

The term “Boholano” derives from “Bool,” the earliest name of Tagbilaran City, the capital of Bohol Province, and refers to the people of that island, their language, and culture.

Mountainous and measuring some 4,117 square kilometers, Bohol is situated below the typhoon belt. Bohol island is surrounded by Southern Leyte in the east, Cebu island on the west, Camotes Sea on the north, and Bohol Sea in the south. The oval-shaped island is the 10th largest in the archipelago, with a predominantly rolling and hilly topography. The central part of Bohol is the location of more than 1,000 hills, otherwise known as “Chocolate Hills”, which are considered as geological wonders: oval-shaped limestone hills looking like chocolate drops or inverted grass-covered kettles. Bohol has an even coastline except for the Anda peninsula in the south. It does not have a very pronounced rainy season, nor does it suffer from extensive dry spells. It is believed to have been once covered with forest which protected the tarsier, one of the earliest members of the primate group. Important mountains are Alimani, Bunucon, Lusday, Calihu Mangad, Colayhun, Canliboy, and Campusa. The more significant rivers include the Inabangan River in the north and the Loboc River in the south. Bohol had a population of 753,456 in 1975. The province has 1,101 barangay, 46 municipalities, and 1 city. Tagbilaran City is the provincial capital located at the southwestern part of the island.

Many linguists classify the Boholano language as a dialect of Cebuano. There is, however, a phonetic peculiarity which distinguishes the two, to wit: Cebuano terms having the /y/ phoneme become /j/ in Boholano. For example: Cebuano *kayu* (fire) becomes *kaju* in Boholano, *layo* (far) becomes *lajo*, *kabayo* (horse) becomes *kabajo*. Another difference is the morphology, e.g., the presence of many monosyllabic words in Boholano, such as *bas* (sand), *bay* (house), *bung* (medicine), *dan* (way), whose Cebuano equivalents are polysyllabic, namely, *balas*, *balay*, *bulong*, and *dalan* respectively.

History

The earliest discovered stone tool is reported to belong to the Paleolithic Age. Two other stone tools found are said to belong to the late Neolithic. Archaeological finds also include copper or brass, lead, and iron implements; shell and glass beads; Tang to Ming porcelain; wooden coffins; and artificially deformed skulls. The chronology of these finds, however, has not been made.

In early 1521 Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese navigator under the Spanish service, sighted the island of Bohol and landed near the present-day Tagbilaran City. After he was killed in Mactan, an island off Cebu, his followers retreated to Bohol, and there burned one of their ships, the *Concepcion*. In 1565, Miguel Lopez de Legazpi stopped in Jagna, Bohol, where he was met with native resistance. Later, as a peace pact with native leaders, Legazpi initiated a blood compact with native chiefs Sikatuna and Sigala on 16 March 1565. As the Spaniards explored the rest of the Visayas, they converted

the natives to Christianity.

In 1595, two Jesuit priests, Juan Torres and Gabriel Sanchez, established missions at Baclayon, Loboc, and Talibon. In 1609, the Jesuits staged a play in the native language depicting the martyrdom of Santa Barbara, showing the tortures inflicted on her, her subsequent reward in heaven, and the punishment of her torturers in the fires of hell. The latter so frightened the natives that they asked to be baptized (Retana 1909:22-23).

To facilitate easier administration and evangelization, the colonial government placed Bohol under Cebu, then already an *alcaldia* or organized province. In the 19th century, Bohol became a separate province through a Spanish royal decree. The politico-military province of Bohol had control over Siquijor Island until close to the end of Spanish rule. Siquijor became the subprovince of Negros Oriental in 1890.

In 1621, a *babaylan* (shaman) named Tamblot incited the Boholano to reject the Catholic religion and turn against the Jesuit priests, who were then celebrating the beatification of San Ignacio and Francisco Xavier. Two thousand Boholano from four villages revolted to regain their freedom and to return to their ancestral religious beliefs and practices. They were also motivated by the promise of a prosperous life in the hills as envisioned by Tamblot's *diwata* (spirit deities). They burned churches and threw away their rosaries and crosses. The rebels established themselves in inaccessible mountain areas, where they held out for six months against colonial troops. Tamblot's revolt spread to the whole island except Loboc and Baclayon which remained under Spanish control. The Tamblot Rebellion was finally crushed on 1 January 1622 by an expedition of 50 Spaniards and 1,000 natives from Cebu and Pampanga led by the *alcalde mayor* (mayor of capital town or city) of Cebu, Juan de Alcarazo. Tamblot was killed in battle.

Another revolt erupted in 1744 and lasted for 85 years, the longest in Philippine history. A personal grievance spurred Francisco Dagohoy, a devout Catholic, to lead an insurrection of 3,000 Boholano against the Jesuit parish priest and the Spaniards. They established a fortress within the forested areas of Inabanga and Talibon. The number of rebels swelled to 20,000 over the years because of the widespread discontent of the colonized over forced labor, tribute payments, and Spanish arrogance. Dagohoy surrounded the rebel settlements with farms to support his followers. Descending from their mountain hideouts, they conducted sporadic raids on Spanish garrisons. The Dagohoy resistance continued even after his death. No less than 20 Spanish governor-generals campaigned to end the Dagohoy Revolt. After a year-long campaign in 1827-1828, the revolt ended on 31 August 1829 with the surrender of 20,000 insurgents.

In 1768, King Charles III of Spain ordered the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Philippines. Other religious orders, notably the Recollects, took over the parishes and property of the Jesuits in Bohol. In 1862, some of these were returned when the Jesuits were allowed to resume their activities.

