

“Isinay” is derived from the prefix “i” meaning “native, resident, people of” and “sinai,” a place believed to have been inhabited by the early people of northern Luzon. Isinay refers to a group of people who in the pre-Spanish period were considered homogenous and who occupied the present-day area of Nueva Vizcaya. Today, the Isinay inhabit three municipalities of that province: Dupax del Sur, Aritao, and Bambang. These areas are bounded by Quirino and Aurora on the east, Nueva Ecija on the south, Pangasinan and Benguet on the west, and the Nueva Vizcayan municipalities of Bayombong, Quezon, and Ambaguio on the north. These areas are generally mountainous with elevations rising as high as 1,500 meters (*Census 1975:xix*). Timber resources and vast virgin forests occupy the eastern portion. During the Spanish period, the Ilocano and other outsiders migrated to this area. The 1975 Census of the Philippines shows that the Ilocano-speaking people have now dominated several places in Nueva Vizcaya. In Dupax del Sur, there are 3,959 Ilocano residents as against 2,865 Isinay; in Bambang, 19,903 Ilocano against 1,769 Isinay; in Aritao, 16,372 Ilocano against 200 Isinay. Constantino (1982) reports a solid Isinay population in Kayapa. Of the 5,664 native speakers, those that are not found in Nueva Vizcaya are distributed in the various areas of Metro Manila.

Isinay as a language has three variants spoken in the three municipalities of Nueva Vizcaya (Constantino 1982:4). The Isinay dialects spoken in Dupax del Sur and Aritao differ primarily in a few lexical items. The differences of these two dialects with that of the Bambang dialect are phonological and lexical. The Isinay language used in formal writing is based on the Dupax del Sur dialect.

History

In 1572, one year after the capture of Manila, the Spaniards entered Cagayan Valley on the north coast. The Spanish conquistadores made contacts with the natives of the region whose major economic activities were agriculture, fishing, and domestication of animals (Casiño 1982:140). Those that settled in the coastal areas were skillful boat makers. Somev traded with the Chinese, and the Japanese.

As in other towns colonized by the Spaniards, the encomienda system and forced tribute were established in Isinay territories. As may be expected, these moves were met with valiant resistance. To this the Spaniards responded promptly and harshly by beheading some of the natives, exiling others, and sentencing the people to forced labor. By 1600, the Spaniards had successfully established their foothold in the region.

The conversion of the Isinay to Christianity was not an easy task. The Spaniards were greeted with fierce attacks, resistance, especially from the wilder tribes occupying the central and innermost portion of the Cagayan Valley. In their work of evangelization, the Dominicans coming mostly from Pangasinan solicited the support of the Augustinians from Pampanga and the Franciscans from the Tayabas missions. To make it easier for these missionaries to control the area, the upper valley was separated from the lower. The upper valley became Nueva Vizcaya (Casiño 1982:142). Soon the

Isinay were “reduced” like the Isneg, the Itawes, the Kalinga, the Ibanag, and the Gaddang who had been previously settled in rancherias or settlements or in larger pueblos.

As in the rest of the Cagayan Valley, the economic activities of the Isinay during the early colonial period consisted of hunting, farming, and trading. They produced taro, yam, rice, and corn. Such was the fertility of the land that the valley became the practical choice of the Spaniards to establish the tobacco monopoly, which began in 1781 and lasted for nearly a century.

But the high quality of tobacco produced in this region was not translated into economic upliftment of the people. Guards and clerks were employed to implement strict rules and regulations regarding the administration of the tobacco industry. Payments were delayed and substandard tobacco leaves were burned. The long and risky trail towards Cagayan Valley isolated the area from Manila and Central Luzon, which further resulted in underpopulation of that area. As early as 1850, the Ilocano started to immigrate into the valley.

During the American period, tobacco from Cagayan, Isabela, and Nueva Vizcaya gained official recognition from the American government and was classed as standard. To support this industry, the Americans also allowed more immigrations of Ilocano into the valley. These immigrations continued, especially after World War II.

Today, there are four highways linking the valley to the rest of Luzon (Casiño 1982:145). Improved transportation and communication facilities help the people transport their goods to different parts of the region. Tobacco continues to be a major agricultural product. Today, however, Cagayan Valley has become one of the most important centers of the logging industry. Nueva Vizcaya, which has 19 sawmills, has become one of the leading timber producers of Luzon. Likewise, greater mining activity, led by the Acoje Mining Company, contributed greatly to the industrialization and urbanization of Nueva Vizcaya.

