

“Ilongo” is derived from the Filipino-Hispanized form of *irong-irong*, meaning “like a nose.” Irong-irong was the name of an islet in the middle of the Batiano River, which passes near the town of Oton, Iloilo, on its way to the sea. It became the name of one of the *sakup* (districts), into which the island of Panay was divided before the Spanish times. The term “Ilongo” now refers to the people who inhabit Iloilo, Guimaras Island, and Negros Occidental, the western part of Negros island, which is separated from Panay by the Guimaras Strait. The language and the culture of the Ilongo people are called Hiligaynon; however, the term connotes the more formal and literary language as it is used in schools. Therefore, “Ilongo” may also be popularly and informally used as a synonym for “Hiligaynon.”

The term “Hiligaynon” is said to be a hispanized contraction of the phrase *manog-ilig sang kawayan*, meaning “bamboo floaters.” When the Spaniards came to Pan-ay River, they met some men whose occupation was to float bamboo poles downriver to sell as building materials. The Spaniards wanted to know their ethnic identity, but the informants misunderstood the question and told them the men’s occupation instead. Early Spanish documents refer to the people as “Yligueynes.”

The Ilongo people belong to a larger group called Visayan, and the Hiligaynon, or Ilongo, language is a subclassification of the Visayan language. The Ilongo comprise one of the Philippines’ eight major ethnolinguistic groups. Population estimate as of 1980 is 4,038,000 (*RR’s Philippine Almanac* 1990).

Iloilo lies in the eastern part of Panay Island, which has three other provinces: Aklan, Antique, and Capiz. It is separated from Capiz and Antique on the west by a mountain range; the rest of it is surrounded by sea: on the east by the Guimaras Strait, on its southern tip by the Panay Gulf, and on its northern tip by the Visayan Sea. Much of its terrain is plain; hence, it is a large stretch of agricultural land. The provincial capital is Iloilo City. Iloilo province has about 57 municipalities. Negros Occidental lies on the western part of a boot-shaped island, Negros. The capital is Bacolod City. It has five other cities and 24 municipalities.

## **History**

The cultural history of Panay is woven out of mythology, archaeology, and documented history. According to folk history recorded in *Maragtas* by Pedro Monteclaro (1907), ten Bornean *datu* (chieftains) landed at a site now known as San Joaquin town. They purchased Panay from the Aeta, cultivated the land, and renamed the island Madya-as. They divided it into three *sakup*: Irong-irong, Aklan (which included the area of Capiz), and Hamtik (now Antique). There is a popular belief that these *sakup* were loosely united under a government called the Confederation of Madya-as.

The Boxer Codex, circa 1595, depicts the early Bisayans as clothed only by a *bahag*, a cotton cloth at least 4 meters long and 1.5 meters wide, wound around the lower part

of their body from the waist to the thighs. The rest of the body was covered all over with tattoos, symmetrically arranged, so that “the paintings look as well as if they were dressed very elegantly.” Their long hair was covered with a long piece of cloth, called *putong*, wound around the top of their head and knotted at the nape.

When the Spaniards came to Panay from Cebu in 1569, they found these tattooed people, and this is why they also called Panay the *Isla de Pintados* (Island of the Painted Ones). How the island itself came to be called Panay is uncertain. The Aeta called it “Aninipay” after a plant that abounded in the island. Legend has it that Legazpi and his men, in search of food, exclaimed upon discovering the island, *Pan hay en esta isla!* (There is bread on this island!). Negros’ former name was “Buglas” or “Bugras,” meaning “a slice,” based on a legend that the island was severed from its mother island of Panay by an angry god.

The Spaniards divided Panay into *encomiendas* and founded their first settlement called *Villa de Arevalo*, now called *Villa* or simply *Arevalo*. After *Oton*, this was the capital of Panay and Negros until 1637. Since *Arevalo* was vulnerable to Muslim and Dutch attack, the Spaniards made *Iloilo*, then known as *La Punta*, the seat of their colonial government after they fortified it against the Muslim pirates and Dutch warships. Negros became a separate province in 1716. There was conscription of labor for the *haciendas* and church construction.

Resistance to Christianization was led by the *babaylan* (shaman), who tried to keep alive the precolonial animistic beliefs in Christian converts, sometimes exhorting them to go back to the worship of the native gods. Uprisings, small and large, against Spanish oppression occurred between 1565 and 1762. The rebellion of 1663 in *Oton*, *Iloilo* was led by *Tapar*, who claimed to have communicated with the native god. Among other things, he promised the people that if they would attack the Spaniards and turn their back on Catholicism, mountains would rise against the Spaniards. Spanish muskets would not fire or simply backfire, all natives who would die would resurrect and then live in prosperity, with the leaves of trees turning to fish and woven fiber into fine linen (Constantino 1975:90).

At the same time, Panay was prey to external attacks. From 1569 to 1606, the Muslims invaded Panay nine times. From 1603 to 1606, the main targets of the Muslim attacks were the towns of *Oton*, *Arevalo*, and the island of *Pan de Azucar* off the eastern coast of *Iloilo*. In 1606, a series of Dutch invasions occurred. In 1616, the Muslims and the Dutch combined forces to attack the coastal towns of Panay and its small islands. Muslim attempts to loot the towns of *Iloilo* and to seize the women and children continued through the 1700s.

The *Ilongo*, however, consistently resisted such invasions. *Dallan Bakang*, a Muslim pirate, conducted a series of raids every Friday on *Dumangas* from his base in *Guimaras*. In 1763, he was repelled by the townspeople led by a woman named *Petra* or “*Pitay*.” In preparation for other attacks, the people of *Dumangas* town built a storehouse called a *tambobo* where they kept their food supplies and valuables. It was

surrounded by a palisade and thick *dalogdog* vines. They then sent their women and children to Liboo, Barrio Calao, for refuge. The Spaniards later fortified the church with stone walls and built a watchtower on each corner. A church bell, whose sound could be heard as far as Guimaras to the south and Anilao to the north, warned the people of Muslim raids. With this added security, the families in Liboo returned to Dumangas. In 1848, however, the warning bell of Dumangas inadvertently brought an attack upon it, when a wandering band of Muslims followed its sound to the town. The last recorded Muslim attack on the Ilongo was in 1865, on the island of Zapatos in northern Panay.

After the opening of Iloilo to world trade in 1855, the economy of Iloilo and Negros boomed because of the weaving and sugar industries. The weaving industry supplies handwoven fabrics to markets all over the country, while the sugar industry exported sugar abroad.

With economic prosperity, the hacendero families of Iloilo sent their children to Spanish schools in Manila, and later to Spain where liberal ideas had gained currency. This educated elite joined the *ilustrados* (enlightened ones) of other regions of the country in petitioning the Spanish government for reforms in the colony. In the 1880s, Graciano Lopez Jaena and Melecio Figueroa became members of the Propaganda Movement. Lopez Jaena was the first editor of the reformist *La Solidaridad* in 1889 and was known as a fiery orator. Gregorio Mapa, an Ilongo raised in Aklan, joined a society of liberal-minded students called Juventud Escolar Liberal, which included Paciano Rizal.

As the revolution against Spain grew, the Visayan leaders convened at Santa Barbara town to establish a revolutionary government for the whole Visayas. The Spanish commander, not knowing that the revolutionary fervor had secretly spread to Iloilo starting from Aklan, appointed Martin Delgado of Santa Barbara to lead the volunteer militia, giving Delgado greater freedom to work for the revolution. He was then appointed by the Visayan generals to lead the Ilongo revolutionaries and is now acknowledged by the Ilongo people to have been “the greatest Visayan general of the Philippine Revolution.”

On 17 November 1898, the Filipino flag was raised at the plaza of Santa Barbara and the first cry for freedom in the Visayas was shouted: “Down with Spain! Long live the Philippines! Long live independence!”

On 24 December 1898, Iloilo City, which had remained the last bastion of Spanish rule in Panay, was surrendered by General Diego de los Rios to General Delgado. The victory was short-lived, however, for on 11 February 1899, American troops led by General Marcus Miller bombarded Iloilo with cannon fire, so Delgado and his troops were forced to retreat to Santa Barbara. For eight months, the Ilongo troops, rallied by Colonel Quintin Salas from Dumangas, held their defense line covering 10 kilometers across several towns.

Recognized as a general by the Ilongo folk, although not a commissioned officer, was Teresa Magbanua, who led battles against the Spaniards and then against the Americans. After the revolutionary capital of Santa Barbara fell into American hands, she joined the guerrilla forces and earned the respect of both comrades and enemies for “her great skill in horsemanship, marksmanship, and valor” (Regalado & Franco 1973: 458).

