers, politicians, and factory managers against laborers and peasants.

Among today's younger novelists, Dionisio Bulong and Lorenzo Tabin are known for their humorous and intimate depiction of the Ilocano uprooted from their rustic setting and awkwardly implanting roots in the city. Juan S. P. Hidalgo Jr. has been looking into the folk beliefs in the occult. Elpidio Unabia writes of the clash of characters in logging camps. Sex comedy in a light vein is Meliton Gal Brillantes' forte while Jose Bragado's focus is on the Ilocano as a fortune seeker outside his homeland. Reynaldo Duque is well-known for his depictions of social ills and the struggle for justice and economic uplift. The Ilocano who have ventured into novel writing in English, like F. Sionil Jose, usually deal with the same subjects and characters as those writing in Ilocano. Somehow the larger audience of English writings has meant greater eminence

and more translations in foreign languages. Another Ilocano writer, Gracianus Reyes, has written two novels and two volumes of short stories in English.

Alongside the growth of the novel, the short story emerged as a close parallel, both in theme and craft. According to Yabes, “Ti Langit Inanamatayo” (Heaven of Our Hope) written by Isabelo de los Reyes toward the end of the 19th century is the oldest existing Ilocano short story. But not until the 1920s, when vernacular publications proliferated, was there a noticeable surge in this literary form. Like the novelists, shortstory writers focused initially on the sentimental themes and Cinderella plots. Thus writer Benjamin M. Pascual labelled the stories of this era as “A Bucketful of Tears.” There were a few but unremarkable experimental pieces.

Notable in this early crop of short fictionists are Hermogenes Belen, Mauro Peña, Narciso Capusan, Benjamin Pascual, David Campañano, and Jeremias Calixto. Most of their stories depicted the rustic humor and customs of the Ilocano, the anxieties of young lovers, and the triumphs of the downtrodden, or the downfall of powerful clans. The stories from the postwar years to the 1960s showed a surer craft and a deeper insight into character and social conflict. Pascual referred to this phase as the “Second Basi Revolt.” Writers like Constante Casabar, Arsenio Ramel, and Marcelino Foronda Jr. highlighted the wartime problems and the postwar tensions impelling a new wave of migration from the region.

Gregorio Laconsay continued the traditional storyline revolving around romance and rustic bliss, the same mold of narrative mastered by an outstanding Ilocano writer from Bauang, La Union, Manuel Arguilla, who wrote in English before the war. Arguilla’s *How My Brother Leon Brought Home a Wife* was typical of his themes on the simple joys and hopes of barrio life even as the folk began feeling the ripple of social change. It was the same setting for the short stories of Ilocano migrant worker Carlos Bulosan, from Binalonan, Pangasinan who was the first Filipino to attain literary fame in the United States before World War II. Bulosan’s stories of Ilocano farm life were rich in local color, but with a shade of exaggerated humor bordering on satire. His pieces, published in American magazines, were gathered in one volume titled *The Laughter of My Father*. Bulosan was also a poet and author of the acclaimed book, *America Is in the Heart*, a biographical novel that revealed the deceptions of labor recruiters and the injustices suffered by Filipino contract workers, many of them Ilocano, in the West Coast and Alaska in the United States.

The Ilocano short stories published in the Bannawag from the early 1960s to the 1970s achieved a degree of distinction in style and psychological depth. Pascual referred to this stage as “The Bolo Sharpening Period.” It was a high point in Ilocano literature, particularly for the short fiction. Hermilinda Lingbaoan-Bulong highlights the following fictionists who gained fame after the 1960s: “Jose Bragado, who typified the Ilocano mode of value inculcation through father-and-son relationships; Pelagio Alcantara, who explored the existential pain of loss; Antonio Sanchez Encarnacion, who probed into the inner dynamics of choice and decision; Juan S.P. Hidalgo Jr., who delved into the spiritual and metaphysical dimension of human beings; and Edilberto

Angco, Rogelio Aquino, and Peter La. Julian, who were most interested in sociopolitical issues.”In the 1980s the Ilocano short story expanded its cultural vista as migrants to various regions in the country as well as abroad began to focus on the peculiar situations and fresh challenges in such crosscultural milieus. But the old hometown was also experiencing change and new tensions that were revealed intimately in the stories of Cristino Inay, Severino Pablo, Lorenzo Tabin, Francisco Quitasol, Herminio Calica, Manuel Diaz, Casimiro de Guzman, and Prescillano Bermudez.

