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INTER-ETHNIC IMAGES BETWEEN FILIPINOS AND CHINESE IN THE PHILIPPINES¹

ALLEN L. TAN AND GRACE E. DE VERA

WHILE A NUMBER OF RESEARCHES HAVE BEEN CONDUCTED ON Philippine Anti-Sinoism as reviewed by Tan,² studies on inter-ethnic images between the two groups have started only recently with Peabody's research.³ The following is a brief but hopefully informative study on inter-ethnic images between Filipinos and Chinese in the Philippines.

METHOD

In this study we confined ourselves to measuring the evaluative judgments of the Chinese subjects to the concept "Filipino" and "Chinese in the Philippines" through the use of the semantic differential.⁴ In essence, the semantic differential technique consists of presenting the subject with a number of bipolar rating scales that he uses to rate one or more specified concepts. Each scale has seven possible response categories ranging from extreme unfavorability to extreme favorability. In a pre-test of the semantic differential scale, national images were used as concepts (e.g., Philippines, China, Japan, etc.). This however, resulted in much evasiveness on the part of the subjects; hence the concepts were changed to ethnic images like "Chinese in the Philippines", "Filipinos", "Japanese", etc. This, to a great extent, eliminated evasiveness on the part of the subjects. The findings were then compared to a similar study conducted by Willis.⁵

In Willis' study, both ethnic images and national images were used as concepts. He found significant differences in the ratings of the two concepts. His data on the Filipino ratings of ethnic images was the one used in this paper.

¹ Part of these data have been presented in Allen L. Tan, "Attitudes of Filipino-Chinese Towards Nationalist and Communist Chinese." *The U.P. Research Digest*. Vol. 6, No. 2, (January 1967), pp. 19-22.

² Allen L. Tan, "A Survey of Studies on Anti-Sinoism in the Philippines." *Asian Studies*. Vol. 6, No. 2, (August 1968), pp. 198-207.

³ Dean Peabody, "Group Judgments in the Philippines: Their Evaluative and Descriptive Aspects," in W. F. Bello and A. de Guzman (eds.), *Modernization: Its Impact in the Philippines, III*, (*Institute of Philippine Culture Papers*, 6, 1969), pp. 114-128.

⁴ Charles Osgood, George Suci, and Percy Tannenbaum. *The Measurement of Meaning*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1957), pp. 1-496.

⁵ Richard Willis, "Ethnic and National Images Among Filipino University Students." Paper read at the Philippine Sociological Society Annual Convention, Manila, May 1966.

For our study proper, we used twenty bipolar scales selected on the basis of a strong consensus on the part of the favorable as opposed to the unfavorable end. In a preliminary factor analysis of all the semantic differential scales used, all the twenty were found to be highly evaluative in nature. To reduce response bias in our sample, the positive ends of the bipolar scales were alternated. All 20 scales, however, were scored in the same direction. All responses at the unfavorable end got 1 point and all responses at the favorable end 7. Of the twenty scales, however, only 16 scales were used in the analysis in order to make our data comparable to Willis.

Our sample consisted of 25 males and 25 females all of whom were students of the University of the Philippines. All subjects were either in their junior or senior year at the time of the study. These Chinese students were either born or raised in the Philippines; they were all able to speak at least one Chinese dialect. This sample may not be fully representative of the Chinese here in the Philippines but it should be quite comparable to the Filipino sample.

The Filipino sample utilized by Willis on the other hand, consisted of 101 undergraduate of the higher division, i.e., juniors and seniors, of the University of the Philippines. Of these, 50 were males and 51 were females. This sample may likewise not be representative of the total population or a cross-section of it but there is evidence that their responses were consistent with those from other social, economic, and educational strata. A questionnaire was given to them consisting of 16 bipolar rating scales. They rated the concepts "Filipino" and "Chinese in the Philippines" among others. The semantic differential responses were scored from 0-6 in this sample as opposed to the Chinese data which was scored from 1-7. For purposes of comparison, however, correction was done on the Filipino data by adding 1 point to every score in the individual scales. All analysis done on the Willis' data in this paper are based on the corrected values. The ratings of both groups can be compared point by point in the scale since both studies used the same 16 scales.

RESULTS

Table I summarizes the mean ratings of both the Chinese and Filipino subjects to the concepts "Filipino" and "Chinese in the Philippines" along the 16 bipolar scales. The column Means presented in the table serve as favorability indices. Careful inspection of the table shows that a mean rating of 4.99 was attributed by the Chinese subjects to the concept "Chinese in the Philippines" while a mean of 40.7 is given to the concept "Filipino." The Filipino sample also gave a mean of 4.95 to the concept "Filipino" and they rated the concept "Chinese in the Philippines" a mean of 4.23. In

TABLE I
Mean Ratings for the Concept

	Semantic Differential <i>Scales</i>	"CHINESE in the Philippines"	"FILIPINO"
by CHINESE Ss	lazy-industrious	6.04	2.96
	unscientific-scientific	4.26	3.30
	suspicious-trusting	4.24	3.90
	uncultured-cultured	5.04	4.18
	dirty-clean	4.80	3.48
	hostile-friendly	5.22	5.72
	cowardly-brave	3.78	4.36
	wasteful-thrifty	5.86	2.80
	childish-mature	4.92	3.52
	weak-strong	4.22	4.26
	uncooperative-cooperative	4.40	4.52
	dishonest-honest	5.02	3.48
	stupid-intelligent	5.82	4.16
	aggressive-peace-loving	6.12	4.56
	ugly-attractive	4.90	4.68
cruel-kind	5.30	4.68	
	Means	4.99	4.07
by FILIPINO Ss	lazy-industrious	6.32	3.75
	unscientific-scientific	3.87	3.59
	suspicious-trusting	2.96	4.66
	uncultured-cultured	3.86	4.88
	dirty-clean	2.62	5.24
	hostile-friendly	4.71	6.12
	cowardly-brave	3.49	5.58
	wasteful-thrifty	6.24	4.27
	childish-mature	4.28	4.30
	weak-strong	4.04	4.74
	uncooperative-cooperative	3.89	4.83
	dishonest-honest	3.51	5.01
	stupid-intelligent	4.57	5.26
	aggressive-peace-loving	5.15	5.70
	ugly-attractive	3.75	5.37
cruel-kind	4.44	5.93	
	Means	4.23	4.95

both cases we can see that the subjects rated their ethnic group more favorably than the other group.

To illustrate the differences in the subjects' ratings of the two concepts, profiles on the semantic differential scales were drawn for both samples. Figure 1 shows the ratings of the Chinese subjects on the two concepts. We can see from the figure that "Filipinos" were rated more negatively than the concept "Chinese" by the Chinese subjects on all scales except four: *hostile-friendly*, *cowardly-brave*, *weak-strong*, *uncooperative-cooperative*. To test whether the Chinese Ss ratings of the two concepts were significantly different, the Wilcoxon Matched-Pairs signed-Ranks test⁶ was applied. The test yielded a T value equal to 10 ($T=10$), significant at $p=.01$. Hence, the Chinese' ratings of the two concepts differed significantly; of course rating themselves more favorably.