The Boholano participated in the Philippine Revolution of 1896 which brought about a

brief period of independence until the American occupation of the central Visayas from 1899 to 1900. The Boholano resisted American occupation but their resistance failed to defeat the new colonizers. On 17 March 1900, the Americans took over the province. On Easter Sunday in 1901, 406 revolutionaries led by Captain Gregorio Caseñas died resisting the Americans in the battle of Jagna.

In 1901, the Americans appointed governors to the provinces of Cebu, Bohol, and Negros Oriental. Popular elections were held after peace and order were enforced by the colonizers. American colonization fostered public education, health and sanitation, government organization, agriculture and infrastructure.

During World War II, various guerrilla units were formed in Bohol. Most notable among them was the Northern Bohol Guerrilla Forces in Loon under Lieutenant Vidal V. Crescencio, and in Guindulman under Major Esteban Bernido. The United Guerrilla Forces was formed on 19 November 1943 under the command of Major Ismael Ingeniero. After President Ramon Magsaysay was killed in a plane crash in 1957, Carlos P. Garcia from Talibon, Bohol became the fourth president of the Philippines. Garcia was known for his nationalistic Filipino First Policy and his austerity program.

Economy

Major livelihood activities are agriculture, fishing, cattle raising, mineral production and cottage industries.

Agriculture on the island's sparse arable land is the main economic activity in Bohol, and comprises 56 percent of the labor force (*Philippine Atlas* 1975; Aprieto 1986). Important crops include rice, corn, tobacco, *ube* (purple yam), sweet potato, abaca, and coconut. The last is significant since the island is one of the largest coconut producers in the country. Other agricultural products include legumes, abaca, maguey, vegetables, and fruit trees.

Fishing is done regardless of season. It is mainly found in the northern part of the province but the industry is localized as reefs off the coast obstruct fishing activities. The industry's full potential has yet to be tapped.

The livestock industry is represented in Bohol by various ranches, the more notable of which are the animal farms in Talibon and Ubay (*Philippine Atlas* 1975).

Mining activities produce guano and manganese. Caverns in Sierra Bullones, Maribojoc, and Mabini are rich in edible bird's nest and guano deposits used as fertilizers. Manganese is found in Guindulman, Anda, Jagna, and Carmen. Nonmetallic materials useful in manufacturing also abound in Bohol. About half of Bohol and most of its islets are covered with limestone. Lime from limestone is used for soil conditioning, road construction, and cement making. Clay deposits are found in Danao, Jetafe, and Buenavista. Other nonmetallic deposits like marble and soda ash are also abundant.

There are steel and iron foundries in the province, as well as fertilizer plants and a beer brewery of San Miguel Corporation.

Cottage industries include mat weaving and sack making, and Bohol is popular for its woven hats and baskets. Another cottage industry is the preparation of native delicacies like *kalamay*, made of rice and coconut milk (*Philippine Atlas* 1975; Aprieto 1986).

Bohol is served by 4 national and 23 municipal ports, and 2 national airports at Tagbilaran and Ubay. Tagbilaran City is the leading commercial and trading center where interisland ships regularly arrive. Electric, postal, telegraphic, and telephone services are provided by both government and private firms. The literacy rate in the province is 81 percent.

Tourism is another source of revenue for the province. Tourist attractions include the Chocolate Hills in the towns of Carmen, Bilar, Loon and Clarin; the Badian swimming pool in Valencia which utilizes spring water; and the Tontonan Falls which generates power for Tagbilaran. A historical site is the “cross and watch tower” in Punta Cruz, Maribojoc which was used as a lookout for Moro pirates during the Spanish colonial era (Castelo 1977).

Political System

Bohol is divided into 47 mayoralties, with Tagbilaran City administered by a mayor, a vice-mayor, and four councilors. The provincial government consists of a governor, a vice-governor, and 10 provincial board members. Bohol sends three representatives to the national assembly. It is served by a Municipal Circuit Trial Court in Dagohoy-Danao.

Prominent political families in Bohol include the Borja, Garcia, Torralba, Zarraga, Tirol, Butalid, Rocha, Yap, Castillo, Lim, and Ong.

Social Organization and Customs

The Boholano have a strong affinity with their family, and are respectful towards their elders. Terms like *manong* (elder brother), *manang* (elder sister), *tio* (uncle), and *tia* (aunt) are used. Like most other Philippine groups, filial duty of helping to support the family is observed.

The life cycle of the Boholano is celebrated in various ceremonies that include both Christian and native elements. Traditionally, the Boholano performed the *paglelehe* after childbirth. This consisted of tying the umbilical cord of a boy to a *nonoc* tree. This is believed to confer strength on him. If a girl, the cord is tied to the fragrant pandan plant to make her eligible someday for the local chieftain (Tirol 1975:75).

In the past, education of the youth was entrusted to an elderly person known as the *paratagbao* (literally, “he cries out loud”), whose instructions on morality and ethics were done at the children’s homes. The Spaniards introduced formal classroom education and the Americans strengthened it with the public school system.

Boholano men usually marry at age 20, women at 18. Courtship can take on various forms: letter writing or the more traditional parent-initiated proposal. There are generally two steps to the more customary proposal: the *hatod* and the *sunda* (literally, “to follow up”). The first step begins when an elder acting as a go-between for the boy’s family visits the girl’s parents. He declares his intention and places five pesos in silver coins on the table, continually adding to them until the sum becomes acceptable to the girl’s relatives. After being served refreshments, the go-between leaves but is told to return after three days. The *sunda* stage proceeds when the girl’s parents accept the proposal. A meeting is set with the boy’s parents, where wedding arrangements are discussed and finalized. The boy goes into a period of service, in which he performs household chores for the girl’s family. After this period, the wedding is held in the church. Feasting follows until breakfast the next day. *Ganas* (literally, “carrying the bride to the groom’s house”) is practiced as the bride is taken to the home of the groom. She stays there until living arrangements are made (Pajo 1954:16-18).