Another woman who took part in the revolution was Nazaria Lagos, who converted her family’s hacienda home into a hospital that clandestinely served the revolutionaries during both wars against Spain and the United States. At a time when it was dangerous to display the Philippine flag, Nazaria purchased the cloth for it from nearby towns, sewed it with the help of other women, and raised it at the town plaza.

For two years the Ilongo resorted to guerrilla tactics until General Delgado finally surrendered in Jaro during its town fiesta on 2 February 1901. Civil government was established in Iloilo on 11 April 1901. However, Colonel Quintin Salas continued the guerrilla resistance until October 1901. Under the civil government, elections were held on 30 July 1907, and Iloilo was represented in Congress by five representatives. Ruperto Montinola was elected provincial governor in 1908. In 1912, with the Filipinization of the civil service, Ramon Avanceña of Molo became chief justice of the Supreme Court, and Gregorio Araneta, also of Molo, became secretary of finance and justice. Among those who led the suffragette movement were three women from Panay: Pura Villanueva Kalaw, Sofia de Veyra, and Josefa Abiertas. Their efforts enabled women to vote in the first election of the Commonwealth period.

In the 1920s, the industrialization of the sugar industry created unemployment and labor unrest. In 1928, labor leader, poet, and playwright Jose Ma. Nava founded the largest labor union outside of Luzon. It led a strike in 1930-1931 that paralyzed shipping in Iloilo, and made Negros an alternative site for the sugar centrals and trading houses. Thus, Iloilo economy declined and, along with it, its literary and theatrical activity. Plantation owners and entrepreneurs moved to Negros Occidental and elsewhere.

On 12 April 1942, Japanese forces landed in Iloilo. Guerrilla resistance led by Captain Julian Chavez was based in the mountains of Calinog in Iloilo, Central Panay. Governor Tomas Confesor established a civil resistance government and Lieutenant Colonel Macario Peralta Jr. led the guerrilla forces. On 22 March 1945, Panay was officially declared liberated by General Douglas MacArthur.

In the 1950s, the conflict between the rich and the poor increasingly became a political issue. In 1951 Jose Ma. Nava and his son were arrested and jailed in the Bilibid for alleged membership in the Communist Party of the Philippines. In 1955 the positions of mayor, vice-mayor, and city councilor became elective. Rodolfo Ganzon, who came from the lower middle class, succeeded in shattering the traditional oligarchy, led by the powerful Lopez brothers, Fernando and Eugenio, with his program of “timawaism.” The program, he claimed, would transform the poor into a “strong, militant middle

class,” which would make them ideologically independent of both “the rich and the communists.” Ganzon won as mayor and served as senator until 1971.

Bacolod City politics, on the other hand, is more dynasty-based. One historian has remarked that the “political and socioeconomic history of the city is the history of the Montelibanos, Aranetas, Yulos, Gatuslaos, Lizareses, and Gonzagas” (Leichter 1975:61), at one time or another the biggest sugar-plantation owners in Negros. On the other hand, grassroots interest is to this day represented by the National Federation of Sugar Workers-Food and General Trade, which organizes the various workers in the province, especially those on sugar plantations and in the mills.**Economy**

Archaeological findings indicate extensive trade with other Asians from the 10th to the 15th centuries. Weaving and ship building were established as industries during the early Spanish regime in Iloilo. *Piña*, *sinamay*, and jusi fibers may already have been used to make fine cloth, called *nipis*, for trade. *Patadyong* (barrel skirt)-weaving became a home industry. Practically every house in the southern towns in Iloilo had a *tidal* (wooden loom). The weaving industry continued well into the 19th century, with the various towns establishing reputations for their specialties: Miag-ao manufactured all kinds of cloth, especially *nipis*; Jaro made abaca cloth; Janiuay made striped cloth, called *rayadillo*, handkerchiefs, bed covers, tablecloths, and napkins; Tigbauan made cotton cloth. There were 10 different mixtures of cotton, silk, pineapple, and hemp fibers woven in Iloilo, out of 52 varieties of Philippine textiles available.

When the Spaniards arrived, sugarcane cultivation was widespread, and the making of wine from the juice of sugarcane, coconut, nipa palm, and rice was already known. The systematic production of sugar as an export crop and of rice was further developed in the 19th century.

In the 1850s, the British vice-consul in Iloilo, Nicholas Loney, saw Iloilo’s potential for exporting sugar. Under Loney’s initiative and guidance, the production of sugar in Iloilo and Negros was greatly increased with the introduction of centrifugal iron mills, even as better sugarcane seeds were imported from Sumatra. With such production capability, the sugar barons, led by Agustin Montilla and Ives Gaston, competed favorably in the world market. In Negros, the production of sugar rose from 14,000 piculs in 1859 to 618,120 in 1880 and 1,800,000 in 1893 (Constantino 1975:122-123). But as Loney contributed to the growth of the sugar industry by encouraging the importation of mills from Britain, so was he partly responsible for the decline of the hand-weaving industry of Iloilo because he introduced cheaper machine-made cloth also from Britain.

With the growth of the sugar industry, Iloilo City prospered. The elite lived on their haciendas, the middle class earned their wages from the shops and banks that thrived in the city, and the dock workers and *dumaan* (plantation workers) formed the backbone of the economy. In the 1930s, these class relations were transferred to Negros Occidental with the decline of the sugar industry in Iloilo. At present, land tenancy prevails in the rice-producing areas in Iloilo; in the sugar plantations, the minimum

wage system is followed. However, there is also small farming in the valleys and coastal plains. Copra and fish are plentiful. Iloilo's coastal towns are the country's best fishing centers, as the inland Guimaras Strait yields an abundance of fish.

Negros Occidental, also called the "Sugar Bowl of the Philippines," accounted for 50 percent of the total sugarlands in the country. However, in the 1970s and 1980s, the sugar industry suffered a decline due to the absence of financing and the nonpayment of sugar harvests. The hacenderos then resorted to crop diversification and inland fishing, particularly prawn culture.

In the hinterlands, barter economy exists side by side with cash economy. A place called *tabuan* is designated for the folk to converge regularly to buy and sell goods. The *tabuan* and permanent marketplaces, the *tiangge*, provide occasions for the singing of the *compos* (ballad) about folk heroes or about the goods being sold. In areas where mechanization is still uncommon, the cast-iron plow has replaced the more traditional wooden plow. The bolo is used for clearing the farm, chopping, and defense. For cane cutting, the *espading* (machete) is used.

Trade existed between Iloilo and neighboring areas since the 19th century. The *carriada* trade, which flourished from the 1800s to the 1920s, operated between Miag-ao, Iloilo and Sibalom, Antique with traders utilizing the mountain trails. On the other hand, the *batel* trade, which used the locally made passenger boat called *batel*, plied the route between Miag-ao, Iloilo and Hinigaran, Negros Occidental. This trade, which evolved from the 1930s to the 1950s, was responsible for the peopling of Hinigaran and has brought *sacadas* (seasonal sugarcane plantation workers) from Iloilo and Antique to Negros in the 1950s (Madrid 1995; Santarita 1995).

## Political System

Sixteenth-century Ilongo government was headed by the *datu*, who, as head of a *sakup*, was the judge in matters of dispute, the protector and defender, and a feudal lord. His subjects were called *sinakpan*, whose property he appropriated when they died. Any of the *datu*'s sons could claim succession; hence, warfare could erupt between brothers competing for the throne. However, the disgruntled brother of a newly installed *datu* could start his own *sakup*.

The *datu* was supported by a class of warriors called *timawa*, whose main function was to protect the *datu*, including doing such tasks as tasting his wine for poison. They accompanied him on raiding forays and were on familiar terms with him. They were themselves descendants of *datu*, the first-generation *timawa* having been the illegitimate sons of a *datu* and a slave woman. The rest of the *sinakpan* were the *oripun*, from whom were expected economic and political support for the *datu* and *timawa*, since the latter two did not engage in agricultural or industrial activity. Legislative decisions by the *datu* were done publicly and with the guidance of the *ponu-an*, a council of elders knowledgeable in matters of custom law. Although law was handed down by tradition,

amendments could be made with the consensus of the other datu. The datu decided on a case after listening to the sworn testimony of the conflicting parties. All crimes, including murder and disobedience to the datu, were punishable by fines, which could be paid for with servitude.

