"Pampango" refers to the people who speak the Pampango language or inhabit the province of Pampanga. The name of the province was coined by the early Spanish conquerors from "pangpang" or "pangpangan" which means riverbank. "Kapampangan" literally means "region of, or people inhabiting riverbanks." Pampango is the Spanish version of "Pampanga."

Pampanga has a small land area of 2,203.28 square kilometers which forms part of the central plain extending from Manila Bay north to the Gulf of Lingayen. It consists of three subsections. The first is the mountainous section which includes the entire stretch of the Zambales range (of which Mount Pinatubo is the highest peak) on the western border and Mount Arayat at the northeastern part. This area is inhabited mostly by the Aeta who depend primarily on hunting, gathering, and raising corn on the slopes for subsistence. The second section, located in the southwestern and southern parts of the province, is bounded by the Pampanga River (Rio Grande de la Pampanga) and its estuaries. This river, the largest body of water in the province, flows south through the eastern portions of the province into Manila Bay. Between its eastern bank and the Bulacan boundary is the Candaba swamp which becomes a large lake during the rainy season. This section provides livelihood to many Pampango who have established a fishing industry in the area. The third section covers the flatlands of the Central Luzon plains that have been utilized for rice and sugar growing. It represents the bulk of the province's landmass and is considered the biggest source of livelihood for its people. Pampanga is largely agricultural and the major changes occurring in Pampango society can be linked to the changes in the agricultural pattern. However, the 1991 eruption of Mount Pinatubo which covered most of the agricultural land of Pampanga has changed the topography and the economic profile of the province.

The Pampango language, a member of the Malayo-Polynesian language family, endows the Pampango with their unique identity and sense of group solidarity, and distinguishes them from other ethnolinguistic groups, especially the Tagalog and the Ilocano who live beside them. However, the language is also spoken beyond the geographical boundaries of the province, notably in Tarlac. During the prehispanic era, the Pampango used a syllabary of their own, which was later replaced by the Roman orthography introduced by the Spaniards. The Pampango-speaking population has been estimated at 1,871,000 in 1980 (*Philippine Statistical Yearbook 1989).*

History

The sociopolitical and economic conditions in Pampanga before the colonizers came indicate that the Pampango had a functioning and well-adjusted system of self-governance. The agricultural sector produced food that was more than sufficient. There were artisans who had various skills, laws that preserved peace and order, and a class structure that offered security for the members of the community. The native Pampango also engaged in trade that brought them in contact with people beyond

their immediate surroundings.

Burial sites containing Chinese pottery and early Spanish accounts indicate long-standing links of the Pampango with the outside world, particularly the Chinese. Records also show that they did not only engage in trade but travelled by sea as well, sailing to places such as the Moluccas, Malacca, and Borneo.

When the Spaniards came, there were already communities along the water routes, mainly in the south near the Rio Grande or along its tributaries farther north. The 11 most important settlements in the 16th century were Lubao, Macabebe, Sexmoan, Betis, Guagua, Bacolor, Apalit, Arayat, Candaba, Porac, and Mexico (Masicu). Rice was the major crop, and the farmers and other residents lived in autonomous villages called barangay. Accounts also point to a fairly advanced material culture as evidenced by woven cotton cloth and metalcraft, as well as extensive use of Chinese pottery.

An official Spanish report in 1567 states that at least two communities, Lubao and Betis, had Muslim inhabitants. However, there is no evidence that Islam had spread to the rest of the province during that period.

Village society then was composed of three classes: the *datu* or chiefs, the *timawa* or freeborn, and the slaves. There usually were several datu in a community and only the most powerful were able to rule. Although their power was not absolute, the datu exercised executive, judicial, and military control. They determined when planting and harvesting were to take place. They were farmers and weavers of their own clothes, and had no other special occupation. Although the position was hereditary, the datu could be replaced once their hold weakened through excesses committed or for some other reasons. The timawa, on the other hand, served the datu sometimes during the planting or harvesting seasons. The rest of the year, they were left free. They had the right to own property and to marry freely. However, failure to pay a debt was sufficient reason to demote the timawa to slavery. Slavery, which could be inherited, was not a permanent status, but merely indicated severe debt peonage, not chattel slavery. A slave was bound to full service to the master and was subject to grave penalties for violating the law.

The conquest of Pampanga by the Spanish colonizers began in 1571 right after the defeat of Raja Soliman in Tondo. Although there was some resistance from the Muslim communities in Lubao and Betis, Hispanization proceeded so rapidly that in 1574, Pampango soldiers were fighting on the side of the Spaniards to repel the onslaught of the Chinese pirate Limahong. By 1597, Augustinian friars were already highly visible in all 11 major Pampango communities. By the middle of the 17th century, almost all the natives were under the influence of the Catholic Church.

Its fertile soil and easy access to Manila made Pampanga very valuable to the Spanish government. The dependence of Manila on the province for its food

requirements pushed officials to maintain good relations with Pampanga's leaders. Pampanga was also the reliable supplier of lumber used for building and maintaining the Spanish naval fleet and galleons, as well as various structures such as school buildings.

The province was also important to the colonizers as a source of soldiers. The Pampango not only helped defend Manila against Limahong but also joined in the massacre of the Chinese population around Manila. As a reward, some Pampango were given positions in the Spanish army, and cited for their "bravery" and for being the most "reasonable" and "civilized" among the natives. From 1603 to the end of the Spanish regime, a contingent of Pampango soldiers served in the colonial army. In the 17th century it fought against the Dutch and set up an occupation force in the Moluccas. It also participated in campaigns against a rebel group in Panay and against the Muslims, and once again in another massacre of the Chinese in 1640. In the 18th century, it fought the advancing Muslims and defended the Spanish government against the British.

Pampanga was organized as an *alcaldia* or province in 1571 to make it easier for the Spanish authorities to pacify, tax, convert, and compel the natives to adjust to Spanish ways. Although Augustinian friars were relied on to supervise local affairs, secular officials, including native leaders, were also employed. Individual Spaniards who were awarded encomiendas or areas of jurisdiction as their reward for faithful service to the crown were allowed to collect taxes thereon and retain a certain percentage. Most famous of the encomiendas was the Bacolor (original native name, "Baculud") which was named "Villa de Bacolor" by decree of the King of Spain and given its own coat of arms. Bacolor served as the capital of the province from 1755 to 1903, and as seat of the Spanish colonial government after the fall of Manila to the British in 1762.

After the encomienda system failed (mainly because of conflict over the disposition of the encomiendas and their tax collections), the pueblos or towns were established, and headed by town mayors called gobernadorcillo. The *gobernadorcillo* of the various pueblos and the parish priests were partners in assuring the central government of a loyal and productive citizenry.

On at least two occasions, however, the excesses of the regime drove the population to rise up in arms. In 1583 the forced labor policy of the government sent many natives to work in the gold mines of the Ilocos but did not allow them to return home in time for the planting season. As a result, grave food shortages occurred the following year not only in Pampanga but in Manila as well. Thousands were reported to have starved to death. The people decided to revolt and attempted to invade Manila but army intervention led to the arrest and execution of many Pampango rebels. In 1660 the forced cutting of timber for the use of the galleons and naval ships, and the failure of the Spanish government to pay for the huge amount of rice that it had collected enraged the people once more. The planned revolt, under the leadership of Francisco Maniago of Mexico, involved residents of Pangasinan, Ilocos, and Cagayan. However, Spanish Governor Manrique de Lara

succeeded in eroding the unity of the rebels by displaying armed might and befriending the natives, especially their chiefs. By promising many rewards, he won to his side one of the leaders, Juan Macapagal, and thus discouraged the other chiefs, who were generally weak and vacillating. The revolt was subdued even before a single shot could be fired. The two failed attempts effectively silenced further Pampango resistance until the revolution of 1896.

As Spanish rule progressed, certain changes occurred in Pampango society. The datu who was now known as *cabeza de barangay*, and the local gobernadorcillo became members of the principalia or the elite class which acted as the intermediary between the people and the colonial government. The principalia's twin responsibilities were to assure delivery to Manila of food supplies and taxes collected, and to maintain loyalty to the new order. In turn, they were given many privileges which guaranteed their superior social and political status in the community.

With the slavery system abolished by the Spanish authorities, a two-class societal structure emerged, with the datu-cabezas forming the upper section and the timawa and former slaves, the lower section. The cabezas collected tribute to maintain their economic control over the peasants. Villagers unable to pay the imposed taxes were forced to borrow from the principalia at usurious rates. This arrangement was known as *samacan*; the peasant-borrower was called the *casamac*. The excessively high interest exacted kept the peasant in perpetual debt. However, this new burden did not seem to unduly distress the peasants as the presence of a recognized leader among them gave them a sense of security.

Manila was opened to world commerce in 1790, when the Real Compania de Filipinas (Royal Philippine Company), a joint venture of the government and a private corporation, started direct trade between the Philippines and Spain, ushering the country into a new era of economic activity. In Pampanga the demands of the world market caused a gradual shift from rice to sugar as the major crop. Sugar became the principal source of income and wealth for both the native elite and Spanish officialdom.

The prevalence of cash-crop agriculture gave rise to a new group of Pampango: the business-minded Chinese mestizos. A product of the intermarriage of Chinese men and native women, the mestizos eventually moved away from their original settlement in Guagua. They mixed with the general population in the town centers, established small businesses, accepted local manners and customs, and intermarried with native men and women. The mestizos loaned to small landlords the capital needed in switching from rice to sugar. In return, the landlords pledged their property as collateral. In this manner, ownership of considerable areas of agricultural land was transferred from native to mestizo.

Increasing control of the community's economic life meant an increase in social and political clout. Before long, the Pampango principalia began to be dominated by the

newcomers. To preserve their position, native families found it necessary to intermarry with mestizos.

As the new industry continued to progress, the new principalia was becoming an elite. Apart from controlling the economy, they penetrated the professions, including the priesthood. They gradually began using the Spanish language which further alienated them from the peasantry. Desiring to consolidate their wealth and enlarge their sphere of influence, the leading families of one pueblo intermarried with those of other pueblos.

The sugar boom continued in the 19th century, and rice was displaced as the number one produce of the province. The function of the land changed, from the culture of food crops for consumption to production for trade. More and more, land became the source of wealth and power. The *cacique*, as the landlords were now called, started using labor contracts in dealing with their tenants. The tenants hardly had enough income at the end of each crop season to enable them to save and move up the social ladder. They incurred debts which they eventually passed on to their children, thus perpetuating their tenant status.