In the past, the Boholano believed that there is a next world which is a continuation of life. When a person died, the relatives clean the deceased with water made fragrant with leaves, herbs, and preservatives, such as lime and *buyo* (betel leaf). Jewelry and work implements were interred with the dead. Mourning took the form of abstinence from fish and meat. Christianity has effectively stopped these practices (Pajo 1954: 21-23).

Religious Beliefs and Practices

Almost 96 percent of the Boholano are Catholic. The remaining 4 percent are Aglipayan, Protestant, or Iglesia ni Cristo. Although most Boholano profess the Christian faith, many still cling to traditional beliefs in spirits to this day. Belief in the Christian god coexists with the reverence for the anito or *animo* (life in objects of nature). Anito are either good or evil, and are placated with prayers and offerings. A woodcutter recites a prayer before cutting down a balite tree. The custom called *buyagan* meant to call away the attention of malevolent deities from someone’s fortune or good looks. If praise is offered to a child, someone should say “buyag” to divert the attention of an anito who may have noticed the child’s good looks. Animal noises, especially that of a crow at night, are associated with bad luck. Witches, fairies, and other supernatural beings called *encanto* are also feared (Pajo 1954:31-40).

In the past, *gimata* or the first appearance of the moon stopped work for one to three days. It was believed that the diwata feasted on these occasions. An eclipse was believed to be the work of Bakunawa, a giant snake that devoured the moon. Noises were made to frighten the snake to release the moon (Tirol 1975:73-75).

When an illness is believed to be caused by evil spirits, an offering of *tuba* (coconut wine), food, incense, a bottle of coconut oil, clothes, jewelry, and a drum is made. A *tambalan* (shaman) is called to cast away the spirits causing the illness. The process includes incense burning, the shaman's trance, the recitation of Latin-sounding prayers, the anointing of the sick with oil, and a procession that leads to a place with trees (Pajo 1954:27-29).

The Boholano, like other Visayans, believe in miracles. Miracles of the Holy Child are often cited as the reason for the end of a long drought or pestilence in Hanopol, Balilihan. Tales of the intervention of the Blessed Virgin during pestilence and natural disasters are told in Loboc. Stories have it that during the Japanese Occupation, the people held novenas for the Blessed Virgin, and Loboc was spared. Communities in Bohol have patron saints which are the focus of religious devotion.

Architecture and Community Planning

In Bohol, as in many island provinces, the native settlements line the coast. The Spanish colonial period did not change this but merely encouraged the natives to dwell around and near the churches built by the priests. To this day, the coastal pueblos remain.

The most important architectural monuments in Bohol are the churches of the Spanish period. There are many outstanding examples of such architecture and two of the very best are the Church of the Immaculada Concepcion in Baclayon, and the Church of San Pedro in Loboc.

After the Jesuit priests, Fathers Juan de Torres and Gabriel Sanchez, arrived in 1596, Baclayon built a church of its own, probably of wood. But it was only in 1727, when the town had been raised to the status of a parish that a stone church was built. Much of the 1727 church stands today; it is one of the best-preserved Jesuit churches in the country. In 1766, Baclayon was ceded to the Recollects who proceeded to make changes on and in the church. In the late 1700s, the church altars were regilded; around 1777, the lower part of the bell tower in front of the church was completed; in 1779, silver frontals and ornaments were purchased, some of which remain today; and in 1872, a new convent wing was built.

Made of finely cut coral stones, the Baclayon Church is cruciform with a squarish cupola made of tabique at the crossing. Although the Jesuits had a residence within the fort, they preferred to live in the *baluarte* which was a separate structure located about 100 meters away. This structure stood until 1984 when it was torn down. The residence within the walls, an extension of the epistle transept, seems to have consisted of three rooms built above the sacristy. This extension, made of coral stones, is not immediately visible because the 1872 renovation has hidden part of the wall behind a wooden *volada*.

The fortification walls extend from the end of the 1872 wing to a corner bulwark where it turns north, then west and south, and meets the church near the end of the gospel transept. Within the fortifications are ruins identified by tradition as stables, a well, a kitchen, and a bath house. Other structures within the fortification include an octagonal baptistry and a small chapel. A low perimeter wall which had protected the flanks of the nave has been removed in parts and greatly reduced in others.

There are two facades of the church: the Jesuit-built follows the classical San Ignacio-type design—a triangular pediment surmounting a bipartite lower structure; while the Recollect-built is an arcade of Roman arches with an upper story and a pediment chastely adorned by windows.

The Baclayan retablos are easily the most outstanding in the Visayas. They have been described by the art historian Pal Keleman thus: “The general aspect of the retablo with its well-accustomed series of statues, bespeaks its European ancestry. But the central section at the top in its stocky compactness is reminiscent of ornaments in Chinese temples” (Keleman 1969:43).

The other outstanding church in Bohol is the Church of San Pedro in Loboc. The Jesuit Juan de Torres founded Loboc in 1596. By 1602, Loboc may have already been a parish, but it was not until 1633 that a more permanent structure was made. On 23 August of the same year, it was reported that the saintly Jesuit Alonso de Humanes died and was buried in the Loboc church. In 1636, a fire destroyed the church but stopped right at the altar where he was buried. The event was interpreted as portentous and many Boholano began to flock to Humanes’ gravesite.

On 1 November 1768, Loboc was ceded to the Recollects who then built an octagonal bell tower separate from the church. Around 1854, the Recollects added a new *convento* wing; around 1856, the Recollect Fray Aquino Bon built an octagonal mortuary chapel and added a portico in front of the Jesuit facade; around 1884, the Recollect Fray Jose Sanchez and his successors added buttresses to the original church walls.