From the homestead regions and logging camps in Cagayan Valley emerged the life portraits of Rosito Pimentero, Renato Paat, Arsenio Ramel, Samuel Corpuz, William Alvarado, Wilson Salvador, and Juan Quimba. The highlands of Abra came alive in the stories of Bernardino Alsate, Lito Peig, Donato Abanilla, and Esmenio Calera. Life in resettlement areas and bustling trade centers of Mindanao was the forte of Billy Sambrano and Lito Soriano.

Another development in this period was the emergence of more women fictionists, like Sinamar RobianesTabin, Amanda Pugot-del Rosario, Onofreda Ibarra, Ruperta Asuncion, Cresenda Alcantara, Maria QuiagaoVentura, Eden Cachola-Bulong, Crispina Martinez-Belen, Cresenda dela Rosa, Crispina Baldera-Bragado, Linda Landingin-Villanueva, and Pacita Saludes.

The essay is the least developed and patronized by writers from the Ilocos. However, this literary genre is the first to have emerged in Ilocos through the linguistic analyses of Fray Francisco Lopez on the native language and the craft of poetry in his *Arte de la lengua Yloca*, 1627.

Jacinto Kawili wrote the first essay by a native Ilocano, “Kabibiag ni Apo Jesucristo” (Life of Our Lord Jesus Christ), towards the end of the 18th century. It was in the late 19th century, however, when the essay became popular through the pages of the biweekly *El Ilocano*, a local paper published by Isabelo de los Reyes in 1889. This periodical carried essays either in Ilocano or Spanish written by Ignacio Villamor, Claro Caluya, Mena Crisologo, Fr. Mariano Dacanay, Canuto Medina, and the editor de los Reyes. The topics ranged from folklore to local history and sociopolitical issues. After its third year of continuous publication, the editor received a gold medal in the exposition of the 1892 Candon fiesta. *El Ilocano* proved to be a timely training ground for intellectuals in the region in developing their expository skills and consciousness as a people belonging to a nation. Within the same decade, they would be using their logic and language in their advocacy for Philippine independence.

An example of this patriotic rhetoric is the New Year’s Day circular of Ecclesiastical Governor Gregorio Aglipay to the clergy, urging the priests to use their moral stature in rallying the people in the defense of “the integrity and independence of (t)his natal land, free from all foreign subjugation.” Aglipay urged the priests to use the pulpit in telling the people “with the frankness of a true believer that if they do not really adhere to the ideals of the Revolution, or if they remain indifferent to whatever happens, all too soon they will see with their own eyes the sure end of everything

they have: they themselves, or if not their children, will shed tears of blood to behold the ruins of their house, the death of how many loved ones .

The following year, the most rousing and thorough manifesto of the Ilocano Katipunero in support of the revolutionary government led by General Emilio Aguinaldo was issued by Captain Isabelo Abaya, commander of the Ilocos Sur Guerilla Unit One. Abaya's appeal to the Ilocano was his last, for he fought to his last bullet, was captured, and tortured to death in the plaza of Candon, Ilocos Sur. Abaya's call to arms reads, in part (translation by W.H. Scott):

Let us fight then from those mountains, with neither hesitation nor rashness, and without predicting the outcome by considering the imbalance of resources but rather the beauty and sacredness of the ideal which we are pursuing against the oppressive imperialist designs of North America, who, concerned only with her wicked desire to dominate and degrade us unjustly—we with whom she once joined hands to defeat the Spanish army in these islands—would now impose her sovereignty on us by the brute force of her cannons, a sovereignty as evil as it is ridiculous...

For it is an insult to you, and a great one, to call the Filipino Army insurgent, that is to say, something despicable, and without honor to your sons, spouses and parents who, obedient to the rallying cry of that Government which you recognized, revered, and extolled with song and acclamation, they who, submissive to your will and counsels, took to the field of battle to seal with their blood and their lives the affectionate love they professed for you, as well as the inalienable right which is yours to be free and independent.

