"Pangasinan" comes from the word *asin* meaning salt, and translates into "a place where salt is made." It refers to a province at the northern end of the Central Luzon plain. Its shores form a lap for Lingayen Gulf and its borders extend west-southwest to Zambales, south to Tarlac, southeast to Nueva Ecija, and northeast to Nueva Vizcaya, Benguet, and La Union.

"Pangasinan" also refers to the language which is spoken along the central part in such towns as Alaminos, Mabini, Sual, Labrador, Lingayen, Bugallon, Aguilar, Mangatarem, Urbiztondo, Binmaley, Dagupan, Calasiao, Santa Barbara, Basista, Bayambang, Malasiqui, San Fabian, Mangaldan, San Jacinto, Pozorrubio, and Mapandan. Ilocano is the predominant language in the western towns of Anda, Bani, Agno, Burgos, Dasol, and Infanta, and in the eastern parts, such as Laoac, San Nicolas, Sison, Binalonan, Tayug, Natividad, San Quintin, Umingan, San Manuel, Asingan, Santa Maria, Balungao, Villasis, Alcala, Rosales, and Urdaneta. Towns such as Manaoag, Santo Tomas, and Bautista are generally bilingual (Pangasinan and Ilocano). Bolinao is spoken in the town of that name.

"Pangasinense" or "Pangasinan" refers to the people of Pangasinan. In the Census of 1980, their number stood at 1,636,057. The same *census* reveals that there are 158,666 households which speak Pangasinan, 60,085 of which, or roughly 40 percent, are urban.

History

There are no conclusive data about the origins of the Pangasinense. One theory hints of Java as a possible point of origin as the techniques of salt making in the northern coast of Java closely resemble those of the Pangasinense. These techniques were to make Pangasinan the source of the finest salt in the Philippines (Cortes 1974:24-25).

Other similarities with Java are seen in the tools and methods of cultivation such as the use of the bamboo harrow and the peculiarly shaped scythe for reaping rice. The manner of venerating the dead finds parallels in Java. The burial sites in Calatagan were evidently refurbished regularly. In Java, a yearly festival is celebrated by the living to honor the dead; the day is passed in devotion on the burial grounds which are strewn with flowers (Cortes 1974:38).

No written records of pre-Spanish Pangasinan have been unearthed. The chronicles of the Berber traveller Ibn Batuta speak of a Princess Urduja governing a kingdom called Tawalisi which, theorized Rizal, was probably Pangasinan. This assertion was taken up by subsequent pre-World War II historians. Recent research, however, tends to indicate that she was Indo-Chinese. Some writers point out that Sulu could also be the probable location of Urduja's realm of Tawalisi.

There is no doubt, however, that Pangasinan has had contact with ancient travellers, most especially the Chinese. In Agoo, now La Union but formerly Pangasinan,

evidence of extensive commercial intercourse with the Chinese and the Japanese abound (Cortes 1974).

Pangasinan is one of the biggest provinces in the Philippines and accounts for more than half the population of the Ilocos region. It is also one of the oldest and, during Spanish times, was called "Caboloan," which derives from *bolo*, a type of bamboo, and literally means "a place where bolo grows."

In May 1572, Juan de Salcedo was ordered by his grandfather Miguel Lopez de Legazpi to explore and pacify the northern part of Luzon. Sailing up the Zambales coast and rounding Cape Bolinao, Salcedo was well received by natives along the coast, an experience that he did not encounter when he went inland. Later, another expedition headed by Martin de Goiti was launched, to consolidate Salcedo's gains. Following a brutal campaign where thousands of houses and hundreds of natives were killed, de Goiti set a pattern for subsequent conquistadores of extracting tribute to the maximum without rendering equivalent services in return. In 1582 Pangasinan was partitioned into six encomiendas, foremost of which was that of the Spanish King based in Lingayen. Assigned to the task of proselytizing Pangasinan were the missionaries from the Dominican Order who were based in Binalatongan (now San Carlos City).

For most of the Spanish period, Pangasinan encompassed not only its present boundaries but extended down to Subic in Zambales, Gerona in Tarlac, and up to Bacnotan in La Union. In the latter years of the colonial regime, the territory of Pangasinan was much reduced after the creation of the provinces of Zambales, La Union, and Tarlac which included within their boundaries towns which were once under the province of Pangasinan. Traces of Pangasinan cultural influence can still be found in such places as Camiling, Tarlac, although the more peripatetic Ilocano have left a more lasting lingual and cultural imprint on the areas once under the territory of Pangasinan.

The pivotal role of the *anacbanua* or native elite in the political and social life of Pangasinan forced them into acting as buffers between the ordinary people and the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. When the colonial impositions grew too harsh, the anacbanua were caught in a vise, unable to resist the exactions of the Spaniards, yet reluctant to impose burdens on the people under their patronage, to whom they were bound by kinship from time immemorial. It was inevitable therefore that even in the revolts that arose in Pangasinan, from Andres Malong in 1660-1661 to the Katipunan in 1897, it was the anacbanua who provided the leadership.

The Malong Revolt of 1660-1661 was a sequel to the Maniago Revolt in Pampanga earlier that year. Malong, the *maestre del campo* (the Spanish *alcalde mayor's* right hand in dealing with the natives) for Pangasinan, responded to the people's wish to be free of Spanish authority. Exploiting the confusion resulting from the Maniago Revolt, Malong consolidated the leadership of Pangasinan under himself, assuming the title "King of Pangasinan." The rebels' adherence to Catholicism led them to

spare the parish priests. While sympathetic to Malong, the Catholic hierarchy worked at convincing the Pangasinense to reembrace Spanish colonial supremacy. Malong was eventually tried and sentenced to die by musketry.

Subsequent rebellions like that of another Andres Malong and of Juan Caragay in 1718 and that of Juan de la Cruz Palaris in 1762-1764 all arose from the imposition of tribute. Although these and other leaders such as Phalarez, Colet, Juan de Vera Oncantin, and Fernando and Melchor Hidalgo were *timaua* (freeborn), the Spaniards had to appoint an anacbanua, Don Andres Lopez, as maestre del campo for Pangasinan to legitimize their rule. Again, the Catholicism of the rebels eventually served to stem the tide of rebellion as the parish priests were instrumental in bringing the rebels back to the Spanish fold.

Revolutionary proselytization by the Katipunan in Pangasinan was not extensive, limited as it was to the circle of the *juez de paz* (justice of the peace) of Santa Barbara, Daniel Maramba, a relative of Valentin Diaz, a founding member of the Katipunan. In the first phase of the Revolution, Pangasinan was a quiet corner untouched by the rebellion in the Tagalog provinces. In the aftermath of the Pact of Biak-na-Bato, the Katipunan organization in Pangasinan went into high gear under the leadership of General Francisco Makabulos. Aside from Maramba, the other revolutionary leaders were Vicente del Prado of San Jacinto and Juan Quesada of Dagupan. On 7 March 1898 Maramba made Santa Barbara the first "liberated" town in Pangasinan. Maramba expanded his operations to Malasiqui, Urdaneta, and Mapandan, while del Prado and Quesada launched operations in the western part of the province. On 30 June 1898 the Spaniards evacuated all their forces to Dagupan. The Guardia de Honor, local counterrevolutionary units organized by the Spaniards, went wholesale to the revolutionary forces. On 22 July 1898 Dagupan fell, marking the liberation of Pangasinan from Spanish rule. Six days later, a provincial assembly was convened in Dagupan and the Proclamation of Independence, first read in Kawit, Cavite the previous month, was recognized (Cortes 1990a).

The Philippine-American War came to Pangasinan when the Americans landed in San Fabian on 7 November 1899. Naval artillery drove the Pangasinense out of their entrenchments, forcing them to retreat to San jacinto. On the llth, some 1,200 to 1,600 Pangasinense troops under General Tinio fought a desperate pitched battle only to succumb to superior American firepower.

Meanwhile, an American column pushing north from San Fernando, Pampanga, forced Aguinaldo to transfer the fledgling Republic's capital from Tarlac to Bayambang in southern Pangasinan. There, in an extraordinary council of war, Aguinaldo and his military leaders decided to disband the regular forces and engage in guerilla warfare. Aguinaldo packed up and, keeping just a step ahead of the Americans, worked his way north to La Union, passing through Calasiao, Santa Barbara, Manaoag, Pozorrubio, Alava (now Sison), thence to La Union. Aguinaldo's wife and child were captured by the Americans in Pozorrubio. With two columns covering his retreat, he was able to escape to Isabela.