The church follows a cruciform plan with a sacristy at the rear. There is a large room above the sacristy which is believed to have once served as the priest’s residence. The sacristy facade has a wooden relief of San Ignacio holding a book, his right hand lifted in blessing. The relief is enclosed in a medallion held by two women or wingless angels wearing flowing robes and feathered bonnets. The Jesuit-built facade is an example of the Plateresque style, as it is richly ornamented with scrolls, tendrils, niches, medallions, and pilasters. The facade is flanked by two low octagonal towers which house a stair well. The fenestrations along the nave are decorated with cherubs wearing feathered bonnets. The engaged pillars supporting the church are ornamented with cartouches displaying the Jesuit monogram.

There are five retablos in the church. The main retablo is in the neoclassical style. Two

smaller retablos at the transept endings are each a mixture of styles. One has columns resembling pierced ivory pieces carved by Chinese artisans. These smaller retablos may have been pieced out of an older structure now demolished, probably from the old main altar. Part of what appears to have been a florid baroque retablo has been incorporated as the framework of the neoclassical altar. The ceiling of the church is the work of Canuto Avila, a Cebuano painter who decorated many churches in the Visayas during the 1930s. One panel commemorates the flood of 26 November 1676 when 400 persons fled to safety after having evacuated to the upper floors of the convento.

Other notable churches in Bohol are the Talibon stone church, started by the Recollects in 1852 but completed only in 1899; the Daus Church, built in the 1700s by the Jesuit Joseph Nepomuceno, destroyed by fire in 1795, and rebuilt from 1863 to 1923; the Maribojoc Church, begun by the Recollects in 1798, completed in 1816, refurbished with an elegant flight of stairs in 1864; the Tagbilaran Church, originally built by the Jesuits in the 1700s, damaged by fire on 23 December 1798, and repaired and renovated by the Recollects in 1839; the Loon Church, built in 1815, burnt in 1854, and rebuilt in the same year; and the Tubigon Church, probably built by the Jesuits but enlarged by the Recollects in 1884. **Visual Arts and Crafts**

Scheans (1977) classifies Boholano pottery under the Cebuano one. A major difference, however, lies in the building technique. In the towns of Albuera and Valencia, turn modeling is a major building technique, thus distinguishing the Boholano potters from the Cebuano. Products include: *banga* (water jars), *masitasan/masitera/kaang* (flower pots), *kulon* (a round-bodied pot used mainly for cooking rice), *dabahan* (a wide-mouthed, shouldered pot used mainly for cooking viands), *lutoan sa asin* (a small round-bodied, flared rim pot for storing salt), *batirol* (a chocolate pitcher), *kalan/sugang* (stoves), *hudno* (an open-topped, round or square oven), *kadiongan* (a two-part steamer pot), *bibingkahan* (a rice-cake molder), *takob* (covers), *banga* (a jarlike flower-pot support or stand), *duang-duang* (a wash basin), *bitay-bitay* (hanging flower pots for orchids and cactus), *tubigon* (a round-bodied water jar), and *takso* (a basinlike frying pan with two tubular handles).

The terms used to refer to vessel parts are modeled after the human anatomy, to wit: mouth, “baba”; neck, “hog”; lip, “wait”; shoulder, “abaga”; body, “lawas”; and base, “sambut.” Nonanatomical terms include: hole, “buho”; rim of collar of a flower pot, “rebite”; stove door, “puertahan”; stove basal rim, “tumbahan”; stove cleats, “puwu”; cutouts on stove rims or bodies, “bangag”; domed portion of jar cover, “ulbo”; and outer flange of jar cover, “paldias” (Scheans 1977:48-49).

Building techniques differ depending on the product type: for flower and rice pots, turn modeling is used; for water jars and stove, the coiling technique; for cover, lump modeling. A variety of tools is at the potter’s disposal: *paddanan* (a potting board upon which the potter can sit while working), *palo-palo/pikpik* (bamboo and wooden paddles), *hampin/dagangan/saco* (a folded grain sack used as a pot support on the working board during paddling), *dokow* (a stone cobble anvil), *lagit/nisnis* (a fine grained polishing stone), *gihit/noog* (the cloth used in turning), *dahon ihapin* (a piece of banana

leaf placed under an object to prevent the latter from sticking to the board), *togsoc* (a daggerlike bamboo tool stuck through the starting piece to serve as a handle in turn modeling) (Scheans 1977:49).

Bohol mat weaving has had a long tradition. The material employed is not buri but seagrass, and the process involves weaving the material finely in a loom. Colors employed are similar to those used by the Sama — dark green, purple, and magenta. Talibon specializes in the finely woven buntal hats; another town displays its combination of bamboo and nito weaving, producing such artifacts as the *antequeana* baskets (*Philippine Atlas* 1975: 82). Some towns produce hats of nipa overlaid by nito basketry (see logo of this article). The Boholano also used to make the sails for the galleons before the trade died out. The material used was canvass raw cotton.

Bohol island stands out in the history of Philippine art as a center of artistic activity in the 19th century. Because of this, scholars have likened it to Santa Cruz, Manila, then the hub of artists, and to provincial centers like Lucban and San Vicente, Ilocos Sur. Unlike the works coming from these other centers, the innumerable pieces of Bohol have survived the encroachment of the chromo-lithograph at the beginning of the American period as well as World War II.

The earliest painters of Bohol seem to have been Chinese artisans who migrated to the remote provinces like Bohol on account of the periodic expulsions, bans, and persecutions waged on them. This theory is supported by the prevalence of expressive elements identifiable as Chinese-influenced in many Bohol paintings, particularly the early ones. The extant pieces, mainly dated to the 19th century, were undertaken under the initiative of the Recollect Fathers.