It is also a deliberate slap that brings the blood rushing to the face not to recognize that Government which the Philippines' most illustrious sons formed in the enemy's full view and with their aid in the beginning, and to deny with utter lack of shame the validity and efficacy of the Constitution and decrees which that Government promulgated with your applause for consolidating your present well-being, as well as for initiating that future greatness and prosperity of our beloved country.

And finally, it is an offense to you in your Catholic sentiments not to respect those objects your fathers taught you to hold sacred, to profane your temples, and to mutilate and rob you of your venerated images. Eloquent witness and examples of such profanations and usurpations are the churches of Pangasinan, La Union, Ilocos and Abra...

Under the American occupation, Ilocano essayists and advocates of various political persuasions had more space due to the proliferation of periodicals: *Dalan Ti Cappia*; *Dangadang*; *El Grito de Ilocos Norte*; *Biblioteca El Mensajero Catolico*; *Naimbag A Damag*; *Ti Mangyuna*; *Wagayway*; *Timek*; *The Ilocos Time*, and others. The essays varied from the familiar and lyrical to the satirical and hard-hitting expose. The foremost Ilocano essayists of this period were Camilo Osias, Mariano Caerlan, Hermogenes Belen, Mauro Peña, Agapito Kuramen, Buenaventura Bello, Leon Pichay,

Florencia Lagasca, Santiago Alcantara, and Mena Crisologo.

The topnotch postwar essayists included Benjamin M. Pascual, Trinidad Benito, Benjamin Gray, Hermogenes Belen, Narciso Gapusan, Horencio Hernando, David Campaño, Arturo Buenavista, Marcelino Foronda Jr., and Jose Acance. The current crop writing on every conceivable subject, from lonely old-timers to the occult, includes bilingual writers like Zacarias Sarian, Segundo Foronda, Juan Alegre, Leonardo Belen, Juan Hidalgo Jr., Severino Lazo, Paul Zafaralla, Prescillano Bermudez, Jorge Ramos, Herminio Calica, Arthur Urata, and many others, including expatriate essayists based in Hawaii, Guam, the Middle East, and the American mainland. **Performing Arts**

In Bacarra and nearby towns are found the makers of the *arpa* (harp), which is favored to the guitar by the gentry in Ilocos Norte. The guitar and the violin are also made in some towns of the region. In festive gatherings, a band is usually invited to perform the native airs. The group usually includes a flutist, trumpeter, saxophonist, bass drummer, trombonist, and a cymbalist. When a band is invited to accompany a *sarswela* performance, one or two violinists go along with the group as lead musicians. There are also several rondalla groups in the Ilocos based in public and private schools. The big bands of Pangasinan are often contracted to provide music for the week-long carnival dance sessions held before and after coronation pageants for the fiesta queen and her court. They also make the rounds in Metro Manila nightclubs, on a contract of six months to a year.

The smaller hometown band members, whose instruments are usually inherited from their fathers, are invited to weddings, religious processions, and funerals. The *kutibeng* (native guitar) is now a cherished artifact displayed in museums, but the bamboo flute is still heard in the hilly areas of Ilocos, along with the heirloom gongs that accompany the tadek dance in interior towns like Cervantes or San Emilio in Ilocos Sur. Some returning oldtimers from Hawaii and California have brought home a few old accordions and banjos, while all over the Ilocos can be heard transistorized radio sets blaring with pop songs almost nonstop, as well as karaoke sing-along systems brought home by overseas contract workers.

As soon as the fruit-laden ramada rises in front of a chapel or before the house of the family designated as *hermana mayor* of the fiesta, the Ilocano start rehearsing their song-and-dance rituals and such traditional poetic jousts as the arikenken or the more rhetorical bukanegan. The Ilocano feast is often a multipurpose gathering, commemorating the day of the patron saint, a baptism, housewarming, a *bienvenida* or welcome party, a wedding, or a class reunion. The delightful customs, folk songs, and delicacies come to the fore with the verbal battle of metaphors and folk wisdom through the bukanegan and the more stylized dallot which is partly sung and declaimed, on such a feast day.