As Pampanga drew closer to Manila through economic contact, the native-mestizo upper class became more modern in behavior and outlook. They began to imbibe western attitudes through association with Spaniards and visiting Europeans as well as through their schooling. This group of *ilustrado*, the enlightened ones, mostly European educated and Spanish speaking, occupied the topmost level of the hierarchical structure of Pampango society.

Below the ilustrados were the other landowners who confined themselves to managing their estates within the province. The least prestigious belonging to this class was the group of professionals who emerged as a result of the cash-crop economy. Their status derived from the practice of their profession rather than ownership of land.

Pampanga may have been initially indifferent towards the political conflict raging in the late 19th century in the neighboring Tagalog provinces. However, a few Pampango ilustrado, like Jose Alejandrino, already introduced to liberal thinking through their European sojourn, supported the clamor for reform initiated by the Tagalog ilustrado like Jose Rizal and Marcelo del Pilar. In the beginning, few, even among the peasantry, seemed interested in joining the more militant mass-based Katipunan movement of Bonifacio, mainly because the problems facing the Tagalog were not as severely felt in Pampanga: there were no large church estates, and ownership of much of the arable land was with the Pampango themselves. Furthermore, the paternalistic relations between the landlords and peasants was still operative.

Later, however, escalating hostilities spread throughout the province. A Pampango contingent fought in a battle at Orani in Bataan while some joined Aguinaldo in Cavite.

Many Pampango, however, remained loyal to Spain and some, like the Macabebe soldiers, served as volunteers in the colonial army.

The attitude of the Pampango significantly changed when Aguinaldo reached the area and switched from open fighting to guerrilla tactics. The first Katipunan secret cell in the province was established in Guagua in August 1897, and in June 1898, Pampanga committed itself to the revolutionary cause. Upon the establishment of the first Philippine Republic, many belonging to the Pampango elite took office under the new government. Jose Alejandrino and Jose Infante, two of the more prominent Pampango at the time, served in the Constitutional Convention at Malolos, Bulacan in 1898. Tiburdo Hilario served as provincial governor, and Ceferino Joven as mayor of Bacolor. The provincial council was composed of Joven, Hilario, Mariano Vicente Henson, Mariano Alimurung, and Roman Valdes.

When the Philippine Republic went to war with the United States, Pampanga was still on the side of the revolutionary forces. However, as American troops started to overrun the province, its support for Aguinaldo began to waver. By applying the formula of the carrot and the stick, the new colonizers were able to subdue all remaining Pampango resistance. Aguinaldo had failed to stop American aggression, and soon Pampanga accepted the aggressors and their offer of peace and stability.

As Pampanga entered the 20th century under a new colonial regime, the Pampango elite learned a new style of politics. The electoral contests for coveted government positions gave rise to local politics oriented to personalities rather than issues, and characterized by weak party discipline and results constantly disputed in court. Suffrage required stringent qualifications and participation was limited in practice to the upper class.

The lower class had to contend with a continuing agricultural depression. Government neglect, the decline of sugar in the world market, as well as natural causes contributed to the economic crisis. The landlords stuck to the traditional modes of agriculture instead of adapting modern farming techniques as required by the new cash-crop economy.

The penchant for socializing of the upper class, which was flourishing under the new regime, gave rise to social clubs. These exclusive clubs served to provide an opportunity for young people to meet others of their own age and class, and for older ones to make business contacts in a social setting. Members used the clubs as venue for theatrical productions for various celebrations, and grand balls which were reported in the national newspapers. More notable clubs were the La Sociedad Hormiga de Hierro (The Iron Ant Society) of Lubao, the Union Angelina of Angeles, the El Circulo Fernandino of San Fernando, and La Mancomunidad Pampangueña of the entire province.

The increasing political, social, and intellectual participation of the elite in nonagricultural concerns triggered an exodus of landowning families from the barrios

to the town centers. The proliferation of new schools and universities offered alternatives to traditional life. Managing a farm in the barrio had lost its appeal for most of the landowners' children. Meanwhile, the peasants remained isolated from the new culture geographically, socially, and politically. The bonds which had traditionally held the two classes together were starting to weaken.

A clear illustration of this growing schism was the acceptance by the peasantry of Felipe Salvador and his quasi-religious movement called Santa Iglesia. Salvador joined the revolution in 1896 and became a colonel in Aguinaldo's army. When the Americans took over, he retreated to the Candaba swamp where he conducted independent guerrilla operations. After escaping from captivity, he created his own religious cult which spread rapidly and gained adherents from the neighboring provinces of Tarlac, Bulacan, Nueva Ecija, and Pangasinan. Cloaked in religious mysticism, his simple and basic program tried to answer the clamor of peasants everywhere: ownership of the land they were tilling after the overthrow of the government. The Cathohc Church, alarmed at the Iglesia's growing popularity, excommunicated all its members. The Constabulary, on the other hand, fearing its revolutionary potential, sought its dissolution. Salvador was later recaptured and executed. The Iglesia was not heard of again.

Market conditions improved from 1911 to 1921. Two modern sugar centrals were opened which launched a new agricultural era. Increased credit assistance, government encouragement in the form of new facilities and technical literature, and the high price of sugar led planters to expand their production, and to adopt modern farming techniques. Signs of the new scientific farming proliferated: tractors, centrals, steam rice mills (rice was already being grown commercially), among others. The technical components of a modern agricultural society led to social and economic adjustments. As the upper class came upon new ways of increasing profit and lessening their dependence on the peasants, the tenants found their traditional source of economic and social security, the landlord-casamac relationship, threatened for the first time.

Towards the end of the period, indications of landlord dissatisfaction with the old tenancy system were starting to surface. Commercial agriculture demanded seasonal workers more than tenant farmers since labor was needed only at peak times. Furthermore, the planters had discovered that outside workers could be hired at cut-rate wages and that modern equipment such as tractors eliminated the need for the services of some of their tenants. Because of these conditions, the landlords saw three options: impose more stringent demands upon the tenant by stricter enforcement of the landlord-tenant arrangement; simply evict the inefficient and extraneous tenants; or transform the tenant into a daily wage worker and employ him on a seasonal basis. The landlord often settled for the last two options.

Soon, the tenants came to realize the inequities of the system under which they had labored for centuries. Their response to the situation was quick and decisive. Starting with burnings, their protest grew in number. Numerous strikes demanding

a bigger share of the profits were held all over the province. By 1924, strikes were occurring with regularity and the landlords were starting to organize their own protective associations.

The peasants themselves began to rely on new organizations for economic assistance as well as social and political guidance. The Kapatirang Magsasaka, Kalipunang Pambansa ng Magbubukid sa Pilipinas (KPMP), and the Aguman ding Maldang Talapagobra (AMT), which was the mass arm of the Socialist Party founded by Pedro Abad Santos, all had sizeable membership at one time or another. Unlike the Communist Party, the Socialist Party was not outlawed for it did not advocate the overthrow of government. In 1938, when the communist leaders who were jailed in 1932 were pardoned, the two parties merged. Becoming more militant, these groups staged more strikes and other political activities.

Four hours after their sneak attack on Pearl Harbor, the Japanese bombed several places in the Philippines simultaneously, including Clark Air Base, a US military installation located in Angeles. As World War II engulfed the country, peasant leaders Luis Taruc, Juan Feleo, Casto Alejandrino, and others decided in a meeting to form the Hukbo ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon (Hukbalahap). Being "anti-Japanese above all" and using "united front" tactics to win over moderate landlords and the middle class, the peasants and workers of the Hukbalahap adopted a three-point program. The economic program sought to provide the people with sustenance and at the same time thwart Japanese plans to "rob the country." Discrediting the "puppet regime" and destroying its influence constituted the political program, while the military program called for the harassment and elimination of the enemy whenever possible.

The iron-clad unity and discipline of the Huks made them a most effective resistance organization. Not long after, the whole of Central Luzon and a few other provinces became Huk territory. They took over the towns and the municipal governments as well as the properties of the landlords who evacuated to Manila. Many of these landlords refused to return to their homes for fear of liquidation by the Huks. Even the Japanese feared the Huks more than they did other guerrilla units.

The Huks emerged from the war as the dominant political power in the province and in January 1945, Alejandrino was named provisional governor. The Huks, however, were taken by surprise when the Americans began to disarm, arrest, and even execute their supposed allies. All Huk-installed officials were removed and replaced by USAFFE (United States Armed Forces in the Far East) guerrillas whom the Huks considered rivals. The wealthy landlords, on the other hand, hired Filipino military police and civilian guards, who raided Huk territories and sometimes killed people wantonly, as shown in the Maliwalu, Bacolor massacre of innocent civilians. President Manuel Roxas maneuvered to have duly elected Luis Taruc and his Democratic Alliance companions unseated from Congress.

Failing to quell the rising tide of protest, the Roxas administration issued a

proclamation outlawing the Huk, whose name had now changed to Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan. Roxas' successor, Elpidio Quirino, in an effort to restore peace and order, as well as faith and confidence in the government, granted full amnesty to the rebels, but this did not succeed. In October 1950, amid rumors that the Huk would invade Manila and seize Malacañang Palace, the entire politburo was arrested mainly through the efforts of then Secretary of National Defense Ramon Magsaysay. The surrender of Luis Taruc in 1954 during the incumbency of President Magsaysay dealt the final blow to the movement. Utterly demoralized and faced with organizational problems, the remaining members either surrendered or were captured with hardly a fight.

As conditions continued to deteriorate in the countryside, the Pampanga peasantry placed their hope on a provincemate who was elected to the presidency in 1961. Diosdado Macapagal, who had experienced poverty and peasant oppression in his native Lubao, saw the need for immediate social amelioration. His Land Reform Code, greatly emasculated by a landlord-controlled Congress, was passed. One of the important provisions of the code was the abolition of the share tenancy system which was perceived to be the main cause of agrarian unrest, and its replacement by the agricultural leasehold system.

As the economic contradictions of the traditional landlord-tenant relationship persist, the struggle for political control in the countryside continues.

The eruption of Mount Pinatubo in 1991 flooded many Pampanga towns with lahar, burying rice agricultural land under volcanic sand and destroying roads, bridges, schools, and homes. This has displaced many a peasant family, and has led to the evacuation of families and the abandonment of agricultural lands.