One of the earliest pieces from Bohol is the *Kuan-yin Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, circa 1825, so-called because its rendition was apparently inspired by the image of Kuanyin, the Chinese goddess of mercy. Mary and Jesus are depicted with Sinitic features, their gestures exuding the tenderness observed in the rendition of women in Chinese painting, and their robes approached along the rhythmic pattern of design also observed in the depiction of robes in Chinese painting. The painter of the *Kuan-yin Nuestra Señora del Rosario* apparently influenced the next active painter, one of whose works, now with the Central Bank collection, is the set of the *Via Crucis* which features one unit with a date, 1830.

Only one name is known of the Bohol painters, Liberato Gachalian (perhaps Filipinized from the original Chinese, Ca-cha-liang). Gachalian signed his set of the *Via Crucis*, originally in the parish church of Dauis, Bohol and now in the Pagrel Collection at the San Agustin Church Museum. His inscription states that he was commissioned in 1854 by Fray Antonio Obeda, to execute the actual paintings in 1854. Artistic activity in Bohol persisted until the outbreak of World War II.

Literary Arts

Boholano literary arts consist of riddles, proverbs, lyric poetry, myths, legends, folktales, fables, and magic stories.

Riddles are primarily told for enjoyment and relaxation; but they also serve a pedagogical purpose by honing one's wit and developing an awareness of, and appreciation for, one's environment (Pajo 1954:253-254):

*Gamay pa si pari,
Kusog nang mosaka ug lubi.*

No matter how small is compadre
He can climb a coconut tree. (Ant)

*Kadakung kahilulongan,
Kadakung katingalahan,
Mi turok nga walay liso,
Mi tindog nga walay punoan.*

Oh, what a surprise!
Oh, what a miracle!
It sprouted without a seed,
It stood without a trunk. (World)

Moral, psychological, and practical truths are encapsulated in Boholano proverbs which are universal in theme but indigenous in metaphor (Pajo 1954:259):

*Ang mag baligya
Firming mokanta nga matamis ang iyang baligya.*

The melon seller
Declares the melon sweet.

*Sa katapusan, ang maayo ug dautan
Paga gantihan; ang pangutana mao,
Moabut ugma ug karon?*

In the end, good and evil
Will have its rewards, the question is,
Will it come sooner or later?

*Ang mga butang nga dili hikitan,
Ug dili hidungan sa tawo,
Sa langit hikitan ug hibaloan.*

What a person sees not,
And hears not,
Heaven sees and knows.

*Kon gusto ka nga makakita ug higala,
Pautangan siya ug oyaw paninglo.*

If one wishes to have a friend,
Let one borrow and never collect the money.

Boholano lyric poetry deals with the multifaceted character of romantic love and its expression. Here, as in most poems, the imagery is derived principally from nature. These are sample verses from a Boholano poem (Pajo 1954:262):

*Asa ka paingon, Hinoyohoy?
Mabugnaw hinoyohoy sa kabuntagon,
Nga nagdala sa kahumot sa mga bulak,
Asa ka hinoyohoy, asa ka paingon?*

*Dad-a, iuban kanimo ang akong balak,
Balak sa kasing kasing masolub-on,
Aron mahaipon sa baho sa mga bulak.*

*Dad-a, dad-a kining balak nga masalub-on
Aron ihatog mo sa akong hinigugma,
Sa hinigugma kong nagmamingawon.*

Whither goest thou, Cold Breeze?
Cold breeze of early morning
Filled with the fragrance of flow'rs
Whither goest thou?

Go, take with you my verses
Verses written by a sad heart,
Mix them with the odor of flow'rs.

Go, take with you these sorrowful verses
Go then to my beloved,
Whom I call my own.

Patriotism, or more accurately, love of the home province, also figures as a theme in Boholano lyric poetry, as in the sample verses from this poem (Pajo 1954:264-265):

*Bulak siya nga bisaya tabunon
Nga mingturok sa tanamang kunon,
Pinaril sa mga batong lag-it;
Inatupan sa tagumong langit;
Walay lunok, putli ug maamyon,
Bulak nga sa Sidlakan nagpahiyom,
Naghang-gap sa hoyohoyng mabugnaw,
Sa iyang igsoong Luzon ug Mindanaw:
Kanang bulaka nga walay pagkalawos,
Dili malarag gugmang tim-os,
Mao ang Bohol, tipik sa kabisayan
Ang Bohol! diutay nga lalawigan
Diutay, apan nagtipig sa iyang dughan
Daku ang kalag, malumo, di labwan.*

She is a flower of true Visayan color,
Sprouted in its clayest soil
Surrounded with hard stones
Covered by its cloudiest sky
No thorns, it is a virgin beautiful land.
A flower it is, in the Orient smiling.
Inhaling the coolest of air
With her neighboring isles, Luzon and Mindanao,
There is a flower islet that never fades away,
Never wilts, because of true love,
That is Bohol, part of the Visayas
Small, but in her, live
A people, peaceful, loving and contented.

The origin of things is explained in the various Boholano myths and legends, which include not only Christian-inspired pieces like “The First Man and Woman” but also early attempts at explaining social stratification as in “The Origin of the Social Classes.” Four legends will be recounted here (Pajo 1954:42-48).

The “Myth of Creation” tells about the world as it was in the beginning, empty and hollow save for the sea, the sky, and a flying bird which, not finding a place to rest, took water from the sea and splashed it against the sky. This incited the sky to react by hurling rocks and boulders to the sea which eventually formed the land.