Underground organizing in Pangasinan followed soon after, with the establishment of the Katipunan shadow governments in most of the towns. The guerrillas continued harassing Americans and collaborating officials. Ultimately, the American policy of winning civilian officials over to their side and imposing the death penalty on all those who would not toe the American line eventually succeeded in breaking down resistance in Pangasinan. One of the first revolutionary leaders, Vicente del Prado, was betrayed to the Americans and was subsequently hanged like a bandit.

After the surrender or capture of the prominent leaders of the Malolos Republic, the Pangasinense were divided into those who favored peace and conciliation with the Americans, and those who wanted to fight for independence. The Federal Party was organized on 23 December 1900 by those who had compromised with the American government. The main object of the party was the incorporation of the Philippines to the United States. Prominent members included T.H. Pardo de Tavera, Cayetano Arellano, Florentino Torres, Ambrosio Flores, Jose Nor, and Tomas G. del Rosario, all of whom converted many Pangasinense to the idea of "benevolent assimilation" (Cortes 1990b:11).

The Americans encouraged political participation, taking care not to isolate local leaders. Even before the civil government, General Order No. 43, Series of 1899, and General Order No. 40, Series of 1900, provided for the creation of municipal governments staffed and chaired by Filipinos. The Civil Commission headed by Judge William H. Taft arrived in Dagupan on 15 February 1901, and after consultation with the local elite, established civil rule over Pangasinan. At first, suffrage was limited to the elite, but by 1916, when the legislative body was Filipinized, 54.1 percent of the male population were qualified (Cortes 1990b:12, 15-16,25-29).

The Public School System was introduced with emphasis placed on civic education. Well-attended, these schools oriented the youth to American ideals. English was made the language of instruction. In September 1902 Pangasinan's first secondary school took in its first students. In 1906 the first vocational school opened in Lingayen; in 1916 an agricultural school in San Carlos. Private institutions, both secular and religious, helped relieve the demand for secondary education. In general, the American-instituted educational system raised literary levels as it developed, especially among the elite, an admiration for the American lifestyle (Cortes 1990b: 44-53).

Aside from education, the Americans also promoted health and sanitation, commerce and industry, agriculture and public works in Pangasinan. In 1905 immunization against smallpox was introduced, which resulted in the disappearance of the disease by 1911. The Americans encouraged the cultivation of diverse agricultural products, although rice production remained dominant. In 1909 the province had 75 kilometers of first-class roads; by 1913 the number grew to 169 kilometers. By 1916 it ranked first in the number of first-class roads. Other infrastructure included bridges, school

and municipal buildings, public markets, dams, and irrigation works (Cortes 1990b: 54-69).

Pangasinan was not spared the agrarian ferment that spread over Central Luzon in the 1920s and 1930s. Nowhere was the unrest more felt than in the eastern part of the province where the presence of large landed estates in such towns as Tayug, Rosales, San Quintin, Santa Maria, and Umingan, and absentee landlordism combined to upset the old patronage system based on amicable landlord-tenant relation.

In Tayug, Pedro Calosa formed the Philippine National Association (PNA), an underground movement that preached independence, equitable distribution of wealth, and the primacy of the Philippine Independent Church.

By 1930, most of the peasants in Tayug, Santa Maria, San Nicolas, and San Quintin had joined the PNA. On the evening of 9 January 1931, the PNA, led by Calosa and Cesario Abe, assembled in the barrio of San Roque in San Nicolas, and launched a short-lived rebellion that led to the capture of Tayug. The rebels burned the *presidencia* or town hall where the land records were kept in the municipal treasurer's office.

The rebellion, which was supposed to spark widespread uprisings in the neighboring towns, was easily contained by constabulary reinforcements from Dagupan and Manila. The expected support from the countryside did not materialize. By 11 January the rebels had surrendered and Calosa was captured.

But the military failure of the rebellion brought political dividends by bringing to national consciousness the plight of the Central Luzon peasant. Sympathy for the defendants in the criminal trials following the uprising reached the highest levels of government. The Manila press played up rural usury, unfair crop sharing, constabulary abuses, the perfidy of the rich, the cruelty of the municipal tax collections, and landgrabbing as the roots of the unrest. Calosa and other PNA leaders were defended by the best lawyers, foremost of whom was Senator Alejo Mabanag of the Democrata Party. Eventually, light sentences were given to most of the participants in the rebellion. Only Calosa and Abe received life sentences. Calosa was eventually released in the late 1940s (Cortes 1990b:73-79).

The Philippines entered into war with Japan on 8 December 1941 after the attack on Clark Air Field. Fourteen days later, on 22 December 1941, Pangasinan was dragged into the war when the Japanese landed their forces on the beaches of Damortis and Agoo in La Union. Until the end of 1941, northeastern Pangasinan was the site of battles between United States Armed Forces in the Far East (USAFFE) and the Japanese army. Through the Japanese Military Administration (JMA), the Japanese Imperial Army governed the country with the cooperation of prominent Filipino leaders. Teofilo Sison of Pangasinan became the auditor general and budget director under the new administration. Governor Santiago Estrada, who was at first reluctant to serve under the Japanese, was later persuaded by Sison to cooperate

(Cortes 1990b:109-113).

On 14 October 1943, the Japanese-backed Philippine Republic was established. Jose P. Laurel was the president. In Pangasinan, Estrada remained governor. Except for the deteriorating economic conditions, little changes came about with the new republic. Guerrilla forces were organized by American officers who had not been captured or had escaped. Some of these organizations were the East Central Luzon Guerrilla Area (ELGA), the LAPHAM guerrillas (North Central Luzon Sector), and some unrecognized units such as the 32nd Infantry Regiment and 155th Infantry Regiment of Miguel R. Acosta (Cortes 1990b:117-122).

On 9 January 1945, American landings on the beaches of Lingayen, Mangaldan, and San Fabian began Pangasinan's liberation, which lasted until 7 February when Japanese troops were pushed out from the province. Rather than face the Americans, the Japanese forces under General Yamashita Tomoyuki retreated to the mountain fastnesses of the Cordillera, there to prolong the fight to the end of the war. On 28 February the Commonwealth Government was reinstated; one of the first acts of the administration was to round up suspected "collaborators." Teofilo Sison was the first to be tried, convicted, and given amnesty (Cortes 1990b:123-136).

The Republic of the Philippines was proclaimed on 4 July 1946 with national and congressional elections held two months earlier. Manuel Roxas from the Liberal Party won over Nacionalista Sergio Osmeña. In Pangasinan, the count was in favor of Roxas.

From the 1950s to the present, the political scene in Pangasinan has been dominated by the "elite," which in the early years of the republic included Enrique

Braganza, Agapito Braganza, Pedro Braganza, Eugenio Perez, Juan G. Rodriguez, Cipriano Primicias, his son, Cipriano (Tito) Primicias Jr, Aguedo F. Agbayani, Amadeo Perez, Angel B. Fernandez, Laureano Jack Soriano, and Jose de Venecia (Cortes 1990b: 145-150).

During the Martial Law Period, Pangasinan opposition was weak, and its leadership was generally affiliated with the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan (New Society Movement), an umbrella organization set up by Ferdinand Marcos in early 1978. It was only a year after Benigno "Ninoy" Aquino's assassination that Pangasinan witnessed its first rally demonstration in Dagupan City. In the parliamentary elections of 1984, two opposition candidates won. During the 1986 "Snap" elections, central Pangasinan gave 50 percent to the Aquino-Laurel ticket, but eastern Pangasinan remained Marcos territory (Cortes 1990b:222-248). In the 1992 presidential elections, Fidel V. Ramos of Asingan, Pangasinan, became the 10th president of the Philippine Republic, while Jose de Venecia was elected as Speaker of the House of Representatives.**Economy**

Rice is Pangasinan's principal crop. In the east and central areas which are watered by the Agno, Angalacan, and Toboy-Tolong rivers, two or three harvests can be achieved in a year. In the mountainous and rainfed western part, one rice crop annually is the

norm. Other crops grown are tobacco, corn, vegetables such as tomatoes and onions, and fruits such as watermelons and cantaloupes.