After the Senate decision to terminate the Philippine-US Agreement on the bases, the US forces finally withdrew from Clark Air Base, leaving the local and national government free to plan the use of the bases by the Republic.

Economy

Before the 1991 Pinatubo eruption, Pampanga was considered the second most industrialized province in the country in terms of investments, next only to Cebu. To be sure, it was still mainly agricultural, as it was one of the major suppliers of the country's rice and sugar. However, Pampanga pursued a fast-paced industrial development, emerging as number one in terms of proportionate growth (Flores 1990).

The province also boasts of industries, like the manufacture of garments, toys, Christmas decor, handicrafts such as baskets, ceramics, furniture and woodcraft, cold storage facilities, as well as food processing and prawn culture. Its food industry has also been augmented with fish and meat preserves, sweets, and crab paste. A smelter plant operates in Apalit and a paper mill in Mabalacat.

Today two recently set up trade zones have increased the province's income and generated employment, cushioning the adverse effects of the Mount Pinatubo eruption and the subsequent pullout of US military troops from Clark Air Base in Angeles. The Philippine Christmas or Paskuhan Village in San Fernando showcases its giant and colorful lanterns and other distinctly Pampango export products, such as finely carved Betis furniture. The Angeles Livelihood Village, on the other hand, is a complex designed to house business and industrial enterprises.

Pampanga's proximity to Manila, supported by a network of roads and communication facilities, are assets that attract investments. For instance, the new Ninoy Aquino byway, which connects Concepcion, Tarlac with the eastern towns of Magalang, Mexico, Arayat, and San Fernando, has encouraged trade between towns, as well as with neighboring provinces.

Political System

During the pre-Spanish era, the country was divided into autonomous villages called barangay, each ruled by a datu. The datu's responsibilities included determining the time for planting and harvesting, serving as military leader, and as judge in cases where he is not involved. His power was not absolute, but he had special privileges before the law and could only be tried in special cases by a tribunal of datu from other villages.

When the Spaniards came, Pampanga was organized into a province or an alcaldia for the purpose of pacification, taxation, conversion, and acculturation. Administrator of the province was the *alcalde mayor,* now known as the provincial governor who supervised tax collection and was responsible to the royal officials in Manila.

The province or *alcaldia* was divided into pueblos which in turn were divided into distrito or divisions. Each *distrito* was divided into barrios, and each barrio was subdivided into barangays which were composed of 40 to 100 families each. As the Spanish government was undermanned at the local level, the natives were given a chance at leadership through election as gobernadorcillo, or head of the pueblo. The gobernadorcillos were chosen yearly, and were put in charge of local tax supervision, as well as given executive and judical responsibilities. Severe shortage of personnel and the perceived need to cultivate good relations with local leaders further prodded the authorities to appoint former datu as heads of their respective barangays. The datu saw this as an opportunity to strengthen their control over their jurisdiction. The position of cabeza was made hereditary, thus assuring the perpetuation or rule by those already occupying the position. To strengthen further the datu's hold, the Spanish authorities made a ruling that only the cabezas de barangay (the title given to the datus) were eligible to aspire for the position of gobernadorcillo. The various cabezas and gobernadorcillos became collectively known as the principalia.

Endowed with political power and its attendant high social status, certain families began to establish political dynasties in their respective towns. In Macabebe, for instance, only 13 families held the position of gobernadorcillo within a period of 150 years, between 1615 and 1765. The most frequent holders were various members of the Salonga, Centeno, Songsong, Tolentino, and Zabala families. Later, the Chinese mestizos, through their financial assets and resourcefulness, succeeded in penetrating the enclave of the native landholding elite, thus becoming part of the new principalia.

Not long after, the phenomenon of intermarriage between leading families of different pueblos began, ushering in the dispersal of these ruling families throughout the entire province. This explains how and why their names appear on the gobernadorcillo lists for different towns under different times. Examples are the David, who appear as leaders in Bacolor and San Fernando, and the Dizon, who appear in Guagua, Mabalacat, and San Fernando. Further changes in the names entered in the gobernadorcillo lists occurred as a result of the transformation of Pampango economy in the 19th century from agricultural to cash crop. Then, names of Chinese mestizo families started to outnumber the old names, until about 1826, when the distinction between the two disappeared.

Shortage of qualified personnel plagued the American colonial government. This, coupled with the vaunted Republican ideal of American political thought, prompted the Americans to encourage wider Filipino participation in the running of government. Political parties were formed and elections were held for various government positions. Understandably, the list of governors, appointed and elected, during the American colonial period, continued to show the same elite names like Joven, Arnedo, Liongson, Ventura, David, Henson, Lagman, and Baluyut.

Today, Pampanga, with a population of 1,530,000, and, operating as a local government unit, consists of a city (Angeles), 21 municipalities, and 536 barangay. The officials of the provincial government are: the governor, vice-governor, and the members of the Sangguniang Panlalawigan or provincial legislature, who are elected; and the provincial secretary, treasurer, assessor, budget officer, engineer, agriculturist, and a planning and development coordinator, who are appointed. The Sangguniang Panlalawigan is made up of the governor, vice-governor, elected members of the Sanggunian, and the presidents of the Katipunang Panlalawigan and the Kabataang Barangay Provincial Federation who are appointed by the President of the Philippines (*Philippine National Statistics Office 1990).*

Social Organization and Customs

As exemplified by Barrio Cabetican in Bacolor in 1970, the Pampango traditional kinship structure may be of the bilateral type, i.e., relationship may be reckoned equally on both the father's and mother's side. However, there are families which deviate from this general pattern, as when tension and strain occur among relatives.

This internal conflict may be caused by either inequality of property holdings, or geographical distance which puts a barrier to the execution of kinship rights and obligations (Santico 1970).

Within the structure, relationship is determined both horizontally and vertically. Vertical structure considers both the ascending and descending generations. The horizontal structure reckons relationship bilaterally, and includes first, second, and third cousins from the mother and father sides (Santico 1970).

The definition of a family as a social group characterized by common residence, economic cooperation, and reproduction does not always hold true for Pampango families. The study shows that there are families whose children work in Manila. Although they may be in Manila on weekdays, they may still constitute a part of the nuclear family. Economic cooperation is manifested in the way unmarried children are obligated to support the family financially. The rights and duties exercised and expected among members of the family may likewise include obligations to neighbors. The barrio people do not put geographical limits to their neighborhood. They define it according to their own circumstances and understanding of it.

Community affairs are an important part of the family's activities. Through its participation in these affairs, it is motivated to conform to the norms and standards of behavior set by the community. The community, in turn, provides the family with identity and status. These community affairs, where the cooperation of everyone is expected to ensure their success, are largely religious, such as barrio fiestas, or political, such as elections of barrio officials (Santico 1970).

Ritual kinship among the barrio people is traditionally established and strengthened by the performance of rituals. Compliance with the performance of four important religious rites are considered imperative: baptism, confirmation, devotion to the saints, and marriage. Traditional Pampango believe that the performance of the baptismal rites make their children good Christians; confirmation rites make them "soldiers of God"; devotions to patron saints provide them with an intercessor in times of need and distress; and marriage strengthens the bond of couples.

The Pampango life cycle involves events in life which function as crucial "rites of passage." These are: conception and pregnancy, childbirth, infancy, childhood, puberty and adolescence, courtship and marriage, and death and burial.

To the Pampango, the first three months of pregnancy are known as *cacagli* (conception). A newlywed couple awaits conception with excitement at the prospect of becoming parents, and, at the same time, fears that bearing a child may not be realized. A childless couple turns to prayers and novenas. Couples who already have several children fear the coming of an additional burden on the family. Among the beliefs attached to this stage of life is one that has to do with eating certain foods which could affect the physical appearance of the baby.

Kabulanan or *aldo* muna is the month of child delivery. Childbirth in the barrio may be witnessed by relatives, both child and adult. Usually the father and other male members of the household are requested to leave the house or the delivery room. The husband's role is considered minor and his presence depends on the wishes of the wife. As soon as the baby is delivered, it is cleaned and dressed, and then laid beside the mother.

Santico (1970) observes that a Pampango child is guided along the various stages of life, each with corresponding roles, to prepare him/her for the demands of adulthood. There are around 10 stages in the Pampango life cycle: *pungo*l (newborn); *manaquit* (the baby can see); *sasacab* (the baby can roll back); *lulucluc* (the baby can sit alone); *tinubo ne ipan* (the baby has teeth); *lalacad ne* (the child can walk); *mamulai ne* (the child can run around); a *panaligan mo ne* (the child can be sent on errands); *lalabas n*e (the child starts to help in the field), or if a girl, *malalacuan queng bale* (the child can be depended upon to do household chores); *baing tao* ("new person"), meaning he has come of age and can court, marry, and establish his own family; or she has come of age, can marry, and manage her own household. How well the individual assumes these different roles without discontinuity and strain depends to a large extent upon the kind of training the person receives from family, elders, and peers.

The barrio people generally regard babies as "bundles of joy." The father may be given the privilege of selecting the baby's name. The mother takes care of the baby's needs. Old people believe that in order to make the bones of the infant strong and firm, the mother must rub her hands together and then touch the knees and nape of the infant before she washes her hands in the morning.

When the child can already walk and talk, it is allowed to leave the house to play with other children within the *mulahan* (yard). Since it is the mother that takes care of the children, she is expected to discipline and teach them in the ways of the community, such as making *siclud* (kissing the hand of elders). Children from 7 to 10 years of age are expected to do household chores, such as taking care of their younger siblings.

Menstruation, the transition from childhood to puberty, is viewed by the barrio people as the start of a new life for the girls. At the onset of the monthly period, the mother cautions her daughter on a lot of things, such as her dealings with boys of her age. She is also expected to observe certain taboos, such as eating sour fruits and taking a bath during her period.

For boys, circumcision signals the beginning of the age of puberty. A number of beliefs are observed. For example: no female member of the household must be within glancing distance when the wound is being cleaned; boys must never use any part of a torn dress or any material used by a female member of the household to dress the wound as this could lead to infection.