The “First Man and Woman” continues with the adventure of the same bird. Having rested for a few days on the newly formed land, the bird was about to leave for the sky, when a wind-thrown bamboo injured its feet. The angry bird reacted by pecking the bamboo, eventually breaking it into pieces. The first man and woman, the god-fearing Silalac and Sibabay came forth, lived, and prospered in the world. Temptation came in the form of the forbidden fruit which, after much sinister prodding by the sinister snake, was eaten by Silalac and Sibabay. When Bathala learned of this transgression, he deprived the first people of his presence and blessings.

The “Origin of the Social Classes” traces the social and economic world of Silalac and Sibabay after having lost the grace of Bathala. The first couple begot many children who one day scattered to the different parts of the house after having seen their angry father returning from the fields. Those who hid in the most private rooms became the ancestors of the *principales* or prominent people. Those who scampered to the entrance of the house were the ancestors of the *timaway* or commoners. Those who sought refuge under the house became the ancestors of the slaves. A few managed to escape to the sea and from these came the white people.

The “Myth of Bohol” is more like a collection of stories than a unitary piece of oral narrative. It traces the genealogy of the original sky-dwelling people and their chief. The chief’s daughter fell ill one day. To get well, she was asked to touch the roots of the wild balete tree. After having dug a trench around the root, the sky gave way and she fell towards the earth. Two *yakit* (wild ducks) witnessed the event, caught her just in time, and brought her to Big Turtle who immediately called a meeting on how to make

the new member of the community a home on earth. It was decided that old Toad should dive and collect dirt from the tree roots. The collected dirt was spread around the edges of Big Turtle's gathered lightning. Companionship took the form of an old man with whom the chief's daughter had twin boys—one good, one cruel. The good one created scaleless fishes while the bad one made them with large horrible scales. In time, the bad one died. The good one then continued with his brother's work, improving everything along the way. Finally, he made the first Boholano by fashioning two lumps of soil, spitting on them, and endowing them with qualities such as industry, hospitality, obedience, good nature, and peacefulness. The two Boholano ancestors married and continued with the work of the good one. Creatures such as eels and crabs were fashioned, but their incessant quarrels produced the first earthquakes.

Folktales evolve from everyday folk materials retold in countless novel forms. One such tale is "The Chocolate-dropped Hills of Carmen, Batuan, and Borja towns" which highlights kindness, courage, and faith in God. In many instances, the story reminds one of Grimm's fairy tales which are populated with fairies and giants (Pajo 1954:87).

Once upon a time two families lived at the foot of Happy Mountain: a rich family whose only daughter, Amada, was proud, unkind, and lazy, and a widow's family whose twins, Ruben and Teresa, were kind, gentle, courageous, and helpful. One day while the three children were playing in Amada's garden, an old woman appeared and begged for alms. Amada ran away and came back with stones. Ruben and Teresa, not finding anything to give, decided to give to the old woman Teresa's pearl necklace. After throwing stones at the woman, Amada tried to take the necklace Teresa had given. Amada got a pitcher of water and poured it on the old woman's head. The beggar, who was a good fairy, got angry and took Amada away from her home, saying that the proud girl's return will depend on whether she had learned her manners or not. The search for Amada proved futile. At the good fairy's home, Amada was taught good manners; she became the servant of the good fairy who said: "Each day of hard work will earn you a pearl in Teresa's necklace. There are 65 pearls, and if you earn them, you will be returned to your mother." Amada worked hard from then on. One day, Ruben and Teresa's mother left to visit a relative. On their own, the two children were enticed by a hungry giant who lived near the good fairy's house. As the children were about to be cooked, a chocolate army came to the rescue. Hearing the noise, the good fairy and Amada came to help and saved Ruben and Teresa from the evil giant. Soon, they were all united and the pearls earned by Amada were scattered into the fields. They became the chocolate or rosary hills of Bohol (Pajo 1954:86-94).

Nonhuman characters populate the fables, which focus on human nature. Told for pure entertainment, fables teach values to children and comment on human frailty and society in general. The following is an example (Pajo 1954:117-118):

A worn-out basket is complaining by the side of the river. Discarded by its owners, it remembers the old days when it was cared for by its owner. A cat nearby overhears the basket's lamentations and says that a similar thing happened to him. When he was still young, his owner would always fondle and kiss him. He was always given food to eat

so that he would grow big and fat and scare the mice away. Now old, his owners have driven him away. Finally, the cat remarks: "A good turn is always repaid by evil." Upon hearing this, the basket grows very sad. It asks the cow how a good turn should be repaid. The cow echoes the cat's experience, saying that when he was young, he supplied his owner with milk and cheese. Now that he has grown old, he is placed in a pasture where butchers will eventually slaughter him for his meat. Depressed about the cow's story, the basket chances upon a tree which likewise confesses that it used to protect people with its branches and bore fruits for them to eat. Dejected with the answers, the basket rolled itself down to the river to drown.

Supernatural beings and occurrences are the subject matter of magic stories which encapsulate some of the folk beliefs that some Boholano still cherish today. Here is an example (Pajo 1954:142-144):

One hot summer night, an old priest paces in his living room, unable to sleep. His attention is suddenly caught by a figure noiselessly walking past the church gate. The figure is that of a white-faced, middle-aged woman, garbed in a blue dress. On her hand is a red, bloodstained rope. Curious, the priest goes out to follow the figure which enters through the door of a house. The priest then peeps into the house through a partially opened window and sees a young wife crying: "I cannot take my harsh life any longer!" A sound from the rafters momentarily distracts her attention. Sitting up there is the figure the priest was following. The figure makes a noose of the bloodstained rope and hangs it over the rafter. Then she whispers to the miserable wife, "Through this noose is the peace you've been hoping for." Convinced, the woman stands up, puts on her new silk dress, and powders her face. She gets hold of her girdle, and with the aid of the chair, ties it to the rafter. She is just about to put her head through the noose when the priest breaks in and stops the suicide. The woman faints. The priest then bravely asks the figure, "How dare you tempt the woman into killing herself?" The figure answers, "I am condemned to walk the earth until I can find a replacement for the release of my soul. This woman was my ticket until you came along and spoiled all my plans!" With this, the figure disappears to find another victim.