Figure 2 gives us the profiles drawn by the Filipino sample. General inspection of the profile reveals that the Filipino subjects rated themselves more favorably than the Chinese on all scales except three: *lazy-industrious*, *unscientific-scientific*, *wasteful-thrifty*. The difference in the rating of the two concepts, when tested for significance gave a $T=30$ in the Wilcoxon test, significant at $p=.01 < \text{level}$. This allows us to conclude that Filipinos rate themselves more favorably than they do Chinese.

Figure 3 illustrates the profile ratings of the Chinese subjects and the Filipino subjects on the concept "Chinese in the Philippines". There is a general agreement between the ratings of the two samples as shown by the similar directions in the profiles. This agreement, when tested with a Spearman-Rank correlation, gave an $r=.79$ which was significant at the $p=.01$ level. Not surprisingly, the Chinese consistently rated the concept more favorably than the Filipino Ss. To test this difference in the ratings of the two samples a median test was performed, yielding a $\chi^2=4.5$ significant at the $p=.05$ level. We can, therefore, conclude that the Chinese view themselves more favorably than do Filipinos.

Figure 4 shows the profile ratings of the samples on the concept "Filipino." The profile shows that in all cases the Filipinos rated themselves more favorably than the Chinese Ss would rate them. There is, however, a general agreement in the direction of their ratings as indicated by an $r=.78$ which is significant at $p=.01$ level. To test the difference in the way the two samples view the concept, a median test was performed resulting in a $\chi^2=8.0$, significant at $p=.01$. Hence, the Filipino sample viewed the concept "Filipino" significantly more favorably than the Chinese did. These interesting findings call for more comment.

⁶ Sidney, Seigel, *Non-Parametric Statistics* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1956), pp. 75-83.

Fig. 1. PROFILES OF CHINESE SUBJECTS
Rating the Concepts "Filipino" and "Chinese"

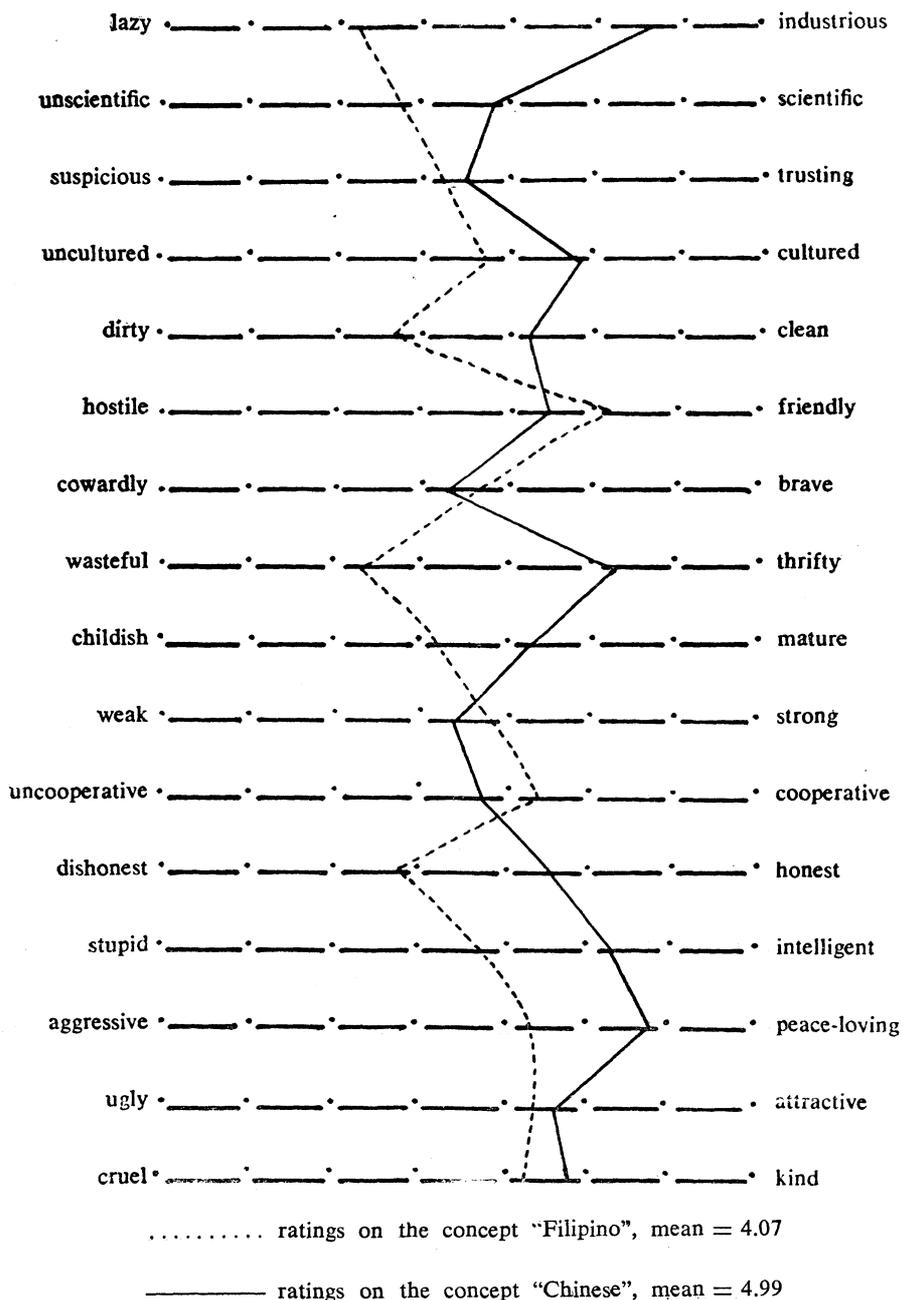


Fig. 2. PROFILES OF FILIPINO SUBJECTS
Rating the Concepts 'Filipino' and 'Chinese'

