

“Waray” refers to both the people of Samar and Leyte and their language. As a people, the Waray identify themselves according to their place of origin. Those who come from Samar call themselves Samareños, while those who come from Leyte call themselves Leyteños.

Samar, the third largest island in the Philippines, occupies the northernmost part of Eastern Visayas. It is bounded by the San Bernardino Strait on the north and the Leyte Gulf on the south. Samar consists mainly of low, rugged hills and small lowland areas like those in Calbayog and in the valley of the Gandara River.

Leyte is composed of the main portion of Leyte Island situated north of Southern Leyte, and the islands of Gigantangan and Maripipi. It is bounded by the Camotes Sea on the west, Leyte Gulf on the east, and Carigara Bay and Samar Sea on the north. Leyte’s topography is characterized by rugged mountains that reach a maximum height of over 1,200 meters. Leyte Valley, which bisects the central range and the northeastern range fronting San Juanico Strait, is considered the largest lowland area in the province. On the western side is the Ormoc Valley, another large lowland area. The Marcos Bridge over San Juanico Strait links the two islands.

The Waray also live in the islands of Maripipi, Hinamok, Homonhon, Daram, Zumarraga, and Capul. Another island peopled by Waray, Biliran is now a separate province.

The 1990 census estimated the Waray at 2.7 million. The majority speak Waray, also called Lineyte-Samarnon and Binisaya, while others speak Cebuano. The latter language is spoken in some islands and the southern part of Leyte, and also in some small islands of Samar.

History

Early historical records reveal that the Waray had a flourishing culture and political organization before the advent of the Spaniards. They had their own system of writing, art, science, and technology. They established trade linkages with the Chinese, Borneans, and Malays.

In 1521, Magellan landed on the island of Homonhon which he used as a jump-off point for Limasawa, a prosperous 1,295-hectare island settlement on the southern tip of the Leyte mainland. Limasawa was the site of two famous events in Philippine history: the *sandugo* or blood compact between Magellan and Kolambu, son of the Rajah of Limasawa, during a banquet given by the Portuguese’ navigator on 29 March 1521; and the celebration of the first Mass on 31 March 1521. Kolambu and Siagu, both sons of the Rajah of Limasawa, and other natives joined the Spaniards in prayer. As a climax to the celebration, Magellan planted a cross on top of a hill and symbolically took possession of the islands in the name of Spain.

In 1543, a group of Spaniards from the Villalobos expedition landed in Leyte in search of food. The island, originally known as Tandaya, became the first island to be called Filipina.

The third conquistador to arrive in Leyte was Legazpi, who passed through Abuyog and Limasawa. Legazpi used the Panaon Strait as entry point to the islands.

Evangelization of the Waray began when the Jesuits established their first mission in the ancient village of Tinago. On 15 October 1596, the first priests—Frs. Francisco Otto, Bartolome Martes, and Brother Domingo Alonso—arrived in this central residence. A cholera epidemic was raging at the time of their arrival, and many villages along the western coast were affected. This gave the priests an opportunity to win the trust of the natives. By 1598, a church was built in Tinago, with six other *capilla* (chapels) constructed along the periphery of the mission residence.

After the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1768, most of the parishes they established, like Tinago, Catbalogan, Capul, Calbayog, Calbiga, Palapag, Tubig, Catarman, Borongan, were ceded to the Franciscans, while others, like Guiuan, Basey, Palo, Dagami, Tanauan, Tacloban, Carigara, Maasin, and other towns of Leyte were given to the Augustinians.

The recorded history of the Waray is replete with recurring Muslim raids, popular resistance against Spanish levies and forced labor, bloody confrontations with the Muslims, and the shift from patriotism or the love of one's place of origin to nationalism.

Early signs of patriotism were insular in both motive and attitude. The Bangkaw Revolt in the 1620s, which had Carigara, Leyte as its center, expressed the people's desire to return to traditional religious roots. When Legazpi landed in Limasawa in 1565, Bangkaw and his high priest Pagali welcomed the Spaniards, and were among the first converts. Relations later turned sour, however, and the Waray warriors revolted. The uprising spread to the neighboring towns.

In 1649, the Sumuroy Revolt began as an act of personal vengeance of Sumuroy against a Spanish clergyman in Palapag, Samar; but the rebellion spread when Samareños and Leyteños were conscripted and forced to work in the shipyards of Cavite. The revolt extended to nearby towns and, in Mindanao, to Caraga, Iligan, Cagayan de Oro, and Zamboanga.

The Revolution of 1896 did not readily spread to Leyte and Samar. But on 31 December 1898, General Vicente Lukban, who was promoted to brigadier general after his assignment in Camarines, arrived in Catbalogan. Under his command, the Waray joined forces with the expeditionary troops from Luzon to expel the Spaniards from Samar. Samar thus became the hottest spot of the revolution.

Until February 1902, Lukban controlled all of Samar and some parts of Leyte.

Notable of his victories as chief military officer was the massacre of an American camp in Balangiga, Samar on 27 September 1901. Hiding behind church and funeral rites, Captain Eugenio Daza and his group of guerrillas entered the village, and aided by the natives, attacked Company C of the Ninth Infantry commanded by Captain Thomas Connell. All three Americans were injured and among the 38 killed were all the officers of the company.

Soon after, the Americans, following orders from General Jake Smith to “kill and burn,” retaliated with a scorched-earth policy, slaying whole villages like Balangiga and turning Samar into a “howling wilderness.” Smith gave orders that all Filipinos, except those who collaborated with the Americans, were to be treated as enemies, and no one above ten years of age was to be spared.

With the entry of General Lukban and the expeditionary force from Luzon, the Waray realized that they were fighting not only for themselves but also for the country. They continued to fight until 1902, when Lukban was captured.

Later, as hostilities declined and the rest of Samar and Leyte were making peace with the new colonizers, some revolutionaries went to the mountains and combined forces with the Pulahan, a movement that started as a millenarian dios-dios cult of the mountain folk of Samar in the 19th century.

With the Pulahan, the nationalist movement acquired a mystical dimension, with its members believing that the *anting-anting* (amulets) could make them invulnerable in battle. The Pulahan were distinguished by their red trousers or by something red in their clothing.

Resorting to ambushes, the Pulahanes attacked the agents of the American government with spears, crescent-shaped bolos, and other bladed weapons. Their movement spread to Leyte, and again they proved to be a scourge to the Americans there. The conflict between the Pulahan and the American was a long drawn-out war which, in later decades, Japanese soldiers, and some adventurers and bandits, used to their advantage.

The American colonial authorities established the provincial government; thus was Leyte administered under Act No. 121 enforced in April 1901 following the wartime government that had operated since late 1899 with Colonel Arthur Murray as first military governor. Appointed first civil governor of Leyte was Henry T. Allen. From 1906 onward, Filipinos governed the province, the first being Jaime de Veyra. In 1928, the municipalities were classified and in 1931, Leyte was subdivided into five congressional districts. Leyte also sent 10 delegates to the Constitutional Convention of 1934.

The region experienced relative peace during the Commonwealth period. Barker B. Sherman, the first division superintendent for Leyte and Samar, reintroduced formal schooling in 1902. A Normal School and Leyte High School were established in 1902

and 1903 respectively, and the curriculum revised in 1907. The medium of instruction shifted from Spanish to English from the outset of the program. The educational system was reinforced with the opening of private schools such as the Holy Infant Academy in Tacloban, the Santo Niño de Cebu in Tanauan, and St. Peter's Institute in Ormoc. Also significantly improved were public facilities and infrastructure, particularly those related to transportation and communication; in April 1937 the Baybay-Abuyog intercoastal road was officially inaugurated.

At the outbreak of the Pacific War in 1941, the Leyte Provisional Regiment (USAFFE or United States Armed Forces in the Far East), composed of 1,968 soldiers and 98 officers and commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Juan Causing, defended the province against the Japanese. Although the civilian population supported the military in armed resistance, General Wainwright's capture dictated that Colonel Theodus Cornell, Leyte and Samar's Section Commander, surrender his troops. The Japanese forces landed in Leyte on 25 May 1942 and were received by the provincial officials Pastor Salazar and Jose Veloso. Some 2,000 to 5,000 Japanese were stationed mainly in Ormoc and Tacloban, and minor garrisons were erected in the nearby towns. At first an expedient resistance movement was formed out of remnants of the Philippine Army and Constabulary and bands of disaffected youth. Later these guerrilla units were organized into sectors headed by Captain Glicerio I. Erfe in the east, Alejandro Balderian in the north and northeast, Blas Miranda in the northwest, and Colonel Ruperto Kangleon in the south. David Richardson's efficient intelligence system, the forming of guerilla units into the Southern Leyte Guerilla Units, i.e., the 94th Infantry Regiment, under Gordon Lang; and the establishment of the Free Leyte government as the principal counterpart of the Philippine Commonwealth de jure under the governorship of Salvador Demetrio formed the nucleus of organized opposition. All this was suppressed by bolstered Japanese forces in mid-1943; thereafter pacification entailed violent methods.