Fishing, the other major livelihood, is being threatened by the rampant use of the dynamite and cyanide methods in Lingayen Bay. The boom in fish farms along the coastal areas has lessened the crisis a bit, but this has not significantly increased the employment opportunities for fisherfolk. The recent phenomenon of converting fishponds into prawn farms has also created a certain degree of dependence on the export market. Nevertheless, Pangasinan remains famous for its fishery products. Bonuan, a Dagupan barrio, is identified with *bangus* or milkfish. Lingayen's *bagoong* or fish paste remains a national delicacy. The demand for it cannot be adequately met by fish caught in Lingayen Bay, and has to be supplemented by fish coming from as far away as Bataan and Bicol.

Commercial development is evident in Dagupan City, the economic capital of Pangasinan. The 1990 earthquake, however, destroyed many structures, including one major bridge in Dagupan, and created a shift in investment to the eastern towns, especially those lying along the McArthur Highway, such as Urdaneta and Rosales.

Political System

Precolonial Pangasinan society was stratified into the pangolo or anacbanua, the timaua or freeborn, and the aripuen or slave, a pattern similar to the Tagalog and the Visayan social structure. Cortes argues that the structure given by Juan de Plasencia of Tagalog society may apply to Pangasinan, with the *kasamak* of Pangasinan corresponding to the aliping namamahay of the Tagalog. Slavery for reasons of captivity or debt peonage also existed among the ancient Pangasinense. The pangolo presided over communities governed by naugalian or custom law. Customs regulated property relations, trading, interpersonal relations, and land and resource use (Cortes 1974).

With the help of the anacbanua, the friars were able to convert the *cailianes* or followers of the pangolo. The anacbanua were later coopted by the Spanish to serve as their administrative surrogate and they formed the core of the native elite or principalia. Efforts by the Dominican missionaries to centralize the population into the poblaciones or towns did not attract the majority of the people of Pangasinan as the latter preferred to stay close to their sources of livelihood: the rice fields, forests, rivers, streams, and the seashore. Only the anacbanua could afford to live *bajo de las campanas* or under the bells, because only they had the surplus wealth from their shares of the harvest to construct houses, and maintain themselves without having to rely on their day-to-day subsistence on the land or water.

Pangasinan plays an important part in the politics of the Ilocos because its population comprises half of the region. There have been attempts in the postwar history of Pangasinan to separate the predominantly Ilocano eastern part from the Pangasinan

central and western districts of the province, but so far none has prospered. One reason is that leadership in the province has shifted among politicians in both east and west, with Ilocano-speaking governors needing the support of the western districts which have large populations, and Pangasinan-speaking governors needing the revenues from the more agriculturally productive eastern districts.

The present-day political structure of Pangasinan reflects the national system of governance down to the barangay level. Leadership, however, is fought over by scions of families traditionally looked upon as leaders within their communities and descendants of the ancient anacbanua. However, the increase in commerce and the emergence of a larger middle class in the province has opened the door for new names in the political arena. The last war also created opportunities for nonmembers of the landed elite, especially those who served with distinction in the various guerrilla units, to carve out political careers. Recently, a new pool of political leaders drawn from among the student leaders and young professionals who were in the forefront of the anti-Marcos struggle has emerged to challenge the hold of the traditional elite.

With the aggressive increase of Ilocano migration into the province, fears of an eventual decline of the Pangasinan language have been expressed. In many towns, a social pattern emerges: traditional families, notably those of anacbanua origins continue to speak Pangasinan while the immigrant families speak Ilocano.

Social Organization and Customs

The precolonial maiden was the subject of much negotiations between her parents and the parents of the prospective groom. The negotiations were handled by intermediaries called the *albahiyas* who mutually determined by way of poetical joust the fair amount of *dasel* (bride-price). Dasel might consist of rice, farm tools, and draught animals. Aside from dasel, the bridegroom also had to render a period of service in the house of his future parents-in-law, to test his qualifications as a husband for their daughter.

After this period of service, the groom's parents performed the *seguep,* the ritual asking for the girl's hand in marriage. The parents would bring 12 different viands on *bigao* (round, flat baskets) to the house of the girl's parents. The marriage ceremony was climaxed by the handing over of the dasel to the bride's parents. Feasting, drinking, dancing, and general merrymaking followed.

The institutions of dasel and albahiyas did not disappear with the arrival of the Spaniards and have in fact survived until fairly recently. With the progress of the cash economy, dasel consisted more and more of cash funds and residential lands, and less and less of farmland and draught animals.

Traditionally there was a feast on the eve of the wedding and another on the day itself, held in the bride's home. This feast was followed by the *pagatin* at the house

of the groom, where relatives from both sides contribute to the newlyweds' starting capital, usually by pinning money on the couple's clothes as they perform a wedding dance (Cortes 1990b:94).

Divorce was easily obtained in precolonial Pangasinan, e.g., on such grounds as the absence of offspring. The bride-price remained with the bride's parents. Should a husband want to resume conjugal relations with his ex-wife, the parents could demand a new bride-price.

The precolonial Pangasinense placed material possessions such as food, clothes, anointing oils, and gold with the dead for their use in the afterlife. The gold was to pay for the boatman who would ferry the dead over a river to the spirit world. Slaves of important persons were beheaded and sent to serve their masters in the next world. While in mourning, relatives fasted and abstained from rice, wine, meat, and fish, partaking only of roots, fruit, and water. The bereaved also wore mourning clothes and a gold chain or a piece of rattan around the neck. The end of the mourning period was marked by a great banquet with much feasting and drinking.

Religious Beliefs and Practices

The ancient Pangasinense had an animistic religion which had Ama-Gaoley (also known as Apo Laki) as the chief deity. Lesser spirits or anito were responsible for a host of phenomena relating to the weather, plant growth, and good health, as well as to protection of rivers, trees, and other sites. Illness was deemed as punishment for offending the anito. These spirits were held in respect and deference.

There was extensive use of charms for varied purposes, from warding off evil spirits to bringing good luck. Rituals were presided over by *managanito*, priestesses who invoked oracles and idols, interpreted dreams and omens, and divined propitious times for endeavors.

Despite initial difficulties in evangelizing the Pangasinense, the Dominicans eventually secured a foothold for Catholicism in the province. Today, Pangasinan is a bastion of Catholicism in the country. Revolts against Spanish authorities invariably spared the priests and other religious, proof of the religiosity of the Pangasinense. Other sects such as the Philippine Independent Church, the Iglesia ni Kristo, and the various Protestant denominations have their adherents among residents of Ilocano descent, but rarely among those of Pangasinense descent.

The religiosity of the Pangasinense is attributed by many to the Nuestra Señora del Santissimo Rosario de Manaoag or Our Lady of the Most Holy Rosary of Manaoag, to whom the Dominican missionaries consecrated the whole province. Hence, since Spanish times, Pangasinan has been the great redoubt of Marian devotion in the Philippines. One Spanish priest observed that from childhood, men and women wear a rosary. When they die, a rosary is part of the funerary accoutrements

buried with them. In practically all homes, whether rich or poor, images of Our Lady of Manaoag occupy a prominent place in the house. All Pangasinan churches have an altar dedicated to the Virgin and most towns have *confradias del rosario* (Magno 1992:35).

In the whole country, Our Lady of Manaoag is probably the most spectacular drawer of devotees not only from Pangasinan but also from the rest of the country. Many tales form part of the Manaoag legend. One *gozo* (religious song) chronicles the miracles attributed to the image, such as the healing of the sick and the lame, the resurrection of the dead, the putting out of fires, the driving away of pests, and the image's own refusal to have her dress changed.

Another important Marian image is the Virgen Dolorosa of Mangatarem, which is housed in a private home. The Virgin is believed to have protected the townspeople from the vicissitudes of war. The sash of the Virgin is also borrowed from time to time by pregnant women who wear it on their last week of pregnancy to ensure safe delivery (Magno 1992:39-40).

Another popular image is that of the crucified Christ or the Divino Tesoro of Calasiao. The image is said to have enabled the cart that carried it to pass through the narrow door of the schoolroom. It was also believed to have helped a woman give birth after the latter experienced three days of labor; helped free a *cuadrillero* or prison guard charged with negligence when the prisoner who escaped from him returned to the fold of the law; and intervened in favor of a condemned man to receive a pardon from the King of Spain. Stories of hearings attributed to the image have increased its following among devotees who flock to Calasiao during the image's fiesta from 24 April to 2 May (Magno 1992:38-39).