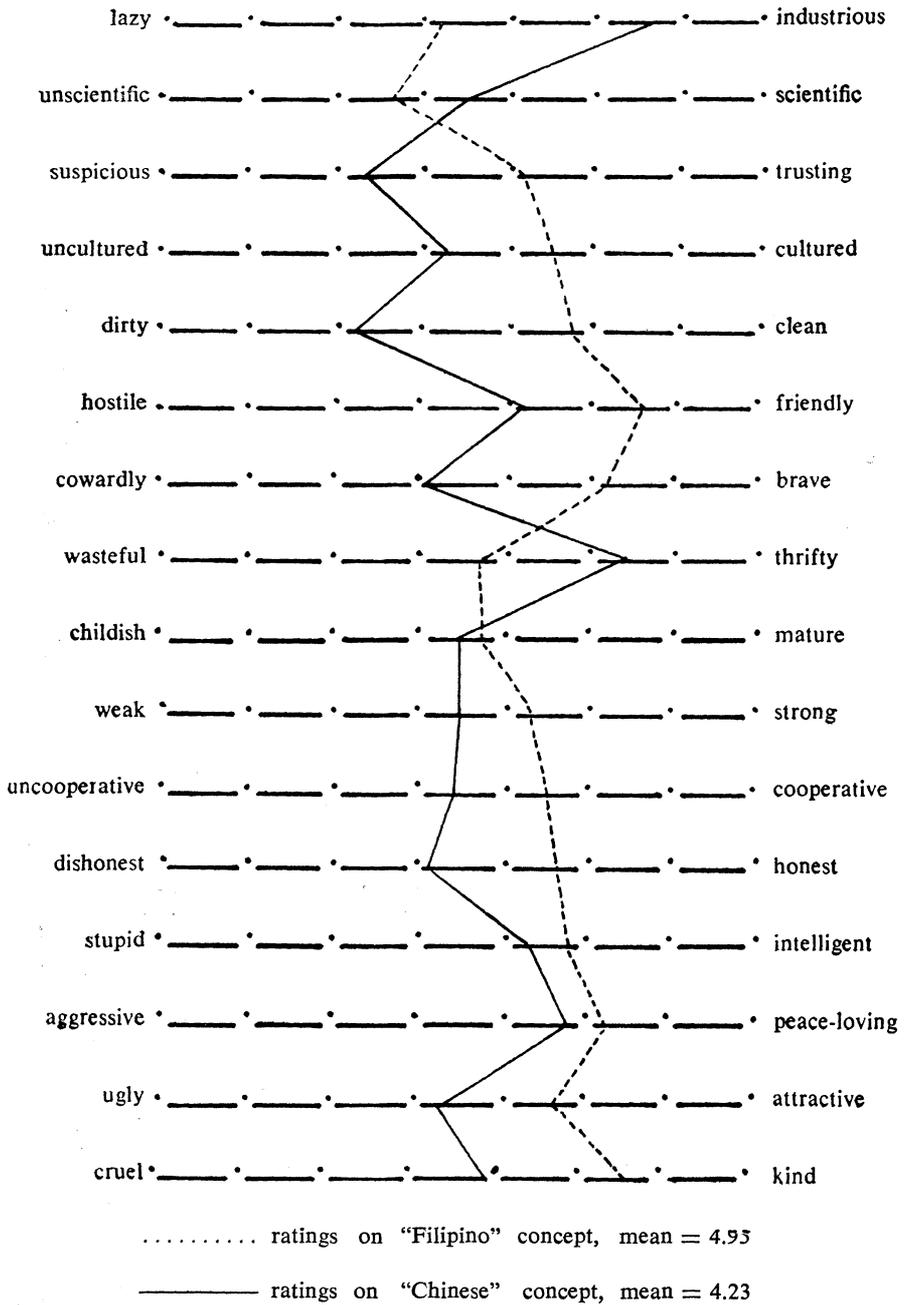


Fig. 3. PROFILES OF THE CONCEPT "CHINESE"

As rated by Filipino Ss and Chinese Ss

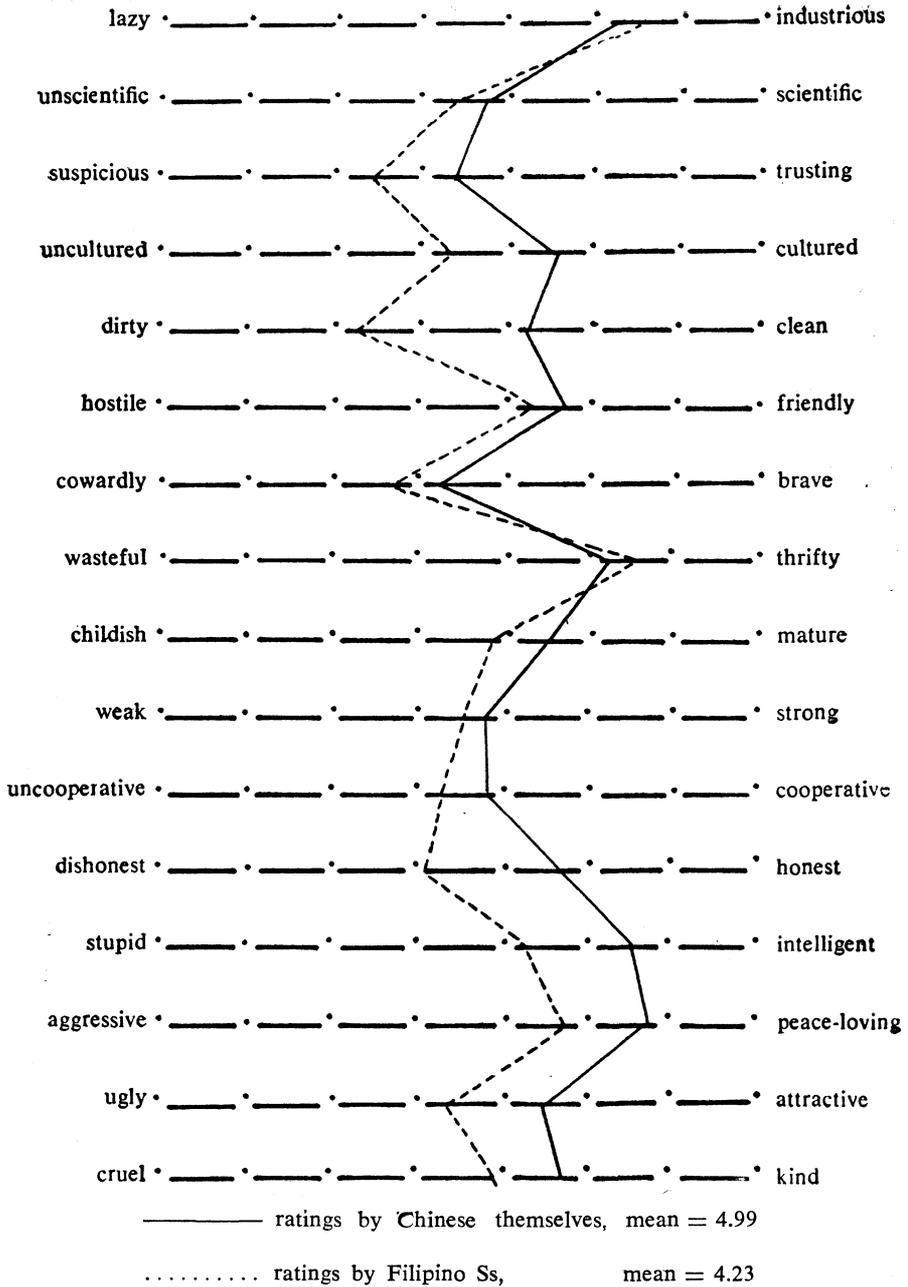
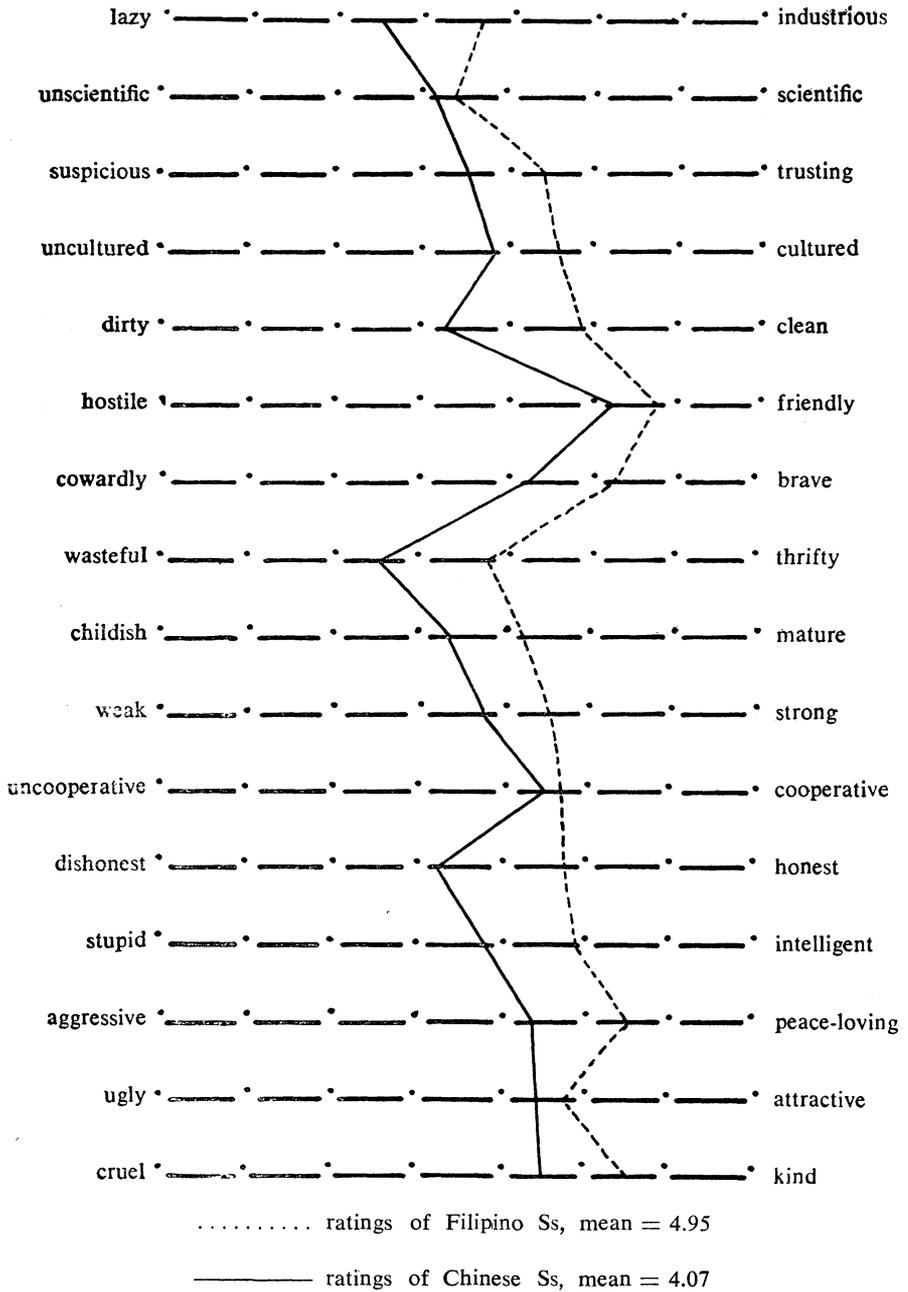