General Douglas MacArthur, commander-in-chief of the United States forces in the Pacific, landed on 20 October 1944 at Palo Beach, Leyte. Soon after the Commonwealth government was restored and President Osmeña appointed Colonel Kangleon, acting provincial governor of Leyte. Prior to official liberation from the Japanese, fighting in the region continued, as in the battles of Breakneck Ridge and Killing Ridge.

After the war, food production and education were the priorities of first, the Commonwealth government, and then the Philippine Republic. It was estimated that 1,198,800 pesos would have to be spent to restore damaged school buildings. The war also slowed down agricultural output by 70 percent (Lear 1979:325-332). The economy also had to be revived, a task made more complicated by the printing of "Victory Pesos," which led to inflation. An Emergency Control Administration was established to manage the situation.

Leyte-Samar remained underdeveloped. Its mean household income was placed in 1976 at 2,322 per annum, 37 percent lower than the national average (*Leyte Decade of*

Development 1976:18). In July 1973, the Marcos administration built the Marcos Bridge, linking Leyte and Samar islands, providing the infrastructure for the movement of economic activities between the two islands. Poverty continues to plague the majority of areas in the two islands.

Economy

Agriculture was the prime economic activity of the Waray community during precolonial times. Rice, the staple crop, was harvested twice a year. Farm implements like bolos and man-made harrows were employed to till the soil. The Waray grew coconuts, oranges, native figs, ginger, and other edible roots. They also raised swine, goats, and fowl. Those who settled along the coasts resort to fishing.

The early Waray knew how to build ships and mine iron. They manufactured war implements, gold trinkets, jewelry, native wine, and cotton textiles, and products like sinamay, wax, and mats. Pearls, rare shells, betel nut, cattle, fowl, and hogs were traded with merchants from China, Japan, Siam, Cambodia, Sumatra, and other countries. From these foreign traders, the Waray bought porcelain, iron vases, silk, fish nets, tin, silk umbrella, and rare animal species.

Many Waray are fond of drinking *tuba*, a kind of wine extracted from coconut palm. Drinking tuba remains a tradition in social gatherings such as fiestas and weddings. There are four varieties of tuba: the *bahalina*, which is aged for a long period of time; the *lina*, which does not contain the *barok*, the substance that gives tuba its reddish color and bitter taste; the *bahal*, which contains the *barok* and is fermented for one or two days; and the *kutil*, which is a mixture of tuba, eggs, and sugar.

The fertile terrain of Leyte and Samar is devoted to raising traditional crops such as rice, corn, coconut, abaca, and sugar. Much of these are cultivated in Leyte Valley, which starts from the mouth of Carigara Bay and extends southeast towards the Leyte Gulf. Sugar is cultivated in Ormoc Valley on a commercial scale, and shipped directly to other parts of the country for domestic consumption as well as for export.

Basey, Candara, and Santa Rita, all in Samar, are the leading rice-producing areas of the region. Leyte, on the other hand, is the second largest producer of bananas in the country. The production of cassava and sweet potato has become increasingly a supplementary staple for the Waray. Avocado, cashew, coffee, and cacao are also grown in the islands.

The rich marine resources found in Carigara Bay, Samar Sea, Leyte Gulf, Cabalian Bay, Magueta Bay, San Pedro Bay, Sogod Bay, the Philippine Sea, and Villareal Bay, have sustained a farming and fishing culture in the islands.

Political System

The basic governmental unit in early Waray society was the barangay—a village settlement of 30 to 100 families ruled by a *datu* (local chieftain). A barangay was usually organized by a strong ruler. A huge settlement, which now comprises the municipalities of Inopacan, Hindang, Hilongos, Bato, and Matalom, was formed by Datu Amahawin. In the present town of Cabalian, another village existed under Rajah Siagu whose domain extended as far as Cagayan de Oro in Mindanao. Cabalian was ruled by a subordinate datu.

The datu exercised the executive, the legislative, and the judicial functions of government. During times of war, he assumed the position of a commanding general. People paid tribute and rendered services to him in exchange for administering the affairs of the community.

Generally, there were two ways by which one could become a datu: through inheritance, and through wisdom and strength. The political system allowed for vertical political mobility. Such was the case of Datu Malakala who rose from the rank of a slave to become datu of the pre-Spanish village of Ilong (present-day Hilongos).

Although the barangay were independent of one another, they also maintained linkages with other barangay through agreements, treaties of mutual friendship, trade and alliance sealed by a ceremony called *kasikasi* or sandugo.

War was waged as an attempt to extend the domain of a datu, in self-defense, or for any of the following reasons: killing of a barangay member without just cause, stealing wives from the barangay, and maltreatment of strangers visiting the barangay.

The combatants used various traditional weapons: *sundang* (bolo), *wasay* (ax), *balaraw* (dagger), *budiok* (blowgun), bows, and poisoned arrows. The arrows were made of *bagakay*, a type of bamboo. To shield their bodies from these weapons, they used an oblong *kalasag* (shield).

During the Spanish colonial period, the Waray were settled in pueblos with the church and plaza at the center surrounded by the houses of the rich. The barrios had native *cabezas*, while the towns were ruled by *gobernadorcillos*. The provinces of Samar and Leyte had *alcaldes mayores*, who fell under the central leadership of the governor general in Manila. But, as in most pueblos of the period, the religious authorities often exercised more power over the natives than the secular rulers.

During the American period, the Waray were forcibly subjugated by the new colonizers, and then subjected to the political structure of barrio, town, and province. With the establishment of the National Assembly, the Waray provinces began to have representatives in the assembly.

Today, the affairs of the government in Samar and Leyte are supervised by the national government. The Department of Interior and Local Government (DILG), as the representative of the President, is mandated to strengthen the local government units in delivering effective services to communities. The local government units have four levels: barangay, municipality, city, and province. The barangay is the basic unit of the political structure and consists of not less than 1,000 inhabitants. Headed by an elected captain, the barangay is the government's vehicle for delivering goods and services to the community.

The municipality or town is a conglomeration of barangay within the territorial boundaries of a province. Its seat of government is usually found at the town proper or poblacion. The elective officials of the municipality are the municipal mayor, vice-mayor, and Sangguniang Bayan (Municipal Council) members. The islands of Samar and Leyte have the following number of municipalities: 49 in Leyte; 18 in southern Leyte; 26 in Samar; 23 in eastern Samar; and 24 in northern Samar.

In Samar and Leyte, cities have relatively smaller populations and incomes. The officials of the city government are the city mayor, the vice-mayor, Sangguniang Panglungsod (City Council) members, a city secretary, city treasurer, city engineer, budget officer, and a city planning and development coordinator. The cities that these officials govern include Tacloban and Ormoc in Leyte, and Calbayog in Samar.

The province is the largest unit in the political structure. It consists of a number of municipalities and, in some cases, cities. The main function of the provincial government is primarily coordinative and supervisory. Elective officials of the provincial government are the governor, the vice-governor, and the members of the Sangguniang Panglalawigan. Leyte is divided into two provinces, Leyte and Southern Leyte. Samar, on the other hand, is composed of the provinces of Western Samar or Samar, Northern Samar, and Eastern Samar.

Social Organization and Customs

Pre-Spanish Waray society was divided into three classes: the nobles, the *timawa* (freeborn), and the slaves. Social standing was acquired not only by blood but also by the qualities one possessed. Some nobles, for example, were former timawa or even slaves who rose to power by sheer hard work, physical prowess, and a display of wisdom. Descendants of nobles usually ascended to power upon the death of their relatives. But those who did not exhibit qualities of a noble eventually declined in influence.

Slavery was practiced on a wide scale in the old Waray society. The number of slaves a noble possessed indicated his influence and wealth. A timawa became a slave under several circumstances: violating the law of silence or abstinence from noise at the death of a noble man; passing near a lady taking a bath; having a dirty house; failing to pay debts; and captivity during wars.

Generally, there were two kinds of slaves: the *mamalay* and the *halom*. The *mamalay* were like hired servants who had their own houses and who rendered part-time services to their masters. They worked without compensation in the houses and fields of their masters. The *halom* were the chattels of their master. They had no houses of their own other than those provided them by their masters.