Architecture and Community Planning

Precolonial Pangasinan dwellings differed little from the ones found in other coastal areas in the Philippines. They were of bamboo and nipa and were described in one Dominican tract as "small" and "narrow." They were set on stilts with low roofs of nipa. The space beneath the house, which could be enclosed, sheltered animals for domestic consumption, and oftentimes served as an activity center, where household chores like winnowing and rice milling were done. Some houses had ladders for the living room and the *batalan.* These ladders were drawn up at night as a precaution against thieves, burglars, and wild animals. The layout of the villages tended to follow the coastline and the riverbanks, with many of the houses built directly over the water.

During the Spanish period, most Pangasinan towns were laid out in the time-honored pattern of plaza-church-cabildo complex with roads radiating at right angles to the plaza. Most pueblos were built on existing centers, but others were established after Spanish roads were built.

Majority of Pangasinan churches are Romanesque in style. However, the Cathedral

of St. John the Evangelist in Dagupan City is European Baroque. In contrast, the Church of San Pedro y San Pablo in Calasiao is Philippine Baroque, less ornate, with the gold leaf less burnished than St. John's. The Calasiao Church is built of brick and has three naves.

Most Pangasinan church altars are replete with angel motifs. Even churches that begin as Gothic end up as baroque, like the Mangatarem Church. The Gothic style is popular only with the Iglesia ni Kristo temples.

The Church of the Purification in Binmaley is the largest church in Pangasinan, measuring more than 90 meters long. The church is made of brick with a wooden apse and a spacious nave. Two tiers of windows provide adequate lighting. Graceful capitals support the wooden cornices, and wooden pilasters are symmetrically arranged. The tall, slender, and elevated dome is flanked by four big windows, and is supported by eight elegant wooden columns. There are five beautiful altars, not including the baptistry, which is a pretty chapel with an iron grill. The main altar is baroque. The floor of the presbytery and the dome is of Chinese marble tiles.

The Cathedral of Manaoag has a cruciform layout and has murals depicting stories related to the Lady of Manaoag. Behind the altar is a staircase which leads to the sacristy where a door opens to the niche of the image of the Virgin. Devotees climb this to be able to touch the garment of the image through an opening in the door.

The American colonial period saw the appearance of new types of buildings. One of the most important is the Gabaldon-type school building, whose archetype is the Pangasinan Normal School in Bayambang with its wide circular columns and Roman arches. Capiz shell shutters are still evident in some schools although the offices and libraries have long since transformed their windows into glass jalousies with wooden or iron grills. The Sison Auditorium in Lingayen, another archetypal Gabaldon structure, is now being remodelled along more modern, but less elegant, lines.

The Lingayen provincial capitol is an impressive example of a *kapitolyo* built along neoclassic lines during the American period. Erected during the gubernatorial term of Daniel Maramba, it was the centerpiece of a larger town plan for Lingayen, which was staked out into the following: the provincial government center, the municipal government center, the commercial district, and the residential areas. The provincial government center was located near the beach and included the provincial capitol, the provincial high school, the provincial trade school, and the governor's mansion. A four-lane boulevard divided by a garden-park replete with fountains connected the provincial government center with the main highway and the municipal center at the old town plaza. The old poblacion was designated as the residential area, while the commercial district was placed at the main highway, covering the approach to the kapitolyo.

The Castillo house in Rosales, while essentially following the *bahay-na-bato* form prevalent in many areas in the Philippines, reveals the liberalization of social mores in

the introduction of art nouveau caryatids depicting female nudes on its facade.

Two buildings which betray some Chinese influence are the Urduja House or Governor's Mansion in Lingayen and the Limahong marker in Lucap, Alaminos.

Visual Arts and Crafts

Pangasinan abounds in handicrafts and is famous for bamboo and rattan artifacts. There are also handicrafts made of marsh grasses. A familiar sight down Central Luzon after harvest time are the bullock caravans originating from Pangasinan laden with bamboo, rattan, and grass crafts, including chairs, tables, hampers, baskets, lamps, mats, and household bric-a-brac. Binalatongan (now San Carlos City) and Calasiao are known for bamboocraft that have been exported abroad.

Village artists have also made six murals in the Manaoag Cathedral depicting the legend of the Virgin of Manaoag, from her first appearance to a farmer to the various miraculous events that followed the visitation, such as the time when the Manaoag Church burned down and the image remained unscathed.

Pangasinan has had its share of prominent visual artists, the most accomplished of whom is the late Victorio C. Edades, who was instrumental in pioneerng modernism in Philippine art. In 1976, Edades became a National Artist for having changed the direction of Philippine painting (Cortes 1990b:165-166).

Literary Arts

The most popular forms of indigenous poetry in Pangasinan which continue to be used today are the *pabitla/bonikew* (riddles) and the *diparan* (proverbs).

Riddles, which are usually after-dinner diversions, usually come in rhyming couplets, but may extend to three, four or more lines. Verses usually have assonantal rhyme in different combinations, and use metaphors to refer to the object of the riddle. The following is an example (Nelmida 1980:90):

Pusoy balolaki,
Gatas na marikit,
Payak na andirit,
No sikaray manlaktip,
Saksakey so pansumpalan da. (Gagalen)

Heart of a young man,
Milk of a maiden,
Wing of a dragonfly,
When they join together,
Would become just one. (Betel chew)

Some riddles are puns on the answer such as (Nelmida 1980:87):

Ay salo, ay ama, ay agi! (Salomagi)

Oh, my goodness, oh, father, oh, brother! (Tamarind)

Objects of riddles include animals, like the carabaos, turtles, octopusses, birds; and plants, like the bamboo, coconut, rice, and corn. Abundant in Pangasinan, the bamboo is the object of this riddle (Nelmida 1980:88):

Olnos lan olnos
Sanga lan sanga
Ag balet mambunga. (Kawayan)

Always bearing shoots
Always branching out
Yet bears no fruit. (Bamboo)

The activities of a rural community such as farming, fishing, coconut gathering, also become the objects of riddles. Farming is a common theme, as in the following (Nelmida 1980:89):

Ulo to ayep
Say kabalgan to kiew
Say ikol to too. (Toon manbabaka)

Its head is an animal
Its body is a tree,
Its tail is a person. (Man plowing with a carabao)

Nonrural or urban themes include objects like slippers and urbanized costumes, as well as the Western forms of writing and the sermons of priests in church. The last two are exemplified by the following riddles (Nelmida 1980:90-9l):

Dalin ya amputi
Binin andeket
Intanem na lima
Inani sangi tan mata.
(Papel tan lapis, insulat tan binasa)

White soil
Black seed,
Sown by the hand,
Reaped by mouth and eyes.
(Paper and pencil, writing and reading)

Walay sakey ya kiew ya
Masalsalompapak
Kinalab na sakey ya makabat

Mataltalag so makasampat
Na rosas ton mapalagapag.
(Pari ya mansersermon ed pulpito)

There is an overspreading tree
Climbed by a wise man
Very few could catch
The flowers falling from it.
(Priest delivering a sermon from the pulpit)

Riddles are occasionally revived because they reflect the tastes of the people of their time. They also act as indicators of the stage of a people's economic development, as a showcase of their folk ethos, and as a mechanism for coping with major experiences, like that of colonization.

There are probably close to 300 dimaran/diparan or proverbs known in Pangasinan. These usually have two, three, or more lines and assonantal rhyme in various combinations. The following is a couplet with an a-a rhyme scheme (Nelmida 1980:85):

Agmo nibagan aralem so danum
No agmo ni atokor.

Say not that the water is deep
If you have not plunged its depth.

Many of the images employed in Pangasinan proverbs are the commonplace objects seen and found in the field, farm, or village. Large feet, for example, are *singa karyo* (like shovels), while big, bulging eyes are *matan singa bisokol* (eyes as big as a snail). A pregnant woman's heavy and shapeless body is *singa inpakesneg a lasong* (like a mortar set on the ground) while the slow-moving person is *singa tataleman a belas* (like rice soaked in water).

Pangasinan proverbs are generally didactic, underscoring the importance of fair play, truthfulness, prudence, honor, kindness, humility, industry, and condemning the opposites of these virtues. The following riddle counsels prudence (Nelmida 1980:81):

No agmo labay so nadangdang,
Agka onaasinger ed apuy.

If you don't want to get singed
Don't go near the fire.

The art of composing poetry was developed early, and poetical fencing was a regular feature of prenuptial negotiations. A poet for the groom, for example, recites a verse about a butterfly in search of a flower, to which the poet for the bride replies that their flower cannot be tasted by just any butterfly. It is in these metaphors that the verbal joust is couched and continued until an agreement has been reached.