Economy

Before colonization, the Isinay in Dupax del Sur planted seeds in individually owned seedbeds. Later men, women, and children used a sharpened stick to make holes into which the rice seedlings were transplanted manually. After transplanting, walls in the fields called *tan-nang* were built. Fields were flooded with water for four to five months. To guard their plants from *tulin* (brown rice birds) and *dama* (black rice birds), they put up scarecrows called *tinahutahu*. A variation of the tinahutahu was the *owu* characterized by its rattling sound similar to the Benguet clappers.

For harvesting, the Isinay used a rice knife called *gamlang* to cut the rice stalks. Each harvester tied his/her own bundles of rice plant referred to as *sim botoh* and would leave them in the fields to dry for about three weeks. These then were stacked in

conical piles and were left there for a month before bringing them to the *e-ang* or granary.

Towards the end of the 18th century, lands which had hitherto been allocated for food crops were transformed into tobacco producing farm fields until the Cagayan Valley including Nueva Vizcaya, became the leading producers of high quality tobacco.

Today, the Isinay's main economic activity is agriculture. They produce more rice than they need. They also cultivate sweet potato and cassava to add to their carbohydrate requirements. Vegetables are harvested and are sold in the Baguio market. Poultry and piggery remain as secondary occupations while hunting serves as a casual occupation, particularly among groups close to the forested areas. The Isinay also raise cattle and goats for their protein needs. Tobacco cultivation is still important to the economy of the region. Added to this, Nueva Vizcaya caters to timber requirements of the local building industry and to the export of plywood. While logging has brought untold wealth to some, it has denuded what were once virgin forests and caused ecological imbalance.

The local industries involved in community, social, and personal services tend to concentrate on three areas: education, personal and household services, and public administration and defense (*Census 1980:XXIX*). Workers in the manufacturing industry are mostly engaged in the manufacture of wood and wood products, textile, wearing apparel and leather, food beverages, and tobacco.

Political System

As a result of the Spanish policy of attraction which encouraged the natives to live around the plaza complex, much of Isinay culture was lost because of acculturation. This is evident in the absence of native terms for traditional leaders and structures of governance, except for the word *pangilu*, which is equivalent to president.

Today, under the presidential system of government, the political affairs in the 15 municipalities of Nueva Vizcaya, including the municipalities of Aritao, Bambang, and Dupax del Sur where most of the Isinay live, are carried out by three of the four types of local government units (*Philippine Yearbook 1989:70-73*). These local government units are supervised by the Department of Interior and Local Government.

In 1990, the Isinay numbered only 5,003 out of the 300,566 residents of the province of Nueva Viscaya. There were 3,009 of them in Dupax del Sur, 1,554 in Bambang and 267 in Aritao. Of the province's 58,558 households, only 871 were Isinay speakers (1990 *Census of Population and Housing*). **Social Organization and Customs**

Customs of the early Isinay concerning marriage reflect their high regard for elders. Parents were responsible for choosing spouses for their children. There were times when parents entered into child betrothals even before their children were born. This

practice was called the *purung*. The announcement of the *purung* was accompanied by a ritual attended by parents, relatives, and friends. In this gathering, guests would offer a prayer to the souls of the dead relatives of their host. Food such as rice wine, rice cake, and meat were served to the people. After eating, the agreement was revealed to everyone. This public announcement was done so that whoever backed out of the agreement would be required to shoulder all the expenses incurred on the day of the *purung*.

Isinay had elaborate procedures for a marriage (Constantino 1982:300). The first stage was the sending of a letter called *patayav* to the girl's parents expressing the intent of the man to marry their daughter. This *patayav* was wrapped in a white embroidered handkerchief together with betel nut chew, cigarettes, tobacco, and wine. It was delivered by a couple chosen for their ability to convince people and for their willingness to accept the responsibility of advising the couple to be married.

In the girl's house, the *patayav* was opened and read as those present partook of the wine, the cigarettes or tobacco, and the betel nut chew. The girl's parents discussed between them and their relatives whether or not to accept the proposal. If they accepted, matters concerning the *laar*, the ritual where the marriage proposal was formalized, were decided, such as the food to be served to the guests, the *albasyadores* (go-betweens) of the two parties, and the date of the *laar*. The *laar* was always done at night to ensure the availability of the guests.