Fig. 4. PROFILES OF THE CONCEPT "FILIPINO"
As rated by Filipino Ss and Chinese Ss



DISCUSSION

Table I shows that Filipino view themselves about as favorably as Chinese view themselves (with mean ratings of 4.95 and 4.99, respectively). However, Filipinos tend to view Chinese more favorably than Chinese view Filipinos (with mean ratings of 4.23 and 4.07, respectively). These findings are to a great extent in agreement with the results from a recent study by Peabody.⁷

The high Spearman-Rank correlations, coupled with the significant median tests is of great interest. It is plausible that an objective judgement of the concepts from the two ethnic groups accounts for a high correlation, while an evaluative factor operating on top of this description worked toward producing the significant χ^2 's from the median tests.

More important information can still be gathered from the data. One may note, for instance, that in Fig. 3, Filipinos rate "Chinese" highest on *industrious*, *thrifty*, *peace-loving* and lowest on *clean*, *trustworthy*, and *brave*. On the other hand, the Chinese rated themselves highest on *peace-loving*, *industrious*, *thrifty* and *intelligent*, and lowest on *brave*, *strong* and *trusting*. From Fig. 4 we can see the differences in the perception of the "Filipino" by the two samples. The Chinese rated this ethnic group highest on *friendly*, *attractive*, and *kind* and lowest on *thrifty*, *industrious*, and *scientific*. On the other hand, Filipinos rated their own group highest in *friendly*, *kind* and *peace-loving* and lowest on *scientific* and *industrious*.

Of course, it is important to understand that the images in the profiles, whether of self or of others, are neither necessarily true nor necessarily false. These group perceptions, however, *per se* are of considerable interest. The fact that Filipinos see themselves as friendly and attractive whether or not it is true is interesting. A fact of greater importance is their rating of Chinese as *dirty*, *cowardly* and *suspicious* regardless of whether it is true or not. This perception of other groups is of importance in the study of stereotypes and ethnic prejudice. Further experimentation is still wanting in this area. It is hoped that this piece of work provides some clarifications to the general assertion that prejudice between Filipinos and Chinese is not necessarily a one-way affair.

⁷ Peabody, *op. cit.*

URBANIZATION AND POLITICAL OPPOSITION: THE PHILIPPINES AND JAPAN

NOBUTAKA IKE

ONE OF THE FUNDAMENTAL ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT POLITICS IS THAT industrialization and urbanization often bring about profound changes in the nature of politics. The literature on village politics, especially in Asian countries, rather consistently shows that rural communities try to avoid overt partisan confrontations and strive instead to arrive at some kind of "consensus." It is understandable that this should be so. In rural villages where people are not mobile, where everyone knows everyone else, and where both individual and group survival places a premium on cooperation, open partisanship that pits individuals and families against each other and thereby reduces the potential for cooperative endeavors is bound to be avoided.

As a country begins to urbanize and industrialize, however, preference for politics through consensus becomes much less pronounced. Face-to-face relationships that characterized village life give way to some extent to anonymity. The growth of a working class and its eventual unionization sharpens economic conflict between labor and management. Moreover, specialization produced by city life greatly expands the range of human needs, which, in turn, raises the level of political demands. Finally the presence of the mass communications media especially affects the political outlook of urban dwellers. Richard Fagen has succinctly summarized these changes in a communications model of political change:

- (1) socio-economic changes with important communications concomitants in channels, content, style, opportunities, etc. lead to
- (2) new ways of perceiving the self and the world which in turn lead to
- (3) behavior, which, when aggregated, are of consequence to the functioning of the political system.¹

Where modernization proceeds without fairly rigorous totalitarian controls, usually one of the consequences is polarization in politics. This happens when different groups of political activists band together to try to put their leaders into political office. As a result, overt conflict between and among organized political parties rather than the pursuit of consensus comes to characterize the political scene. Robert Dahl in his study of political

¹ Richard Fagen, *Politics and Communication*, (Boston: 1966), pp. 108-9.

oppositions in Western democracies has suggested the following typology of opposition. He speaks of

- (1) non-structural opposition characterized by "office seeking parties;"
- (2) limited structural opposition, where the object is political reforms; and
- (3) major structural opposition aimed at comprehensive political-structural reform.²

With this typology in mind, we may now turn to a consideration of structural opposition and its relationship to urbanization in two countries in Asia, namely Japan and the Philippines.