To the barrio folk, the ideal courtship starts with friendship blossoming into engagement. The *baing-tao* (gentlemen) of the barrio prefer *dalaga* (maidens) from other barrios as they are inclined to consider those from their own barrio as their own siblings. It is usual for men to go courting together with friends. The parents, however, prefer their sons to court ladies from their own barrio as these are already known to them. When this happens, courtship is usually done through letters and not through home visitation to avoid the prying eyes of the barrio folk. Teasing is oftentimes used by suitors to pave the way for formal courtship. The use of a go-between is also a favorite mode of courtship.

Mamanhican is the term for the wedding arrangement proposed by the parents of the boy to the parents of the girl. The giving of *duro* (dowry) to the bride's parents used to be a popular custom but is fast disappearing because the practice is "like buying the girl." But in some instances, dowry is given to the couple instead so they can have something to start with in their married life. Certain beliefs attached to the wedding are expected to be observed. For instance, the date of the wedding must be on a full moon. This is considered important because the full moon connotes the promise of a successful and prosperous marriage. Another is the patuqui or the practice of allowing the bride to go and stay with the groom's family even before the church rites are solemnized. This stems from the belief that it is dangerous for either of the engaged couple to leave the house as the wedding date approaches for fear of an accident or abduction by a rejected suitor. Civil rites are usually performed while waiting for the church wedding to preempt unpleasant talk in the community. Members of the girl's family must keep from attending the wedding ceremony and feast because this is their way of conveying their sentiments for the loss of a daughter or sister. After the wedding, the couple proceeds to the house of the girl's parents to ask for their blessings, and then to the other relatives to introduce the groom personally. Following custom, the newlyweds stay in the house of the groom's parents until they can afford a place of their own.

However, many couples resort to *positara* or elopement for a number of reasons, including avoidance of expense or parental objection to the marriage. The elopement, however, must be reported to the municipio (town hall) within 24 hours to avoid the charge of abduction which the parents of the girl might file against the boy.

To the barrio people, death represents the end of everything. They believe that the *aligawa*t (omen or premonition) comes side by side with death, and only close kin and friends can see or envision one's death which may be in several forms. *Pamanimu* (cleaning of the corpse) follows immediately after the person is pronounced dead, in preparation for *burol* (lying in state) and burial. The cleaning must be left entirely under the care of a capanalig or *capaliguran* (close friend), and no immediate member of the family must have a hand in it. The unity or cohesiveness of a group is visibly shown in times of crisis like death, when friends, relatives, and barriomates extend all possible help to the bereaved family. The assistance usually comes in the form of *ambag* (financial contribution) or personal

service such as preparing the food to be served to those who attend the wake.

The *pamanagulele* (weeping while recalling in a loud voice the good deeds of the dead) by immediate members of the family and friends of the deceased is done during the wake. They believe that this is the best way to express their grief over their loss. Card games such as *tres-siete* (three-seven) are played by those who attend the wake.

Beliefs are associated with the whole duration of the wake. One should not take a bath because he/she might fall ill. The floor must not be swept as this might cause sweeping away the entire family to death. No tear must fall on the coffin for this could signal the death of another member of the family.

The *pangadi* (nine-day prayer) starts the night after the burial. Participation is voluntary and no invitations are extended. The bulaclacan, a parlor game done especially for the occasion, is played by young men and women. On the ninth day, a mass is offered for the soul of the departed relative, after which a feast—big or small, depending on the financial capability of the family—is held.

In urbanized centers of Pampanga and among westernized Pampango, many of these beliefs and customs have given way to modern practices.

Religious Beliefs and Practices

As one of the provinces that had been colonized by Spain for over three centuries, Pampanga is a center of Catholicism. Today, the bishop of San Fernando is the most important religious leader. To this day, the Pampango's life is heavily influenced by the Catholic religion—from birth to death. Not surprisingly, many of the traditional beliefs and practices associated with lowland Christian folk culture are still observed in the province, especially in the more rural areas.

The barrio fiesta, as much a social as a religious activity, is celebrated in honor of the patron saint of the barrio with pomp and extravagance. Buntings crisscross the streets. The people are awakened early in the morning by a brass band roaming the streets. Households prepare the famous Pampango cuisine for the guests. Everyone is welcome to enter the homes and sample the food.

Christmas is another special day, as in the rest of Christian Philippines. San Fernando has a particularly colorful way of celebrating the season with its unique multipatterned and multilighted lanterns sold as early as the first day of November. The Christmas season in the country officially begins on the 16th of December with the start of the nine-day *misa de gallo* or dawn mass which culminates on Christmas eve. The Pampango wake up at early dawn to hear mass, and take an early breakfast of native cakes and tea.

During the Lenten season, the *tabad* or flagellation is practiced as a way of fulfilling

religious vows for favors asked or granted. The whipping or scourging is done upon a flagellant by oneself or by another person. Flagellants are usually males, who walk barefoot, and whose faces are covered with cloth and leaves.

Another popular Lenten penance is the carrying of the cross. Devotees from San Fernando, Angeles, and other towns carry their cross in imitation of Jesus Christ's journey to Calvary. In San Fernando, the more courageous ones, or those with a solemn vow, have themselves nailed with 4- to-5-inch nails on the cross, and remain nailed usually for 5 to 10 minutes.

The *sinakulo* or passion play, dramatizing the suffering, death, and resurrection of Christ, used to be performed quite often, complete with props, costumes, and sets, during Holy Week at the church yard or town plaza. The sinakulo of Barrio Cutud in San Fernando, Pampanga has attracted a lot of media and tourist interest because it has featured for the last so many years the actual nailing on the cross of actors playing the role of Jesus. The *pasyon*, on the other hand, is chanted on the Sundays of Lent and during Holy Week, usually by the community's elder womenfolk, before an altar built especially for the occasion. Chairs are placed around the altar for those who want to participate or listen. Food is prepared by the sponsors for everyone who comes to the *pabasa*.

May ushers in the *flores de Mayo*, a churchsponsored devotion where children and young ladies offer flowers to the Virgin Mary everyday for the entire month. Also celebrated in May, the *Santa Cruz de Mayo* or the Holy Cross of May festival commemorates the finding of the cross on which Christ died by Reyna Elena (Queen Helene) of Constantinople. It is celebrated with an evening procession around the community. Participating in the procession lighted by candles, gas or electric lamps, are an assortment of biblical characters dressed up in full finery. Usually at the tail end of the procession, string or brass bands accompany a group of singers singing the "Hail Mary" in Spanish. The most beautiful maiden of the town or barrio usually portrays the Reyna Elena, while the most charming boy plays the role of Constantine, her son. At the end of the procession, a *pabitin* is held, where a bamboo bower laden with toys, delicacies, charms, and adorned with paper buntings is lowered and raised intermittently as both children and adults vie in reaching for the prizes. The day is not complete without serving the *lelut manuc* (chicken congee) to participants and guests.

All Saints' Day on 1 November is one of the most important occasions of the year. In the morning, the *daun* or the first offering to the dead, is made. Throughout the day, the members of the family keep vigil over the grave sites which have been previously cleaned, repaired, and repainted. Candles, flowers, and food (among the Chinese Filipinos) are offered. At sunset, the local priest goes around to bless all the graves. Outside the cemeteries, groups of singers troop from house to house singing religious songs, after which they receive either money or goods. This is known as *pacatingi.* Other groups, mostly young men, roam around the neighborhood stealing chickens or fruits. The victims of these sorties are usually

not offended, as the practice is done in fun and considered part of the celebration.

Architecture and Community Planning

The plaza complex pattern in town planning, which exists today in many Pampanga towns, was introduced by the Spaniards. Dominating the town square or plaza is the Catholic church. Nearby or attached to the church is the convento, the home of the parish priest. Across the church stands the *casa real* or *munisipyo* (town hall), signifying the closeness of the church and the state during the Spanish period. The schools, parochial and public, are likewise situated at or near the plaza. At a short distance from the plaza is the market, which consists of semipermanent stalls for traders who do regular business, and an open space for ambulant vendors who usually sell agricultural products. Near the market are dry-goods stores usually run by Chinese Filipinos, and small shops of local artisans. The marketplace operates not only as a business center but as an information and gossip hub as well. The houses of the more affluent and prominent families are found around or near the town center. The dwellings of the less affluent occupy the peripheral areas. At the outskirts of each municipality are the barrios, connected to the town center by feeder roads. The old towns are usually found beside the river on the site of pre-Spanish settlements, but all towns are connected by the old Spanish road.

The *kapitolyo* complex was established by the Americans in San Fernando, the town which they made capital of the province in 1903. In the provincial site of many hectares, which is a short distance from the old plaza complex, the capitol building is most prominent, and is surrounded by the provincial high school, hospital, courts, jails, and a park. To the Americans may also be ascribed a number of infrastructures still existing, such as bridges and highways which interconnected the different towns of the province and encouraged the establishment of residential and commercial structures lining these highways.

A Pampango's economic and social status is readily seen in the way the homes are built. Bahay kubo, the traditional house of the lower class, is made of light materials such as bamboo and wood. It is often a narrow, elevated structure with a steep roof of nipa or grass thatch, with windows made of the same material. The flooring, usually of split bamboos nailed or tied in horizontal rows with narrow strips of rattan, is raised 2.4 to 3 meters from the ground. Four corner posts are made of wood, sometimes combined with bamboo to provide security against the elements. Because of its elevation, the house needs a bamboo ladder. The batalan, a structure adjacent to the kitchen, usually contains the *tapayan*, a big earthen jar used to store water for washing. In the early days, the leaves of *paquiling* (ficus) were used to scrub the furniture, while the floor was polished with the leaves of saguin a bututan (Henson 1963).

The affluent maintain spacious, durable, comfortable, and elegant homes made of

substantial materials. The *bahay na bato* was one of the styles that spread across the country during the 19th and early 20th century. Made of wood and stone, the structure is strong enough to withstand typhoons and earthquakes. Raised above the ground by a stone wall, the house usually has a grand staircase with carved balustrades leading from the first floor to the living quarters on the second floor. The floors and walls of the second floor are of solid wood. There are large *ventana* (window) panels with panes made of glass or translucent shells more popularly known as capiz. *Ventanillas* (small windows) may also be opened underneath the ventanas. To help air circulate inside the house, *calados* (cut out wooden panels) are installed on the top of the walls dividing the rooms. The house has a spacious sala or living room, and further inside, a dining room, several bedrooms, and a kitchen. Usually attached to the kitchen (in place of the batalan) is the *azotea*, an open terrace with stone or ceramic balustrade and a tiled floor.