On the day of the *laar*, the *albasyadores* of both parties dominated the entire proceedings. First, they paid their respects to the hosts. Next, a few prayers (one "Our Father" and one "Hail Mary") were offered to the souls of the relatives of both parties. Then, the *albasyador* proceeded to express the love of the man he represented. This statement opened the discussion between the *albasyadores*. There were times when the man himself was asked to speak but he was properly coached by his *albasyador*. In this meeting, the participants outlined the details of the wedding and the wedding festivities. The man had two options. He could offer a dowry which consisted of a house and lot, a piece of farmland, a carabao, and some amount of money. If he could not afford this, he could render service for some months or even years before the marriage. On every holiday and feast day during this period, the man had to give presents to the girl. Aside from the dowry or service, the man's party was expected to provide the wedding accessories of the girl, which included an umbrella, jewelry (like earrings, necklaces and rings), and the clothes to be worn after the wedding.

The 15 days before the wedding was called the *pavatar*. During this period, the couple went to the priest or the judge to apply for a marriage license. The priest also saw to it that the couple were both baptized in the same church. On the day before the wedding, the couple went to church to confess their sins. Meanwhile, preparations were made for the wedding festivities, such as building temporary sheds and cooking the food; the gifts agreed upon by the man's party during the *laar* were delivered to the girl's house.

One distinct feature of the Isinay wedding ritual were the musicians hired to accompany the couple from the house to the church, to play the march music from the church door to the altar, and to accompany the newlyweds back to the wedding festivities at the girl's house.

Upon arrival in the house, the bride and groom were welcomed by guests with showers of rice, flowers and coins. The couple then proceeded to the house altar to pray, while the guests sang the *Salve*. After prayers, the couple danced, so that others may follow. Food was served. After eating, the *paragala* or the offering of financial help was given to the couple as they danced the *inbestida*. A *paratagay* was assigned to pour wine for each donor. Then all the gifts were collected and wrapped in one bundle. With this the newlyweds carried on their heads while performing the final dance.

Of the old Isinay marriage practices, only the *inbestida* or the dance of the couple after the wedding ceremonies and the *paragala* or the gift giving by the relatives and guests are still observed. The other practices are now rarely followed (Constantino 1982:9).

In earlier times, during the wake of a dead husband, the widow covered her head with black cloth and sat on the floor, always facing a corner of the house (Constantino 1982:330). She ate from a coconut shell and slept with a chopping board as her pillow. She would not get up from her bed until everyone in the house had risen.

The day after the burial was called the day of the bath. On this day, all the relatives and friends of the dead person went to the river. As the people left the house, they sprinkled ashes by the door, so that they may see the footprints of the spirit of the dead that would accompany them to the river. The widow was the last to take a bath and as she went down to the water, she removed all her clothes and allowed the current to carry these away.

On the night following the day of the bath, the nine-day prayer began. The ninth night was called *asiyam*. The following morning, the widow and her children started to wear black clothes and did so for one whole year. Children put on black necklaces to prevent the spirits from affecting them.

Today, the following practices are still followed: the use of the *paldas* (black cloth) to cover the head of the widow; the novena prayer; the festivities of the *asiyam*; the cleansing bath called *omos*; and the *pangipas* or removal of the black cloth covering the head or arms (Constantino 1982:9).

Religious Beliefs and Practices

Before their conversion to Christianity, the Isinay believed in spirits which inhabited their material and spiritual worlds. But unlike many other tribal groups, whose spirits were invisible, some of the Isinay spirits could actually be seen.

Otley Beyer mentioned several Isinay spirits that were believed to inflict harm on the people. The *banix*, the spirit equivalent to the *karangat* of the Gaddang, appeared in different forms: as a ball, as a jar, or as a headless man rolling on the ground. Looking at the eyes of a banix could cause death. The *itrong* looked like a human being but had a long tail. It fought with people and ate the bodies of its victims. The spirit called *bruka* appeared with red skin and in red clothing. It possessed a man/ woman or took the form of a human being as a disguise to eat its victim. The *mangkokolam*, like the *asuang* of the Gaddang, was a spirit which looked like a human being with cat's eyes. It had a thin, hairlike tongue which was very long and which was thrust into the victim's bodies to eat its livers.

The Christianized Isinay of today believe in life after death—the good souls go to heaven while the bad souls go to hell. Those who die without being baptized enter the dark purgatory which they refer to as *kinto limbo* or fifth limbo.