As is well known, Japan is the most industrialized country in Asia today and appears to be on the way to achieving the status of a "super power." While it is true that Japan's industrialization got its start in the latter part of the 19th century, the foundations for the industrial edifice were laid long before the opening of the country to large scale Western influences in the Meiji period. Already in the Tokugawa period (1603-1868) the country was becoming sufficiently urbanized so that by the 1700's Edo (present-day Tokyo) was probably larger than London was at that time. There were other cities, notably Osaka, the great commercial city which even boasted such sophisticated institutions as commodity exchanges, and, of course, Kyoto, the traditional capital and cultural center. In the Tokugawa period, Japanese industrial organization had not yet reached the stage where production took place in factories, but in certain lines such as textiles, small scale entrepreneurs organized production on the basis of the "putting out" system. Thus the evidence suggests that Japan had gotten a head start over her Asian neighbors in moving down the path of urbanization and industrialization.

Similarly in the political field, modern organizations and institutions appeared relatively early when compared to developments in other sections of Asia. For example, political parties were first established in the early 1880's, and by 1901 a small group of socialistically inclined middle class intellectuals had become sufficiently critical of the existing political system to feel compelled to form the first Social Democratic Party. In their manifesto the organizers of this party called for such political reforms as the enactment of universal suffrage, and such economic measures as the nationalization of the means of production. The government in power, apparently frightened by this program, banned the Social Democratic Party the very same day that it was organized. A more lasting attempt to introduce socialism in the form of an organized political movement came in the period after World War I. In the early 1920's a Communist Party was organized, but it was unable to obtain legal stature. Socialist parties, however, were allowed to operate openly. The Left-wing parties generally bene-

² Robert Dahl, *Political Oppositions in Western Democracies*, (New Haven: 1966), p. 342.

fited from the enactment of the universal manhood suffrage law which became effective in the 1928 general elections, but were unable to win widespread popular support partly because of the rise of ultranationalism that came on the heels of Japan's invasion of Manchuria in 1931.

Japan's defeat and the Allied Occupation that followed in 1945 substantially changed the political environment. Although the conservatives still remained in control, the Left-wing parties, including the Communist Party, which were legalized, no longer suffered legal and other forms of repression, with the result that the Socialists became the leading opposition party holding more than one third of the seats in the National Diet.

When we look into the sources of support for the Japanese Left, it is clear that it enjoys much more electoral support in the urban areas than it does in the rural communities. A detailed study of six elections for the House of Representatives held between 1947 and 1958 showed that there was a statistically significant difference in the percentage of votes cast for Socialist and Communist candidates among four types of electoral districts, namely, metropolitan, urban, semi-rural, and rural. In other words, the Socialist and Communist vote was directly correlated with the degree of urbanization.³

However, one might note in passing that there are some indications that support for socialism has been declining. According to one study, the percentage of socialist voters in those districts where the number of registered voters has increased the most (i.e., the large cities) between the 1958 and the 1967 elections declined from 38.51 per cent to 27.19 per cent in 1967, while in the districts where the number of registered voters declined the most (i.e., the rural districts) the percentage of vote increased from 23.22 in 1958 to 25.17 in 1967.⁴ This trend, if it continues, may confirm the hypothesis put forward by Daniel Bell that after modernization attains a high level, political polarization decreases and ideological differences become less and less important.⁵ Perhaps Japan, too, is approaching the "end of ideology," and, if so, it would signify that structural opposition is waning.

The picture in the Philippines is somewhat different. Urbanization and industrialization began much later, and large scale industrialization still lies in the future. It is revealing, too, to compare the chronological sequences in political development. Whereas in Japan the first stirrings of an organized Left appeared as early as 1901, in the Philippines the Socialist Party was not formed until 1929, and the Communist Party followed in 1930. The latter, however, was declared illegal by the courts in 1931, with the result

³ Junichi Kyogoku and Nobutaka Ike, *Urban-Rural Differences in Voting Behavior in Postwar Japan*, Proceedings of the Department of Social Sciences, College of Education, University of Tokyo, 1959.

⁴ *So-Senkyo no Kenkyu*. Published by Heiwa Keizai Keikaku Kaigi, (Tokyo: 1967), p. 11.

⁵ Daniel Bell, *The End of Ideology*, (Glencoe, 1960).

that the Communists joined forces with some of the Socialists. Then in the 1930's, the Left became linked to radical peasant reform movements in Central Luzon. During the Japanese occupation the communists organized the *Hukbo ng Bayan Laban Sa Hapon* (People's Anti-Japanese Army), abbreviated Hukbalahap or "Huks." After the end of the war, some of the Communist leaders ran for office under the Democratic Alliance label and six candidates managed to win election to the House of Representatives, only to be denied their seats. Unlike the situation in Japan where Communist and Socialist members actually sit in the parliament, since the Democratic Alliance episode, no representatives of the Left parties have obtained seats in the Philippines Congress. In general the political atmosphere in the Philippines is one where conservative groups and forces are overwhelmingly in control and even the moderate Left is forced to operate under constraints. Under the circumstances, the spectacle of a Socialist Party forming the chief opposition, as is the case in Japan, is virtually inconceivable in the Philippines at present.

The political party competition, therefore, takes place between two dominant conservative organizations, the Nacionalista and Liberal Parties. It is virtually impossible to differentiate between these two parties either in terms of doctrine or social basis. "At first glance," writes Jean Grossholtz, "the Philippines appears to have a two-party system that is national in character. But the closer look reveals that the two are not parties but coalitions of factions put together largely for electoral purposes and characterized by constantly shifting loyalties to men, not issues."⁶ Given the nature of Philippines parties, it is not surprising that politicians should often shift from one party to another. Sometimes even presidential candidates are "imported" from the opposition party.

The failure of the party system to provide the electorate with meaningful choices in terms of doctrine and issues, coupled with governmental inefficiency and corruption which have plagued almost every administration regardless of which party was in control, has naturally led to a certain amount of frustration, particularly on the part of more educated sectors of the voting public. This sense of frustration has found expression in so-called "third force" movements which have appeared from time to time. O. D. Corpuz has characterized these third force movements in these terms: "In strategy the third force movement aimed at an appeal directly to the people and independently of the two leading parties. It was therefore partly a disillusionment with idealistic sentiments and crusading personalities."⁷

The most recent of these third force movements was the attempt on the part of Senator Raul Manglapus to win the presidency in 1965 under the Party for Philippines Progress (PPP) banner. Senator Manglapus cam-

⁶ Jean Grossholtz, *Politics in the Philippines*, (Boston, 1964), p. 136.

⁷ Onofre D. Corpuz, *The Philippines*, (Englewood Cliffs: 1965), p. 112.

paigned on a kind of Christian Socialist platform, advocating, among other things, social justice, and agrarian and tax reforms. In terms of Dahl's typology, the movement represented by the Party for Philippines Progress might be characterized as a form of "limited structural opposition."

Senator Manglapus' campaign met the fate which has consistently befallen third force movements in the Philippines. He ran a poor third to Ferdinand Marcos, the winning candidate, and Diosdado Macapagal, the incumbent. A tabulation of the vote for Manglapus shows, however, that he won about 10 per cent of the total in the cities and about 4 per cent in the provinces. Quite clearly he ran much stronger in the cities, and among cities he obtained in general more support in those where the degree of urbanization was higher.