Examples of existing bahay-na-bato structures in Pampanga are the homes of affluent families such as those of the Buencamino and Arnedo in Apalit; the Hizon, Rodriguez, Lazatin, and Ocampo in San Fernando; the de Leon, Malig, Gonzalez, Joven, and Panlilio in Bacolor; the Lopez and Pecson in Guagua; the Reyes and Castor in Candaba; the Alvendia in Floridablanca; the Lazatin and Dizon in Mexico; and the Maglalang in Santa Rita.

Over the years, most of the traditional structures were replaced by modern ones made of cement and/or bricks, patterned after western architecture, and found in the more developed areas in the province. The one-story house has two types: the *tsalet* (chalet) popular during the American period, which was slightly elevated from the ground and had a balcony in front of or running around the house; and the bungalow, a concrete house built on the ground itself. Two-story houses, which are related to the bahay kubo and the bahay na bato, are now most common. Regardless of size, the typical house is never without the sala or living room, the *comedor* (dining room), the *cocina* (kitchen), and the *cuarto* (bedroom).

In deprived areas, the lower class is forced to make do with an assortment of materials—wood, galvanized iron, even cardboard—for a patched-up *barong-barong* (shanty).

Another architectural legacy of the Spanish period are the churches. Pampanga was administered from 1572 to 1898 by the Augustinians who supervised the building of the churches of the province.

The Lubao Church is massive and of solid and durable masonry of stone and bricks. In neoclassic style, it has a five-story belfry the plainness of which complements the simple facade of the church, and is in sharp contrast to the profusely ornamented convent at the opposite end. The church is considered one of the rare monuments of 17th-century Philippine architecture.

In the baroque style, the facade of the Betis Church is enlivened by columns which are

decorative rather than functional. The recently built portico is decorated with flower, spiral, curvilinear, and other intricate carvings as well as mouldings. Its four-story bell tower has alternating flat and arched windows. Betis has one of the most ornate retablo in the Philippines, murals on all walls featuring trompe 1'oeil details, colored glass windows, and a wooden floor.

Made principally of bricks, the Macabebe Church was extended in 1864, making it one of the largest in the Philippines. Its facade is only slightly ornamented following the neoclassic style. The overcrowded carvings on the third level of the three-story bell tower detracts from the generally simple lines of the facade.

The Candaba Church facade's predominant characteristics are simplicity of line and restrained ornamentation. The three-story bell tower mounted on rectangular pedestals interlocks with the church and convent to form a solid-looking unified whole.

The church of Bacolor was restored in 1852 after having been damaged by an earthquake. Richly decorated, it belongs to an advanced stage of the baroque style. Its main doorway and the windows of both the church and bell tower are arched and ornamented with very intricate designs.

Apalit Church is reminiscent of European neoclassic churches. It is unusual because it has twin bell towers sandwiching the facade. It still retains the old murals on its walls and ceilings which depict scenes from the Old and the New Testaments.

The Minalin church-convent complex is enclosed by a low stone atrium with four *capillas posas* (outside altars), considered rare in the Philippines. The retablolike facade of the church and the lavish floral decorations of the main entrance and the windows above it are its most striking features.

The facade of Santa Rita Church is solid, while the columns, single and coupled, are relatively slender. It has baroque features, notably the triangular-shaped windows at the facade and the bell tower; and the undulating line and the volutes of the pediment.

Finished in the late 18th century, San Luis Church has twin bell towers flanking the stone facade which showcases the "waves" of European Baroque. The carved main entrance is recessed. Flanked by two small niches, the door is crowned with the papal insignia. Triangular, segmented, and arched window panels and arched and oval-shaped blind windows are the only decorations of the facade.

Other notable Pampanga churches are those of Guagua, Angeles, and San Fernando.

Visual Arts and Crafts

A famous artist of the 19th century was Simon Flores of Bacolor whose excellent oil renditions of eminent men and women are recognized as masterworks. Born in 1839 of poor parents, he started his career by studying drawing and oil painting in Manila

under the tutelage of famous art professors. His first work, a painting of Spanish King Amadeo I, was praised by critics. This painting was donated to the town of San Fernando in celebration of a royal feast. His entries to painting contests here and abroad won top prizes. Major works include religious paintings, genre paintings, and the two group portraits of the family of Cirilo Quiason; the last considered masterpieces of 19th-century portraiture. Flores also engaged in sculpture and architectural design. He did designs for altars and church vaults, particularly for the church of Angeles, whose construction was unfortunately not finished.

In the 20th century, an outstanding Pampango sculptor is Juan C. Flores, popularly known as Apong Juan. Born in Betis in 1900 of fisherfolk, he left his hometown to seek his fortune in Manila. He became an apprentice under wood-carver Maximo Vicente. After working for six years with the artists of the University of the Philippines College of Fine Arts on R. Hidalgo Street, he went back to Betis and taught his relatives and townmates, the art of wood carving and sculpture. His students became fathers and teachers to other artists, thus ensuring the continuity of the tradition of sculpture in Betis. Flores' numerous works such as historical bas-reliefs and murals, religious statues, biblical tableaux, chandeliers, console and mirror sets, altar tables, candleholders, and other furniture pieces, can be found in Malacañang and other private collections here and abroad. In 1972 his bust of Richard Nixon won top prize in an international competition held in Washington D.C. The work is now in the White House.

Other Pampango artists are Emilio Aguilar Cruz, Rodrigo Paras Perez, and Claude Tayag.

The artistic bent of the Pampango finds expression in folk art. The handcrafted Christmas lanterns, which depict flowers, bells, angels, and other Christmas motifs in kaleidoscopic patterns, colors, and lights, were originally made by families in Barrio del Pilar of San Fernando. Today, other barrios in San Fernando create their own huge lanterns, most about 3-4 meters high. These are brought by the people of the barrio on a truck, in procession to the San Fernando town plaza for the exhibition and competition which take place after the midnight mass on Christmas eve. Because these lanterns are uniquely beautiful, they are now made in all sizes not only for the local market but for export as well.

Another Pampango specialty is wood carving on chairs, tables, beds, cabinets, and dressers, as well as doors, balustrades, window railings, wall panels, and room dividers. The wood-carvers of Betis have become famous all over the country. It should be noted that Betis was already known in the 17th and 18th centuries for the carving of images, altars, church ornaments, and furniture, as well as for inlaying of mother-of-pearl and bone, gilding with gold leaf, and painting religious pieces and theater drop curtains.

Literary Arts

Exchanging *bugtung* (riddles) and *casebia*n (proverbs) was a custom in rural areas in the early days at social gatherings like funeral wakes and weddings. This usually took place at night at the house where a gathering was being held. Riddles usually come in couplets with assonantal rhyme, as may be seen in the following (Icban-Castro 1981:18):

Aduang bolang sinulad
Anggang banua miraras. (Mata)

Two balls of thread
Can reach as far as heaven. (Eyes)

Adua lang mikaluguran
Tagalan nong tagalan. (Bitis)

Two friends
In an endless chase. (Feet)

Metung a butil a pale
Sakup ne ing mabilug a bale. (Sulu)

A grain of rice
Occupies an entire house. (Lamp)

Like the riddles, proverbs are usually in rhyming couplets (Icban-Castro 1981:19):

Ing dutung makilala ya
karing kayang bunga.

A tree is known by its fruit.

Ing asung balabaluktut
Butul man e akapulut.

A dog curled up all day
Won't find even a bone.

Nung nanu ya ing tenam
Ya ing pupulan.

What you plant
You will reap.

Spanish influence is seen in the metrical romances which are narrative poetry. Unlike the Tagalog who made a distinction between the *awit* and the *korido* on the basis of syllabic count per line, the Pampango referred to both by the common name kuriru. The *kuriru* in Pampanga are neither sung nor danced, unlike in some other provinces. Many kuriru are translations of Tagalog originals, but four are assumed to be Pampango, there being no editions available in any other vernacular. These are

Conde Irlos, Aring Palmarin, Benero at Ursula, and Madang Dau.

Spanish or Western influence in lyric poetry was adapted by the Pampango at the turn of the century. In Pampango poetry, *sukad* (meter) is determined solely by the number of syllables per *talatag* (line). The most frequent meters are those consisting of 6, 8, 12, and 16 syllables, arranged in a variety of stanzaic patterns. For lyric poetry, the most popular meter is that of 16 syllables in octaves.

Lines of lyric verse in Pampango are usually bound together by *monorima* (monorhymes), though some poets have experimented with more complex rhyme schemes. As a rule, the rhyme involves only the final syllables, thus effecting the so-called *sunis a e sakdal* (masculine or imperfect rhyme). In 1915, Zoilo Hilario introduced into Pampango poetry the use of feminine rhyme, i.e., *sunis a sakdal* or rhyme involving the last two syllables, in the form called *maladalit* (sonnet).

Two other distinguished names in Pampango literature who wrote lyric poetry at the turn of the century were Juan Crisostomo Soto and Aurelio V. Tolentino. Love of country dominates their subjects and themes. *Sulu* (Light) may represent the best of Soto (Hilario-Lacson 1984). Aurelio Tolentino's *Daclat Kayanakan* (Path for the Youth) is a collection of 12 didactic lyric poems, each guiding the youth on proper behavior in the community.

In the early 1930s, Amado Yuzon experimented with the use of *timawang kawatasan* (blank verse) and free verse, aside from what is called the Asian sonnet. Upon his death, it was renamed Yuzonian sonnet by the United Poets Laureate International. Free verse, although used by some of the more innovative poets, did not gain widespread popularity.

The list of lyric poets in Pampango literature is long. One may classify them into three chronological groups. The first group consists of poets who wrote during the first quarter of the present century: Juan Crisostomo Soto, Aurelio and Jacinto Tolentino, Sergio Navarro, Monico Mercado, Brigido Sibug, Agustin Bustos Zabala, Jose Sanchez, and Zoilo Hilario. Writing during a period of political uncertainty, most of these poets wrote passionately on the theme of patriotism and were published in weeklies, such as *Ing Alipatpat* which was edited by Soto.