Architecture and Community Planning

During the Spanish period, the colonizers attracted and, at times, forced the natives to settle around the plaza complex, which was dominated by the Church and its belfry and the civil/military government buildings. Around the central plaza, all the social activities of the province and the town were held. The Spanish officials gave importance to the traditional leaders or native elite by giving them the areas around or closest to the plaza. Thus the big houses or the *bahay na bato* were constructed beside churches or municipal buildings. However, there were few native Isinay, regardless of social status or political influence, who were able to settle close to the plaza complex. In spite of this, the Isinay were acculturated to the dominant culture.

Today, the Isinay still live around the old town centers, but their *beyoy* (houses) have changed. Most of them now live in single houses. A few occupy duplexes, improvised shelters like the *barong-barong*, and other collective living quarters (Census 1980:xxx). Half of these dwelling units are roofed with cogon or nipa; the rest use galvanized iron, anahaw and other makeshift materials. Exterior walls are made of wood, plywood, bamboo, sawali, tiles, concrete, brick, stone, cogon, and nipa.

Literary Arts

The body of collected Isinay literature consists of riddles, proverbs, and narratives in the form of tales, legends, ghost stories, fables, and oral histories.

In Aritao and Dupax del Sur, the term *lohmo* (*lakmo* in Bambang) is used to refer to riddles. (Constantino 1982:7). Isinay riddles describe different kinds of objects and things and are very popular among the children and adults. Examples are:

Mu lavi tabla, mu ehawan kandela. (Avo)

At night it's a floor, in the daytime it's a candle. (Mat)

Immali beyoy yu, uriyana inila; nanpatanga isi-a, uriyana ginina. (Dahom)

I went to your house, you didn't see me; I stayed with you, you didn't feel me. (Wind)

Osan beyoy an amma-i, nayid pappar na. (Dalim-ahonar)

A big house, it has no window. (Anthill)

Mu il-ilam, diyoy; mu sidunom, nayid. (E-aw)

When you're looking at it, it's there; when
you touch it, it's gone. (Shadow)

There is no generally accepted term for proverbs or maxims. Several terms are used to refer to this form of folk speech: *memos an baba* (wise words), *oloran*, *tongtong* or the English derivatives like *proberbiyo* or proverb (Constantino 1982:8). Examples of Isinay proverbs are the following:

*Bandiyam o eengam man di arawar, ya araw
ot araw pay lar itsora nar on aping nar.*

You dress a monkey and its appearance and
face will still look like those of a monkey.

Damit mama.

You taste what you swallow.

Dipan lar laviyar, ehawan ri misanotar.

After the night, the day comes next.

Mantanomaar ot man-ani.

One who plants will harvest.

Generally, the Isinay use the word *estorya* or *istorya* to refer to any story. Two native Isinay words are also used. One is *sussur*, known by the same name in Aritao, *sutsut* in Dupax del Sur, and *tudtud* in Bambang; and the other is *appoyaw*. Some natives differentiate between the two terms, saying that *sussur* refers to stories that have empirical sources, while *appoyaw* refers to purely fictional stories. *Bida*, derived from the Spanish word *vida* or life, is also used to refer to stories (Constantino 1982:7).

One story narrates the origin of Bambang towns (Constantino 1982:154). Before the coming of the Spaniards, the town of Bambang was inhabited by the Bungkalot and the Ivilao who had been fighting each other. One day, a Spanish missionary named Padre Juan Campa arrived to introduce Christianity to this place. The people hurled spears and knives at him. However, their weapons only stuck to the priest's umbrella. Soon after, Padre Campa began preaching and taught them how to be good Christians. The people buried their weapons in the ground. After that, the town was named Bambang.

Also from the town of Bambang comes the origin of Magat River which is formed by the confluence of four rivers: the Meet, the Abuat, the Matunu, and the Nambunatan. A popular tale in Aritao narrates the story of a mermaid in the Magat River (Constantino 1982:88). This mermaid was always heard washing clothes in the river at midnight. For fear of offending the mermaid, the people never left their houses to look at her. One day, a girl got sick after taking a bath in the river. Many folk doctors tried to cure her, but no one could ascertain the cause of the illness, until a folk doctor from another place arrived. The healer talked to the child to find out what she did in the river. The child told him that while bathing, she caught a fingerling, played with it, and when it died, she threw it back to the river. To appease the mermaid who was offended by this incident, the healer prepared an offering consisting of a male and a female white chicken, rice cooked in coconut milk, tobacco, and betel nut chew, all of which he took to the river at nighttime. Days after, the child slowly got well again.