Among the most renowned Ilocano songs are “No Duduaem Pay” (If You Doubt Yet), an impassioned plaint of endless affection; “Dundungnguenkanto” (I Will Always Care for You), a lullaby that may as well be a love song; “Ti Ayat Ti Maysa Nga Ubing”

(Love of a Young One) which swings from tenderness to humor in reminding an old man not to fall for a maiden but instead settle for a widow more tolerant of his white hair and missing teeth. A favorite of the young is “Manang Biday,” because of its lively rhythm and puppy love theme. “No Sumken ti Sennaay” (When Longing Sinks In), composed by Claro Caluya of Piddig, Ilocos Norte, has a more mature outlook to love and life, and is usually sung during the evening *tapat* (serenade). There are songs to provide tempo in the work sites, like the “Pamulinawen,” which was actually the rowers’ song in the days when the *viray* (vessel) sailed the South China Sea.

The *duayya* is sung by a parent to rock a baby to sleep. It is typified by this ballad chanted as a lullaby (Azurin 1991:48-49):

Marba koma diay bantay
Ta magaboran dediy baybay
Bareng makitak pay
Ni manong ko no dipay natay.
Kaasi pay ni manong ko
Ta naayaban nga agsoldado
Napan nagehersisio
Idiay paraangan ti palasio.

Would that mountain crumble
So as to cover the sea
That I may walk over it
To find my brother if he’s not dead yet.
Pitiful fate befell my brother
Since he was conscripted,
And gone for military drills
At the front yard of the palace

A favorite courtship song, “No Dudaem Pay,” is often sung by a man intent on baring his heart during a serenade. The song makes the plea that should the woman still doubt the frenzied depths of his love, she must really be so cruel, for only the grave can still this heartache. So, would she be kind enough to try feeling what he feels?

Opera aficionados are now a rarity in the region, although the tenor Elmo Makil comes from San Emilio. However, the Ilocano songs popularized by the *sarswela Ilocana* troupes always come to the fore during the fiesta season. During the *Semana Santa*, it is the *lectio* chanting and wailing based on the *sudario* that is heard in the plazas and on the radio. While it is mostly the elderly who perform this Lenten dirge in the manner of the traditional *dung-aw*, there are always teenage chanters ever ready to substitute for the older ones.

A traditional song-and-dance performance infused with poetry revolving around the wedding ceremony is the *dallot*, a vibrant medium for articulating Ilocano folk beliefs because it gives expression to the social values of the community regarding conjugal relationships, even as it revives the treasury of poetic lines bequeathed by previous generations. Through the *dallot* performers’ interpolation on their respective positions

concerning the mutual obligations of husband and wife, the verbal joust becomes a communal counselling for the newlyweds. The other family members can participate spontaneously, clap in approval of, or hiss in disagreement with the arguments presented. Performers accompany their chanting with the characteristic sway-balance of the pandango. Arikenken, on the other hand, is a more casual and hilarious variant of the dallot, which provides the preliminaries to the moment of counselling. However, in certain areas of Ilocos, dallot is taken for a generic term for oral narrative poetry interspersed with spellbinding chant and expansive swaying of the hands as the performers catch their breath and race the continuity of ideas.

As the Ilocano way of feasting pragmatically unites the old folk and the youngsters, and blends custom with the current scene and styles, some dances considered traditional have evolved through cultural adaptation. This is evident in the favorite dances of the babaknang, performed in more formal occasions: *pandango*, *chotis dingresa*, *duratsa pakoayesa*, *la jota laoaguesa*.

The Ilocano dances more deeply rooted in the lifeways are *manang biday*, a courtship dance centered on a woman's shy and tender feelings; *biniganbigat* (every morning) and *sileleddaang* (in sorrow), both depicting love's trial and difficulties; *Ilocana a nasudi* (chaste Ilocana), celebrating the virtuous Ilocana; and the arikenken, performed during weddings and interwoven with the customary verbal joust.