An indigenous ideology still exists in the concept of *gaba*, a curse brought upon an individual for an offense committed, and *gahum*, an individual's power and leadership ability deriving from the combination of a mystical force, personality, social position, and age. Therefore, although formal leadership and authority is now defined within the structure of the provincial and municipal government and acquired through election, the elected officials' leadership is most effective if they exercise it in the context of the traditional concept of authority.**Social Organization and Customs**

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

Vertical mobility was possible within this structure. A slave, for instance, could become free after paying off his debt, which might have been the cause of his slavery, or as payment given in gratitude by a master. Slaves could also go up the ladder of the 12 subclasses. However, the datu kept the noble line unbroken by marrying only a *binokot* or daughter of a leading family of other sakup, whether by proper arrangement or abduction. The *binokot* were so called because they were "wrapped up," meaning jealously hidden from men until they were appropriately married at 11 or 12. The illegitimate sons of a captive binokot and the datu became timawa. Upon their father's death, they were set free and called *ginoo*.

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

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

The Ilongo kinship system follows the general Philippine pattern, relationship being

traced along both paternal and maternal lines, with terms of address indicating the relative position of each member of the family. Marriage arrangements follow the traditional way: parental approval and arrangement are requisites, in a ceremony called *pamalaye* or *pabalayon* done in three stages. The first meeting, in which the two families formally acknowledge that the woman has not been promised to anyone else, is called the *pabagti*, sometimes also called the *padul-ong* or *kagon*. The second meeting, called the *pahimpit*, involves negotiations between the two sets of parents, which end when the woman's parents confirm their agreement to the engagement. A *manogpatigayon* serves as arbiter or spokesperson for both parties in the talks. The third meeting is the *padul-ong*, a formal ceremony in which the engagement is announced. During the engagement period, the woman's family is served by the man in a practice called *panghagad*.

The marriage celebration itself is festive and costly. In the past, a bolo dance, called *sinulog* or *sayaw*, followed behind the bride and groom as they walked from the church. This has now been replaced by the practice of the newlyweds posing for photographs with their families. At the wedding reception, the host families may be able to keep within the food budget by secretly placing *huya-huya* (mimosa leaves) under the tables. This is believed to make the guests too shy to eat too heartily. The day after the wedding, the groom formally presents his bride to his family in a ceremony called the *pasaka ka umagad*, literally "to welcome the in-law."

The newlyweds may initially stay with the bride's family for a few days, then move in with the groom's family for a longer period, until the couple sets up residence, usually as decided on by the husband, with his wife's concurrence. In the past, the groom was expected to serve the bride's family for the first few months. The father is the head of the family, though household matters (e.g., preparing the meals, buying clothing for the family, entertaining visitors and relatives, attending to the children's needs) are the mother's responsibilities. Grandparents are respected and cared for, their opinions sought, and their advice followed. They may be part of the household and in their terminal years are attended to by the favorite daughter or son. Equal inheritance for the children is observed.

When a woman is about to give birth, several practices are meant to drive away evil spirits. She is provided with a *pangalap*, a kind of talisman passed on from grandmother to granddaughter, to protect her from evil spirits. The house is shut tight, all openings covered with old clothes, because the smell of birthing blood attracts the evil spirits. The *luy-ahan* ritual is held, in which seven slices of ginger are pounded and rubbed on the woman's body.

Visitors who come to see the infant must utter the words, *purya usog* to ward off usog, a power that causes stomachache, or *purya abay* meant to ward off abay, a power that causes lifelong illness or ill luck.

A boy's coming of age is not marked by any special ceremonies, except for circumcision. Adulthood is simply measured by the ability to help ease the family's



economic burden, no matter what the person's age. However, there are certain rituals for the girl during her first menstrual period. She descends the ladder and jumps to the ground from the third to the last step. Then she bathes with a piece of cloth or towel. This will ensure that in subsequent menstrual periods she will not have *pasmu*, characterized by bodily pain and a foul odor.

Courtship is also marked by certain talismans and customs. When a girl begins to attract male attention, the parents may protect her from the boy's sexual advances by attaching a talisman consisting of huya-huya, scrapings from the mortar, and pieces of a land snail's shell. The mimosa will make the boy shy, the scrapings will make him stay put, and the shell will make him move slowly. This talisman also renders him temporarily impotent. On the other hand, there are also talismans to make the girl fall for the boy. *Hiwit* is the boy's act of boiling the girl's clothes until she comes to him. *Tiw-tiw* is made of plant roots prescribed by a babaylan. This is dipped into the water that she will bathe in. When she pours the water over her body, she becomes entranced by him. *Lumay* consists of leaves, roots, and other plants known to the babaylan. This is mixed with coconut oil and rubbed on the girl's hair to make her fall under the boy's spell.

Persons who are ill are said to be *inaswang* (bewitched) or *sininda* (hit by the spell of environmental spirits). *Sinda* comes to the person through the *bululakaw*, a malevolent god in the form of a bird with a flaming tail. *Sa-ub* or possession by spirits called *tamawo* that reside in trees and springs also causes illness.

Funeral rituals occur nine days before and nine days after the burial. The latter is called *bilasyon*. During the period before the burial, the family members cannot bathe, comb their hair, or sweep the floor. To do so would result in another death or a series of deaths. As the corpse is carried from the house, water is poured over the threshold and the ladder is swept with the *adgaw* plant. After the funeral, the mourners, at the entrance of the house, wash their hands and feet with water that has been boiled with pomelo leaves. On the third night of the *bilasyon*, the mourners hold the *tagapamuling* ritual, in which they are covered with soot, which they wash off early the next morning in a ritual called *pagtabog sang dagaw* (to drive away evil spirits). A mourner pounds the floor three times with a bamboo pole and is answered by another mourner who beats two sides of the mortar with a stick. At midnight, the mourners formally bid farewell to the spirit of the deceased. A mortar and a *kalalaw* (winnowing basket) are beaten while the old clothes of the deceased are gathered in a bundle and thrown out of the window.

Other ritual practices are held for special events, such as building and moving houses and various phases of agriculture. The *Almanaque*, a small pamphlet containing dates, lunar cycles, tides, and so forth, is still consulted when significant activities are to be held. It is believed that a house must be built during certain phases of the year when the builder can hit the belly of the *bakunawa*, a mythological snake.

**Religious Beliefs and Practices**

Although the early Ilongo believed in many gods, the most powerful was Makaako, the creator. Kaptan was the god of the earth and Magyawan was the god of the sea. Manunubo was also the good spirit of the sea. Bululakaw and Sidapa lived in the island's sacred mountain called Madya-as. The chief goddess, Laon, was believed to reside in Mount Kanlaon of Negros Occidental. However, another myth identifies Laon as the creator god.

At present, although 75 percent of the Ilongo population is Catholic and the remaining 25 percent Protestant, Ilongo religious beliefs are a mixture of indigenous and Christian elements. The *kaiibutan* (universe) consists of three parts: the *udtohan* (upper world), inhabited by God and his virtuous angels; the *katung-anan* (middle world), inhabited by *tamawo*, *tubignon*, and *tabuknon* (spirits of trees, rivers, and seas), who were once Lucifer and his followers; and the *idadalman* (underworld), inhabited by the *engkanto* (evil spirits).

God and his angels keep themselves remote from the people. The spirits of the underworld actively engage in human affairs. The *tamawo* can be either friendly or evil. They live in resplendent palaces that look like mere boulders to the human eye. When a person attracts them, they entice the person to join them in eating human flesh.

The *engkanto* are believed to reside in places called *palhi* or *mari-it*, e.g., cliffs, bamboo groves, boulders, and earth mounds. *Aswang* (witches) come in different forms. The *tiktik* is a bird that eats human liver. The *bagat*, usually in the form of a huge dog or some grotesque creature, preys on lone travelers. The *sigbin*, also a dog, preys on people at noontime. The *baua* looks like a big hen, but it can easily snap its victim's neck. The *kama-kama* are dwarfs living in earth mounds; they are lazy and fun loving. The *santirmu* is a dancing ball of fire believed to be carried by wandering souls of the dead. The *marmanhig* is a living dead as strong as 10 persons. The *mantyo* is a tall, thin giant who is usually seen at night leaning on a *kapok* tree. The *kapre* is a black, hairy giant smoking a large cigar and sitting on the branch of a big tree. The *ukoy* is a sea monster with a human face with gills and a froglike body.