The second group includes those who wrote poetry in the 15 years preceding the outbreak of the war: Amado Yuzon, Diosdado Macapagal, Roman P. Reyes, Belarmino Navarro, Eusebio Cunanan, Silvestre Punzalan, Francisco Gozun, Salvador Tumang, Lino Dizon, Cirilo Bognot, Gil Galang, Rosa Yumul-Ogsimer, Rosario Tuason-Baluyut, and Aurea Balagtas.

Lino Dizon and Cirilo Bognot were two of the prominent poets of the period who joined Pedro Abad Santos' Socialist Party. The prevailing political unrest in the province in the 1920s and 1930s as well as the political inclination of the poets

showed clearly in their works, as in Dizon's *Pasion ding Talapagobra* (Passion of the Workers), and its companion volume *Biblia Ring Pakakalulu* (The Bible of the Poor).

A third group of poets is composed of those who wrote during the postwar period, such as Jose Gallardo, Delfin Quiboloy, Abdon Jingco, Celestino Vega, and Francisco Fernando. The most prominent in this group is Jose Gallardo who first attracted attention when his *Ing Pamana* (The Legacy), written in 1944 when he was a member of the Hukbalahap, won for him the Yuzon Trophy in a poetry contest in Guagua in 1950. In 1982 he published his first collection of poems, *Diwa.* It features an example of a unique verse form Gallardo claims to have invented called *malikwatas* or magic poem. Here the rearrangement of the verses allows essentially the same poem to appear in four different forms.

After 1946, social justice became a popular subject, second only to the theme of love. *Kapilan pa Kaya* (When May It Be) by Jose M. Santos of Tarlac illustrates this concern. In the 1960s Pampango poetic diction became more liberalized, often using direct and colloquial speech while discarding the figurative speech of the preceding periods. Gallardo's *Ninung Musa…?* (Who is the Muse?) is an illustration of this change in Pampango lyric poetry.

Today's Pampango poets write on a variety of subjects wider than those of their predecessors. Their works reveal other themes, styles, philosophies, and diction, owing mainly to a richer environment and exposure to other literatures through organized literary seminars. Three examples are Oscar Carreon's *Ing Rural Service,* Homer Calma's *Ding Bayani* (The Heroes), and Querubin Fernandez Jr's *Kutang King Sarili* (Self-analysis).

The argumentative verse is represented mainly by the *crissotan,* named in honor of Juan Crisostomo Soto. Described as the younger sibling of the Tagalog *balagtasan,* the form was baptized by Amado Yuzon in 1926 when he and a few friends organized the Aguman Crissot, Crissot being the pseudonym of Soto. In the same year, two years after the first balagtasan was held, they staged the first crissotan in a private home in Santa Cruz, Manila.

The crissotan is essentially a debate conducted entirely in verse, on topics such as: virtue versus beauty; intelligence versus wealth; love versus hate; the pen versus the sword. It usually consists of eight *durut* or rounds; during every round, each of the speakers recites two stanzas. The stanza is usually an octave of 12, sometimes 16, syllables per line, bound together by monorhyme. A *lakandiwa* (moderator) explains the subject of the debate, after which each of the competing poets addresses his muse, imploring inspiration for the duration of the contest. The muse grants the request by giving the poet a flower or a scarf which he wears throughout the debate. One of the speakers is selected winner by a board of judges. A variation of this versified debate involves three debaters instead of the usual two. To distinguish it from the more common crissotan, this variant is called *tolentinuan* in honor of Aurelio V. Tolentino.

It consists of five rounds, with each speaker delivering three stanzas per round, one to present his/her argument and the other two to refute the respective arguments of each opponent.

Aside from metrical romance, lyric poetry, and argumentative verse, Pampango writers created other types of verse narratives. Narrative verse proved to be a flexible medium as the poets used it in a variety of ways. Tolentino, for example, used the 12-syllable quatrain of the awit form for two works that were political allegories, *Kasulatang Gintu* (Gold Inscription), and *Napun, Ngeni at Bukas* (Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow). Kasulatang Gintu attempts to give an account of the prehispanic history of two kingdoms, Wawa and Dayat, in what is now Pampanga. *Napun, Ngeni at Bukas* is more consistently allegorical. Although set in prehispanic times, the characters and events are unmistakably contemporary.

The year 1935 marked the publication of a major narrative poem, *Ketang Milabas* (In the Past) by Monico Mercado. The work is interesting less for its story, a love triangle, than for its historical setting, the outbreak of Philippine-American hostilities in 1899 when the American forces led by General Arthur MacArthur conducted their Pampanga offensive against Filipino forces led by General Tomas Mascardo. The unfolding of the love story is frequently interrupted by lengthy commentaries on miscellaneous aspects of Philippine life and history.

Whether Isaac C. Gomez 's *Calma Ning Alipan* (The Fate of the Slave) may be classified as a verse narrative is debatable, since it bares only the faintest outline of a plot. The narrative proper takes up barely a third of the poem, the rest being an impassioned commentary on contemporary Philippine-American relations.
The highly critical, sometimes cynical, tone of Gomez's commentary is well sustained throughout the poem and reaches a climax in the final allegorical scene.

During the last several decades, long narrative poems have waned in both prominence and popularity but have not completely disappeared. In 1965 Jose Gallardo published a long narrative poem, *A la Diez ning Bengi* (Ten O'Clock at Night). Almost totally devoted to narrative, the relatively complex plot is that of a mystery thriller.

Prose works of the Pampango began in the folktales. The legend of Sinukuan narrates that in the past Sinukuan, the King of Mount Arayat, was disappointed with the people in Candaba, so he transferred the mountain from its original site in Candaba to Arayat, leaving a huge depression now known as the Candaba swamps. Later, Sinukuan got into a battle with Punsalan, King of the Zambales mountain range. Punsalan threw a boulder at Sinukuan's mountain and tore off one section of the mountain's perfect peak. Sinukuan retaliated by throwing many boulders at Punsalan's mountains, creating the many jagged peaks of the Zambales mountain range. Sinukuan was also supposed to have married Mariang Makiling, the goddess of the Laguna mountain. They lived in a golden palace in Arayat and had three daughters— *Mariang Malagu* (Maria the Beautiful), *Mariang Matimtiman* (Maria the Pure), and *Mariang Mahinhin* (Maria the Demure). Later, young men courted

Sinukuan's daughters, and the King, reluctant to give his daughters away, devised trials which he thought impossible to surmount. He asked Mariang Malagu's suitor, Miguel Masikan (Miguel the Strong), to build a tomb bigger than a hundred barns. Masikan succeeded in building the tomb. Next he asked Mariang Matimtiman's suitor, Miguel Matapang (Miguel the Brave), to rid Arayat of all ferocious animals with his magic crystal ball. Matapang led all the animals to the sea. Last, he asked Mariang Mahinhin's suitor, Miguel Masipag (Miguel the Industrious), to trim down the trees of Arayat. Masipag's magic bolo did the job for him. In the end, Sinukuan had to give his daughters away in marriage.

Although largely forgotten, the legend of Sinukuan is still told occasionally by Pampango elders with slight variations. However, in earlier periods up to the 1930s, every child was familiar with the mighty deeds of Sinukuan. From the cycle of legends of Sinukuan have come forth literary works, such as Leon Ma. Gonzalez's *Sinukuan,* Ana Vergara's *Una Leyenda de Arayat* (Legend of Arayat), and Evangelina Hilario-Lacson's *Sinukuan: A Fantasy.*

Pampango literature makes no distinctions among the various types of prose narratives. Short stories, novels, and tales are referred to by the common term *salita,* because of the similarities in subject matter and narrative techniques used by these various forms. The only apparent difference is in their length. The narrations remain basically both romantic and didactic, and therefore are not very different from the kuriru they were meant to replace.

Lidia, 1907, by Juan Crisostomo Soto is the first narrative of its kind in Pampango literature. By using contemporary material for the plot, and prose as medium, Soto gave his work the features of modernity and realism that were to ultimately distinguish the new prose narratives from the metrical romances. *Lidia* remains the most popular novel in Pampango literature, a rank it shares with only one other work, Aurelio V. Tolentino's *Ing Buac nang Ester* (A Strand of Ester's Hair), 1911. In subject matter, the former might be said to have set the rule for Pampango fiction, and the latter to have been the exception that confirmed the rule.

Lidia is about a love triangle involving Lidia, her sweetheart Hector, and her secret admirer F.D. Hector and Lidia have professed undying love for each other, so he is distraught to find her avoiding him. One Christmas eve, he appears beneath her window and pleads with her to explain her strange silence. Lidia's only answer is to return his love letters and to demand hers back. Later Hector discovers among the returned letters one that is not his: a brief note asking Lidia for a meeting, signed with the initials F.D. Unable to guess the identity of the writer, Hector suspects that he is Lidia's new lover. One day, he overhears Lidia confiding to her girl friend that she has broken off with Hector because someone informed her that he had been maligning her name. Hector asks Lidia to reveal the identity of her informant but she refuses. Meanwhile, F.D. visits Lidia, providing as proof of Hector's treachery some love letters that Lidia had written him while he was away at school in Manila. Unknown to Lidia, F.D. who had lived in the same boarding house as Hector during

those days, had stolen these letters as part of a plan to win Lidia for himself. Driven to desperation, Hector stops Lidia on her way to church one afternoon. When she ignores him, he creates a public scandal by loudly professing his love for her and by impulsively kissing her on the cheek. Some nights later, Lidia is haunted by a dark vision of Hector's corpse: she watches helplessly as the corpse rises from the casket, opens the window, and flies off into the air. Within a few hours after seeing the vision, Lidia hears that Hector, missing for the last three days, has poisoned himself dead. A year after Hector's death, Lidia visits his grave and offers a white flower as a token of her love. Outside the cemetery, she meets F.D. whom she forces to his knees to ask for Hector's forgiveness.