Freedom could be bought from the master by the *mamalay* with five *taes* of gold, and by the *halom* with 10 *taes*. The payment was apart from giving one half of the properties acquired by the slaves to the master. On the day a slave delivered the sum of property to regain his/her freedom, a special ceremony or banquet, sponsored by the slave, was held in honor of the master.

Marital practices and rituals depended much on the social standing of the couple. Men preferred women of their rank, and from their own lineage and parentage. There were no marriage ceremonies for slaves. The freeborn contented themselves with a simple ceremony: the couple drank *pitarella* from the same cup amid the robust shouts of friends and relatives. The wedding of the couple was usually marked by a little banquet.

The nobles of the village observed a more elaborate ritual. When a noble was ready to get married, he would employ the service of a go-between who would then lead a group of men to the girl's house. Upon reaching their destination, the men would thrust a spear into the staircase. The mediators would pause to offer prayers to the *diwata* (spirit deities) to help them in their visit. The girl's father would take the spear, a signal welcoming the mediators (Llamzon 1978:98).

The mediators were allowed to go inside the house; and they would declare the purpose of their visit. A negotiation would ensue and the amount of dowry would be agreed upon—usually 100 *taes* in gold, a number of slaves, and precious jewelry. The dowry also included the *panhimuyat*, an amount to be paid to the mother for rearing her child, and the *pasoso*, a sum for the wet nurse who helped in bringing up the child.

On the day of the wedding, the girl was borne on a platform set on the shoulders of the crowd, and carried to the groom's house. Upon arrival, the girl would vacillate. In order to make her come up the stairs, the father of the groom would offer to her one slave at a time.

Once inside the house, the couple would sit before the table and the *himaya* ritual would begin. A priest of the village officiated. An old woman would approach the couple with a dish of uncooked rice, join their hands, and sprinkle rice on all present. A prayer was recited, ending in shouts from the old woman and the guests. A lavish banquet followed. (Llamzon 1978:98)

Polygamy was found among the Waray, although there was always one principal wife.

This did not mean that the husband loved the others less. Divorce was practiced. Adultery on the part of the woman or the husband's failure to support his family was enough reason for divorce. In cases where the woman was guilty, she was required to return the dowry. Children were divided between the husband and the wife.

Elaborate mourning and burial rituals were observed only among the nobles, especially the datu. Upon the death of a noble, the body was embalmed with storax, benzoin, and other perfumes extracted from gums of trees. During the wake, the family, relatives, and friends of the deceased gathered around the coffin. Professional mourners were hired to recall the life and to exalt the good qualities of the dead (Llamzon 1978:99).

Members of the immediate family empathized with their dead through a number of rituals: cutting their hair and shaving their eyelashes; wearing white clothing and covering their arms and neck with rattan; and observing the *larao* (fasting) and eating only vegetables in small amounts. On the other hand, the visitors held the *pangasi*, a feast which lasted for 5 to 6 days. To keep the demons from the house, they hung containers filled with rice and meat of pig, chicken, and fish atop the trees (Llamzon 1978:99).

When a datu died, restrictions were imposed not only on the family but also among the members of the barangay: no quarrelling during the mourning period, especially on the burial day; weapons such as spears and daggers, when carried, to point towards the ground; no wearing of fanciful clothing; and strict observance of silence. Nobody was to transgress the enclosure set around the datu's house; and those living along the coasts were to prohibit people from sailing in the river.

The burial was set at the end of the pangasi. The burial ground was in any of the following places: a hole below the dead person's house, a vast field, the caves, or a house built outside the settlement.

Because of their belief in life after death, the living made sure that the noble was well provided for in the afterlife. A slave was killed to serve the noble in the next life. Precious jewels and gold adorned the dead body. Weapons were placed at the cadaver's side while clothes were kept in a separate box which was buried beside the coffin.

There were superstitions associated with death; for one, the spirits of those who were stabbed to death, eaten by a crocodile, or killed by poisoned arrows entered heaven through the rainbow and were made gods. The sea was believed to be the final resting place of those who died at sea. A child's death was attributed to *mangolos* or goblins, while the death of the old was believed to be caused by the wind which separated their spirit from their bodies. **Religious Beliefs and Practices**

The early Waray believed in many gods: one for the home, another for the farms, and many others for the seas, rivers, and lakes. These gods they collectively called

diwata (Llamzon 1978:99).

They also believed in the spirits of their dead ancestors whom they referred to as *humalagares* (of “divine rank”). Among the innumerable divine spirits, the Waray acknowledged one supreme god whom they variously called Laon, Bathala, or Abba. (Llamzon 1978:99). They especially venerated dead ancestors who had shown noble qualities.

The Waray treasured religious objects, among them images of the diwata carved from wood, gold, stone, and ivory. These sculpted images were called *larawan*. Offerings to the diwata were made in homes. These offerings varied according to different intentions and occasions. Priests and priestesses called *babaylan* conducted the worship ceremonies.

When performing a ceremony, the *babaylan* were dressed in their best apparel, and usually adorned with many precious jewels. Among their duties were to perform the ritual dance, to kill the sacrificial animal (usually a pig), and to distribute the “blessed bread” among the participants in the celebration.

Whenever a sacrificial offering was required to cure a sick person, the latter’s family was asked to build a new house where the offering was to be held. The healing ritual started with the usual dancing of the *babaylan* accompanied by the beating of drums. A sacrificial animal, usually a pig or a turtle, was stretched on a palm mat near the sick. The *babaylan* then pierced the animal, and sprinkled blood on the sick and other persons in the house. The entrails of the animal were taken out, after which the *babaylan* would fall into a trance, cavorting around and foaming in the mouth.

The trance caused the priestess to predict the sick person’s fate. A festivity of eating and drinking followed if the prophecy was for a longer life. The crowd who served as witnesses sang the history of the sick person’s ancestors and of the diwata to whom the sacrifice was offered. This was accompanied by frenzied dancing.

The appeasement of the spirits is the aim of many animistic rituals that survive to the present, such as the *lihi*.

Lihi refers to a ceremony held prior to the start of planting, harvesting, or storing a crop. Performed to honor the *engkanto* and other spirits, the ritual was believed to protect crops from disease and destruction, and to assure abundant harvests. There were *lihi* for rice, corn, sweet potato, and other crops. With the influx of Christianity, the invocation to the spirits was supplanted by invocations to God and the saints, but the implements used were somehow retained.

Although the goal of the *lihi* remained, its ritual pattern varied from one farming village to another. In the *lihi* for rice, there was a ceremony for each activity—*pagsabod* (sowing), *pagtanom* (transplanting), *pagbari* (harvesting), and storing of rice. The variations in the performance of each activity depended much on the

knowledge of the paratikang or master of ceremonies of the village.

In Leyte, the transplanting of rice seedlings to the field was a particularly happy affair. Lihi was timed to the position of the moon— *kabog-os* (full moon), *gimata* (new moon), or *maghiabot* (first quarter moon). Hours before sunrise, the planters bringing musical instruments gathered at a place near the rice field. The paratikang would begin proceedings by walking in silence to the field, carrying herbs or lihi whose names stood for what they wanted the growing seedlings to be: *tanglad*, a type of lemon grass, for the lush growth of rice; *panhaulti*, a medicinal herb, for better resistance of rice to diseases; *bagakay*, for protection of rice from insects and other pests; and *kalipayan* (literally, “happiness”), an herb for the grace of happiness to the planters. Once in the field, the paratikang made the sign of the cross, then prayed the “Our Father,” “Hail Mary,” and “Glory Be to the Blessed Virgin,” one “Our Father” to San Isidro, and one “Our Father” to the patron saint of the town—all in Waray. After saying the prayers, they planted the four herbs on the same spot, invoking God to bless them and their work. Out of the seedbed, they took a bundle of seedlings from which they picked a number to be thrown away as *halad* (offerings): one for God, another for the evil spirits, and the last for the soil itself. After this, the sowing of seedlings began.

Through time, traditional social organization, customs, and religious beliefs were eroded or modified as a result of colonization, the onslaught of the Christian religion and, later, modernization. Today, most Waray are Catholics, professing a religion that is a curious fusion of animistic and Christian beliefs and practices. The different parishes of Samar are administered under the dioceses of Catarman, Borongan, and Calbayog, while those of Leyte are under the archdiocese of Palo, and the diocese of Maasin.