Respect for the priest has not completely replaced the belief in the power of the *babaylan*, although their number has dwindled. In pre-Christian times, the *babaylan* held an important political, social, religious, and cultural role. They were adviser to the *datu*, and spiritual and physical healer of the community. Under colonialism, the *babaylan* sometimes led popular revolts, such as that of Tapar in 1633 in the town of Oton. He wore women's clothes and had people represent the persons of the Blessed Trinity and the Holy Virgin, with him as the "Eternal Priest." A relatively recent *babaylan* in Negros Occidental was "Papa Isio" (Dionisio Sigbuela), who led a revolt from 1896 to 1907 against oppressive labor conditions in the sugar plantations.

### **Architecture and Community Planning**

The traditional Ilongo house is made of bamboo and nipa or cogon leaves. It is square,

with one or two rooms. The roof, *palaya* (pyramid shaped) or *binalay* (hip shaped), is made of either cogon or nipa. A roof that extends over two levels of the house is called *palusod*. The main posts are made of *agoho* timber. The smaller posts, roof beams, and rafters are of dried bamboo. Rope and vine are used to join parts together, such as beams and rafters. Instead of nails which may split the bamboo, wooden pegs and mortise-and-tenon are used. The walls are of woven bamboo slats, woven bamboo splints or *amakan*, or flattened bamboo nodes. The floor, about 150 centimeters above the ground, is of bamboo slats that may be laid in such a way that the nodes form a design. The space under the floor is generally open, but sometimes it is used as the shelter for livestock (pigs or chickens) or as the rice granary. If so, it is enclosed with woven bamboo slats or bamboo tops and twigs. *Sulay* or props, made of sturdy bamboo, are sometimes used to support the sides of the house. One end is pegged or tied to a section under the eaves while the opposite end is buried into or pegged to the ground and reinforced by large stones.

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

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

The basic house materials are put together to fulfill both functional and aesthetic ends. The nipa shingles on the roof are left untrimmed so that the effect is a shaggy and informal look. Window latticework designs may be so ornate that they look like an explosion of the owner-builder’s spontaneous creativity. Bamboo strips of various lengths are placed end to end in different positions or laid over other strips to effect intricate geometric designs, such as diagonals on squares, zigzags on horizontal stripes, diamonds within diamonds, sprinkles of asterisks, flowers, crosses and stars. The Ilongo weaving and embroidery culture is reflected in some windows, which can resemble barong tagalog embroidery or the *solihya* (caned) design of living room furniture.

In the rural areas, the bamboo or nipa house stands squarely in the middle of the field, which it overlooks in the various stages of the agricultural cycle. Similarly, the hacendero’s manor house, made of stone, overlooks the vast hacienda. In the barrios, relatives live in the same neighborhood. City or town planning, on the other hand, reveals traces of Spanish influence. The town center is a huge, open square—the plaza—from which streets and houses radiate. The plaza is surrounded by the cathedral, the government building, and the stone houses of the traditionally affluent.

The Spanish period residential wood-and-stone houses, some of which still stand today,

derive their basic structure from the traditional rural house. Stone is used for the *zaguan* or lower story, which is used as an office, storage space, stable, or garage. The portal of the *zaguan* is large enough for a *carroza* (float) with a saint's statue on it to pass through. However, a smaller door may be cut through the door for those entering on foot. Building blocks are made of coral and fine shells, obtained from the reefs of Iloilo, and unique only to the houses of the affluent. This building material is called *coquina* in European and American terms, and locally known as *tablilla/tabriya*. The steep roof is hip shaped, originally of nipa but now replaced by galvanized iron. Wood is used for the upper story where the living quarters are. The windows are long and wide. An *azotea*, an open veranda suspended from the second floor and overlooking the courtyard, may itself be a hanging garden of sorts. On the upper floor are a vestibule, living room, bedrooms, dining room, kitchen, toilet, and bathroom. The wood-and-stone houses built during the mid-19th century and after reveal the influence of revivals of European styles, combined with baroque style designs of local flora. Unique to Iloilo houses are massive molave balusters in corners, which are filled with floral carvings. In recent times, balusters have become lighter and smaller although still delicately carved. At the turn of the century, the hacenderos preferred decorative carved panels covering the spaces between staircase balusters inside the house. Massive newel posts contrasted with delicately carved balusters. Other carvings in between staircase balusters may be used, such as stylized dragons seeming to creep up the stairs. The Ledesma house in Jaro has panels whose adjoining sides are emphasized by delicately small leaves and flowers resembling zinnias. In the Elizalde and Co house of Iloilo, inner partitions depart from the typical solid walls of storehouses. Instead, arches and posts suggest demarcation lines between rooms.

The architectural development of the Ilongo wood-and-stone house may be best exemplified by that in Silay, Negros Occidental. There are two styles of this type of house. The first style, dating from 1889 to the 1930s and represented by the Jose Ledesma and Juan Valencia houses, can be called geometric. It features shell window panels and animal exterior decoration. Later, the style became increasingly ornate: glass, frosted and colored, tended to replace shell in the window panes; spandrels, corbels, and exterior panels were incised with exuberant vegetal forms. This later style may be called floral, examples of which are the houses of Victor Gaston, Fernando Gaston, and the Jalandoni. Porches over entrances and pedimented fronts gave variety to the houses' boxy silhouettes.

From the 1920s onward, clapboard houses became common. The wood was laid out as overlapping horizontal strips. Prominent porches over main entrances are often found in this style, as in the German Gaston house.

Silay houses, like most Philippine houses of this type, are airy because of their high windows, high ceilings, and *calados* (tracery panels). Windows on the ground floor have protective grills with fanciful fleurette designs, and the houses are surrounded by large gardens.

The interiors have *calados*, such as those on the surface of some walls, generally those

by the stairs, to allow light and air to flow from room to room. During parties, the orchestra sits behind a wall by the stairs and the music enters the ballroom through the tracery. In the Jison-Gamboa house in Silay, this wall is fretted, whereas in the Lizares house in Talisay, the music enters through the traceried rose window.

According to oldtimers, some of the best calados were done by Chinese artisans. In the Jose Gamboa house, the vines, leaves, and flowers are not merely cut out; they are sculpted in low relief. The Vicente Montelibano house has even more exuberant styles of tracery. The stair balusters and wall strips are carved into coiling vines and leaves. Part of one wall has cutout forms that resemble stylized tulips and lyres. Cutouts above the windows are snowflakes of different patterns. The Victor Gaston house (early 20th century) has embossed stars on the window frames of its concrete ground walls to express patriotism.

Two unusual buildings in the commercial district are the Felix Golez and Lino-Lope Severino buildings. Both use concrete for both stories and lavishly use columns and cusped arches. Building corners are oblique rather than right-angled. In the Lino-Lope Severino building a half-circular pediment with a bull's eye dominates the corner.

Two of the many magnificent churches of Iloilo built during the Spanish times are examples of the Ilongo's ability to combine indigenous and European designs on the facades. On the facades of the Miag-ao Church, and San Joaquin Church are murals in Filipino baroque style, with carvings of the local flora and fauna: sunflowers, monkeys, birds, coconut, banana, and papaya trees.

In Negros Occidental, three contemporary churches exemplify the attempt to reflect indigenous folk culture. In the compound of the Victoria's Sugar Milling Company. (Vicmico) is the Church of Saint Joseph the Worker, more popularly known as the Church of the Angry Christ because of the mural inside the church depicting a craggy-faced Christ against a backdrop of angry colors and shapes. The statues of saints are all brown-skinned and carved with Filipino features. The characters in the Stations of the Cross are represented by *guardias civiles* (local police) and Filipinos.

At the Santa Clara Subdivision in Bacolod City is the Birhen sang Barangay Chapel, or Chapel of Shells, constructed in the early 1980s. The massive columns supporting the structure are covered with *kagaykay* shells. The three sides of the chapel consist of sliding doors of *capiz* shells. Inside, *capiz* shells hang in four horizontal beams forming a square below the ceiling, surrounding a huge, almost 3-meter high chandelier of 14,000 carefully matched cup shells in concentric circles, the biggest having a diameter of 3 meters. A mural dominated by the Birhen sang Barangay makes up the fourth side of the chapel. The Virgin, carrying an unproportionately small Infant Christ, towers gigantically over an aerial view of the Negros coastline. This mural, plus the statue of Christ hanging on the wooden crucifix, is made up entirely of 95,000 pieces of locally available shells. Mary's veil is in mother-of-pearl, which shimmers in the dark. Her eyes and hair are done in black oyster; her white dress is of Japanese scallop; her rosary is of snail's shells. All the shells are in their natural color. For the human faces,

flesh-colored shells are nipped and crushed into slivers as tiny as fingernail cuttings to achieve the naturalness of the human complexion. For the mosaic effect, the shells are cut into squares.