Other folk dances are ingrained in the quest for sustenance, such as the *rabong* (bamboo shoot), which celebrates this Ilocano delicacy; the *dinaklisan* (fishing) and the *asin* (salt). Ernesto Cadiz adds to these "occupational" dances the *agabel* (handloom weaving), and *agdamdamili*, which depicts the ingenuity and rusticity of the potters' life. Some of these dances glorify such social traits as persistence, abiding affection, industry, and thrift.

Protodrama in the Ilocos may be traced to the rituals. An example is the ritual of the *nakadalapos* (bumped), where a white pig is butchered and half of its meat left in the haunted grove during the healing rites. Whiteness here signifies purity of intention, and the fresh meat symbolizes the desire to offer a gift of atonement. All through this process, the healer leads the family of the victim "touched" by the spirits in the woods to a solemn process of prayers requesting the supernaturals to release their hold on the victim's soul.

Closely related to this process is the belief in *naluganan* (possessed), where the soul of a dead person goes inside the body of a living relative to communicate with the family, either to ask for simple favors like placing on his/her grave a plateful of a favorite dish or a pair of sandals. The Ilocano family usually fulfills these wishes expressed by the dead. A famous case of *naluganan* was the possession of a housemaid of the Paredes family in Bangued, Abra, by the spirit of a pilot's son whose plane was shot down in Europe but whose corpse could not be located by the family. In a trance, the maid described the specific site of burial but the voice heard was that of the dead pilot. Members of the family flew to Europe and retrieved the remains from the designated

gravemound which they recognized as that of the dead pilot.

Protodramas, too, are the traditional “rooster courtship,” the arikenken poetry-and-dance joust between a man and a woman, and the dung-aw for a departed kin, as well as for the entombed Christ during the Lenten Lectio. Other performing arts during feasts and other social gatherings are the *komedya* and the sarswela Ilocana.

The komedya is staged during fiestas in certain towns of Pangasinan, Ilocos Sur, and Ilocos Norte, but not in the capitals since a generation ago. It enjoyed patronage in Ilocos Sur for a few years during the governorship of Carmeling Crisologo who herself took part in this folk theater characterized by colorful costumes, high-flown rhetorical verse, and stylized dance sequences for battle scenes.

A typical storyline unfolds in the *Comedia a Biag ni Atamante* (Comedia on the Life of Atamante), published by Imprenta Parayno in Calasiao, Pangasinan. The heir to the throne of the kingdom of Verona, Prince Atamante is yet a boy when he becomes embroiled in a deadly plot hatched by King Lodimonte and Countess Loandra whom the king wants to wed. But Loandra wants the boy prince banished to the wilderness to be devoured by wild beasts, so that the other prince Menople, her son, would be the heir apparent. The court counsellors approve of this plot. Count Aristipo voices strong objections and veiled threats, and informs Princess Florinda, the king’s sister, about the conspiracy. Aristipo leaves the kingdom in protest and in search of the ill-fated Atamante. While Verona’s royalty are mired in intrigues and amorous pursuits, Sultan Palmadin of the Turkish Empire sends his best fighters to spy on Verona’s domain and military defenses. Then the Turks send a team of envoys to King Lodimonte to demand his acceptance of Turkish domination or he would be attacked. Verona’s army and court are routed, and the royal family incarcerated. They are eventually freed and electoral after the valorous counterattack of the loyal forces led by Count Aristipo and a young fierce villager called Quintillano. Quintillano turns out to be the castaway heir to the throne who has grown up under the care of a shepherd living close to the wilderness. The story rises to a tragic climax when Quintillano, almost late for the tournament in the Turkish royal grounds, insist on fighting despite the fact that Prince Menople is about to be declared winner and is set to receive the hand of Laudamia, the sultan’s daughter. In the battle between Menople and the newly arrived challenger, both fighters suddenly discover that they are the long-lost brothers and heirs to the Verona throne. Menople’s death causes so much anguish in Quintillano because, apart from having killed his own brother, Quintillano realizes he is the Prince Atamante whom Menople sought to find. When Atamante recovers from his grief, he persuades Princess Laudamia to flee with him to Verona. This sly act infuriates the sultan who then leads his force in laying siege on the kingdom. When the dust of battle clears, it is the Turkish army that meets its bloody defeat, but the lives of the sultan and his surviving followers are spared on condition that they submit to Veronian rule and to the Christian faith. Laudamia is the first to be baptized, taking the name Emiliana. Sultan Palmadin is baptized next, with the king’s blessing, thus merging the once rival empires under one crown and religion.