Architecture and Community Planning

In precolonial Waray society, every married couple built a house for the family. On several occasions, two or three couples, particularly those who were related, lived together in one house. The house was erected on six or eight *hariges* or round, whole posts which functioned as pillars for the roof. At the center of the structure, they placed the *palohosan*, two or three posts that held the ridge of the roof.

Whole bamboos were used as timber for the roof and the stairs; they were also split to serve as flooring or as walling. Nipa or coconut leaves were woven into *sulirap* for the roofing. Rattan was used in tying construction materials. Below the elevated flooring, the Waray maintained coops and pens where they kept their domesticated animals.

The people had very minimal house furnishings. In 1668, Alzina came up with this inventory: 2 to 3 pots; 1 to 2 drinking coconut shells called *ongates*; 2 to 3 plates made of half coconut shells called *paia*; and crude plates made of clay. Generally,

there were no chairs, tables were low, and there were no beds. Gums of trees or myrrhlike resins called *anime* served as fuel for lamps. Some used coconut oil.

With the Spaniards came the Catholic churches, fortifications, cabildos, and *casas reales*. During the Spanish period, the most popular type of structure was the two-story building with wooden posts and boards, and a wall of stone on the first level. These houses were primarily built in the old cities of Leyte and Samar. As early as 1735, these were already being constructed in Catbalogan, Palo, Tanauan, and Tacloban. Today, they may still be found in Basey, Palo, Carigara, Tanauan, Tacloban, Catbalogan, Jaro, Tolosa, Dulag, Guiuan, and Barugo. An example of this structure of wood and stone is the house of Don Pio Pedrosa in Palo, Leyte.

Important contributions to Waray architecture during the Spanish colonial period are the stone churches built by the Jesuits in the 18th century and refurbished or rebuilt by the Franciscans or Augustinians after the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1768. Outstanding are the Capul fortress church, which was meant to guard the *embocadero*, the passageway from the Philippines to the Pacific Ocean through which galleons used to pass on their way to Acapulco; the church of Palo, the largest, which has twin bell towers and a most impressive retablo; the church of Guiuan, which has a facade decorated with engaged pillars arranged in four groups of triplets in the two main levels, an old church door carved with flowers and topped by archangels, and a retablo with 13 niches for saints' images; the Basey Church in Samar, which has an old retablo or altarpiece, and the old churches in Guiuan and Borongan, Samar, and Carigara, Leyte.

Churches and convents, established near the coastlines, gave rise to the construction of the *lantawan* or lookout tower. Built in strategic locations along the shore, the lantawan was made of stones and bricks, and helped to warn the people of oncoming pirate attacks. Some of these defense structures still stand in Barugo, Tolosa, and Barrio San Jose in Tacloban City. Another defense structure is the *baluarte* or fort, the walls of which were built around churches. An example is the fort constructed in Carigara by Fr. Melchor de Vera, an engineer.

During the American regime, the neoclassical style of architectural design—the Corinthian Twin Style—was adapted in Leyte and Samar, especially for capitol and municipal buildings, and some high schools. It employed colonnaded porticos at the main entrance, ionic columns, pediments, spacious corridors, and wide stairs. Examples of this style are the Price mansion on Santo Niño Street and the Fernandez residence on P. Burgos Street in Tacloban.

Today, the environment remains a major consideration in the construction of dwellings in the islands. Light materials are often used, like cogon, nipa, and anahaw. Strong materials such as galvanized iron, aluminum, tile, concrete, brick, stone, wood, plywood, and asbestos are generally preferred for outer walling; while light materials such as bamboo, sawali, cogon, nipa, and anahaw are used for roofing.

The typical traditional Waray house is built with six harige made of bamboo poles or timber. The roof has a *baybayan* (beam) as its main support, and is reinforced by the major posts of the house. From this beam, the *pagbon* (rafter) is attached, its center supported by a *pendulum* (king post). Small *paut* (minor rafters) are added just beneath the *pagbon*. A small *kurbata* (small piece of bamboo) is also attached to the rafter. From the center of the roof frame, two *tuklang* (supports) are attached as major supports of the *kumatin* (ridge beam). The *katsaw* (purlins) are the pieces of bamboo attached to the ridgebeam and the beam. Sometimes, besides the purlins, additional *barakilan* (small purlins) are attached laterally and mounted so as to reinforce the *pawod* or nipa.

The ridges of the *atup* (roof) are covered with halves of the bamboo pole to serve as *taklub* (cover); the tops of these are supported with long bamboo poles called *datug*.

The *suliras* (floor frame) are the basic support beams of the *salog* (floor). Traditionally, the so-called *lahos-lahos* type of floor is used, for this allows the air to pass freely through the floor. Bamboo splits, about 5 centimeters in width and cut according to the length of the floor of the house, are commonly used as flooring materials.

There are three types of *bungbong* (walls): the *pinalpag*, the *siniko* or *sinapak*, and the *hinopila*. Square window shutters of nipa leaves or bamboo, the *tinuklang* type, are tied to the upper frame of the window with rattan strips.

Two doors are built, one at the front and another at the back. The ladders usually made of bamboo are not permanently attached to the doorway. In some cases, especially in remote places, they are detached and pulled inside the house in the evening, and brought down again in the morning.

Contemporary Waray houses may be classified into four types: the *payag-payag*, the simplest house, with one room, one porch, and one hearth; the *payag*, a larger house with a porch, a sala, a dining area, a sleeping room which doubles as a storage room, and a kitchen area; the *kamalig*, a rice granary constructed on the farm or near the rice field, which has a small sleeping room, a porch, and an improvised hearth; and the *balay*, the modern house of concrete and wood, with galvanized or nipa-thatched roof, which usually has two or three sleeping rooms, a porch, a sala, a dining area, a kitchen, and a toilet.

Visual Arts and Crafts

Art in ancient Waray society is seen in body ornaments that were either used as charms or worn as symbols for status and rite of passage.

Body tattooing was an ancient art that flourished in Samar and Leyte; it was administered on men as a phase in the rite to manhood. In precolonial times, young

men (at the age of 20) subjected themselves to body tattooing as a matter of custom. Those who went against this norm were ridiculed.

The male body served as the broad cloth for the tattooing of an exquisite design, which ran from the groins to the ankles, and from the waist to the chest. The design on the chest looked like a breastplate, but the more daring had their necks, temples, and foreheads tattooed with rays and lines that gave them a fierce countenance. The women had their hands and wrists tattooed with flowers and knots, an embellishment which enhanced the sheen of their gold rings and bracelets.

Early Waray men had three basic pieces of clothing: the *marlota*, the *faldeta*, and the *bajag*. The first two terms were coined by Spanish missionaries. The *marlota* was a long collarless striped shirt made of cotton. The *faldeta* was a piece of cloth draped around the waist which extended to the knees. In some areas, the *faldeta* and the *marlota* were combined in one piece of clothing to form the *baro*, a knee-length upper garment with a wide roundneck hole and fitting sleeves. The *bajag* was a piece of cloth made of two or more fathoms of abaca mat. An ordinary *bajag* was white or greyish in color. Among the *datu* or nobles, the *bajag* was made of either cotton or silk. Red *bajag*, called *pinajusan*, was worn by men known for their bravery.

Besides the *bajag*, a straw or palm-made hat was worn to protect the head. The most common headgear was the *pudung*, a turbanlike headdress whose style and material depended on one's social class. The poor used abaca which they wound twice around the head, leaving the top of the head uncovered. The chieftains had *pudung* of linen with silk fringes.

Upper class women wore knee-length skirts of linen, with colored silk or cotton set to create a design. Those from the lower class wore shorter skirts. To cover their breasts, the women used the *baro* which extended just above the waist. To match the skirt and the *baro*, some women used short kerchiefs to cover their heads.

The early Waray were fond of jewelry. Men and women wore gold earrings called *panicas* or *pamarang* through two or three holes in their ears. The first hole was for round earrings, called the *barat*, which resembled the wheels of a small cart. Some of these earrings had spokes and pearls and other precious stones set at the center. In the second hole was worn the *panicas*, a round earring which had the *caiong-caiong* as edges. The third earring was used only by women. It was smaller and was placed just above the two earrings. In its center was a small golden rose called *palvar* or *pasoc-pasoc*. When all these were worn, the jewels carried the weight of two taes equivalent to the weight of 20 reales.

The Waray also adorned their necks, wrists, and fingers. They wore necklaces made of gold, garnets, glass, and carnelians which they called *bair*. These were obtained from trading with the Chinese and later with the Spaniards. The Waray sported long and thick cords of burnished gold—the *camagui* and the *pinarugmoc*— which they looped several times around their necks. They wore trinkets on their arms. Women

wore 2 to 3 bracelets on one arm, while men wore ankle rings made of glass beads. The black coral formed into ornamental strings for the wrists were used as medicine by women with menstrual difficulties. Among the men, bands that covered their legs attested to their bravery.