The Chapel of San Isidro or the Chapel of Wheels at Manapla constructed in the late 1960s, has walls consisting of old carabao cartwheels contributed by the sugar workers and small farmers living in the vicinity; it is therefore a good example of collective ownership by the ordinary folk. The altar and the priest's and altar boys' seats beside the altar are massive culptures cut out of slabs of rock. A pair of cartwheels make two rose windows behind the altar. A pestle mounted on an iron post is the baptist fount; a pair of mortars function as candle holders. The image of Mary is in high relief roughly cut out of a wooden block. Christ hangs above, attached to a wheel that signifies the crucifix. The roof soars to a peak and is topped by a cross so slim it is almost invisible. **Visual Arts and Crafts**

Archaeological excavations reveal that the early Ilongo fashioned ornaments out of gold, such as leaf-shaped death masks for the eyes and leaf-shaped coverings for the nose. Th Ilongo also knew the art of carving on dagger and bolo handles, and on boats and shields.

Contemporary folk handicraft include shellcraft, cloth weaving, basket weaving, and mat weaving. *Sigay*, the most commonly used shells, are strung together in coastal towns to make flower and animal patterns, e.g., turtles and fish, on curtains, mats, and necklaces. Arevalo town in Iloilo has maintained its cloth-weaving tradition from pre-Spanish times. Nipis, very fine and transparent cloth made from piña, jusi, and sinamay, are woven with flower designs like the sampaguita or vine tendrils with tiny leaves and flowers. The patadyong is woven in several towns, especially Miag-ao. Typical designs are checks in red, black, yellow, and white. Baskets are woven out of coconut midrib. Sleeping mats are woven with simple designs, such as colored strips forming inner borders. In Negros, a by-product of the sugarcane is the stalk of the sugarcane flower. The stalks are sliced open to flatten them and used to decorate furniture and make pictures. The strips are laid side by side and some parts shaded by varying degrees of heat in order to produce a mosaic effect. The result is a picture consisting of geometric patterns, although the total effect is a picture with gently curving outlines. Examples of its subject matter are the Philippine landscape, sailboats in the sunset, the Last Supper, and animals.

Conventional Ilongo painting may be classified according to the following types: church and house murals, *telon* (theater backdrop) and *fondo* (painted backdrop), and easel painting. Known master of all these genres is Vicente de San Miguel. In the 18th and 19th centuries, the cathedrals of Molo, San Joaquin, Oton, Leon, and Jaro contained wall and ceiling paintings that were almost exact copies of European church paintings. Most of these paintings have been destroyed by World War II and the elements. Marcelo Mabunay, who painted in the late 19th century, was a significant church artist whose only surviving painting, the *Pentecost* in Molo Church, reveals his ability to render the illusion of flat and well-proportioned figures on concave spaces.

Contemporary artist Jesus Hervas has two paintings, *The Samaritan Lady at the Well of Jacob* and *Jesus' Entry into Jerusalem*, at the main entrance of the Molo Church. Created in 1981 and 1982, the paintings show a combination of Renaissance and modern styles.

In 1900 to 1930, the popularity of the *sarswela* created the genre of telon painting, which was done on a large piece of *coco-crudo* (canvas cloth). Although backdrop painting was already being done for *komedya* during the Spanish period, the *sarswela* telon demanded a highly realistic rendering of scenery. The *sarswela*'s setting generally required one telon representing the interior of a rich man's house; another, the interior of a poor man's house; and another, an exterior scene. A *sarswela* with an exotic setting, such as Jose Ma. Ingalla's *Dumut cag Huya* (Hatred and Shame), required a lush and elaborate exterior scene.

The houses of the affluent also had paintings of Philippine sceneries on their walls and ceilings. On a dining room wall, for instance, may be a still life of fruits and game, while a living room may be decorated with rustic scenes. A trompe l'oeil of a curtain painted on a wall still survives in the Villanueva residence in Iloilo City. One of the known artists of this genre was Miguel Zaragoza, a contemporary of Felix Resurreccion Hidalgo and Juan Luna.

With the *sarswela*'s decline in the 1930s, the artists shifted to painting fondos for photography studios, plaza stages during the coronation of a fiesta queen, and churches. There was not much difference between a telon and a fondo, except that the fondo was smaller and characterized by more realistic details with three-dimensional effect.

At about the same time, easel painting was being influenced by European impressionism and by the romantic rustic paintings of Fernando Amorsolo and Fabian de la Rosa. Felipe Zaldivar, who had studied painting under Amorsolo at the University of the Philippines, painted Amorsolo reproductions and rural scenes in the Amorsolo style. He founded the Guild of Iloilo Artists, which in the 1950s had 50 commercial artists, signboard painters, portraitists, church painters, and landscape painters as members. The guild included Pepito Yulores, Leon Mombay, Eutiquio Mananon, Felix de la Paz, Patricio Antolo, Artango, Jesus Hervas, Ravana, and Avelino. Vicente de San Miguel resisted the romantic-impressionist trend and continued painting in his distinctive realist style until his death in 1954.

In Negros Occidental, the artists were organized into the Art Association of Bacolod (AAB) on 4 July 1975 by Edgardo Lizares. In October 1982, it initiated the annual Masskara festival, in which the people of Bacolod wear smiling masks made out of papier mache as they celebrate the city's charter day with street dancing and general revelry. Negros art works are exhibited in the AAB Gallery, situated at the city center and leased by the city government for a peso a year. Its "art caravan" also makes possible the holding of exhibits from town to town. Officers and members include Achilles Palma, Rafael Paterna, Edgar Dionela, Rodney Martinez, and George Macainan. Other members are Lorenzo Sumagaysay, a leading portraitist; the late Ely

Santiago, a cartoonist for national publications; Marcial Vuelva, who paints romanticized interpretations of the sugar industry; and Jecky Alano, who produces classical sculptures in terra-cotta. Their styles range from the classical to the modern.

Better known for their styles of realism and social realism are the Black Artists of Asia (BAA), which include Charlie Co and Norberto Roldan. Their subject matter derives from Ilongo life. One of them, Nunelucio Alvarado, uses massive figures of peasants to depict contemporary social history. **Literary Arts**

Ilongo literature is both didactic and entertaining.

*Paktakon* are Ilongo riddles, which may contain images drawn from nature:

*Ano nga tuboran masulog sa tag-ilinit  
Ginahubsan kong tag-ulan? (Balhas)*

What spring flows in summer  
And runs dry on rainy days? (Sweat)

*Bukid nga manayok-nayok,  
Indi malambotsang panulok. (Agtang/dahi)*

A tall mountain  
No eyes can scan. (Forehead)

There are *paktakon* full of sexual innuendoes but actually requiring innocent answers. Such riddles naturally provoke much mischievous laughter among the players.

*Ano nga buho ugat nga buhi ginaguro? (Singsing)  
Which hole has a live vein inserted into it? (Ring)*

*Indi ta katilaw sa imo  
Kon imo bayo indi anay mauba. (Saging)*

I cannot taste you  
unless you take off your dress. (Banana)

*Nagkita-ay duha ka bulbulon  
Nagdulom ang kalibutan. (Mata)*

Two hairy ones met  
and the world darkened. (Eyes)

*Hurubaton* (proverbs) are said to be vestiges of didactic *sugilanon* (folktales). The moral tacked onto the narrative was the *hurubaton*, which used to be chanted. For example:

*Mauntay ang sanga nga lingshod,  
Ang gulang na, mautod.*

A young sapling is easily straightened



But an old branch is brittle.

*Ang tawo nga malikaya,  
Sa katilingban gina-amuma.*

The good-natured fellow  
Is welcomed by everybody.

*Iya kalag iya kulo,  
Iya lawas iya baquero.*

Man is the captain of his fate,  
The master of his soul.

The *bordon* is a lively game played during the *bilasyon* (vigil for the dead). The men and women hold hands to form a circle around the “it” and the “king” or “queen.” The object of the game is for the “it” to locate a ring that is secretly passed from hand to hand. If the “it” fails, he/she must take part in the *loa/luwa* or *luwa-luwa*, a poetic joust gchanted or declaimed. Similar to the *balitao* of Aklan, it is a flirtatious impromptu debate between a man and a woman. Hyperbolic metaphors are used to heap praises on each other. The woman is referred to as *mahamot nga rosas* (the fragrant rosas), and the man is a *pisipis nga nagalupad-lupad* (flying bird) or *lusong* (mortar). The debate ends when one participant can no longer continue. The highlight of the last night of the *bilasyon* is the *torneo*, an impromptu poetical joust between two men who recite lavish praises to a lady. A mock sword battle follows, with the victor winning the hand of the lady.