Traditionally, the closest rival to the *bukanegan* and electoral campaign in attracting a large crowd in the Ilocos is the folk drama, *sarswela Ilocana*. The first performances of this kind of operetta were staged in the early 1890s by the Spanish director Baguer Barbero. The theater group came from Manila to perform Spanish zarzuela in the principal towns of Ilocos during fiesta celebrations.

By the first decade of the century, the *sarswela Ilocana* had edged out the *Komedya* or *moro-moro*, when Ilocano playwrights and composers created original *sarswela*. Foremost pioneer of the *sarswela* was Mena Pecson Crisologo who wrote *Noble Rivalidad* (Noble Rivalry) or *Natakng a Panagsalisal, Codigo Municipal* (Municipal Code), and *Maysa a Candidato* (A Candidate) during the first decade. Other *sarswelista* of note during the first quarter of the century were Claro Caluya, Marcelino Crisologo Peña, Florencio Legasca, Mariano Gaerlan, Filemon Palafox, Mariano Navarette, Pascual Guerrero Agcaoili, and Martin Puruganan. *Sarswelista* of the second half of the century include Leon C. Pichay, Nena Paron, Florenda Reintegrado, Valentin Ramirez, Pantaleon Aguilar, Eugenio Inofinada, Tomas Dapiza, Rogelio Panlasigue, Isaias Lazo, Jose Flores, Guillermo Lazo, and Pedro Aurelio. After World War II, *sarswela* playwrights of note are Constante Arizabal, Juan Guerrero, Lorenzo Mata, Melchor Roxas, Alejo Villegas, and Barbaro Paat (*Philippine Drama* 1987:14-15).

This folk operetta usually by local troupes or by community members capped and still caps the fiesta revelry as a nighttime spectacle lasting until the wee hours. The audience relish the sentimental songs and the intermission slapstick numbers and jokes, which contain biting commentaries on sociopolitical events and personalities. This performing art should be regarded both as a community ritual of entertainment and as a stage play.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the most popular *sarswela* troupe was the Ped Avila troupe of Vigan, whose appeal was the realistic acting and the servant comic routines performed before the front curtains. This intermission comedy allowed for a change of backdrop for the next scene. At present the group of Barbaro Paat in Bantay, Ilocos Sur seems to be the most patronized because of the dramatic storylines of its plays and the most enduring, as evidenced by the age and style of the roll-up *telon* (painted curtains) backdrop. Two other groups service the smaller barrios for a fixed fee by lending their script, sound system, band, and rehearsing the performers.

The Bravo family in Solid West, Vigan constitutes a whole band of accompanying *sarswelista*. But one of the favorite band leaders accompanying *sarswela* troupes from rehearsals to performance night is Guildo Lazo, himself a composer. Since there are only a few composers like Lazo, the melodies of many *sarswela* scores have the same pattern.

The Riverside Sarsuela Guild in Laoag City also services nearby towns of Ilocos Norte. These groups are composed of ordinary workers, tricycle drivers, and local radio talents sidelining as *sarswelistas*, and are equipped with a repertoire of melodramas with true-

to-life plots that are recycled from town to town, year after year. In Pangasinan, the Sison Dramatic Guild is a favorite group performing in Pangasinan-speaking areas. Some groups have been staging as far as the Cordilleras and Quezon province where there are Ilocano migrants. • A. Azurin with H. Lingbaoan-Bulong, R.A. Duque, F. Tupas, A. Santos, and H. Beltran Jr. **References**

Alvarez, Emilio L. "How the Ilocos Got its Name (The Origin of the Word Ilocos)"
In *Ilocos Review*. Vol. I (July-December 1969): 143-49.

Ani. Vol. V, No. 1 (January-April 1991)

Atang, The Philippines: Land and People. Vol. I. Manila: Kalinangan Group, 1986.