Women kept their jewelry and other family heirlooms in palm-made boxes called *capi*. The men had the *taggun* where they kept their reales and *toston*.

At night, sleeping quarters were covered with small palm-made mats called *petates*. Mats made from rattan were called *taquican* while those woven from thin bamboos were called *rancapan*. During cold nights, they stretched out in sacklike blankets; for married couples, these blankets were made wider.

The making of mats is one traditional art that has endured. A town widely known for its excellent mats is the town of Basey, Samar. In this town, mat making is a community industry involving women and children. Its principal material is a fine specie of tikug straw extracted from the swamps of Tanauan, Dulag, Dagami, Burauen, and Alang-alang, Leyte. The tikug are initially dried, flattened, dyed, then woven into mats by weavers who employ techniques of weaving that have been handed down through generations.

Using maroon and green as the traditional background, the weavers give rein to their imagination as they twist, twine, embroider their exquisite whimsies in the form of peacocks, birds of paradise, multihued flowers, and classic designs such as maps of Leyte and Samar, and the San Juanico Bridge. Because of their expertise and artistic designs, the mats of Basey were presented in two international exhibitions, in Denver, Colorado in 1974 and in Frankfurt, Germany in 1976.

Leyte and Samar have their share of visual artists, and some have made a name for themselves in Manila and other Philippine cities. Noted visual artists from eastern Visayas include Jeremias Acebedo, Leo Villaflor, Cornelio Zabala, Jose Patino, Raul Isidro, Raul Agner, Armando Corado, Alan Dala, Gavino Perez, Dulce Anacion, Artemio Barbosa, Rico Palacio, and Romeo Gutierrez. **Literary Arts**

Waray literary history begins in precolonial times. In 1668, Alzina noted a number of native poetic forms, among them, the *ambahan*, *balac*, *bical*, *haya*, *awit*, and *sidai*.

The *ambahan* was a two-line blank verse, which was designed to entertain people in social gatherings. Reciting it involved variations. The *ambahan* was at times sung. Its melodies varied but its pitch was pleasant.

A poetic form that was used for courtship was the *balac*, a poetic joust between a man and a woman. The singing or the chanting of the *balac* was accompanied by two musical instruments: the *coriapi*, played by the man, and the *corlong*, played by the woman.

Colonization did not affect the balac as a poetic form. In the 1800s, the balac survived as the *amoral*, a term derived from the Spanish word *amor* or love. It retained its theme as well as its form of 12 syllables to a line. Here is an excerpt (*Ani* Vol. IV, No.1:112-117):

Lalaki:

*Kamakaluluoy han akon kabutang
Sugad hin natungtong hin anud nga batang
Waray sasabota akon kapalaran
Kun hain nga bungto akon sasampigan.*

Babayi:

*Pastilan, Intoy, ayaw pagdinumdum
Pagsasakitan ka hin mal de corazon
Maaram ka naman han mal de corazon
Maul-ol ha tiyan, an ulo malipong.*

Babayi:

*Kun tutuo man gud an imo pangasawa
Tukad ngat ha bukid pagdakop hin maya
Kon makadakop ka bisan la mausa
Pugota an ulo ngan padalagana.*

Lalaki:

*Unan-on ko man an pakadalagan
Pugot na an ulo pati kalawasan
Upayda naman la kon salamangkero
Nga makadalagan bisan-waray ulo.*

Man:

How sad my life is
Like a wooden derelict that is adrift
No one knows how my fate will be
Which town I will come home to.

Woman:

Pastilan, Intoy, stop thinking
You will only get a heartache
You know that a heartache is
A cramp in the belly, a splitting headache.

Woman:

If your desire to marry is true
Go to the mountain, catch me a sparrow
Should you catch one
Cut off its head, then let it run.

Man:

How can I make it run
Its head sundered from the body
It could be if I were a magician
Even without its head, it can run.

During the American period, the balac assumed a new name, *ismayling* or *ismaylingay*, a term which flourished in Samar. It is derived from “smile” or smiling.

The bical was another old poetic joust, performed by either two men or two women, who made fun of each other’s shortcomings, to the amusement of the audience.

In contrast, the haya was a dirge chanted by hired women who were tasked to sing praises for the deceased and dead ancestors. The *canogon* was a poetic lamentation.

The awit was sung by Waray seafarers during their sea travels, in which the speed of singing was synchronized to the rhythm of the oars.

The sidai was a long poem which extolled the bravery of a man or the beauty of a woman. It was usually performed in the evening by skilled chanters who were invited to the homes. Today, the term sidai denotes any poem written in Waray.

The sidai that follows is interesting for its allusions to national heroes and Pulahan leaders, and its element of mysticism.

*Akon igsasaysay tiempo rebolusyon
Probinsiya han Samar tuna kalugaringon
An mga bantugan kapin kamisogonon
Hi Otoy, hi Lukban an depensor.*

*Pagmata, pagmata kita Pilipino
Diri na maiha mil noybe sitenta singko
Maabot sa aton dako nga delubyo
Pagkakamtyan kadam-an nga tawo.*

*Andres Bonifacio ikaw inosensyo
Upaya pagmangno aton paraiso
Prente sa Samar an korona sityo
Nga ginnwmangnoan Rizal nga Merkado.*

*Ikaw Pablo Bulan ngan mga kaapi
Sahid pasabota Ramon Iden Sales
Ngatanan pamilya kay basi pagkaptan
An aton bandera Marcelo del Pilar.*

*Han aton an gahum ni Hesukristo
Nga ipanunutdo han Espiritu Santo
Paglakat sa lawod ug sa ibabaw pa
Nga pinangulohan ni Andriya Blanka.*

*Espada nga barabad
Bandera nga nagkalupad
Dugo na linasaw
Ulo nga nagkalutaw.*

I will tell of a time during the revolution

In the province of Samar, our own homeland
When the known and the very brave
Otoy and Lukban were our protectors.

Rise, open your eyes
Not for long, nineteen seventy five
A great flood will come
Bringing death to everyone.

Andres Bonifacio, you who are innocent,
Guard well our paradise;
In Samar, the crown capital
Rizal Mercado keeps watch.

You Pablo Bulan and your followers
Let all know Ramon Iden Sales
All families so that they will be true
To our flag Marcelo del Pilar.
In us the power of Christ
The Holy Spirit had inspired
The walk on the sea
That Andriya Blanka once led.

Swords swung
Banners unfurled
On blood that spilled
Heads float.

Two other poetic forms that deserve mention here are the *titiguhon* (riddles) and the *dayhuan* (proverbs). The *titiguhon* is also called *tiriguhon* and *titigoon*. Usually played to entertain, the *titiguhon* uses figurative language such as metaphor, hyperbole, and paradox in rendering its subject. Some examples:

*Paghitapo han mga bulbulon
An kalibutan nagsirom. (Pirok han mata)*

*When the hirsute met
The world became dark. (Eyelashes)*

*Balay ha lungib,
Puno hin tigib. (Baba)*

A house in the cave
Full of chisels. (Mouth)

Luub hin mga mata
Kundi diri makita. (Piña)

It has eyes all over
But it cannot see. (Pineapple fruit)

Balay-balay ni Enggot
Puros may higot. (Muskitero)

The little house of Enggot
has many ropes. (Mosquito net)

The dayhuan, popularly known as *puplongan*, is the Waray proverb. Pithy and highly metaphorical, it conveys the wit, mores, and beliefs of the Waray. Examples are:

*An diyos palalabtob
pahihiyos.*

God is bounty;
God is scarcity.

*An tawo nga hingandam
talagsa magkahinanglan.*

One who is always prepared
is seldom in need.

*An diri pasagdon,
pasagdan.*

One who does not listen to advice
should be abandoned.

Early forms of Waray narratives are the *candu*, *sareta* or *susumaton*, and *posong*. The *candu* or epic narrated the great deeds of Waray heroes like Parapat, and the travails and joys of lovers. It also conveyed aspects of Leyte-Samar history and was chanted by the *paracandu*. The 1668 *Vocabulario de la lengua Bisaya* of Alzina documents two long verse narratives in the *candu* form. The first narrates the love story of Kabungao and Bubu nga Ginbuna who, by force of circumstances, part ways but are later reunited in an island called Natunawan (literally, “the place on which something had melted”). The second narrative details the adventures of Datong Somangga who goes through a series of difficult tests in order to win the love of a beautiful woman named Bubu nga Huamianun.