But before we proceed to analyze the Manglapus vote in various cities, some preliminary remarks are in order. First of all, Karl Deutsch has suggested that modernization expands human needs, which, in turn, lead to increased demands for governmental services to meet these needs. If the government is unable to meet these demands because of increasing burdens put upon it, more and more of the population will become alienated and frustrated.⁸ Certain inferences may be drawn from this model. Modernization proceeds faster in the cities than in the countryside so the demands would be greater in the cities, leading to a higher frustration level. Moreover, because of better communications the sense of frustration is mutually enforced. For instance, an individual is frustrated by a badly run postal system and his sense of frustration and outrage is aggravated when he reads letters to the editor or irate newspaper columnists complaining about the post office. If the inferences drawn from this model are correct, then we could predict that the city vote would be more inclined to some sort of structural opposition. In the particular case at hand, it would mean a higher percentage of vote for Senator Manglapus, since in the Philippines political context, he virtually had no chance to achieve victory, and hence a vote cast for the Senator was essentially a protest vote. Our hypothesis then would be that the percentage of vote cast for Senator Manglapus in the cities would vary directly with the degree of urbanization.

To test our hypothesis, we first had to rank Philippines cities according to some criteria of urbanization. Fortunately this had already been attempted by Isao Fujimoto, who believes that Philippines cities are undergoing a process of differentiation which is cumulative and unidimensional. For him cities are systems which transmit information of all kinds, and, he says, "communities differ in the amount of information they possess and how they process it."⁹ He argues that the presence of certain institutions,

⁸ Karl Deutsch, "Social Mobilization and Political Development," reprinted in Eckstein, Harry and David Apter (eds.), *Comparative Politics*, (New York: 1963), pp. 582-603.

⁹ Isao Fujimoto, "The Social Complexity of the Philippine Towns and Cities," *Solidarity*, Vol. III, No. 5 (May 1968), p. 78.

for example, high schools, drug stores, dry cleaning establishments, etc., indicates complexity and the ability to maintain certain kinds of social information. "Thus, vis-a-vis the community as an information processing device, items can be found that will tap different levels of differentiations (or information complexity). Guttman scales line up the cities of the Philippines along this general dimension of complexity."¹⁰ One of the scales he has devised is the "public articulation" scale for 39 Philippines cities.¹¹ It is based on the existence (or lack thereof) of such items as high schools, streets with names, college or university, long distance telephones, fire hydrants, Philippines News Service coverage, local newspapers, directories, traffic lights, TV stations, foreign embassies, daily newspapers, and foreign news services. He states that the public articulation scale "includes items which reveal much more directly the communication handling capabilities of a city."¹²

The next step in testing our hypothesis involved the calculation of the percentage vote cast for Senator Manglapus in the 1965 presidential elections. Here there is a problem, but I know of no way to cope with it. Under the law, only the two major parties are allowed election inspectors. Senator Manglapus has publicly stated that when he campaigned people came up to him whether he had election inspectors, and, he relates, "we would, of course, answer 'No' knowing that we had just lost more votes from electors who did not care to cast ballots that would not be counted." He goes on to state that after the election a certain person told him, "We are fifteen in our household. We all voted for you in one precinct. The final count gave you only three votes. What happened?"¹³ Since there is no way to estimate the number of votes that were cast but not counted, I have had to take the official returns at face value in making the calculations.

The procedure followed was to calculate the percentage of vote cast for Senator Manglapus out of the total cast for the top three candidates, namely, Marcos, Macapagal, and Manglapus. Each city was then ranked according to the Manglapus vote. The highest turned out to be Cagayan de Oro with 27.38 per cent, and the lowest was Tres Martires with 0 per cent. This then gave us two rankings for Philippines cities based on the degree of urbanization according to the Fujimoto scale and the percentage of vote for Manglapus. The two variables were then tabulated as in the following 2 x 2 table (Table 1).

If we summarize Table 1 for the purpose of making a chi-square test, we get the results summarized in Table 2.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 79.

¹³ *A Christian Social Movement*, (Manila: 1968), p. 3.

TABLE 1
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MANGLAPUS VOTE AND PUBLIC ARTICULATION SCALE
Public Articulation Scale

		High: 9-14	Low: 1-8	
High: 7.00— 28.00%	Cagayan de Oro	27.38	Gingoog 21.96	
	Quezon City	14.90	Ozamiz 16.56	
	Bacolod	14.06	Cavite 13.06	
	Lucena	13.26	Cotabato 9.69	
	Naga	13.24	Basilan 7.86	
	Manila	13.12	Lipa 7.20	
	Zamboanga	11.98		
	Baguio	10.12		
	Cebu	9.75		
	Dumaguete	9.37		
	Caloocan	8.83		
	San Pablo	8.77		
	Iloilo	7.27		
	Vote for Manglapus	Iligan	6.76	Legaspi 6.29
		Davao	6.58	Silay 6.26
Cabanatuan		4.08	Toledo 5.01	
Dagupan		3.19	Lapu Lapu 5.00	
Low: 0-6.99%		Butuan	2.87	Dapitan 4.83
		Angeles	1.99	Ormoc 3.05
				Roxas 2.91
				Tacloban 2.13
				San Carlos 1.64
				Marawi 1.25
				Danao 0.78
			Tagaytay 0.70	
			Calbayog 0.52	
		Trece Martires 0.00		

(Amount after city equals percentage vote for Manglapus). Source: Republic of the Philippines, *Report of the Commission on Elections to the President of the Philippines and the Congress*. (Manila: 1967).

TABLE 2
SUMMARY OF TABLE 1

		<i>Public Articulation Scale</i>		
		High	Low	
Vote for Manglapus	High	13	6	19
	Low	6	14	20
		19	20	n=39

p about .025

The chi-square test indicates that the probability of such an association occurring by chance is about two and one-half per cent, well under the conventional 5 per cent level. Thus we can say that there is a statistically significant correlation between the vote for Senator Manglapus, here interpreted as an indication of limited structural opposition, and urbanization as measured by Fujimoto's public articulation scale.

Certain implications may be drawn from our analysis. First of all, the proper functioning of democracy, at least in the Anglo-American model from which the Philippines political system is derived, appears to necessitate the existence of two major political parties that will compete for the control of the government. Moreover, as the late V. O. Key has suggested in his study of southern politics in the United States, it is assumed that a political party will be based on sectional, class, or group interests, and that differences in these interests will produce differentiation in the policies that political parties will seek to put into practice through their control of the government.¹⁴ As we have suggested, the two major parties in the Philippines do not represent different sectional, class, or group interests, with the result that the interests of certain groups, for example, labor, tenant farmers, cultural minorities are hardly represented by either one of the two major parties.

There no doubt exists dissatisfaction with the present party set up. Moreover, as our data suggests, the dissatisfaction is not randomly distributed throughout the Philippines but tends to be distributed roughly according to the degree of urbanization. If we can assume that what has occurred in Japan and many other parts of the world will also take place in the Philippines, then the 1965 vote for Senator Manglapus would appear to be a harbinger of things to come. As industrialization and urbanization gain momentum in the Philippines, the present political party system based on identical parties is likely to give way to one where opposition means more than mere office seeking. A realignment of parties, when it occurs, will get its impetus from the cities, and will most probably result in the emergence of structural opposition.

¹⁴ V. O. Key, *Southern Politics*, (New York, 1949), (Vintage Books Edition), p. 15.