The *siday sa pamalaye* is a poetic joust when marriage negotiations take place between the two families of an engaged couple. Each family has a bard who speaks for the interests of the respective parents.

The *binabaybay* is another impromptu poetic composition recited during *fiesta* coronation nights, political rallies, religious celebrations, and other such special occasions.

*Sugilanon* include creation myths, legends, folktales, fables, and trickster tales. A magical tale is that of Magboloto who falls in love with a goddess named Macaya, who has come down to earth to bathe in the river. He hides her wings so she cannot fly away, and so he woos and wins her. One day, while he is out, Macaya finds her wings, so she flies back to her celestial home. An eagle obligingly flies Magboloto to her home, but he has to go through a series of trials given by Macaya’s grandmother before he can win his wife back. When the grandmother wearies of thinking of more trials, she finally consents to give Macaya back to Magboloto.

Another magical tale tells of a man who leaves his ugly wife for a pretty woman. The wife weeps by the well when a witch comes and, upon being told of the problem, transforms her into a beautiful woman. Many men come to court her, including her husband who is smitten by her when he returns to his wife one day. His mistress goes

to the well to try to match the first wife's beauty but the witch transforms her into an ugly woman instead. She is so angry that she dies shortly afterwards.

An animal tale about the swift deer and the slow snail is a combination of the fable and the trickster tale. The snail, tired of the deer's ridicule, challenges the deer to a race. He secretly recruits his many cousins' help by asking them to place themselves at certain spots along the way to the finish line. Hence, every time the deer stops to rest and he calls out to the snail, there is always a snail to answer back, "Here I am!"

A Spanish document in 1573 records an Yligueyne creation myth. There were two gods Kaptan, god of the land, and Maguayen/Magyawan, god of the sea. The land breeze and sea breeze married. Maguayen gave birth to a reed, which Kaptan then planted. It broke in two, and out of these two sections came the man, Sicalac, and the woman, Sicavay. They had children who in turn had other children. Out of these marriages were born the different Philippine regional groups, including the Yligueynes or Hiligaynon.

Another creation myth identifies the god Laon as the source of all living things. One day his pet bird Manaul, the only living creature at the time, displeased him, and so its feathers were transformed into all other living creatures, who ironically became Manaul's predators. When Manaul saw the first man and woman emerging from a rattan tree, he died in despair.

The *composo* is a ballad often based on an actual historical event or some village incident. However, it may also be fictional. One *composo* from Guimaras Island is about three sisters discussing their marriage prospects. Because the youngest is the prettiest, the two older ones express their anxiety over the possibility of her marrying first. The youngest, in turn, assures them that tradition requires that they must marry first before she does. The older sisters then advise her to be patient and she assents.

The forerunner to the *composo* is the tale whose climax is chanted. An example is the 18th-century tale of the jealous Pedro Mendez, who hacks his innocent wife and leaves her corpse in a clump of cogon grass. Her ghost exclaims:

*Ay abaw Pedro kong Mendez  
Tan-awa ang cogon  
Nagakinurog-kurogon  
Tungod sang hilaw kong kamatayon.*

O Pedro, my Pedro Mendez  
Look at the cogon plants  
They are all turning dry  
Because of my untimely death.

Then there is the satirical *composo*. An excerpt shows one criticizing youthful lust:

*May duhang pamatan-on, soltero, dalaga*

*Inabot sang kaluyag, nangawat sang gugma  
A las sais sang hapon sang sila mag-umpisa  
abutan sang nwnghod nga si Magdalena.*

*Maayo lang na iya ang nagapangawat  
Pero ang ginkawatan dakong katalagman  
Hinali madimat kag malilwanliwan  
Wala gid mahimo, si Inday gabuy-unan.*

There were two youths, a boy and a girl  
Gripped with desire, they stole their love  
It was six in the evening when they started  
But were caught by the younger sister, Magdalena.

The only advantage goes to the thief  
But the one who is robbed is in great danger  
If they grow to like it and do it again  
It cannot be helped, Inday will grow a belly.

Contemporary literature reflects the Ilongo's resistance to colonization and social oppression while at the same time expressing a strong moral consciousness. Thus, it is marked by two trends: didacticism and social criticism. A great source of patriotic pride for the Ilongo is Graciano Lopez Jaena, whose writings, albeit in Spanish, exemplify the strong tradition of social consciousness in Ilongo literature. Resistance to American colonization from 1900 to 1930, also called the "Golden Age of Hiligaynon Literature," was evident in literary works. Patriotic poems recalling the Philippine Revolution against the Spanish colonial government exhorted the Filipino to resist the new invaders, as in this poem, "Magbangon Ka" (Arise), 1913, by Flavio Zaragoza Cano:

*Dili ka magpasupil nga maboong  
Ang dungug mo sang tao'ng dumulu-ong,  
Nga nagkari sa hamili tang duta...*

*Nanubli ka sang pagkadalagangan  
Sang mga masidlang katigulangan  
Nga nagbalato sang unang panag-on  
Batok sa mga tao'ng tampalasan...*

Do not allow your honor  
To be ruined by these people  
Who have come to our hallowed shores...

You inherited the heroism  
Of our vigilant ancestors  
Who in times past fought back  
Against treacherous men...

On the other hand, didacticism characterizes the first novel, Angel Magahum's *Benjamin*, 1918.

In 1877, Mariano Perfecto established the *Libreria La Panayana*, which published

*korido*, short stories, poems, *sarswela*, *drama*, and novels. In 1907, Pedro Monteclaro published in the newspaper *El Tiempo* the historico-legendary chronicle *Maragtas*, based on the oral tradition of the Panayanon and which in turn has become the basis for the folk history of Panay. *Makinaugalingon*, a newspaper founded by Rosendo Mejica in 1913, carried literary pieces and theater reviews. By 1920, it was putting out a literary supplement. Themes expressed in the poems and the *sarswela* were corruption in the capitalist system, the deterioration of morals brought on by American-style materialism, workers' oppression by landlords or capitalists, the need for a workers' guild, and oppression of women.

Magdalena Jalandoni is the best-known novelist, poet, and dramatist, who was given the Republic Cultural Heritage Award in 1968. The Trinidad Poetica Ilongga (Triumvirate of Ilongo Poets), was composed of Flavio Zaragoza Cano, Serapion Torre, and Delfin Gumban. Hiligaynon poetry, in the tradition of the binalaybay, describes details of Hiligaynon life and expresses sentiments like one's appreciation for a selfless mother's love or grief over unrequited love.

Class consciousness and social realities are combined with romantic-escapist elements in the novel and the short story. In 1934, the weekly magazine *Bisaya sa Hiligaynon*, later shortened to *Hiligaynon*, was put out by the Roces Publishing Co. and ran until 1974 without interruption. It encouraged the proliferation of short stories, serialized novels, and poems. The most prolific novelist of his generation, Ramon Muzones, started as a translator for this magazine and eventually wrote his own works. A favorite novelist is Conrado Norada, Iloilo governor from 1969 to 1986. A monthly short story contest sponsored by the magazine in 1938 was especially significant because it required that the theme be about "social justice." All the winning entries were published; hence, the magazine ran stories with a social and political consciousness for about a year.

In 1970, an anthology entitled *Bahandi-i*, containing 46 sample stories of the 1960s were chosen from *Hiligaynon* to exhibit the craft and concerns of favorite fictionists, many of whom have also published novels: Juanito Marcella, Ray Gra Gesulgon, Isabelo Sobrevega, Ismaelita Floro-Luza, Lino Moles, Jose Yap, Epifanio Tuclaud, Antonio Joquiño, and Nenita Magallanes.

Essays on the Hiligaynon language and culture are also being written by poets Santiago Alv. Mulato, Loreto Angayan, and Lucila Hosillos; and fictionists Nilo Pamonag, Tiburcio Tumbagahan, and Demy P. Sonza.

There is at present an organization of writers called the Sumakwelan of Vernacular Writers in Western Visayas, which keeps Hiligaynon literature alive. **Performing Arts**

There are three types of musical instruments: wind, percussion, and string.