The *susumaton* stories which were filled with adventure and wonder, include myths, legends, fables, and fairy tales. The term is derived from the verb root “sumat” which means “to tell.” The traditional *susumaton* was in verse form, and was chanted. Its functions were to entertain, and to store in the collective memory the tales of the Waray as a people. The development of writing, printing, and mass media gradually eliminated the verse structure of the *susumaton*.

“An Surumaton kan Antusa an Awawa san Agta” (The Tale of Antusa, the Agta’s Wife) is one example of a contemporary *susumaton*. It is about a rich, vain, and beautiful maiden named Antusa who ties her suitors to the trunk of a big tree, and feeds them to the river leeches, until they become insane. One day she meets by the river the *agta*, a black hairy creature, who presents himself as her suitor. She entices

the agta to go to the same tree, and places all over him handfuls of crawling river leeches. To her surprise, however, the leeches would fall off dead each time they had sucked a little blood of the agta. She flees but the agta frees himself from the bonds, chases Antusa, and upon capturing her, takes her to the forest as his bride. It is said that Antusa's husband sucks blood from her neck and that even today her cries can be heard in the forest.

Another interesting susumaton relates the origin of Samar and Leyte. In earlier times the universe was divided into two. Each part was governed by a giant—Amihan ruled the land in the northeast, while Habagat ruled the land in the southwest. Because of the limited resources in the land of Amihan, his children and kin were forced to fish in the southern shores of his land. This angered Habagat, who began to prepare for battle with Amihan. The two giants and their forces met in the middle of the sea between their domains. Soon, they destroyed each other's vessels. Their ships, however, were too large to be sunk completely. Years later, two land masses began to form and these became the islands of Samar and Leyte.

Posong is a popular narrative form that has survived. It connotes a joke, a story told in jest, but more particularly it is a brief, humorous tall story about the much loved Waray folk hero, Juan Posong. Earlier stories depict Posong as a simpleton, a hero, or a homespun philosopher who outwits kings and even wise men in the villages.

While the early posong was told in verse and regaled an intimate audience, the present posong is disseminated to a wider audience via a local radio station. Most of these stories are written by the listeners themselves. During the 1960s, the name Juan Posong was retained. However, in the 1970s, with a new radio raconteur in the same station, Juan Posong became Johnny Posong.

The Spanish Christian influence on Waray literature is seen primarily in the pasyon. Most important of the pasyon is the *Casayuran nan Pasion nga Mahal ni Jesucristo nga Guenoo naton Sadong Ikasubo nan Casing-Casing han Sino man nga Magbabasa* (The History of the Holy Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ Which will Inflamm the Heart of the Reader), 1918, a translation into Waray by Diaz M. Pascual of the Tagalog *Casaysayan ng Pasiong Mahal ni Jesucristong Panginoon Natin na Sucat Ipag-alab ng Puso ng Sinomang Babasa*, 1814.

Present Waray literary history revolves around the development of poetry and drama written between 1900 and the 1970s. The appearance of local publications led to the flowering of poetry. The first newspaper in Waray, *An Kaadlawon*, was printed in 1901; this was followed by *La Voz de Leyte*, *El Heraldo de Leyte*, *Noli Me Tangere*, *La Jornada*, *Eco de Samar y Leyte*, *La Voz de Leyte*, *La Nueva Era*, *Katalwasan*, *An Silhig*, *Tingog*, *An Karamlagan*, *An Makabugwas*, *An Mahagnaw*, *An Lantawan*, *Leyte Shimbun*, *Cosmopolitan Courier*, *The Guardian*, *Leyte News*, *Leyte Record*, and the *Courier*.

Extant copies of *Eco de Samar y Leyte* from 1911 to 1932 reveal in its Waray section

occasional poetry written in honor of the Blessed Virgin and patron saints, deceased relatives, and friends. Since *Eco* was essentially a publication of the Catholic Church, more particularly the Diocese of Calbayog, Samar, the poems dealt with life's transience and the teachings of the Church. Vilches (1982) found in *Eco* during the same period a series of poems called "An Tadtaran," (literally "the chopping board"), which satirized the changing mores of the Waray.

Extant copies of *An Lantawan* from 1931 to 1939 also include occasional satirical poetry. The targets were rural folk who easily acquired American ways, tuba drinkers who made drinking a vice, Chinese businessmen who operated dirty restaurants, local women who preferred foreigners for partners, and local officials who stole from the government. The poems bristled with sarcasm and biting humor. Poets who stood out were Marpahol, Casiano Trinchera (Kalantas), Illuminado Lucente (Julio Carter), Eduardo Makabenta (Ben Tamaka), and Vicente I. de Veyra (Vatchoo).

The period from 1900 to the late 1950s saw the finest lyric poems written by Illuminado Lucente, Francisco Alvarado, Juan Ricacho, and Eduardo Makabenta; the best satirical poems by Casiano Trinchera; and the emergence of the poetry of Agustin El. O'Mora, Pablo Rebadulla, Tomas Gomez Jr., Filomeno Quimbo Singzon, Pedro Separa, Francisco Aurillo, and Ricardo Octaviano.

The *Sanghiran San Binisaya* was organized in 1909 under the leadership of Norberto Romualdez Sr., and brought together the writers of the period: Illuminado Lucente, Casiano Trinchera, Eduardo Makabenta, Francisco Alvarado, Juan Ricacho, Francisco Infectana, Espiridion Brillo, and Jaime C. de Veyra. The *Sanghiran* sought to cultivate and enrich the Waray language, and the stimulus it provided led to new writing in the language for a time.

Four anthologies of Waray literature have been published thus far: Raymond Quetchenbach's *Lineyte-Samarnon Poems*, 1974; Gregorio C. Luangco's *Waray Literature*, 1982, and *Kandabao*, 1982; and the Cultural Center of the Philippines' Waray edition of *Ani*, 1990.

In 1668, Alzina noted an abundance of ancient songs in Waray which people chanted while walking home from the woods, planting rice, performing house chores, and traveling at sea. A distinct feature of these songs, Alzina noted, was the guttural sounds rendered in the manner of trilling birds, which the singers created with imagination and skill. In their musical performances, the Waray used the *coriapi*, the *corlong*, flutes made of bagakay, the *subing*, and the *agong*.

The corlong was an ancient string instrument played only by women. It was made from the canes of a variety of tropical grass called *tigbao* and was used, together with the coriapi played only by men, to accompany a woman chanting the balac. The corlong and coriapi were used in courtship to communicate the feelings and sensuality of the performers through the language of strings and chords.

The agong is the Waray name for bells, which in old Samar-Leyte functioned not only as musical instruments but also as monetary denomination. There were three kinds of agong. The *sangleis*, the smallest, was worth six reales in 1668. Next came the *sanquiles* which were 2 to 3 times bigger than the *sangleis* and consequently were priced more. Finally, the biggest of them all was called *burney* which was worth 8 to 10 *sangleis*; its sound could be heard from a great distance. As a musical instrument, the agong was used in dances and festivities. Others used them as ornaments.

The subing was a bamboo strip placed in the mouth, and held between the upper and lower rows of the teeth. It had a sliver at the middle which was struck with a finger to produce sounds.

With Spanish colonization, the Waray gradually shifted to the Spanish *bandoles*, *rabeles*, guitars and harps, in the process forgetting the native musical instruments.

The *sista* is the Waray term for guitar. It figures prominently in fiestas and other folk gatherings as an accompaniment in the performance of dances and songs during the drinking sessions and serenades.

The *matraka* is a wooden sound instrument popular among young children due to its rattling sounds. It is made of a thin tongue of wood positioned on a corrugated cylinder which is rotated, by means of a handle, to create rattling sounds. The *matraka* is used during the *Santo Entierro* (Holy Burial) procession on Good Fridays and during the *sugat* (meeting) of Easter Sunday.

Through three centuries of Spanish domination and cultural transformation, the *laylay* have survived. These are mainly folk songs which reflect the people's melodic, textual, harmonic inventions and reinventions, as expressed in their lullabies, nature songs, ballads, work and love songs, nursery rhymes, festive and tuba songs, Christmas carols, and patriotic songs.

The many love songs in the two available collections, namely, "*Samareño Folk Songs*" and *Mga Pinili Nga Kanta Ha Tacloban* (Selected Tacloban Songs), reveal aspects of the courtship mores of old. The "sentimental" tone of these songs, often misunderstood by local Western-oriented critics, was part of the aesthetics of this song genre. The courtship of old was ritualistic and indirect. Songs reflected such indirection through the use of tropes, images of *kasakit* (suffering), *palooylooy* (pity), and *kuri* (difficulty) on the part of the person in love.