FOOTNOTE TO REVOLUTION AND SOCIAL CHANGE (THE PHILIPPINE CASE)

ERNESTO R. MACAHIYA

INTRODUCTION

THE PAPAL NUNCIO¹ DESERVES COMMENDATION PARTICULARLY FROM the Filipino elite for a timely remark he made recently about the Philippines. When he said "the Philippines today is sitting on top of a volcano," he was actually cautioning this elite to brace themselves for the eruption of a social revolution. Indeed, it is this group who should be more concerned about the implication and meaning of said remark for it is they who will most likely suffer the wrath of the suffering Filipino masses.

Certainly, no one can deny that the Philippines today is plagued by a variety of complex social problems. Poverty, disease, graft and corruption, worsening peace and order—these are but few of them. Yet, while we accept their reality, some people seem to have failed in tracing their origin. Some draw conclusion from history and see the cause of these problems to foreign domination; others to the decline of morality and other similar Christian values while still others may consider the inherent nature and character of the social system as the one responsible for bringing them about.

Each of these views carries an element of "truth" which, in one way or another, contributes to the understanding of the problem.

Generally speaking, however, these views and interpretations cannot claim validity if taken in isolation from each other. This is because historical events are not mere dead leaves that fall on the ground. They are manifestations of man's purposeful activities. Let us consider the following: If man is to survive, he would be needing certain basic and necessary requirements like provisions for food, shelter and clothing. Charles R. Darwin,² in explaining the theory of natural selection, considers man's scramble over the available material resources (which are either ready-made given by nature or, as man started to labor, products of man's productive activity) as a factor that motivates the development of man. Shortage of said requirements puts him in a state of physical imbalance. This, in turn sets his mind to work. He begins to conceive and formulate notions in the hope of finding explanations to such

¹ The Papal Nuncio, the Vatican Ambassador to the Philippines made this observation in a speech before a group of Filipino officials last year. See *Daily Mirror*, April 22, 1968, p. 1.

² See Charles R. Darwin *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection* (1859) and *Descent of Man* (1871).

condition. His mind reacts either actively or passively. Active if it displays positive reaction like providing an objective view of the problem, thus giving rise to objective solutions. On the other hand, mental passivity is manifested in the statement "this is my fate, my destiny." In either case, the result is the construction of varying philosophies, system of values, beliefs, morality, ideology, etc. (Here, religion and religious concepts begin to enter their initial stage in a long process of evolution and development.) In turn, these notions influence man's physical activity and behaviour. Ivan P. Pavlov dramatizes this idea in his now famous experiments on conditioned reflexes. He said, "The complex and diverse activity of the cortex determines all the forms and manifestations of the psychical and physical activity in animals and man."³ Then man builds institutions and establishes different forms of social systems.

The foregoing shows the direct connection between man's physical and mental spheres of activities.⁴ We observe that there is not only a unity but also a constant, now subdued, now discernible interaction and struggle between them. It is on this basis that the above-mentioned views and approaches if taken in isolation from each other and when applied to Philippine situation may not bring about a true and meaningful picture of the society. There is a world of complex phenomena between them, yet together, they form a single unity.

But leaving aside for the moment these points of view, some social critics also consider society as if it is in a state of perpetual equilibrium. They advance the notion that social problems are mere distortions or simply unwelcomed "impurities" in the social set-up. We must therefore, so they say, seek for factors that will normalize the "convulsion." In a word, these critics are motivated by the desire to return to harmony, to that "elusive social equilibrium" as C. Wright Mills put it.^{4a}

This line of thinking, typical of some of our contemporary sociologists is faulty on two counts. First, it tends to deny the dynamic character of social development. Normalization or harmony in society cannot and should not be viewed in absolute terms. It is a relative, temporary and transient condition where people enter into a form of *modus vivendi* while settling social disputes. Secondly, this state of mind negates the division of society into social classes whose interests contradict each other.

³ Ivan Petrovich Pavlov, *Selected Works* (Moscow, 1949), p. 518.

⁴ For a more detailed analysis of this relationship see Immanuel Kant, *The Critique of Pure Reason* (London: 1881, vols. I and II); G. W. F. Hegel, *Philosophical History*; V. I. Lenin, *Materialism and Empirico-Criticism* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1967) and Jean Paul-Sartre, *Being and Nothingness* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1956).

^{4a} See C. Wright Mills, *Power, Politics & People* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 74.

With the above considerations in mind, we shall attempt to analyze Philippine society today. The social problems of the country will be described in the light of its history and, in general, its social system.

THE PROBLEM

The Philippines today has a sick society.⁵ In this critical period of its development, the country rests, as we mentioned earlier "on top of a volcano." The danger pictured in the metaphor is a social revolution which necessarily assumes a violent character since a volcano does not erupt with a mere sigh.

Pope Paul VI, in his encyclical *Populorum Progressio*, states rather candidly the general problems of mankind:⁶

Freedom from misery, the greater assurance of finding subsistence, health and employment; and increased share of responsibility without oppression of any kind and insecurity from situations that do violence to their dignity as men . . . in brief, to seek to do more, know more and have more: that is what men aspire to know when a greater number of them are condemned to live in conditions that make this lawful desire illusory.

Obviously, this observation is too vague and general. But in any case, His Holiness recognizes the fact that men "are condemned to live in conditions that make this lawful desire (freedom from misery, etc.) illusory." This is the general problem.

On the other hand, the problems peculiar to the Philippines are as follows: poverty, graft and corruption, peace and order and lack of *political maturity*. (The last is emphasized because of its special significance which we will describe later.) There are still a host of other problems but these are the most important.

In the Philippines, social critics have expressed these ills in one form or another. In newspapers, magazines and journals, observations critical of the sick nature of the society have become the rule rather than the exception. Political commentators and pundits have equally expressed in depth the same sentiments. Even in the halls of Congress, some Filipino leaders, spurred either by the necessity of bowing to the sweeping tide of revolutionary change or because of the desire to express another of their usual rhetorics also echoed the same tune with equal pompousity.

These expressions of concern, however, redound only to the following, namely, that it is the government and public officials who are guilty of the crimes that gave rise to said social problems and, that the people, as a consequence of such misdeeds have long been languishing in the quag-

⁵ *M.A.N.'s Goal: The Democratic Filipino Society* (Quezon City: Malaya Books Inc., 1969), Foreword, (pamphlet).

⁶ Pope Paul VI, *On the Development of Peoples* (Pasay City: St. Paul Publications, 1967), p. 5.

mire of social injustice. The views of these critics are always expressed in behalf of the people and at the expense of the government and corrupt public officials. As a result, people are made to believe that if there should be a meaningful change, it must necessarily come from "above" or from those in the position of power.⁷

Again, this line of thinking we believe, is erroneous because it is premised on idealist assumptions. These critics fail to recognize the objective reality of the laws of social development. To regard the misdeeds of the officials as the real cause of the people's misery is to bark at a wrong tree. The solution to these problems can hardly come from *above*. It lies hidden, unexplored and unharnessed in the minds and practical activities of those *below*.