The Spanish-Christian influence on Pangasinan poetry is seen in the gozos, the

impanbilay, and the pasyon. Usually found in the novenas to various saints, the gozos are verses of praise for and supplication to the saint in whose honor the novena is being held. Most famous are the gozos to the Lady of Manaoag.

The impanbilay, literally "life," is the Pangasinan counterpart of the Ilocano *panagbiag* and the Tagalog *awit* or *buhay*. Usually set in the dodecasyllabic quatrains, the impanbilay narrates the lives and exploits of heroes and characters in kingdoms set in Medieval Europe. Some of the more famous impanbilay include: the *Impanbilay nen Florante tan Laura ed Nanariay Albania* (Life of Florante and Laura in the Kingdom of Albania), 1925, a translation by Miguel Gumawil of Francisco Baltazar 's awit; the *Impanbilay day Pitoran Sanaagui ya Infantes de Lara ed Nanariay España tan si Principe Morada Gonzalo ed Nanariay Turquia ya aguirad sananey a ina* (Life of the Seven Children of Lara in the Kingdom of Spain and the Prince Morada Gonzalo in the Kingdom of Turkey who is their half brother), 1930; the *Impanbilay nen Esmenio ya malamang ed ateng to tan anac na saray masimpit a sanasawan Agustin tan Aduana ed villa Espeleta tan sacup na ciudad na Roma* (The Life of Esmenio in the town of Espeleta of the Kingdom of Rome), 1961 edition; the *Impanbilay nen Padre Juan tan Beata Maria ed ciudad na Roma* (Life of Father Juan and Blessed Mary in the city of Rome), 1961 edition; and the *Impanbilay nen Princesa Estela ya anac nen Ari D. Felix tan Reyna Beatriz ed Nanariay Napoles* (Life of Princess Estela, Daughter of King Felix and Queen Beatrice in the Kingdom of Naples),1961 edition. Other narratives which use the awit form but are about other topics are *Impanbilay na Manoc a Tortola* (Life of the Chicken as a Turtledove), 1935; and Pedro Sison's *Bilay Daray Sira ed Dalem na Danum* (Life of the Fishes in the Water), 1939.

The pasyon or narrative of Jesus Christ has a few versions in Pangasinan. One in manuscript form, is titled *Passio Domini Nostri lesu Cristi*, whose text in Pangasinan was copied by Juan de Montimayor in 1849 from a work probably written by the Dominican Fray Gonzalez. The second is the most popular, the Pasion *na Cataoan tin Jesucristo ya Dinemuet ed Saray Masantos a Evangelio tan Pinaliman na Saray Daquel a Incalingo ya Oalad Saray Arum a Pasion a Impluima* (The Complete Passion of Jesus Christ Taken from the Holy Gospeland Purged of the Many Mistakes Found in Other Written Passion). Originally published in 1855, this pasyon covers events from the Creation of the World to the Resurrection of Jesus. Like the Tagalog *Casaysayan nang Pasiong Mahal ni Jesucristong Panginoon Natin na Sucat Ipag-alab nang Puso nang Sinomang Babasa*, 1814, of which it is the very first translation into another native language, the Pasion uses the *quintilla* verse and has lessons at the end of major episodes (Javellana 1988). The third pasyon, as recorded by W.E. Retana, forms part of the Gozos a Pangguiaalang ed Santa Cruz a inateyay cataoan tin Jesucristo: tan *Gozos ed Santos Angel a Bantay tan Pantaotaoag day Camareroad Purgatorio tan Gozos ed San Roque (*Hymns of Praise to the Holy Cross of Jesus Christ: and Praises to the Guardian Angel and Lamentations to the Souls of Purgatory and Praises to Saint Roche), 1861.

During the American colonial period, many poets wrote poems to be declaimed or sung. Among them was Pablo Mejia, considered the "Prince of Pangasinan Poets."

Mejia wrote *Bilay Tan Kalkalar nen Rizal* (Life and Teachings of Rizal) in metered verse and classical Pangasinan. Other poets of the 20th century were Pedro Sison, Onofre Abalos, Miguel Acosta, Gabriel Braganza, Zoilo Cendaña, Onofre Sison, Francisco Untalan, and Jose Oliveros Valerio. Most of their poems were published in *Lioaoa*, a weekly in Pangasinan and Ilocano published from 1915 to 1932; in *Tonung*, a weekly in Pangasinan edited by Mejia from 1928 to 1935; in *Silew*, a monthly magazine published from 1934 to 1943; and in other publications like the *Mafa, Palaris, The Pangasinan News, The Agno River Times*, The Pangasinan Courier, and after World War II, *The Pioneer Herald* and *The Sunday Punch* (the last was founded by Ermin Garcia in 1954).

Pangasinan fiction begins with the folktales which form part of the oral tradition spanning different periods in Pangasinan history. Three favorite *uliran* or folktales have to do with the origin of the Hundred Islands, the naming of the Angalacan River, and the founding of the Manaoag Church.

The Hundred Islands are said to be the bodies of slain warriors who defended the land of Raha Masebeg from invaders across the sea. Fighting to the last man, the warriors led by the Raha's son, Datu Mabiskeg, succeeded in annihilating the invading force before they touched land. The gods were said to have immortalized the warriors so that they could watch over their homeland forever.

Along the Angalacan, a mysterious lady frequently appeared to fishers, strolling along the riverbank during moonlit nights. During those nights, the fishers' catch was plentiful. One day, a fisher caught a huge fish. Refusing to heed the people's pleas to release it, the fisher brought the fish home and cooked it for supper. The fisher was subsequently found dead in the morning. After this, the lady no longer appeared on moonlit nights and fishers found their catch diminished; whenever a person drowns in the river, the people attribute it to the mermaid's revenge and they whisper, "Angalaca la met!" (You've got one again!).

In Manaoag, a peasant was going home one evening from the farm when he heard somebody calling him. Turning, he saw a lady on top of a hill. The lady turned out to be the Blessed Virgin who asked that a church be built for her on that site. The Virgin was then referred to as the *managtaoag* (She who calls), later shortened to *manaoag*.

In the novenas, religious literary forms such as *calar* have been composed to venerate Our Lady of Manaoag and to celebrate the feasts of patron saints and All Saints' Day. The calar is a narrative illustrating the powers and effectivity of certain devotions or religious practices. For All Souls' Day, one calar explains that souls can be saved from purgatory if people can forgive those who have done them wrong. Following the narration of the calar is the *omameng*, a reflective or meditative discussion of the calar's story.

Pangasinan popular fiction flourished best in the first half of the 20th century.

Some of the notable fictionists who published short stories in the *Silew* and *Sandiy Silew* were Juan Villamil, Leonarda Carrera, Nena Mata, Francisco Rosario, and Maria Magsano.

Of the novelists in Pangasinan, many consider Maria Magsano is considered by many as one of the most important. Although she started serializing her works in *Silew* before World War II, her novels were not published as books until after the war. Her first novel, *Colegiala Dolores* (Convent-bred Dolores), 1952, is about a wealthy heiress who chooses to marry the schoolteacher Mario. The Padre Cura, who is interested in Dolores, has Mario jailed for being a *katipunero* or revolutionary and creates other misunderstandings to separate the two. In the end, the two are finally reconciled. Another novel, *Samban ag Nabenegan* (My Sacred Oath), 1954, is about the whirlwind courtship between Evangeline Lopez, only child of Iloilo landowners, and Dr. Rudolfo Villamin, son of Pangasinan peasants. A conflict arises because Evangeline has to compete with Rudolfo's profession for his time and attention. A third novel, *Bales na Kalamangan* (Price of Infidelity), is the story of Rosalinda, who was abandoned by her wealthy lover, Don Alejandro, by whom she has several children. Alone, Rosalinda rears her children, who all eventually succeed in their professions. When Don Alejandro's wife dies, his adopted son take steps to reunite his father with Rosalinda.

Another important novelist was Juan C. Villamil, whose novels include *Ampait a Pagbabawi* (Bitter Repentance), 1950; *Amis na Kapalaran* (The Smile of Fate); *Pinisag ya Puso* (A Broken Heart); *Dyad Tapew day Daluyon* (On the Crest of the Waves); *Sika tan Siak* (You and Me); and *Pakseb na Kapalaran* (Decree of Fate). Also significant was Serapio Doria Fernandez, who published in the news magazine *Tonung*; and Miguel Acosta who wrote *Marco Merlin,* 1930, a novel that underscores the importance of education to an individual who wants to succeed in life.