Of the types of folk songs, the tuba and the bawdy drinking songs are probably the most vibrant in melody and vigorous in rhythm. Sung during an *ignum*, an all-male drinking spree, the drinking songs, more specifically the tuba songs,

range from tributes to the drink itself to humorous portraits of its drinkers, such as the following:

*Didto han pag-ultan
Han Pawing, Guindapunan
Aadto in sanggutan
Nga guinaalirongan
Hin damo nga bagang.*

*Adton bagang kon nalag'ok
Da'ug pa in salimbugok
Mga linta ug limatok
Di nalitas kon di hultok.*

At the boundary
Of Pawing, Guindapunan
There is a *sanggutan*
Surrounded by
So many black beetles.

When these beetles drink
They outstrip the *salimbugok*
Leeches and worms:
They do not let go unless utterly drunk.

Folk melodies in Waray are revitalized in the songs of the *composo*. But unlike the trained composer, the *composo* singer adopts the melody of a folk song to the new lyrics he creates, as seen in *Porping*, a ballad by Antonio Zarsata Sr. of Calbayog, Samar. The ballad's melody is based on that of another folk song, but its lyrics, consisting of 11 strophes, are original. This graphic tale of crime tells about a young lass who is violated and killed by her sex-mad uncle.

Although the *composo* singers are largely unappreciated by the music aficionados, they are revered in their community and by the people who chant their songs during an *ignum* or folk gathering.

The more original musical compositions come from the trained musician-composers. The early practitioners imbibed the rudiments of music through education, started either as a *composo* singer or a musician, and progressed to creating original music pieces and songs. To this generation belong Norberto Romualdez Sr., Jose Cinco Gomez, Pedro Separa, Bonifacio Durens, Agustin El. O'Mora, and Pablo Rebadulla.

The composers who came after them expressed their music in a contemporary idiom, performed with Western and indigenous musical instruments such as the *xylophone*, *subing*, *kulintang*, bamboo flutes, *tambor*, piano, and electronic organ.

Professional musical bands used to be an important fixture of town dances, fiestas, and social gatherings. Today the number of professional bands has

dwindled considerably because of the following: introduction of amplifiers and turntables which enterprising entrepreneurs now rent out for small fees; expense of maintaining a band; and inability of bands to perform the jazz, rock, and new music popular with the younger audiences.

Dances of Samar and Leyte are of three types: occupational, courtship, and festival dances (Miel 1973). Occupational dances are dances that mime the activities of farmers and fisherfolk. An example is the an *labasero* which focuses on a seller of fish. The dance is performed by a man and a woman to the rhythm of a song bearing the same title. The *tiklos* is a dance miming the activities of the *tiklos*, a group of peasants helping one another in farm work. Flutes, a guitar, and a drum called *taboro* usually provide musical accompaniment for this dance. On the other hand, the *tinikling* or bamboo dance depicts the movements of the *tikling*, a long-legged bird which often visits rice paddies. It was originally performed to break the monotony of rice pounding at harvest time but has now become one of the most popular Philippine folk dances.

Courtship dances have the most number of variations. *An marol* (“sampaguita”) demonstrates a man’s attempt to catch the attention of a maiden. The young swain waves a garland of sampaguita and offers it to her. The *kuratsa* is a lively dance performed during weddings and fiestas. Its performance is usually vibrant, as it requires the dancers—a man and a woman—to create their own dance steps in the manner of a chase, to the music of the guitars, and the rhythmic clapping and singing of the audience. The *lingauen* is a dance in which the maiden offers her scarf as a gift to her suitor, a guerrilla soldier, who is going to war in the mountains of Lingauen. The *putrilyo* depicts the meeting of a young man and a woman. The woman receives a pair of earrings from her suitor and wears them for him to see. The *tagay-tagayan* (from *tagay* meaning “pour”) is about a woman enticing a man to drink tuba.

Festival dances are those performed in honor of a patron saint. The *sinulog* is a spectacular dance which depicts the confrontation between the Christians and the Moors. In Samar, it is performed by men as an offering to the patron saint a day before the fiesta.

Daroy (1978) chronicled the performance of the *sinulog* as it was dramatically rendered in town festivities in Samar. Set within the framework of a Moro raid, it usually opened with a character, a leader or a clown, informing villagers about the invasion of the Moros, and calling upon them to prepare for combat. Then the mock battles began on the streets, the warriors carrying with them wooden shields and bladed weapons, either the *kris* or *sundang*. Acted out as dance duels, these battles began with the skirmish between warriors of minor ranks and progressed to the much awaited confrontation or *sinulog* between the leaders, played by the town experts in *eskrima* (fencing). Starting with the rhythm of simple movements, the duels rose to a feverish pitch as Christian warrior

outmaneuvered Moro warrior. The rendition of sinulog into dance was complicated; it entailed not only dexterous gestures of arms but also complex footwork that featured high leaps like those of roosters in cockfights. It concluded with the Moros being taken around the town as “captives” to signify the triumph of Christianity.

Other festival dances include those performed in social gatherings. Known as *pandangyado mayor* in northern and western Samar or *pandangyado buraweno* in Leyte, the *engañosa* (literally, “alluring” or “charming”) is actually a variation of the Spanish dance called fandango, and is performed in certain festive occasions. Female performers wear a *serpentina* (a bell-shaped skirt) or *maria clara*, an ensemble consisting of a chemise with wide long sleeves, a kerchief folded diagonally and worn over the chemise, and gored skirt. The males wear a *barong* tagalog and dark trousers.

A dance performed to break the monotony of social dancing and other couple dances is the *kuradang*. This dance combines the steps in basic ballroom dancing with those of folk dances. This dance progresses from slow waltzing steps to fast-paced folk dancing.

Waray theater has its roots in the animistic rituals which shamans and folk healers performed with the community to commune with or appease spirits that lived on land, air, and water. Because Waray communities were mainly engaged in agriculture and fishing, many of these rituals revolved around these occupations where productivity was most subject to the vagaries of weather and tidal tow; rituals were thus intended to induce a bountiful harvest or catch.

Buhat, which literally means “something done” or “to work on,” was an animistic ritual performed by the fishers of Leyte and Samar. It was undertaken to please the sea spirits: the *dagatnon*, the *lawodnon* (deep sea spirits), and the *katao* (mermaids). Performed by the *parabuhat*, the celebrant who knew the ceremony by heart, it was held on certain occasions, such as after an abundant haul or a period of poor catch.

In one fishing village in Leyte, the *buhat* was conducted in a fish corral during a night of the *kabogos* (full moon). Food consisting of boiled rice, bread, tuba, eggs, wine, cooked entrails, and a roasted pig were prepared and placed on a small bamboo raft constructed for the ceremony. The *parabuhat* took a boat to bring the food offering to the fish corral where he released the raft and asked the sea spirits to partake of the food. In exchange for the offering, he entreated them to drive the fish to the corral of the owner whom he was helping. He further promised that should an excellent haul be realized, an even bigger roast pig would be offered to them in the next full moon. In a town of Samar, the *buhat* takes the form of a ceremony that required the sinking of a dozen eggs into a part of the ocean hemmed by mountains.

Loon is a traditional healing ritual performed by folk healers. It is usually administered by the *paraloon* to the person whose illness is believed to have stemmed

from an *ugmad*, a type of fear arising from one's exposure to frightful experiences, such as having seen a ferocious animal or having felt the presence of spirits in the woods.

Before the loon ceremony starts, the folk healer asks a member of the household to burn charcoals and to place them in a coconut shell. The healer also requests another member of the family to cut a small portion of the hair of the sick person and the loosefibers found at the seams of the clothing of the person and the parents. The paraloon takes out his own materials consisting of the pieces of a palm leaf blessed on Palm Sunday and *kamanyan*, dried sap of the *pili* tree. He also asks for a piece of the object that is perceived to have caused the *ugmad*.

As the ceremony begins, the patient sits on a *bangko* (wooden stool). Slowly, while uttering an *oracion* (prayer), the paraloon drops the loon or gathered objects into the live embers inside the coconut shell. He cups his palm to scoop smoke which he brings to the patient's head. He does this three times. The ceremony ends when the paraloon pours water over the embers, dips his fingers into the mixture, which he uses to make the sign of the cross on the different parts of the patient's body.