Other popular Isinay estorya are: “Tale of the Turtle and the Monkey,” “Prince Juan of Two Spans,” “The Deer and the Snail,” “Juan the Oracle,” “The Princess of the River Marange” from Aritao; “The Legend of Ping-ao,” “The Story of the Ghost in Abannatan,” “The Princess of the Dampol Bridge” from Dupax; and “The Dog That Knew How to Talk” and “Juan, the Pitch-Coin Player” from Bambang.

Performing Arts

The Isinay have indigenous instruments like the *tuali* or flute, and Western-type instruments like *kutibang* or *singco-singco*, a small homemade ukulele.

The general term for song is *kanta* (Constantino 1982:8). However, there are terms for particular types of songs. One type whose melody never varies is called *anino*.

This is sung by parents and relatives of newlywed couples after the wedding ceremonies and is meant to give advice. Here is an example:

Siran Mos An Nanbeyoy?

(a)

*Ay siran mos an nanbeyoy
Anay pambevoyan miyar besan.*

(b)

*Ay beyoy si maves tahu
Ay mangarun tuwa diyen tahu.*

(c) [mosiko]

*Ay uriyam iwaya-wayas
Di lima mar toy mipayas.*

(d)

Ay i-appus mut pahaw nar

Ta maan di dose nar.

(e) [mosiko]
Oy nayir pelah balitu
Si aliyon min iregalo.

(f)
pelah bayaw balitu
Di pusu miyar kalaron.

(g) [mosiko]
Ayon tuwa an estimon
Di duwa an simbeyan.

(h)
Ta weyamu uriyan dan atdiyong
Ta nayir aru ta-un pangigalang.

Who Owns This House?

(a)
Who owns this house
Where we are now entertaining ourselves?

(b)
It is the house of a good man
That man is really loving.

(c)
Don't sway and sway
Your hands for they will be left.

(d)
Fondle her breast
To remove her doubt.

(e)
There is no silver nor gold
For us to offer as gift.

(f)
But silver and gold
Our pure hearts are.

(g)
Let us truly entertain
The married couple.

(h)
So that they will not say
that we have no love and respect.

Lullabies are called *baliwaway* (Constantino 1982:8). Here is a popular Isinay

baliwaway:

*Baliwawing, baliwaway,
ta meyo mos di ana uwar,
ta asana elan bumangun,
ya oras si pangan si ehawan.*

*Bawi, bawi, bawing,
bawing, bawing, baway,
ta asanan bumangun,
mu oras mot si pangan,
ta mahanun masi-on,
ta amoy miikwila.*

*Wawing, wawing, wawing, waway,
baliwawing, baliwaway,
ta mahanun masi-on
ta mahanu mot amoy miikwila.*

*Baliwawing, baliwawing, baliwaway,
ta mahanu mot masi-on,
ta mahanun pinabanga.*

Baliwaway, baliwaway,
so that my child will go to sleep now
so that when he or she wakes up
it is time to eat lunch.

Bawi, bawi, bawing,
bawing, bawing, baway,
so that when he or she gets up
it is already time to eat,

so that he or she will grow up fast,
and he or she will go to school.

Wawing, wawing, wawing, waway,
baliwawing, baliwaway,
so that he or she will grow up fast,
and he or she will go to school.

Baliwawing, baliwawing, baliwaway,
so that he or she will grow up fast,
so that he or she will be of help soon.

Christmas carols are called *kantan si dubiral* or songs for Christmas (Constantino 1982:8). Here is a popular carol entitled “Lavin Mable” or “Lovely Night”:

*Lavin mable, lavin masantos
Mansor mos, di mundowar
Si namalsar nitahu besan
Mangivaliw irami*

*Tahun makasalanan
Gumutu ami isi-a.
Lavin mable, lavin masantos
Mangkantar, Anghelesar
Mangivalitat ni-anaar
Si pobreyar darin pastores
Misalamat ami pay.
Aleluya.
Lavin mable, lavin masantos
Tuwoy besan, dimmatong
Di gayhayar situ piyo-ar
Tuwoy amin mangigalang
Si ana di Doyosar.*

Amen Aleluya

Lovely night, holy night
The world is waiting
For the Creator is born today
To save us
Sinful people.
We present ourselves to You.