Most Pampango fiction travel the well-worn path of *Lidia,* but not Tolentino's detective novel *Ing Buac nang Ester,* in which the love story is merely a framework for the main plot. Gerardo, the adopted son of Don Luis Gatsalian, is jealous of Ruben, Don Luis' real son. The latter, home from medical studies, is being feted at a dinner where there is talk about his entering politics. He is engaged to be married to the beautiful Gloria, with whom Gerardo is also in love. With the assistance of Dimas, a bandit, Gerardo abducts Gloria. He then kidnaps Ruben and frames him for both the abduction and Gloria's murder. Gerardo does this by staging a scene where he, disguised as Ruben, actually poisons his mistress Quintana, who is disguised as Gloria. On the basis of the testimony of several eyewitnesses, Ruben is tried in absentia and sentenced to hang. The resourceful Oscar, Ruben's best friend, devises an elaborate ruse to capture the real villain. He advertises a reward for the return of a folded handkerchief bearing a strand of hair belonging to Ester, Ruben's sister and Oscar's sweetheart. (Ester had given Oscar the strand of hair as a pledge of love, but had later asked Ruben to retrieve it from Oscar.) Having earlier seen Ruben put the handkerchief in his breast pocket, Oscar hopes that whoever claims the reward will lead him to Ruben's whereabouts. But before the avaricious Gerardo can claim the reward, the police find Ruben and arrest him for murder. Oscar tries to save Ruben from the gallows by falsely confessing to the crime. He hopes in this way to call for a reinvestigation of the case. In the meantime, Gloria's rape by Gerardo is prevented by Juaning, Dimas' wife, who is later killed. Dimas repents and confesses the whole truth to Gloria, pointing to Gerardo as the mastermind of the sinister plot. Gloria returns to town in time to prevent the hanging of Oscar, publicly accusing Gerardo of the crime. When Gerardo calls her a liar, Gloria grabs from his coat pocket the handkerchief with the strand of Ester's hair wrapped in it. In the end, it is the simple strand of Ester's hair that incriminates the guilty Gerardo.

Although there are other Pampango fictional works with plots constructed around similar crimes, they are not mysteries in the way Tolentino's novel is. In *Zoilo Galang's Capatac a Lua* (Teardrop), which comes closest to Ester as a detective story, a crime is solved by the convenient devices of coincidence and confusion. Galang wrote one other novel which he published in two parts, each under a different title: *Ing Capalaran* (Fate) and *Ing Galal ning Bie* (The Prize of Life). Isaac Gomez, another novelist, wrote *Magdalena,* which, as its title suggests, is about a prostitute who is inspired to reform her life.

After the war, Pampango fiction declined. The prohibitive cost of publishing novels in book form discouraged would-be novelists and led them to write short stories instead.

In 1907, the prolific Soto published his short stories, such as *"Ing Sampagang Adelfa"* (The Adelfa Flower), which tells the story of a girl who marries somebody she does not love and becomes insane in the end; *"Ing Catapla"* (The Parrot), which focuses on Maria, the heroine, who is betrayed by her lover whose ambition is to marry a wealthy woman; and "Celia" which is about an unfaithful woman and the sad fate that befalls her.

From 1921 to 1941, notable short story writers included Jose F. Sanches, Amado Yuzon, Belarmino Navarro, and Diosdado Macapagal. Their works reveal a knowledge of the narrative plot, the choice of details for character delineation, and other elements which they presumably got from exposure to western writing in the course of their schooling. Macapagal's short, "Sisilim," uses the epic flashback for the mutual recognition of the two chief characters, which end their more than 60 years of searching for each other.

More recent works are mostly prizewinning entries in the annual writing contest sponsored by the Office of the Governor. One of these is Cecilio R. Layug's *"E Balang Kikinang Gintu"* (Not Everything that Glows is Gold). A prizewinning entry in the 1981-1982 contest, it is about Angeles City and its nightlife. The first prize winner in the same contest, Vedasto Ocampo, tells the story of *"Apung Hinu"* (Old Hinu) and a blind girl whose sight he helps regain.

Although the essay was not as popular as the other literary forms, a few prominent Pampango writers communicated their ideas by writing letters, treatises, and short essays. Zoilo Hilario was not only a poet but also a researcher. His interests were broad and inclined to scholarly matters, such as historical topics. In his essay Tarik Soliman, he challenges the claim of Spanish historians that it was Rajah Soliman who was killed in the Battle of Tondo in 1571.

Other Pampango essayists were Serafin D. Lacson, Felix B. Bautista, Eligio G. Lagman, Silvestre M. Punsalan, and Jose P. Fausto, who wrote from 1921 to 1941. Some of the more recent noteworthy pieces are the following: *"Ing Pamilyang Cristiana"* (The Christian Family) by Vicente B. Catacutan; *"Ing Capampangan, Napun, Ngeni, at Bukas"* (The Pampango, Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow) by Vedasto D. Ocampo; and *"Ing Amlat ning Kapampangan"* (History of Pampanga) by Candido Sibal. Most of these writers have been prizewinners in the annual literary contest sponsored by the governor of Pampanga.

In recent years, Pampango literature has been the focus of literary scholarship. In 1981, *Kapampangan Literature: A Historical Survey and Anthology* by Edna Zapanta Manlapaz described the major forms of Pampango literature and

anthologized samples of these forms in the original Pampango and in English translations. *Literature of the Pampangos* by Rosalinda Icban-Castro speaks of the literary forms and writers, and gives translations of poems and excerpts from plays and novels. In 1984, *Kapampangan Writing: A Selected Compendium and Critique* by Evangelina Hilario-Lacson followed the format of the first three anthologies, but added a discussion of Pampango history and culture and Pampango writing in English.

Performing Arts

Pre-Spanish Pampango music utilized three kinds of instruments: percussion, string, and wind. Percussion instruments used to create rhythm and melody were the drum, which is made of bamboo and goat or cow hide; and the *culaing* or jew's harp, a piece of bamboo with a "tongue" cut out on one end. Wind instruments were the bamboo flute which varied in length and number of holes, and the *tambuli*, a trumpet made of carabao horn. Of the stringed instruments, the bamboo violin and guitar were the most popular. The Pampango guitar had four strings used to create rhythm during rice planting and rice pounding in mortars. The Pampango also used the banana and *atis* leaves to produce musical sounds.

With the coming of the Spaniards, the Pampango began to use European musical instruments, like the *viguela*, a guitar with many strings; the *bandolon*, a smaller kind of guitar which had 24 metallic strings; the *bajo de viguela*, a large guitar the size of a violoncello, and the violin. Other instruments introduced were the *bandurria* (mandolin), *cilindro* (harmonica), *cordion* (accordion), and *flauta* (flute). During the latter part of the Spanish regime, affluent homes had German and French-made pianos, while churches had harmoniums and organs.

By the end of the 19th century, small-scale orchestras played in *sarswela* performances and dance parties. Similarly, before 1898, most towns already had their own brass-and-reed bands supported by Spanish parish priests. These bands played for all kinds of processions and for the band tournaments held during the three-day fiesta celebration. Held in the town plaza, these competitions showcased the repertoire and the standards of a band. The test piece of most bands was "La Batalla de Castillejos" (The Battle of the Castillejos).

Folk songs in Pampango include many forms. The *tumaila* is the lullaby which survives to this day. The *basultu* is a verse contest participated in by both men and women, accompanied by music and dancing, and held during festivities such as weddings or barrio fiestas. The verses were usually composed spontaneously as every participant danced, the next taking cue from the last line of the preceding participant. Basultu verse which have become a folk song is *"O Caca, O Caca."* The *gozo* has a slow tempo and a definite moral message. It is sung to the accompaniment of violins, guitars, and tambourines by young people going from house to house on the eve of All Saints' Day. The *pamuri*, derived from the word *buri* which means "like," is a love song. An example is "Aruy! Katimyas na Nitang Dalaga" (Oh! How Charming is that Maiden). "Bye Ning Kasamak" (A Farmer's Life)

is a *pang-obra,* a song in praise of labor. Love for parents or friends is expressed in a *paninta,* from the word *sinta* which means love. Examples are " Atin Cu Pung Singsing " (I Have a Ring) and "Ecu Pa Kelingwan" (I Haven't Forgotten).

Aside from the folk song, the Pampango have ballads, such as "Ing Bangkeru" (The Boatman), which tells of a student who, on his way home from Manila for the summer vacation, rides a banca to get across a wide river. Eager to show off his newly acquired knowledge, he asks the boatman for the answer to a difficult question. The boatman, saying he has never been to school, is unable to answer. He proceeds to ask his own questions which are practical ones on boats and boating and which anybody who is observant may be able to answer. The student, taken aback, is at a loss for answers. Humbled, he realizes that "knowledge for show… is useless."

Spanish-influenced forms used by Pampango musicians include the marcha, (standard, processional, or funeral), such as the "Pampangueña March," the valse, fantasia, bolero, jota, and *rigodon* (Henson 1963). They also dance the *pandanggo,* cachucha, polka, and mazurka.

Many dances of the Pampango are known for remarkable movements accompanied by significant clapping of hands. A favorite dance of theirs is the *sapatya* which is usually performed by farmers during the planting season as an offering for good harvest. The name "sapatya" is believed to have been derived from the word zapateado, a Spanish dance introduced during the colonial period. Performers dance to a song improvised or taken from popular kuriru (Reyes-Aquino 1960). Another popular Pampango dance is the *basultu* which is performed by only one person. The *cadiritan* dance is a kind of melodramatic monologue in which the actor sings and dances at intervals (Galang 1940). The *curaldalan,* featuring the waving of handkerchiefs, is performed by several individuals with no permanent partners before the image of a saint. A lively and popular dance usually performed by the peasants of Floridablanca during festivities is called *Pulosang Floridablanca* which is accompanied by a harmonica or an accordion. The dancers go from house to house begging for money, which is customary among the peasants of this town during fiestas, the Christmas season, and other town celebrations.

During the American colonial period, American-introduced dances were performed at *bailes* (balls) of the elite, together with the more conservative valse and rigodon. In the decades after World War II, the tango, *slow drag,* and cha-cha became popular. Today young people love to dance the latest foreign dance crazes from the United States. Advanced media technology and the proliferation of discos and other dance venues have resulted in the immediate popularization of these dances.

The roots of Pampango drama may be traced to the *bulaklakan,* the *karagatan,* and perhaps even the *potei* or *kikimut* (Manlapaz 1981). During funeral wakes, the people whiled away their time by staging poetical contests, two of the most popular of which were the bulaklakan and the karagatan. The bulaklakan is a game involving two groups of participants, one composed of young women who take on names of

flowers, and young men who are named after trees. It is presided over by a king who sits at the head of a table and opens the game by announcing:

Uling quening culungan cu
Cabud nia mewala cacu
Ing mariposang sese cu
Nuya caya mo tinuru?

Sinulapong sari catas
Babatiawan queng tinacas
Carin ya lipalapacpac
Caring sanga na ning Biabas.