Christianity and the onslaught of science have not totally dampened the performance of such rituals. Rather, these have survived through the centuries, borrowing Christian elements, as the ancient oral lore is still passed on from one generation of *parabuhat*, *paraglihi*, and *tambalan* to the other.

With the institutionalization of Christianity as a result of Spanish colonization, there emerged a new set of mores; thus, as the people's religious zeal grew, folk Christian rituals developed: *Pasko*, literally Christmas, became the context for the *pastores*; the Lenten season, for *tais dupol* and *sugat*; and May for the *flores* and *santacruznan*.

The *pastores* are roving village minstrels who at Yuletide visit houses in the town or village to dance and sing carols. The early *pastores* were elders of the village who took it as their religious duty to perform the *pastores* play and carols. This Waray play was sung and acted out in verse; it mainly recounted the search of Saint Joseph and the Blessed Virgin Mary for a place to lodge for the night, and the story of the Magi.

Abletez (1963) noted that the performance of the *pastores* play involved the community. Elders enacted the play on the night before Christmas. Carrying lighted candles and torches, these *pastores*, including those playing the roles of Joseph and Mary, approached each house in reenactment of that search. Called *panaret* (literally, "asking for permission"), this phase of the play ended at the stroke of midnight.

The performance of the *tarindaw* started a day after the *panaret* and culminated on the Feast of the Three Kings. The presentation involved reenacting the story of rejoicing. During this period, the *pastores* went around the village, at times visiting nearby communities to perform the *tarindaw*. Although the elder *pastores* never expected

anything for their performance, they nonetheless received gifts of appreciation from the people.

The later pastores were young girls and boys who came in groups of five and six. They presented the play in a more abbreviated form, perhaps due to the difficulty of committing the songs to memory. Usually dressed in white, with buri hats and red ribbons wound around their waists, they were invited by families to perform the play inside the house, a yard, or open space.

Tais dupol was an old practice observed by the men of Palo, Leyte, who during the Lenten season, would go around the town, barefooted, begging for alms. These men were penitents who wore robes like those of priests, and who turned over their collections to the church. The married men wore the *tais* or the pointed hoods that covered the entire face and neck but had two holes for the eyes; single men wore the *dupol* or the conical hoods with leveled tops. The ritual started on Palm Sunday and ended on Easter Sunday. In the 1950s and the 1960s, there were only about a hundred of them in Palo, but this number has diminished further.

Sugat (meeting) is a ritual reenacting the meeting of the Blessed Virgin Mary and her resurrected son Jesus. Performed in the early hours of Easter Sunday, the sugat marks the end of the Lenten season. Two processions are staged, one for the resurrected Christ on a *carro* (float) and another for the Blessed Virgin on a second *carro*, a long black veil covering her face. Starting from different points, both processions converge at a specific spot where the meeting is reenacted. A dramatic feature of the traditional sugat was that of a little girl who, garbed as an angel, was lowered from “heaven” with ropes and pulleys. Her role was to lift the long veil from the Virgin’s head to symbolize the end of her mourning. The joyous rattling of *matrakas* marked the climax of the sugat.

Santa Cruz de Mayo (Holy Cross of May) or *santacruzán* (procession of the Holy Cross) is a summer folk celebration which revolves around the quest of the Holy Cross by Santa Elena and her son, Emperor Constantino. Every year in the month of May, this ritual which dates back to the Spanish times is celebrated in certain towns of Leyte and Samar with a novena. Candlelit processions are held each evening, with the symbolic Holy Cross brought around the town streets after the prayers.

Early commemorations of the Santa Cruz de Mayo were capped by grandiose processions complete with the colorful *parol* (star and cross lanterns), brightly lit candles, floral arches, and a parade of costumed personages that included Infanta Judith, Reina Mora, Abogada, Reina Elena, Emperor Constantino, and Reina de las Flores.

On May evenings, the streets of Tacloban practically become a spectacle of lights as so many communities hold the *santacruzán*. On the last day of May, all processions converge at the Plaza Treinta de Diciembre to join the *paisan-isán*, a folk competition for the most creative *parol*, the most complete costumed personages, and the most

popular procession. On this last eve of May, main streets in the communities are closed to traffic so the people can hold their parlor games, dances, and revelries. The men gather to drink tuba until the early morning hours.

The *flores de mayo* (flowers of May) is a ritual in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Lady of Flowers. Held in town churches in May, the ritual is essentially an initiation of children to the devotion of the Blessed Virgin. This ritual is characterized by the singing of praises to the Virgin, the recitation of novena prayers, and the offering of flowers to an image of the Virgin.

Processions and theatrical performances are also held during fiestas in honor of the patron saint of a town or a barangay.

A significant theater form, the *hadi-hadi* (literally, "playing at kings"), came to be performed in the late 19th century and during the first two decades of the 1900s. A prominent feature in town fiestas, the hadi-hadi is a folk play that deals with the conflicts between the kingdoms of the Muslims and the Christians.

A surviving work in this genre is *Floresto*, a dramatic spectacle attributed to Pedro Acerden. It is the story of a Christian *villano* (peasant) named Floresto, who as a child is kidnapped by Muslims raiders, and is reared as a son of the Muslim king. As a young man, Floresto of Turquia goes to Castilla where he falls in love with the Princess Catalina. During the fiesta held in honor of the Holy Cross at Antioquia, a grand *torneo* (tournament) is held. Floresto joins the torneo, wins the trust of Princess Catalina's father, and later asks for the hand of the princess in marriage.

The dialogue of the hadi-hadi is cast in rhymed verse and is delivered in a stylized manner. A four-line dialogue, spoken fast, is called a *verso* (verse); while an eight-line dialogue, chanted in a *tono nga lubaylubay* (singsong tone), is referred to as the *plosa*. A permanent feature in the production of the play is the *paradikta* (prompter), who dictates the lines of the performers.

Urbanization and the introduction of the *sarswela* gradually shunted the performances of the hadi-hadi to the more remote towns and villages in Leyte and Samar. In the pre-World War II era, the sarswela became increasingly important in the fiestas of the central towns, like Tacloban, Carigara, Dulag, Palo, Tanauan, and Tolosa in Leyte; and Basey, Calbayog, and Catbalogan in Samar. The earliest Waray sarswela staged was *An Pagtabang ni San Miguel* (The Help of Saint Michael) by Norberto Romualdez Sr., presented in Tolosa in 1899 (Filipinas 1991).

In the hands of the Waray playwrights, the sarswela underwent modifications and was called by a number of names: *zarzuela dramatica*, *zarzuela nga vinisaya*, *drama nga kinantahan*, *melodrama*, and *opereta*. The term "opereta" must have sprung in the 1950s and early 1960s, when a spate of musical plays in English, also called operettas, were being staged in the schools of the city of Tacloban. By whatever name the Waray playwright called his play, common elements of the sarswela

written between the 1900s and the 1960s were songs and, at times, dances. For this reason, the playwrights preferred to call the sarswela *drama nga kinantahan*, a play with songs. The terms melodrama and drama, appended to the text, indicated that the play highlighted a dramatic situation such as a domestic tragedy.

Short plays that carried elements of the sarswela were variously labelled *durugas* (farce), *hilipot nga kalingawan* (short entertainment), *hiruhimangaw ngan karanta* (dialogue with songs), *sainete* (farce), and *comedia* (comedy). Apparently, these variants of the sarswela were one-act plays divided into scenes with parts of the dialogue in songs. It thus lived up to the basic expectation of *kalingawan* or entertainment (Filipinas 1991). An outstanding playwright of this genre was Iuminado Lucente, whose satirical and farcical plays dealt with domestic issues.

Outstanding writers of the sarswela in Waray include Norberto Romualdez Sr., Alfonso Cinco, Iuminado Lucente, Francisco V. Alvarado, Emilio Andrada Jr., Generoso Nuevas, Moning Fuentes, Virginio V. Fuentes, Agustin El O'Mora, Jesus Ignacio, Pedro Acerden, and Margarita Nonato.

Like Waray poetry that appeared between the 1900s and 1950s, the Waray sarswela criticized the emergent social issues during the period, such as: the Waray's attempt to use American English; the folly of parents who marry off their daughters to Americans after World War II; the social vices of the Waray; and the clash of values between the old generation and the young modernized Waray.

In the 1960s, the sarswela began to decline because: its production expenses had become too big; the cinema provided easy and cheap entertainment; and economic hardship plagued the people during that period. If ever a sarswela is staged today, it is out of nostalgia.

Interestingly, the hadi-hadi seems to have outlived the sarswela in eastern Visayas, for it is still performed in a few towns and villages in Leyte and Samar. • V. Sugbo and G. Zafra

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