Lovely night, holy night
The angels sing
To herald the birth
To the poor shepherds.
We give thanks too.
Alleluia.
Lovely night, holy night
Here now, it has come
The happiness on earth.
Here we are to honor the son of God.

Amen Alleluia.

A popular dance in Nueva Vizcaya particularly in Dupax del Sur is the Isinay inbestida, performed during wedding celebrations (Reyes-Urtula 1981:58). While dancing, relatives and friends of the couple give their contributions, either in cash or in kind, to the newlyweds. This gesture is reciprocated by assigning a paratagay who pours wine into the glass of the guest offering his or her gift.

The beginnings of Isinay drama may be traced to the ethnic rituals, some of which are still performed in Isinay communities. An example of this is the *malmai* ritual. Although the souls of dead persons go to heaven or hell, the Isinay believe that their spirits still influence the lives and activities of beings on earth. When someone is sick, it is believed that the patient is greeted by the spirit of a dead person. When this happens, a mal-mali ritual is performed where prayers and other gifts are offered to the spirits to cure the sick. Sometimes, when a spirit wants to say something, it speaks through the body of a human being it possesses. This is called *manunggan*.

A popular dramatic form among the Isinay is the *estoke* or *istoke*, a native term adapted from the Spanish *estoque* which means rapier or narrow sword (Constantino 1982:11). This theater form is the Isinay version of the *moro-moro* or *komedya*. An example of this estoke is the *Bilay Don Juan Pugut Si Reynoar Escocia* (Life of Don Juan Pugut of the Kingdom of Escocia), one of the two known works of Pablo Larosa, an Isinay from Aritao who was born on 16 October 1896 (Constantino 1982:433). This drama was publicly shown in Aritao once before and once during World War II.

Larosa's play presents the warring kingdoms of Escocia ruled by the Christian King Gedrino and of Turkey ruled by a Moorish Emperor. Driven by a desire to expand their respective territories, a great battle is waged between the Christians and the Moors. As expected, the Christians, led by Princess Laudamia, emerge victorious. Soon after, the Emperor sends another mission to Escocia and a second battle ensues. The Christian army runs away from the fight, leaving their king unprotected. The King nearly falls into the hands of the Moors, if not for the mysterious Juan Pugut who orders his army of giants to defend the kingdom. The battle culminates with the conversion of the Moors to Christianity.

Larosa weaves into this story the subplot centering on the disloyalty of Queen Jimena, wife of King Gedrino, who falls in love with Count Eleno. For some time, they are able to keep their illicit affair from the king, but not from Don Juan, the son of King Gedrino and heir to the crown of Escocia, who witnesses their clandestine meetings. The Queen plots to eliminate Don Juan by pretending to be sick and pressuring the doctor to say that she can only be cured by the blood of Don Juan who should be shot immediately in the middle of the palace. When the king arrives from the Kingdom of Macedonia, he learns of the Queen's condition and orders his generals and counselors to shoot Don Juan in the middle of the palace. Don Juan agrees, as it is his "fate at birth" to follow his king and father. At his execution, Don Juan makes his horse run around three times. On the third round, he is flown by the horse to the seventh layer of the clouds. For 10 years, he stays in the forests of the kingdom of Milandres and succeeds in defeating the legendary and terrifying sorcerer who surrenders all his powers to him. He also fights and defeats Belengon, the human-eating viper, whose skin he now uses to conceal his identity. Upon the advise of the sorcerer, the prince returns as Juan Pugut to the kingdom of Escocia after 10 years and presents himself as guardian to Princess Laudamia. True to his work, Juan Pugut saves the princess from a gigantic serpent. His real identity is revealed to the princess, who immediately falls in love with him, much to the king's dismay. Despite the king's refusal to recognize his love for Laudamia, Juan Pugut orders the giants from the forest to help defend the Kingdom of Escocia when it is abandoned by the soldiers. The kingdom is saved and the king finally recognizes his mistakes. Juan Pugut introduces himself as Don Juan, and Queen Jimena and Count Eleno are sentenced to burn at the stake.

Larosa's play dramatizes not only the struggle for power between a Moorish kingdom and a Christian kingdom, but also the conflict between the good and the bad Christians, the latter characterized by immorality and deceit.

Like other komedya, the play employs a clown called *bulbulagao*, who provides the comic relief in the play, especially during scene changes, and helps the lead characters articulate the moral truths presented. • G. Zafra/Reviewed by F. Hornedo

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