The *toltoḡ palanog*, a clay flute, was the earliest musical instrument in Panay. It had three holes at one end and two at the sides. There were several kinds of bamboo flutes

or *tulali*. A child's flute was the *pasyok*, made of stiff rice straw. The *dios sios* was a set of reeds of different lengths, tied side to side. The *budiong* was a shell with the pointed tip cut off. It sounded like the cornet.

The *tan-ag*, made of two pieces of lightwood, was the earliest percussion instrument. A set of these was called the *dalutang*. The *bunkaka* or *takup* was a section of bamboo with a split end. It was held in the right hand and struck against a pole in the left hand. Variations in rhythm were done by different ways of striking. The *bulibaw* was a drum made of hollowed-out wood topped by animal skin. The *ludang* was a smaller drum that was held on the lap. The *lipakpak* was a clapper made of a narrow section of bamboo, two nodes long. It was split in two down to one node. The lower half was the handle. It was also used as a *matraca* or noisemaker during Holy Week.

The native guitar was variously called the *pasing*, "to strike," *boktot*, "hunchback," because it was made of coconut shell, or the *culating*. The strings were made of fibers or any twine. This was used to accompany the singing of the balitao, the *panawagon* or the *composo*. There was a guitar with six strings made of hemp, banana fiber or *lukmo*. It is now called the *sista*, from the Spanish word *sexta*, meaning "six." The *buting* was a thin bamboo tube whose two ends were strung with hemp or any fiber, so that it bent like a bow. The *kudyapi* was a violin made of thin, light wood and strung with hemp or banana fibers. The *subing* or jew's harp was made of a thin strip of seasoned bamboo with a tongue cut in the middle. One made this tongue vibrate by gripping the solid end with the mouth, holding the middle with one hand, and striking the other end with a finger of the other hand.

Songs are used for various occasions, either to accompany the Ilongo's everyday activities or to entertain during social gatherings. The *copla* is a light song such as the lullaby, "Ili ili tulog anay" (Ili ili Sleep Now); the game song, also used in courtship "Dondonay alimango" (Dondonay crab); and fishing songs like "Ako Ining Namunit" (I am fisher) and "Ang Bilong-bilong" (The Bilong-bilong, a kind of delectable flat fish). A nursery song contemporized to satirize military harassment on the rural folk is this 1987 version of a cheerful tune that belies its bitter political comment:

*Didto sa amon sa Negros  
May mga halimaw  
Kung sila mag operasyon  
Gina kawat manok kag karbaw.*

In our home of Negros  
There are monsters;  
When they conduct an operation  
They steal our chicken and carabao.

A popular drinking song is the "Dandansoy" which ironically rejects drink because of its implied consequences. Sung to a quick waltzing rhythm, it has a cheerful lilt to it:

*Dandansoy, inom tuba laloy  
Indi ako inom, tuba pait, aslum*

Dandansoy, let's drink tuba wine  
I don't want to drink, tuba is bitter and sour.

The *panawagon* is a plaintive love song, usually about unrequited love. It is sung at a *harana*, or when the man serenades his lady love beneath her window:

*Akon pinalangga  
Gawaha man anay  
Ining tawo nga may kagha  
Sang tun-og nagabatas*

My beloved,  
Please look out on  
This man pining for you  
Braving the evening chill.

Another song about unrequited love is the popular “Ay Kalisud” (Ah, Misery):

*Ahay kalisud  
Kalisud sang binayaan  
Adlaw gab-i  
Pirmi ta ikaw ginatangisan.*

Ah misery  
How miserable it is to be abandoned  
Day and night  
I keep weeping for you..

A variation of the love song and less sad is the *balitao*, which expresses varying sentiments about love and courtship. It used to be sung to the accompaniment of the native guitar and, like the *panawagon*, is used to serenade the maiden at night. During Spanish times, *balitao* singers performed at the town plaza, where the audience would throw coins on the floor to express their pleasure over their performance. It is not to be confused with the *balitao* in Aklan, which is a poetical joust similar to the Ilongo loa/luwa-luwa.

The *composo* is sung to a preset melody which has become part of the traditional repertoire of the singer. A rich source of *composo* are the wandering blind beggars of the cities. It is most popular among the working classes, such as the *sacadas* and market vendors. The *hurubaton*, which was originally part of a prose narrative, was chanted in verse.

The *hibai/ibayi* were tribal songs performed with shouts, handclapping, and dance to the accompaniment of the *toltog palanog*, *subing*, *budiong*, and *boktot*. Epic songs, which told of the lives of great warriors and their ancestors, were variously called *lintoy*, *kolintoy*, *kurintoy*, or *karbay*. A number of songs were created together with a

dance or ritual. In Tanza and some other towns of Iloilo, the *daygon*, which is sung by Christmas carolers as they go from house to house, is followed by dances called *las panderetas*.

Many indigenous folk dances are mimetic, such as the *tinikling*, which imitates the movement of birds. “Ohoy! Alibangbang” (Ohoy! Butterfly), a popular song that accompanies a dance that originated in Bago, Negros Occidental, imitates the movements of butterflies.

One of the earliest dances still affectionately remembered by the old folk of Negros Occidental and Iloilo is the *kamantugol*. It is accompanied by a song and still bears traces of the *kumintang*, a warrior dance. The town of Alimodian is the origin of a revolutionary dance called *boluntaryo*. A boluntaryo was a Filipino guerrilla fighter during the Spanish times who fought to overthrow Spanish sovereignty. The dance shows how these brave warriors woo the fair country maidens during a lull in the fighting. *Binadyong* is a lively dance which imitates the unsteady swaying of the drunkard. The dancer sways forward and backward during the cut step. Tigbauan has a dance called *lagundi* that imitates the movements of one stricken with rheumatism; hence, the dancer moves with a stiff knee and a dragging foot. Lagundi is a medicinal plant used to cure stomach ache, rheumatism, arthritis, headaches, and so forth.

*Dandansoy* is a courtship dance of Negros. It is danced to the accompaniment of a balitao about a girl who bids her sweetheart to follow her home to Payao if he misses her. This is not to be confused with the rousing drinking song also called “Dandansoy”. *Alegrito* is a courtship dance from Janipaan, Iloilo, performed during social gatherings. The name is probably derived from the word “alegretto,” a musical tempo that is quicker than andante but slower than allegro. The first part of this dance is lively and the second is slow and stately. *Lauderes* is a courtship and marriage dance native to Janiuay. It is the custom among the Ilongo for the two families of an engaged couple to make the marriage arrangements. After the agreement, there is merrymaking and the dance is dedicated to the bride and groom. Kuradang is a lively dance from Tuburan, Pototan, Iloilo, which is usually performed during fiestas or celebrations. The name of the dance may have been derived from the word *kudangdang*, which means “showy and overdressed.” *Kasadyahan* is a festival dance from Negros which has women offering leis or flowers.

*Manog-tapas* is a Negros dance which imitates the movements of sacada as they cut cane with their machetes and load them on the train. It also shows the common practices of the sacada after work. Another occupational dance is the *manog-isda*, which shows fisherfolk at work.

Other early indigenous dances were the *harito*, *biro-biro*, balitao, *media*, *lalong-lalong*, *iray*, *imbong*, and *inay-inay*.

Spanish-influenced dances are ballroom dances, which are choreographed with a set number of steps, turns, curtsies, and so on. The *mazurka valse* of Kabankalan, Negros,

originated in Poland and came to the Philippines through Spain in the mid-19th century. *Molinete*, a ballroom dance of Negros, is a waltz. *Polkabal*, from Negros, is a gay and spirited dance, which blends the *polka* and waltz. *Lanceros de Negros* of Silay is different from the *lanceros* of other regions because of its longways formation. It is a popular quadrille dance which formally opens a big ball. The *valse de Negros* is a square dance in social gatherings. The *laota* is a gay and lively dance with the women wearing the *maria clara*, a female ensemble composed of bell-sleeved blouse, kerchief, and long-paneled skirt; and the men wearing a barong *tagalog* and black trousers. The name is a contraction of *la jota*, a very popular dance during the Spanish times. The *kuratsa* is another popular dance in social gatherings. The women wear the patadyong or barrel skirt and *camisa* or native blouse, while the men wear the barong tagalog or *camisa de chino*, a Chinese-inspired collarless long-sleeved shirt and trousers.