Azurin, Arnold Molina. *Beddeng—Exploring the Ilocano-Igorot Confluence*.
Manila: Cultural Center of the Philippines, Museo ng Kalinangang Pilipino, 1991.

The Beginnings of Christianity in the Philippines. Articles of the Historical Symposium held at the National Library Auditorium, 10-11 April 1965. Manila: Philippine Historical Committee, 1965.

Bragado, Jose A. and Benjamin M. Pascual, eds. *Pamulinawen: Dandaniw 1949-1975*. Manila: GUMIL Filipinas, 1975.

Corpuz, Onofre D. *The Roots of the Filipino Nation*. Vols. I & II. Manila: Aklahi Foundation Inc., 1989.

Eugenio, Damiana L., ed. *Philippine Folk Literature: An Anthology*. Quezon City: The University of the Philippines Folklorists Inc., 1982.

_____, ed. *Philippine Folk Literature: The Folktales*. Quezon City: The University of the Philippines Folklorists Inc., 1989.

_____, ed. *Philippine Proverb Lore*. Quezon City: Philippine Folklore Society, 1975.

Foronda Jr., Marcelino A. and Juan A. Foronda. *Samtoy: Essays on Iloko History and Culture*. Manila: De La Salle College, 1972.

Foronda Jr., Marcelino A., ed. *Kutibeng: Philippine Poetry in Iloko, 1621-1971*. Manila: De La Salle University, 1976.

Felix, Alfonso Jr., ed. *The Chinese in the Philippines*. Vols. I & II. Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1966 & 1969.

Felix, Alfonso Jr. and Rafael Lopez, eds. *The Christianization of the Philippines*. Manila: Historical Conservation Society, 1965.

- Gagelonia, Pedro A. *The Filipinos of Yesteryears*. Manila: The Star Book Store, 1967.
- Griffiths, Stephen. *Emigrants, Entrepreneurs and Evil Spirits: Life in a Philippine Village*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988.
- Loarca, Miguel de. *Relations of the Filipinas Islands (1582). The Philippines at the Spanish Contact*. Edited by F. Landa Jocano. Manila: MCS Enterprises Inc., 1975.
- Mayo, Katherine. *The Isles of Fear: The Truth About the Philippines*. New York: Harcourt Brace and Corp., 1924.
- McFarland, Curtis D., comp. *A Linguistic Atlas of the Philippines*. Linguistic Society of the Philippines, 1983.
- Morga, Antonio de. *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*. Con Anotaciones de Jose Rizal. Paris, 1890. Reprinted, Manila: Rizal Centennial Commission, 1961.
- 1995 Philippine Yearbook*. Manila: National Statistics Office, 1995.
- Philippine Craftsman*. Vol. III, No. 2 (August 1914).
- Philippine Drama: Twelve Plays in Six Philippine Languages*. Quezon City: NSTA-Assisted UPS Integrated Research Program "A," 1987.
- Philippine Journal of Science*. Vol. IX, No. 2, Plate III (April 1919).
- Philippine Statistical Yearbook*. Philippines: National Statistical Coordination Board, 1989.
- Ramirez, Pablo. "Ursula Villanueva." In *The Ilocos Review*, Vol. V, Nos. 1 & 2 (January-December 1973): 3-16.
- _____. "The 1807 'Basi Revolt' of Ilocos." In *Beddeng: Exploring the Ilocano-Igorot Confluence*. Edited by Arnold Molina Azurin. Manila: Museo ng Kalinangang Pilipino, Cultural Center of the Philippines, 1991.
- RR's Philippine Almanac: Book of Facts 1986 Edition*. Aurora Publications, 1986.
- Scott, William Henry. *Ilocano Response to American Aggression 1900-1901*. Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1986.
- Ventura-Castro, Jovita, Antolina Antonia, Patricia M. Cruz, Josefina Mariano, and Rosella Jean Puno, eds. *Anthology of ASEAN Literatures: Epics of the Philippines*. Manila: ASEAN Committee on Culture and Information, 1983.

Yabes, Leopoldo Y. *A Brief Survey of Iloko Literature from the Beginning to its present Development*. Manila: Leopoldo Y. Yabes, 1936.