Performing Arts

Pangasinan songs may be associated with certain seasons of the Catholic calendar such as Christmas or Lent; with particular occupations or activities such as fishing or farming; and with stages in the life cycle such as courtship or weddings.

The Pangasinan *aligando* may be the longest Christmas carol in the Philippines. Probably a corruption of the Spanish word for gift, *aguinaldo,* the aligando consists of 142 quatrains. The singing takes about one-and-a-half hours. The aligando is sung either in the traditional or modern way. The traditional aligando has a four-quatrain introduction consisting of 13 to 15 syllables per line. The aligando proper has 8 to 9 syllables per line and focuses on the story of the Magi. The singing of the aligando is held in the evenings after supper during the period encompassed by the Feast of the Epiphany and the Feast of the Presentation in the Temple. It is sung by women in the first voice and men in the second. The aligando carollers kneel during the portion corresponding to the Adoration of the Magi of the Christ Child. This is a 32-line passage rendered in a slower tempo than the rest of

the song. The story ends with the Holy Family's Flight into Egypt.

The modern aligando or the galikin, from the Pangasinan word *galicayon* (literally, "come, all of you . . ."), is also known as the short aligando because it drops some stanzas of the original and modifies its language. It has also added a refrain with a catchy tune, the first words of which are "Galikin, galikin . . ." the Pangasinan equivalent of *"Adeste Fidelis*."

During the Holy Week, the pabasa or chanting of the pasyon lasts for three nights from Holy Wednesday through Good Friday. Nowadays, however, the chanting is shortened to only one night if the *cantores* or singers sing until dawn. Like its other counterparts, the Pangasinan pasyon is a comprehensive narration which starts from the story of the Creation to Christ's passion, resurrection, and last days on earth.

In May the *Santa Cruz de Mayo* in Pangasinan remains a wholesome entertainment at summertime especially for young children and students on vacation. In the past, the procession was held daily. The choristers, composed of old ladies, sing most stanzas of the song while the young ones sing the refrain, which goes this way:

> *Lawas sikay galgalangen*
> *Santa Cruz sikay anapen.*
>
> Always you will be venerated
> Holy Cross we will look for you.

The biggest fun, however, is in the eating of plain cookies called *galletas* with coffee such that the devotion is sometimes called *Lawas si/Galletas tan cafe* (Always Cookies and Coffee).

In October the *Maria Dayat na Kasantosan* (Mary, Sea of Holiness) is a special devotion to the Lady of Manaoag. This is celebrated through the long gozos capping the daily prayers during the nine-day prayer or novena. This singing is not necessarily done in the church itself.

During the Feast of All Saints, the *pantaotaoag* is sung. The song is primarily a lament for the souls in purgatory. It has two introductory stanzas of two lines each, 13 stanzas of two lines each and another 13 stanzas of six lines each. The latter has 9 to 11 syllables per line and are rhymed in an *a-a-a-a-b-b* pattern.

When a child reaches the age of seven, the parents prepare a ceremony called *pangcorona* (crowning). The seven-year-old child is garbed in festive attire and is made to stand in the middle of the hall on a dais. Participants in this ceremony are the youthful celebrant, the parents, the godparents, and the invited guests. In the ceremony, the pangcorona song is sung, accompanied by clapping and hugging.

Pangasinan ballads have a humorous bent to them. "Dalem na Dayat" (In the Depths

of the Sea) is a song about a man who lived under the sea for three months, and who, having eaten his fill of seafood, could not find water to drink. "Duaran Mamarikit" (Two Spinsters) is a satire on choosy women who fear the onset of old maidenhood and would settle for even a toothless old man. "Linaway Tawen" (It's Heaven's Will) is a light song about the disabled doing what they are supposed to be incapable of doing: the dumb singing, the deaf hearing, the blind watching, the toothless grinning, and the armless playing the guitar, the harelipped playing the flute, the paralytics clapping, and so on. "Pito, Pito Combibe!" (Whistle, Whistle, Halt!) is sung with a lot of body movements, and is about a man who, while searching for his lost love, is stopped by a police officer at a checkpoint. "Kansioy Bulangero" (Cockfighter's Song) is a humorous song devoted to cockfighting, a favorite sport in Pangasinan. In this song, the cockfighter realizes the folly of his vice and he sings it as some kind of farewell to cockfighting.

Not surprisingly, Pangasinan work songs are about farming and fishing, the two primary livelihoods of the Pangasinense. "Cansioy Dumaralos" (Song of the Farmer) is full of praise and pride for the farmer without whom people would go hungry. "Pinalapa" (A Clearing) chronicles the hardships of maintaining a clearing in the mountain, but it nevertheless has a lively tune and is sung with many n-dmetic gestures. "Cansioy Sun-tisigay" (Song of the Fisher) speaks of the joy of fishing in calm seas and the peace and egalitarian values engendered by fishing-related activities. "Diman Ed Mangabol" (Over in Mangabol) glorifies the life of the fisher, where "hunger is unknown." These work songs are expressed in four-line verses, consisting of eight or nine syllable lines, and in monorhyming pattern.

Love songs in Pangasinan range from courtship songs to serenades that speak of the simple joy of loving or of frustration and despair. There are also nuptial songs sung before or after the marriage ceremony, which include reflections of the bride-to-be and songs from the parents-in-law.

"No Siak So Mangaro" (When I love) is a favorite tune and is usually chosen for community singing at conferences and seminars in Pangasinan. In the song, the lovesick swain proclaims his undying love and care for his paramour, a devotion that must be matched by his rivals for the beloved's affection. He will "cover with a handkerchief the floor you walk upon." He imagines his lady as a "lemon candy" he "rolls playfully" on the tip of his tongue. He would neither chew nor swallow her, but let her stay there and "enjoy" her. He adds that should he die, he would live again if she would only look at him.

"No Siak So Mangasawa" (When I Marry) tells of how the would-be husband is going to take care of the would-be wife as if she were a baby. He would "spoonfeed" her at mealtime, prepare her milk upon waking up, "drive away the mosquitoes" at bedtime, bathe her, comb her, and massage her tired muscles. All of these he will do in the hope that she "will never forget" him.

"Malinak Lay Labi" (Clear is the Night) is a petek or serenade. Popularized by Linda

Magno over the airlanes, it has a haunting melody, whose lyrics describe how the lover is awakened in a quiet evening from a dream of his ladylove whose beauty is "a joy to behold."

"Andi Bali, Rosing" (It's Alright, Rosing) is one of the oldest known serenades where the lover expresses fears that his sweetheart might forget him.

"Panterter Na Luak Mansalmak" (My Heart Cries) is another standard in the repertoire of serenades. Here the lover is in the depths of despair and if he continues to be in such a state because of the way his sweetheart treats him, he would prefer to "take poison that takes away life."

"Say Pusok So Mannangnangis" (My Heart Cries) is another soul-stirring song of despair which apparently originated in the town of Bayambang, where it is quite well-known. The lover complains of the way his beloved treats him. He writes her but she drops him "only a few lines" folded in a tiny piece of paper. He longs for her and he asks the wind to blow so that he may waft his "longing" to her who is an "extension" of his life.

"Matalag Ya Ngarem" (It's a Rare Afternoon) is a song about a lover sighing and pining for his loved one. The lover fails to see her one afternoon. His "head aches" and his "body is spiritless". Anything he eats "hardens (like cement) in the chest" and the water he drinks "curdles in the throat." It's a "rare afternoon" and a "rare week" that he doesn't "count the days" until they are "together again."

"Say Onloob Ed Estado" (One Who Enters the Married State) is a wedding song sung by a girl engaged to be married, while she ponders her fate. She says it is "difficult to enter the married state" because one will have to leave" the side of her parents. She, therefore, calls on "the plants and the weeds" to "shed off" their leaves because she is now "leaving the parental abode."

"Abeten Koy Manugang Ko" (I'm Going to Meet my Daughter-in-Law) is sung by the groom's mother after the wedding reception held in the bride's house. The bridal party goes to the groom's house where a simpler reception called *pagatin (*stepping in) awaits them. To the gathering which is usually smaller and consists only of immediate relatives and close friends, the groom's mother sings a joyful welcome song as she goes out to meet her daughter-in-law. She says she is "going to dance the *kindo-kindo*," and will ask the bride to sit by her side. She then sings of "two hearts united beating as one," and of her fond hope that "no marital spats would mar their conjugal life" so that they will "lead a prosperous life." After the song, a boisterous ceremony called the *paketketan* follows. The well-wishers shower money or attach bills to the bodice and shirt of the newlyweds and the family of the two parties sometimes vie with each other in their generosity.