Performing Arts

The musical instruments used in Bohol are similar to those played in other parts of the Visayas. The *codiapi* resembles a zither, although it is longer, short-armed, and narrow. It usually has three strings over three or four frets. It is played by men in response to the *cariong*, a female instrument resembling a guitar. A notable wind instrument is the *bacacal*, a nose flute made from cane cut at the top, bottom, and sides for the fingers (Tirol 1975: 85-86).

The Spanish occupation introduced Western secular instruments, like the guitar, and religious instruments like the organ. The bigger churches, like Loboc and Baclayon, have organs which are painted with royal designs.

Bohol folk songs can be grouped into children's songs, humorous songs, occupational songs, occasional songs, love songs, and religious songs (Pajo 1954:172).

Children's songs include lullabies and nursery rhymes. The former are sung to lull a baby to sleep. The melody, matched by rhyme and rhythm, is simple, as in this example called "Tingkatulog" (Pajo 1954:173-174):

*Pinalanga, marika, katulog na,
Katulog, pahulay, aron modaku;
Ang imong higdaanan,
Andam na ug katulog na,
Hangtud si Mama mobalic
Sa kabuntagon.*

Come, beloved, to bed you must go;
Sleep long, so you will grow,
Your bed is ready
Now go to sleep
Until Mama comes back
In the morning.

Nursery rhymes serve to train the child in music appreciation. Like the lullabies, they are simple but are livelier, such as the one entitled "Inday Kalachuchi:"

*Inday Kalachuchi,
May langgam tamsi,
Iyang balahibo,
Pula ug verde;
Ayaw hingkalmi,
Ang barrio dinhi,
Daghang dalaga,
Daghang dalaga,
Ako day guapa.*

Darling Kalachuchi,
Like the bird tamsi,
Beautiful colors,
Of red and green;
Kindly remember,
This humble barrio
There are many ladies,
There are many ladies,
But I'm the prettiest.

Humorous songs are meant to be jocular and may often be naughty. In "Ang Tolo Ka Mga Daga" (The Three Sisters), the humor is playful:

*Sa lungsod sa Buenavista,
May tolo ka mga daga;
Naminyo ang kamanghuran,
Nag hilak ang kamaguangan.*

*Mitubag ang tunga-tunga
Ay, Manang, ayao pag saba,
Kay dili abutan ug bulan,*

Maminyo kitang tanan.

In the town of Buenavista,
Dwelt three sisters, fair young ladies,
When the youngest one got married,
The eldest with envy cried.

But the middle sister told her,
Please dear sister, weep no longer;
Before this month is over,
You and I shall both be married.

Occupational songs are sung to accompany work. The melody is evolved to fit or support the rhythm of the work pace. There are work songs for various occupations. Here is one for harvesting called “Ang Mga Ngane ni Tio Doroy” or The Rice Harvesters of Old Doroy (Pajo 1954:195-197).

Girls:

Kami mga ngane ni Tio Doroy,

Boys:

Ang kahintang namo makalolooy;

Girls:

Kon walay ma ani, kami ang mangahoy,

Boys:

Kay ang ginikanan makalolooy.

All:

*Kining among lakat, among padayonon,
Mangadto kami sa among agalon,
Si Tio Doroy, among suplikohon,
Nga ang among bahin iyang husto-on.*

*Kay ang uban, among dung-agon,
Matamis nga humay nga among paga kanon,
Kay ang uban, among pilipigon,
Ug ang sobra alang sa motambong.*

Girls:

*Ang tanan nga mga kabataan,
Mag escuela kay sila nag handum,
Nga sila may alam;
Sa adlaw ug gabii,
Maga toon lamang.*

Boys:

*Ang mga lalake, ginatoldoan man
Pag away, pag kupot sa pusil,
Pag pasan sa pusil, ug pag lakatlakat,
Pag pasan sa pusil, ug pag lakatlakat,*

Girls:

*Ang mga babaye, ginatodloan man
Sa pag tahi, pag tuyoc sa makina,
Pag tuyoc sa makina, pag sursi sa guisi,
Pag borda sa bisti, pag tapak sa guisi.*

Boys:

*Mao man usab kami, ginatodloan man
Sa pag pamanday, pag tiguib sa tabla,
Pag kupot sa sapilla, pag gabas sa kahoy,
Pag kupot sa sapilla, pag gabas sa kahoy.*

Girls:

*Mao man usab kami, ginatodloan man
Sa pag lung-ag, pag hinlo sa balay,
Pag sisig sa bugas, pag hugas sa pinggan.
Pag nosnos sa salog, sa pag panilhig man.*

Girls:

We, the rice harvesters of Old Doroy,

Boys:

Find life so very miserable.

Girls:

When we don't havest, we gather fuel.

Boys:

For our parents are miserable

All:

Now we go, we shall pass on
We are going to see our landlord,
We shall ask Uncle Doroy
To give us our full share.

All:

Because some of the rice we shall cook
We shall eat the new sweet rice,
Some of it will be made to pilipig
And the rest is for those who helped.

Girls:

Almost all the children,
Are going to the school,
For parents are expecting
That they may learn something;
They spend all their time,
Reading their daily lessons.