My pet butterfly
Has suddenly escaped
From its cage
Where has it flown?

I saw it flying high
As it escaped,
Playfully fluttering its wings
Above the branch of a guava tree.

The butterfly then alights on a flower or a tree, and the participant representing that flower or tree has to say in verse that the butterly has alighted on another tree or flower, and these in turn have to pass on the "butterfly" to the others. Sometimes a male and a female get to discuss theories about love as they debate.

Even more popular than the bulaklakan was the karagatan. The several versions of karagatan involve two participants, one of whom, the *poderdante*, is upstairs, and the other, the *suplicant*e, is downstairs. The latter begs the former to allow him to go up the house but he is allowed to do so only by stages. He has to answer satisfactorily in verse the questions, usually based on the bible, asked by the poderdante. Other debates in verse are the duplo and crissotan, while the basultu and the sapatya include males and females who dance and sing their verses. The potei or kikimut, on the other hand, is the Pampango version of the Tagalog *carillo*, a type of shadow play which includes manipulating wooden puppets against a lighted backdrop. The performance may either be silent or accompanied by dialogue.

What is known to the Tagalog as *komedya or moro-moro* is called *kumidy*a by the Pampango. The most famous kumidya was the *Comedia heroica de la conquista de Granada o sea vida de Don Gonzalo de Cordova* (Heroic Comedia on the Conquest of Granada or the Life of Gonzalo de Cordoba) by Padre Anselmo Jorge de Fajardo. The story tells of the love between the Christian hero, Gonzalo de Cordova, and the Moorish princess, Zulema. Consisting of 31,000 lines, it was performed only once, at Bacolor for seven nights in February 1831. As a literary work, *Gonzalo* has become a veritable treasury of maxims from which generations of Pampango love to quote. The work circulated for a long time in manuscript form until it was printed by Cornelio Pabalan Byron in Bacolor in 1912. Other kumidya have not equalled

the standard set by Fajardo, acknowledged as father of Pampango literature.

The Spanish zarzuela, a prose drama interspersed with songs, arrived in Pampanga in the late 19th century, and was enthusiastically received by the people. Toward the end of the 19th century, however, when the struggle for independence was sweeping the country, the Pampango lost interest in the Spanish zarzuela (Hilario-Lacson 1984). Illustrious playwrights of that period were nationalists who joined the Katipunan and used the vernacular in creating works with native settings, native characters, and native speech and humor.

To Mariano Proceso Pabalan Byron goes the credit of having initiated the indigenization of Pampango plays. He wrote *Ing Managp*e (The Patcher), the first sarswela in Pampango. The first to feature the Filipino family as material, the one-act comedy is developed around the subject of a domestic quarrel. Humor and play of words are evident in the author's use of two "patchers": one, a spotted dog, and the other, the maid who patches up the quarrel between her master and mistress. The sarswela premiered at the Teatro Sabina in Bacolor in September 1900, and was published by Cornelio Pabalan Byron in May 1909.

Pampanga's outstanding dramatist is Juan Crisostomo Soto. Crissot, as he was more popularly known, was a prolific and versatile writer. He wrote approximately 50 plays of various kinds. His most popular play, *Alang Dios!* (There is No God!), remains unsurpassed in popularity in Pampango drama. It was first presented at Teatro Sabina in November 1902.

Another prolific dramatist is Aurelio V. Tolentino, who produced 67 literary pieces in three languages—Pampango, Tagalog, and Spanish—and in various genres (Manuel 1970). His 21 Pampango works constitute approximately a third of his total output. Most of his plays are sarswela, ranging from lighthearted comedies to melodramatic tragedies. One of the more interesting of these is *Ing Poeta* (The Poet), a comedy of errors. Augusto, a local poet, ingeniously stages a play for the purpose of winning the hand of his sweetheart Maria. Maria's father, Don Pedro, has told Augusto that he would consent to the marriage only if the latter can come up with a sarswela for the coming fiesta. The resourceful Augusto decides to meet the challenge by setting the stage for a real-life comedy involving Don Pedro and the other townspeople. He sends separate anonymous notes to Don Cumeris and his wife, Calara, leading each of them to suspect that the other is having a clandestine affair. Each disguises himself/herself as the other and so disguised, meets the suspected lover at the designated rendezvous. The confrontation that follows is a merry mix-up. At the height of the confusion, Augusto appears and tells the townspeople that, without their knowledge, they had been made to play roles in a real-life sarswela. Don Pedro is impressed by Augusto's resourcefulness and promises him Maria's hand in marriage. Another Tolentino play, *Damayan* (Cooperation), is a one-act sarswela that combines nationalist sentiments and tomfoolery. Tolentino's most significant contribution to Filipino drama, however, is his symbolical plays, the most celebrated of which is *Kahapon, Ngayon, at Bukas*

(Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow) which he wrote in Tagalog and Pampango.

Felix Galura is said to have written several plays but only one, a one-act sarswela in verse entitled *Ing Mora* (The Muslim Woman), seems to be extant. His *O Kasiran* (O Disgrace) and *Azucen*a are adaptations of Spanish works. Galura also collaborated with Soto on *Ing Singsing a Bacal* (The Ring of Iron), a three-act sarswela which is a translation of a popular Spanish play.

Roman Reyes was another prominent Pampango writer of the pre-World War II period. He and Isaac Gomez were the leading playwrights during World War II and the decade and a half preceding it. *Dayang Azul* (Blue Blood), a three-act play on the theme "Blood is thicker than water," was the most popular of Reyes' works. It was first presented in Macabebe in 1930 and at the Manila Grand Opera House the following year. According to the playwright, this play which has been presented over 120 times, must be the most frequently staged play in Pampango theater history. His other plays include *Bulaclac Ning Casalanan* (Flower of Sin), *Caduang Dios* (The Second God), *Filipinas,* and *Lihim Ning Cumpisalan* (Secret of the Confessional). He wrote most of his plays for the Dramatica Fernandina (later named Compania Reyes), a theater group he organized in 1936. It was active during the Japanese Occupation and remained so until about the early 1950s.

Isaac Gomez wrote about 20 plays, most of them during the late 1920s when for five years he was the resident playwright and director of the Compania Ocampo in Candaba. He and Doña Concepcion Ocampo y Limjuco of Candaba founded the company in 1923. The most popular of his plays is *Sampagang Asahar* (Orange Blossoms), a two-act play about parental opposition to the marriage of a poor girl and a rich man. Another popular play by Gomez is *Ing Sumpa Ning Ulila* (The Orphan's Vow), which is about a love triangle involving two brothers and their adopted sister. Other plays by Gomez are: *Anac Ning Kandidata* (The Candidate's Child), Bijag nang Mandi (Prisoner of Mandi), *Uma nang Judas* (Kiss of Judas), *Daya Ning Alipan* (Blood of a Slave), and *Ing Sinta Bulag* (Love is Blind).

Urbano Macapagal was a known playwright and man of letters. He and his son Diosdado wrote *Bayung Jerusalem* (New Jerusalem) which was first shown at a barrio fiesta in Lubao in May 1932. The sarswela has been ranked equal in popularity with Crissot's *Alang Dios!* It has a large dose of romance and a little bit of comedy in the characters of Sebio and Sebia. Macapagal also saw fit to inject gentle satire in the characterization of minor characters, such as the policeman and the gambler, as well as Sebio and Sebia.

Pampanga's theater companies had resident playwrights, directors, and actors. The first and most significant of these companies was the Compania Sabina of Bacolor which was organized in 1901 by Ceferino Joven, then governor of Pampanga. Joven placed the group under the supervision of Soto, whom he appointed resident playwright and director. Other drama troupes during the prewar period were: Compania Paz and Compania Ocampo in Candaba; Compania Dramatica in Bacolor;

and Compania Lubeña in Lubao.

During the postwar period, the only playwright who achieved prominence was Jose M. Gallardo. He wrote, directed, and occasionally acted in plays. The best known of about a dozen plays he wrote was a three-act sarswela entitled *Crucifijong Pilak* (Silver Crucifix) which was first staged in 1956.

At present, religious playlets continue to be performed in Pampanga towns. On the feast of the Three Kings, Floridablanca holds a procession featuring three men costumed as Melchor, Gaspar, and Baltazar. On Palm Sunday, Catholic churches still stage the blessing of the palms and reenact the entry of Christ (represented by the priest) and his apostles (represented by laymen) into Jerusalem. On Holy Thursday, the priest washes the feet of the Apostles in commemoration of the events of the first Maundy Thursday. On Good Friday, from 12:00 noon to 3:00 P.M., the *siete palabras* of Betis, Pampanga features a wooden figure of Christ, nailed to the cross atop a mound next to the church. As the priest mentions each of the seven words, the head of the Christ moves and smoke rises, as thunder and lightning are heard on the Public Address system. After Christ "dies" at 3 P.M., men costumed as Nicodemus and Arimathea bring the figure down and lay it on a stretcher for the procession back to the church. In Lubao, Pampanga, a play depicting the Resurrection of Christ is staged on the evening before Easter Morning. On Easter Sunday, the *encuentro* (meeting) between the Risen Christ and the grieving Mater Dolorosa is staged. In Santo Tomas, an angel is lowered from the four-posted structure called *galilea*, to sing the "Regina Coeli, Laetare" (Queen of Heaven, Rejoice) and to remove the black veil of the Virgin. Then the angel goes in procession with other angels holding the Virgin's veil, accompanied by a group of 12 young ladies, who stop at appointed corners to dance to the accompaniment of a violin. Also on Easter Sunday morning at about 9:00 A.M., the bamboo and paper figure of the traitor Judas is "eaten" by black birds and exploded by firerackers as punishment for his betrayal of Christ.

The *sinakulo* seems to be less popular now in Pampanga. But Virgilio Vitug has tried to reinterpret the events of the pasyon according to contemporary issues and realities. His *Sinakulo ning Balen* (Passion Play of the Country), first staged in Lubao in 1983, is about Hesus Makabalen, who lashes out at fiscals who accept bribes from recruiters of overseas workers, and sellers of medals and candles, who make money on religion. The enemies of Jesus succeed in killing him, but he "rises" again through the characters who represent the sectors of the peasants, workers, teachers, ethnic minorities, and other oppressed classes. • E.Z. Manlapaz, M. Cleto, N.G. Tiongson/ Reviewed by R. Santico-Rolda

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