"Say Anak Liglioay Ateng" (A Child is the Joy of Her Parents) is sung when parents reminisce over the years when their child, now a bride, was still a baby and of how

she was a “balm to banish all cares and sorrow,” how she grew into adulthood, and eventually looked for a rooster. As the young couple listen to this song, they are reminded that within the foreseeable future, they too will have their own child, to whom they will sing lullabies, and who, when grown, will also look for her mate.

In Pangasinan, dancing is a necessary social skill, whether one endeavors to pay court to a lady or to hobnob with political leaders and their wives. Fiestas and affairs are capped with dancing in the plaza. Small wonder then that Pangasinan has a wide array of dances.

The *imunan* (jealousy) is a courtship dance from San Jacinto depicting a love triangle involving two girls and a boy. The boy tries to please the girls who are trying their best to get his attention and favor. He lavishes attention on the girls, flirts with them, and dances with each one. The attempt is successful, and at the end of the dance all is sweetness and harmony among the three dancers. The girls wear balintawak with *tapis* or overskirt, camis*a* or blouse with long wide sleeves, soft *panyo*,or kerchief over one shoulder or around the neck, and *corcho* or chinelas or slippers for footwear. The first girl has a fan hanging at the right side of the waist and the second girl hangs her fan on her left. The boy wears the barong tagalog or long-sleeved shirt buttoned in front, white trousers, and chinelas (Reyes-Aquino 1960:4, 9-13).

From Bayambang comes the *binasuan* (literally “with glass”) which is performed by a girl or several girls, and requires extraordinary grace and dexterity. Dancing to the tune of “Pitoy Oras” at three counts to the measure, the girl balances a glass on her head and one on each palm. The glasses are half-filled with water and the dancer must execute continuous fast turns, then kneel or roll on the floor without spilling the water or dropping the glasses (Reyes-Aquino 1960:1-4).

Similarly, the courtship dance *kumakaret* makes use of glasses half-filled with wine or *tuba* (fermented coconut water). It originated from the kumakaret or wine makers. The girl wears a *siesgo* or tailless long skirt with tapis, *kimona* or blouse with short sleeves, and soft panyo on her left shoulder. The boy wears *camisa de chino,* a collarless loose, long-sleeved shirt, and colored trousers. The partners, both barefoot, face each other two meters apart. The girl stands at the right side of the boy when facing the audience, and has a glass on top of her head and on each palm (Reyes-Aquino 1960:43-48).

The *tanobong* is a dance named after a kind of grass used for making brooms. In the coastal towns of Pangasinan, people gather tanobong flowers when not engaged in fishing. The dance depicts the different steps in broom making. Each dancer is dressed in any working costume and is provided with a wooden bolo or any similar instrument for cutting, a wooden hammer or pounder, and a chopping board. Stools or chairs are placed at the back of the room, one for each dancer (Reyes-Aquino 1960:103-106).

The *sayaw ed tapew na bangko* (dance on top of a bench) comes from Lingayen and is another demonstration of grace, dexterity, and agility. It is danced atop a bench

about 2-3 meters long, 15 centimeters wide, and 60 centimeters high. The girl wears a skirt with a long tail tucked at the right side of the waist, a camisa, and a soft panyo around the neck. The boy wears a camisa de chino and colored trousers. Both dancers are barefoot. The bench is placed horizontally in the center of the room or stage. Partners stand in front of the bench 60 centimeters apart from each other, facing the audience, with the girl at the boy's right side. They execute their steps in 2/4 time then change to 3/4 time, moving backward and forward, hopping, and making lateral cuts with the foot, and bowing to each other (Reyes-Aquino 1960:78-82).

The *pastora* (shepherdess) is a courtship dance popular in many towns of Pangasinan, especially in Bugallon, Bayambang, Malasiqui, and San Carlos. The girl wears a *maskota skirt*, camisa, and soft panyo folded in a triangle over the left shoulder with the two ends tied together down at the right side of the waist. A handkerchief hangs at the left side of her waist. The boy wears a camisa de chino and white trousers. A handkerchief is kept in his pocket. The partners stand opposite each other two meters apart. The girl is at the right when facing the audience.

Pangasinan is also rich in theater forms, from rituals of prehispanic origins such as the *gaton* (offering) and the *pantaotaoag* (to call upon), to the genres developed during the Spanish period to modern forms.

The gaton is a ritual where food is offered to the spirits to appease them for whatever transgressions human beings may have committed against them, such as *acapuldac* or unintentionally scalding a spirit by throwing boiling water on the latter's abode, and *acapasakit* or unconsciously harming a spirit while toting firewood or doing farm work. The gaton is best done at dusk when spirits are abroad, or noon when the underworld communes with humankind (Nelmida 1982).

The pantaotaoag is performed by a *managtaoag* or medium as an augury for an afflicted person who may have caught a spirit's mischievous fancy, a condition called *abanbanuan.* In so doing, the managtaoag throws *ilik* or unhusked rice grains on a plate of water while reciting incantations. The formation which the ilik will take will be the managtaoag's basis for interpretation. Another form of augury is breaking the shell of an egg over a glassful of water and looking at how the yolk will separate from the albumen (Nelmida 1982).

Religious observances, especially during Lent, have given birth to some theater forms that Pangasinan shares with other Christianized groups in the Philippines.

On Easter morning, the *abet-abet* is performed before daybreak. An arch with a black streamer around it is erected near the church. Devotees wearing the habiliments of the Mater Dolorosa line up towards the arch. An angel approaches the Blessed Virgin, takes off the latter's black veil, and announces that Christ is risen. The Blessed Mother is now dressed in her customary blue and white as she faces her Son clad in radiant white. Somewhere in the patio, an effigy of Judas is burned (Nelmida 1982).

In some towns of Pangasinan, the *sinakulo* is held on the street during Holy Week. Characters are costumed the way holy images of Lenten processions are dressed, with Christ in the robes of the Nazarene complete with wig and rays, and the Virgin Mary in traditional blue veil and white gown. The dialogue in Pangasinan is amplified by a loudspeaker that towers on a jeep behind the cast. This sinakulo is usually held in the daytime.

Catalino Palisoc of Lingayen is acknowledged to be the "Father of the Pangasinan *sarswela,"* primarily because he wrote and produced in 1901 the first sarswela written in Pangasinan, entitled *Say Liman Ag Naketket, Pampinsioan* (The Hand that Cannot be Bitten, Must be Kissed). It enjoyed repeated seasons on stage for more than 25 years until the death of the author. An admirer of Rizal, Palisoc was deeply influenced by the antifriar tone of Rizal's *Noli me tangere* (Touch Me Not) and *El filibusterismo* (Subversion). The play's villain, a friar, smears the reputation of Luis, lover of Filipinas, who is coveted by the friar's servant. The friar also maneuvers to have his servant win the position of *capitan mayor* over Luis' father, who is more deserving. All these machinations are attempts to mask the friar's own desire for Filipinas. Luis and Filipinas elope to Manila where Luis joins the revolutionary movement Katipunan and later returns to his hometown to save his and Filipinas' families from the friar's ire (Magno 1954).

Palisoc was primarily a propagandist and educator who sought to deliver telling messages and pointed questions about social ills, using his sarswela as platforms. The other plays of Palisoc which survive are: *Sakit na Baley* (Disease of the Country) 1905; *Say Abangonan* (Old Customs) and *Say Mangasi Singa Kinalab na Balita* (One Who Shows Charity is Like a Tree Smothered by the Balete), 1906; ***Natilak So Inaral ag Natilak so Natural*** (Learning is Sooner Shed Off than One's Nature), 1907; *Nanariay Ambugan* (Kingdom of Braggarts), 1908; ***Say Mabibyang*** (The Meddlers), 1912; *Pacayariy Pilac* (The Power of Silver), 1913; ***Politicay Tilaan*** (Political Bluffing), 1914; *Manliket Ka Baley Ko* (Rejoice, My Country), 1919; and *Talonggaring na Seseg* (The Advantage of Diligence), 1920. In these, he raises issues such as the deterioration of the Pangasinan tongue, the value of education, the women's right to suffrage, the people's colonial mentality, the bias against manual labor, social inequality, and the insincerity inherent in politics. In emphasizing the message rather than dwelling on the nuances of the medium, Palisoc has been criticized for his aesthetic and structural shortcomings (Magno 1954).