A hodgepodge of Catholic ritual, folk dancing, social activity, and a tourist attraction is the *Dinagyang* festival cum mardi gras held in Iloilo City every fourth week of January since 1967, when a replica of the image of the Santo Niño or Holy Child was brought from Cebu to the San Jose Parish Church in Iloilo City. This was celebrated with a fluvial procession dedicated to the Santo Niño. In 1969, the *ati-atihan*, adapted from the Aklanon traditional festival, was incorporated into the festivities. Until 1976, people merely watched the *ati-atihan* as a contest between different groups colorfully garbed and blackened with soot to represent the Aeta. However, street revelry and audience participation now characterize the *ati-atihan*. Costumes of contest participants are made of peas, abaca fibers, cogon, cypress leaves, carton, spikes of plants, corn grains, sandpaper, styrofoam, and any other articles on hand.

The mardi gras component of the festival is a parade of floats and people wearing traditional attire like the patadyong, *saya*, *camisa*, and barong tagalog. There is a program consisting of various Ilongo folk dances, the reenactment of legends, a *flores de Mayo*, and the celebration of a barrio fiesta.

The Masskara festival is held in Negros on the third week of every October to celebrate the city's charter day anniversary. The term is a combination of two words "mass," or crowd, and "kara," meaning face. It is also a pun on *maskara*, meaning "mask." Participants wear smiling masks to emphasize the tourism industry's reference to Bacolod City as the "City of Smiles." Having started only in 1982 and having no religious nor historical significance, Masskara street dancing is done to modern and disco tunes, and costumes have no traditional features.

The roots of Ilongo drama are in the oral tradition: first, in ritual, such as the babaylan rites for appeasing spirits and curing the sick, which include mimetic elements and chant; and second, in the verbal games played at wakes. In the rituals, sacrifices are offered, prayers chanted, and symbolic and/or dance motions made. In the verbal games like *kulasising hari*, *ang pato nagalupad*, *ate-ate sa bukid*, and *panyo palaran*, a semidramatic situation ranges men against women, and has them engage in poetic jousting.



In the panyo palaran, for example, held nightly after the prayers during a wake, a leader distributes five white handkerchiefs to five men, and five pink handkerchiefs to five women. The group then sings a song ending: “Lupad ka na panyo palaran kay Inday/ Nonoy nga naluyagan” (Fly, lucky handkerchief to Inday/Nonoy who is loved). The players then distribute their handkerchiefs to women and men they choose, who must then sing, dance, or recite a luwa for the donor. The men may refuse to accept the songs or poems, wishing instead to make friends with the ladies (especially those from out of town). This is expressed and answered in verse by the lady or by a *defensor* or *vencidor*. In verse are the gentlemen’s compliments and boasts about bravery, distance traveled, hardships undergone, and the ladies’ coy answers, e.g., no plans to marry until she is 300 years old. And thus the night passes, verses are exchanged, and some flirtation and courting accomplished.

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

Staged drama in Iloilo and Negros from the Spanish times to 1935 were the komedya or moro-moro, the drama or prose play, the Spanish zarzuela, and the Ilongo *sarswela*. The komedya, which were long, colorful stories about Moors and Christians, seem to have been the earliest form of staged drama that the Ilongo knew. The Moors were *pulahan* (in red) and the Christians *ituman* (in black), making love and war in verse, and at great length. These were staged in makeshift open-air stages at fiestas, in plazas and cockpits, in theaters when available, markets, carnival auditoriums, and even private houses. A prominent Iloilo resident, for instance, is said to have celebrated her 100th birthday with three days of moro-moro. Among the writers were Eriberto Cumban, who wrote *Carmelina*, 1889, Felipo, 1890, and *Clodoveo*, 1892; and Basilisa Pecson, who is believed to have written one play, *Jerusalem Libertada*. Famous too was *Don Juan Teñoso*. Early in the 20th century, however, debates raged in the papers between defenders and critics, who felt that the komedya was a theater form that showed no truth, was ignorant, and did no good for the public. Although this did not kill the komedya, it showed that the Ilongo public was ready for drama of greater verisimilitude, and this was provided by the drama and the sarswela. The earliest drama recorded as being written and published in a Philippine vernacular was in Ilongo: Cornelio Hilado’s *Ang Babai nga Huwaran* (The Ideal Woman), 1889. Its six characters represent contrasting types: a father who teaches his daughter obedience and modesty, versus an overindulgent parent and his spoiled daughter; a man who chooses a wife for her virtue; and another who chooses one for her beauty. The plot unfolds towards the expected didactic ending, setting the pattern for later dramas: instructive and teaching a moral. Many journalists, poets, and political figures of the first decades of the 20th century wrote dramas, among the more often mentioned

being Angel Magahum's *Gugma sang Maluib* (Love of a Traitor), 1904; Serapion Torre's *Tanikala* (Chains), 1916; Valente Cristobal's *Malaot nga Capalaran* (Wicked Fate), 1903; and *Magdalena*, 1904; Magdalena Jalandoni's *Ang Anak nga Malalison* (Disobedient Child), 1932, and *Labi sa Bulawan* (Greater than Gold), 1936.

The most popular drama form of the early 20th century, however, was the sarswela. Spanish zarzuelas were staged in Iloilo in the 19th century, for at this time the city, called the "Queen City of the South," was at the height of its prosperity; troupes that performed in Manila usually made Iloilo their next stop. The popular musical form was soon wedded to the native language to produce the Ilongo sarswela. Salvador Ciocon's *Ang Nagahigugma sa Iya Duta* (Those Who Love Their Native Land), written in 1899 and staged in 1906, was the first Ilongo sarswela to be written. The first to be staged, however, was Valente Cristobal's one-act *Ang Capitan* (The Captain), 1903. For some 30 years after, the sarswela reigned as the entertainment form, with about 100 works in Iloilo alone, and many taken across the strait to Negros Occidental. A whole world grew around it: some painters and their assistants, actors who were the early stars of the entertainment world, musicians, composers, and writers.

There are eight major *sarswelista*: Valente Cristobal, author of 32 plays, one of which was the most popular of its time, entitled *Nating*, 1908; Jimeno Damaso, who kept a small store; Angel Magahum, a journalist, novelist, and musician; Jose Ma. Ingalla, a bookkeeper who started as an actor and then wrote his own plays, including some he called operas, which had no prose dialogue; Miguela Montelibano, a housewife and mother; Serapion Torre, poet and *presidente municipal* (mayor) of Iloilo for three terms; and Jose Ma. Nava, actor, journalist, and labor leader. They wrote more than 50 sarswela.

Some 40 of these survive and reflect the concerns of the time and place: jealous fathers, long-suffering mothers, patient suitors, virtuous maidens, obedient and disobedient daughters, gamblers and drinkers, wastrel students, love requited and unrequited—in the setting of the sugar industry, Iloilo commercial life, and Ilongo lifeways.

When the sugar industry, the source of income for the mass viewers and elite patrons of the sarswela, declined in Iloilo and shifted center to Negros Occidental, the entertainment budget for the sarswela—which had to compete with new entertainment forms like *bodabil* and the movies—dropped. The era of traditional folk drama passed, as did the economy that supported it. Except for occasional revivals, few and far between, and school productions, Ilongo theater was dormant from 1935 until about the late 1960s.

In the early 1970s, labor and student militancy gave birth to people's theater in Negros Occidental. In 1977, Teatro Pangkatilingban, a community theater group attached to Basic Christian Communities (BCC) and the National Federation of Sugar Workers (NFSW), established 55 chapters throughout the province. Although this theater group is now gone, it spawned other theater groups like the Teatro Obrero, a youth group

composed of sugar workers and workers' children, and the Negros Theater League, an urban-based theater group that performs in the streets, in the plaza, or in squatters' areas, during strikes, pickets or rallies, and during occasions special to the working class. For example, in 1987 it staged a play entitled *Tiempos Muertos* (The Dead Season), which satirizes the Masskara as a false portrait of the conditions of the Negros masses. At the time that the Masskara festival was conceived, Negros sugar workers and other people dependent on the sugar industry were suffering from massive unemployment and hunger because of the slump in the world price of sugar and the mishandling of finances by the Marcos administration. In *Tiempos Muertos*, the performers, using the very same props and costumes at the Masskara, unmask the sectors responsible for the exploitation and harassment of the Negros working class and landless farmers.

A theater group composed of *dumaan* (permanent sugar workers) is the Hacienda Adela Community Organization in Silay. Founded in 1973, it stages sarswelas about life on the hacienda like *Matam-is Man Gali Ang Kalamay* (Sugar is Also Sweet), 1991.

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