Boys:

We, also, as young boys,
Are trained to fight and use guns,

To carry them and march,
To carry them and march

Girls:

We, young girls, are trained
To sew and use the sewing machine
To use the sewing machine and darn clothes
To embroider handkerchief and patch
old clothes.

Boys:

We are also taught
To be carpenters, to make holes with chisels
To use the plane and saw wood
To use the plane and saw wood.

Girls:

Some of us are also taught,
To boil rice, to clean the house
To clean the rice, to wash the dishes
To scrub the floors and sweep it too.

Love songs tell of meetings and partings. They express one's feelings or intentions in the most sentimental manner.

*Hain kana, himayang dayon
Hain kana, kalipay ning du-ughan
Kaluya na, tabangi ako
Langkata kining akong mga kagool ning dughan*

Where are you, everlasting love
Where are you, happiness of my breast
Pity me, help me
Only you can console my longing in life.

Religious songs find expression in the Christmas carols, in the *pasyon* sung during the Lenten *pabasa*, and during wakes. One Christmas carol called "Daegon Ta" has the following stanza (Pajo 1954:230):

*Daegon ta sa walay indig,
Ang ginasubangan sa adlaw;
Ang natao sa kamalig,
Nagantus sa dakung katugnaw.*

Let us carol, let us carol,
And adore the place of His birth;
He was born in a manger,
Suffering the bitter cold.

Most dances are performed during social occasions, such as baptisms, weddings, or fiestas. The hispanic influence is easily discerned in these dances. A formal ball opens with the *rigodon* or *lanceros*, both lively square dances, with the latter having more

variety in movements. Formal attire is needed for the dance.

The *kuradang* is a courtship dance where couples eye each other in the first part, and move in a manner reminiscent of a rooster-hen love play. There is a lively and competitive atmosphere, as the male and female try to outdo each other in agility and elegance.

The *cariñosa* is another dance that revolves around a love story. In simple clothes, the men woo the ladies, who with fan in hand, act coy. Should the women let their hair down, the dance becomes flirtatious with the women paying court to the men.

The fiesta is celebrated with the popular *curacha*, a dance where a couple may match the accelerating tempo with their own original and supple movements. When tired, the couple may rest while another couple replaces them.

Another courtship dance is the *maramion* (literally, “fragrant”). One or more couples participate in two parallel lines 1.8 meters apart. As the couples dance out a courtship story, they or the audience sing. The men kneel to offer their love and the women accept by helping them up. The men are in *barong*, a long-sleeved shirt, while the women are in *patadiong*, a wraparound skirt, and *kimona*, a short-sleeved blouse.

Similar to the *maramion* is the *balitaw*, where a male courts a female, and the two exchange verses full of imagery and wit, dancing to the accompaniment of a guitar as they sing. Aside from love, the *balitaw* may speak of diligence in work and the proper care of children.

The Boholano adaptation of the Spanish *fandango* is similar to the *curacha* in that only one couple dances. Courtship is simulated when the man imitates a pursuit. The men are clad in *barong* and the women in *patadiong*.

In the *mananguete*, the movements of harvesting coconut buds is mimed. The stages of the dance include the preparation of the scythe to climbing the tree to brewing and mixing the tuba or coconut wine to tasting it.

An interesting occupational dance performed during the rice festival is called the “palay dance.” This begins with the dancers, who are attired in contemporary clothes, imitating the sway of palay in the breeze. This is followed by the movements representing the culling, harvesting, and threshing of palay. The next part shows the women winnowing rice while the men observe. The dance highlights the skill of the women in cleaning the palay, throwing them into the air and catching them as they fall. The final part mimics a feast, with the men preparing a *lechon* or roasted pig, and the women preparing the dishes. The dance ends with the dancers putting away the dishes and everybody joining in a general dance.

War dances are variations of the *moros y cristianos*, where the dancers take the roles of Christians and Muslims in war. The dancers sport spears and shields and taunt each

other with words and actions. The dance ends when the Christians win.

Religious dances are performed in *fiesta galas* (offerings) and as prayers in front of the saint whose help or favor is being sought, for example, San Vicente and the Santo Niño. Although performed in all sincerity the dancers' movements may strike observers as funny, as they are mostly jogs and skips.

Drum beats or brass band music provide the accompaniment to the many groups that dance in different costumes for the *nilambay* parade of the *Tanda sa Tubigon*, held during Tubigon's town fiesta, whose honoree is the crab, the town's major produce and thus its symbol. Prizes are given to the most imaginative representations of the crab.

Boholano theater is found in many religious observances. During Palm Sunday, platforms outside the church are constructed on which choirs of girls sing. A crowd follows a priest, all carrying palms, down the center aisle of the church, and into the churchyard where he stops at each platform. At each stop, the girls sing the "Hosanna". After the fourth "Hosanna", the priest proceeds to enter the main church door.

The *pastores* is performed during the Christmas season. Its performers are young and old folks who dramatize through song and dance the birth of Christ, in the houses of the wealthy residents of the town. The performers are dressed as shepherds and saints (Aprieto 1986).

The *linambay* or Sugbuanon *komedya* became famous in the town of Lo-ay during fiestas. It is a long, episodic play performed in series over several nights, depicting Muslim-Christian conflicts in a foreign land. The Christians always win over the Muslims (Ramas 1982).

On Easter Sunday, the *sugat* (meeting) is performed. A *diana* or band procession accompanies the image of the Risen Christ to meet the image of the Blessed Virgin Mary in black. Under the canopied arch, a little angel sings the "Alleluia" and removes the black veil from Mary. The images are then carried to church for the mass, after which a likeness of Judas Escariote is hung on a tree. • G.E.P. Cheng with R. Javellana, S. Pilar, E.A. Manuel/Reviewed by R. Mojares

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