Another *sarswelista* of Pangasinan was prolific Pablo Mejia who injects meaningful lessons and raises valid social issues through his plays. His first sarswela, *Say Aron Ginmalet* (Ingrained Love) poked fun at the "deeply rooted false values and bad habits," such as judging people by what they owned, preferring foreign-made over local products, and looking down on honest work (Magno 1992:109-110).

Basingkawel (Election Campaign), a two-act sarswela completed in 1911, parodies the gimmicks and machinations of politicians and their ilk during elections. The

popular *Manuk ya Ibubulang* (Fighting Cock), otherwise titled *Silib na Tubonbalo* (Cleverness of Youth), 1914, depicts the misadventures of two youthful lovers who resort to various tricks to circumvent the obstacles put in their way by the girl's parents. A song from this sarswela, "Say Liglioay Ateng" (The Joy of Parents), has since been elevated to the status of a Pangasinan folk song.

Panaun Aman (The Past Era) was written by Mejia in 1915 and is considered to be the longest sarswela in Pangasinan. First presented in Calasiao on 9 July 1916, it bears thematic similarities with Palisoc's *Say Liman.* The father of the heroine Ilalo prevents her from marrying the rebel Nanoy, because he does not want to displease the friar. He has plans of running for the position of capitan or mayor. The friar casts covetous eyes upon the heroine, who manages to flee from him. Nanoy and Ilalo are secretly married. The revolution breaks out. Nanoy is captured and exiled, and returns only upon the arrival of the Americans. Nanoy leads the revolutionary forces into town, captures the friar and the *guardias civiles,* (rural policemen) but frees them over the objections of the people, saying that the revolution was fought to correct the injustices of those in power and not for revenge. The families are reunited and the sarswela ends happily with the passing of tyranny and the dawn of peace and tranquility.

Panaun departs from Mejia's other plays in that the comic phrases and interludes that characterize them are absent. While it follows *Say Liman's* revolutionary and antifriar theme, *Panaun's* characters have more depth and its language more quiet and "real" (Legasto 1976).

The following year Mejia wrote *Dosay Liput* (Treachery's Punishment), a short sarswela about a man trying to avenge his friend's betrayal. This was followed by *Divorcio* released the same year, which presents the pros and cons of divorce. In the end, the issue remains unsettled, and the spectator is left to decide for himself about the desirability of divorce.

Other than Palisoc and Mejia, other Pangasinan sarswelistas are: Pablo Bermechea of Dagupan; Juan Biason of Mangaldan; Francisco Cruz, Juan Cruz, Jose Santos, Sergio Ferrer, and Mike Ventanilla of Lingayen; Basilio Dalope of Urdaneta; Alejandro Mendoza of San Carlos; Andres Tamayo of Santa Barbara; Gregorio Venezuela of Pozorrubio; Pablo Vicente of Asingan; Jose T. Pecson, Vicente Quintana, Francisco Reynoso, Antonio M . Sison, Juan Villamil, Felix Zamora, Juan Santos, Julian Zulueta, Jose Mejia, and Nicolas Mejia (Magno 1954:218).

Favorite themes among Pangasinan sarswelista include Spanish tyranny, as seen in Sergio Ferrer's *Baclao ya Gulong-gulong* (Chain Around the Neck), Mejia's *Say Panaun*, and Francisco Cruz's *Taloran Pasak na Filipinas* (Three Nails Piercing the Philippines); the local elections, as presented in Palisoc's Politicay Tilaan, Mejia's Basingkawel, and Juan Santos' *Say Karamilay Basingkawel* (Election Campaign Practices) in 1935; and the value of education, as shown in Palisoc's Nanariay Ambugan and Mejia's *Ginmalet.* In using the sarswela as a tool for exposing social

ills, Palisoc established a norm where "the dramatists and the audience had come to agree that a zarzuela which did not preach a moral was not worth its salt" (Magno 1954:19).

One sarswelista, Juan T. Biason, made family relations the focus of his works, such as *Marocsan Mansiomang* (The Unkind Stepmother), *Malamang ya Anak* (The Ungrateful Daughter), *Maaron Anak* (The Loving Child), and *Say Biin Maarod Asawa to* (The Woman Who Loves Her Husband). Pangasinan audiences were scandalized with his *Say Biin Maagap a Oalna* (A Virtuous Woman), which depicted the life of an adulteress (Magno 1954:19).

The sarswela has since declined, superseded by the movies. The skill and quality of the sarswelista, who have since relied more on prepared tunes to accompany their songs, have also declined. The sarswela has also lost its didactic character with postwar sarswela being increasingly focused on love (Magno 1954:20). Although there still are minor performances, the sarswela are now usually adjuncts to a variety presentation which includes cancionan (literally "singing session"), comedy skits, acrobatics, and other features.

Poetical fencing found its full flower in the cancionan, a debate in verse and music, pitting a man against a woman. The cancionan verses vary from 4 to 8 lines per stanza and are usually set to known tunes. In the old days, the *cancionista* used the *ponto natural* which allows the voice to be prolonged and well controlled. Cancionan used to last from at least three hours to as long as 6 to 8 hours, but the demands of present-day audiences in the age of the soundbyte have prompted the development of cancionan which has been pared down to 1 to 2 hours for stage performances and 30 to 45 minutes for radio performances.

According to Magno (1992:91-92) the traditional cancionan has five parts: the *pasantabi* or introduction; the *panangarapan,* where the female cancionista grills the man on his pedigree and other personal circumstances; the *panagkabatan,* where the male cancionista reveals his intention to court his female counterpart, to which the latter puts verbal obstacles, riddles, Bible trivia, even superhuman tasks, liberally dishing out puns, mimicry, and other witticisms; the *cupido,* where the man tries to impress the woman with his verbal and musical skills, accompanying his oral argumentation with an instrument, oftentimes a guitar; and the *balitang,* where the woman rejects the man's suit by refusing to let him come onstage with him, or accepts him by inviting him up the stage (Magno 1992: 91-91).

A famous cancionista couple in the 1930s, Alejandro Mendoza and his wife, conducted their cancionan in the town plazas. Their battles lasted well into dawn and dealt usually with courtship themes.

The foremost cancionista in Pangasinan today is Lorenzo Morante of Dagupan, better known as Tasong-taso. In the 1960s Morante introduced a twist to the cancionan by adding a third person in the debate. With his wife, Gregoria Diaz, and

Benedicta Bandung of Urbiztondo, Morante popularized this cancionan form, later to be known as *imunan* (De Asis 1984).

Morante was also instrumental in developing the shortened cancionan and adapting it for the radio, where he has his own program, *Cancionan on the Air,* over Dagupan radio station DWDW. The abbreviated cancionan dispenses with the pasantabi, the panangarapan, and the panagkabatan, to go straight to the meat of the debate. The singing debaters dispute such topics as "Siopay Maong ya Manangkaili: Say Mayaman odino say Pobre?" (Who is More Hospitable: The Rich or the Poor?). Diaz and Bandung have since retired and Morante teams up with Fely Manuel. Another cancionista of note is Rosie Evangelista of Sison (Magno 1992).

Among the theater groups that have emerged in Pangasinan in recent years are the Pangasinan Cenaculo, the Kankanti Ensemble, and the Ala-Uli Theater Group. The first, which was later to be known as the Tonton Dramatic Guild after the Lingayen barangay where their first sinakulo was staged, started as a club, organized by Leocadio Villanueva to present sinakulo patterned after the world-famous *Oberammergau* passion play in Germany. From its humble beginnings, the guild has staged its plays in diverse locations in Pangasinan and as far as Baguio City.

The Kankanti, named after the Pangasinan word for butterfly, was organized in the 1970s by Ricardo (Rex) Catubig, then Philippine Educational Theater Association (PETA) regional director for Central Luzon. The group makes extensive use of Pangasinan folk literature themes. In the plays *Talintao, Bambano Laki Bai,* and *Sigsilew*, the Kankanti combines traditional rituals with new techniques. Catubig also organized the Ala-Uli Theater Group, which also looks to Pangasinan folklore for its themes. • P. Nelmida, M. Nelmida, D. Javier, with N.G.Tiongson/ Reviewed by R.M. Cortes

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