COLONIALISM AND THE ELITE

The era of colonization was no accident in the long history of civilization. It was bound to happen because of the inherent nature of our social system. It was dictated by the development of the economies of leading European countries hitherto known to be the centers of civilization. The rise of merchant capital (mercantilism) replaced the old economic relations in feudal Europe. As monarchies crumbled, the leading position, prestige and power of the aristocracy and noble gentry continued to dwindle until their final collapse. This in turn ushered in the emergence of a new powerful class of capitalists—the merchants and industrialists. The rise into power of this new class brought about a corresponding radical transformation in the spheres of culture, religion, philosophy and government. Liberalism, Protestantism, Materialism, Democracy and Constitutionalism struggled against the remnants of the old decaying philosophies and culture. The leading cliques in these countries spurred by the strength of their newly-acquired power took notice of expanding their economic interests beyond their territories. They did this either through private ventures or in direct alliance with their government. Thus the hitherto unknown continent of Asia became the focus of their attention. The search for new trade routes and markets for their finished products coupled with the visionary zeal of exploiting the vast resources of Asia, brought them in contact with peoples with an entirely different kind of culture and civilization. But before they did this, they had to clothe their coming to the region by a frock of humanitarian values. Christianity and Civilization (western) were such appropriate tapestries. They propagandized the idea of the "white man's burden" ostensibly to bring to the Christian fold these Asian "savages." Thus Asia became a huge arena of the power struggle among the leading colonialist

⁷ Social critics in the Philippines are still undeniably under the influence of the 18th and 19th century social theorists. One can easily see this through the pages of the *Free Press*, *Graphic*, *Nation*, *Examiner* and other leading journals, weeklies and newspaper columns in the Philippines.

countries. The British took possession of India, Malaya and Burma, Indonesia became the colony of the Dutch, the French settled in Indochina (Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam), China became the property of all while the Philippines became a precious "pearl" in the Spanish Crown.

The coming of the Spaniards has had a tremendous impact on the nature and character of Philippine society.⁸ They imposed upon the natives a bizarre replica of the Spanish social system. In the field of economics, production was arranged not only to ensure Spanish monopoly of Philippine exportable goods but also to see to it that its economy falls within the orbit of Spanish economic structure. Christian or Catholic values and concepts replaced (except for a few Muslim *principales* in the South) the pagan outlook of the Filipinos.⁹ To carry this out, churches and other religious institutions with a corresponding system of hierarchy were built in different municipalities. To the old *barangays* or villages was super-imposed a highly centralized form of government headed by a Spanish Governor-General. From this group of traditional leaders like the *Rajah* and *Datu* evolved the elite class of the *casiques* and the *inteligentsia*.

For more than 300 odd years of Spanish domination, Philippine society took a sluggish pace of development. However, everything was not at all bleak and hopeless. During the later part of the last century, the liberal ideas of Europe were filtered into the country and soon crystallized in the minds of the Filipino *ilustrados*.¹⁰ Nationalism, independence, sovereignty and other similar ideas became the beacons in their struggle against the colonizers. But, as was to be expected, this reformist group did not go beyond certain limits. They assumed a dual character in relation to the revolution. While they advocated for change in the colonial set-up, at the same time they were afraid of losing the privileges they were enjoying in the *status quo*. Thus, their concept of independence was equated to such feeble demands as representation in the Spanish Cortes and the secularization of the Philippine clergy. These demands reflect with clarity the class bias of this group. Under the proposed change, they were the ones that would directly reap all the benefits.

Not until the Filipino people reached a certain degree of political maturity that the need for a drastic change in the entire colonial set up was realized. This was considered to be the only way out to genuine independence. It was Bonifacio and the *Katipuneros* who grasped correctly the need of the hour.¹¹ To them, continued suffering can only be checked by driving

⁸ See Teodoro A. Agoncillo and Oscar Alfonso, *History of the Filipino People* (Quezon City: Malaya Books Inc., 1967), p. 213.

⁹ To date, Mindanao and Sulu islands are still dominantly inhabited by Filipino Muslims.

¹⁰ A Spanish term denoting the intellectuals.

¹¹ See Teodoro A. Agoncillo, *The Revolt of the Masses: The Story of Bonifacio and the Katipunan* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1956) and Cesar A. Majul, *The Political and Constitutional Ideas of the Revolution* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1957).

the Spaniards out. Thus, while the privileged class of the *ilustrados* was advocating for reforms *within* the set-up, Bonifacio and his group were for the termination of the *entire* Spanish hegemony. While the masses were fighting heroically at Balintawak and Cavite, Jose P. Rizal, the Philippine national hero, was on his way to Cuba as a volunteer-physician in the service of the Spanish Crown.

When the revolution was nearing its final completion, the Americans appeared in the Philippine shores. Their control of the country was facilitated by their superior arms and the capitulation of the reformist group in whose hands the leadership of the revolution later on fell.¹² Unlike their predecessors, the Americans showed an aura of genuine concern for the Filipinos. They brought with them the latest discoveries in science together with a new kind of culture and civilization—one that was far advanced than the Spanish version.

Thus, the Philippines was again subjected to a new kind of foreign influences. In economics, agricultural production was made to answer the demands of the American market. Being a colony, however, the flow of Philippine products to America free of tariff, engendered competition to American agricultural producers. Because their economic interests were threatened, this group of American tycoons were for the granting of immediate independence to the Philippines. But industrialization by this time had already taken root in America. A new and different class of big industrialists and merchants (as distinguished from the group of agricultural capitalists) had taken the lead in pressing their government to venture into colonization. They saw the necessity of finding outlets for their finished products. A viable source of raw materials for their industries was also needed. The Philippines answered precisely these requirements.¹³ The conflict of economic interests between these two groups of American capitalists was finally resolved in a ten-year interregnum starting in 1935, a few years after the Great Depression—the granting of the Philippine Commonwealth.¹⁴

A similar development also happened in the Philippines. Under the new economic set-up, a group of comprador-landlord grew out of the old elite. The economic interests of Filipinos belonging to this group coincided with those of the American industrialists. These Filipinos became the apologists for the colonizers. They advocated not for independence but for statehood in the American Union. Thus, the platform of the *Federalista Party* actually had its beginnings in the economic interests of these people.¹⁵

¹² Cesar A. Majul, *Mabini and the Philippine Revolution*, "The Diliman Review," vol. 4, nos. 1-4, 1957.

¹³ See Horacio de la Costa, *Readings in Philippine History* (Rizal: MDB Printing, 1965), p. 87.

¹⁴ The Philippines enjoyed a ten-year period of semi-independence from 1935 to the granting of full independence on July 4, 1946.

¹⁵ A Philippine political party founded during the American occupation whose main ideology was for the Philippines to become part of the American Federation.

To reinforce and maintain the new socio-economic relations, a different kind of cultural orientation likewise had to be cultivated. The Philippine system of education answered this need.¹⁶ Thus the American Thomasites were charged with instilling American values and ways of life to these tradition-bound Filipinos.¹⁷ English was made their language. America became not only as a symbol of progress and affluence to them but also as the paragon of truth, democracy and freedom.

Before independence was finally granted, however, the war in the Pacific broke out. The Philippines being a semi-colony was dragged into this war. The elite group of Filipinos, true to their opportunist tradition, instead of fighting for America collaborated with the Japanese.¹⁸ However, the good graces they were enjoying under the Japanese protectorate did not last long. Japan's power in the Pacific did not withstand the "return" of the powerful "army" of General MacArthur. Japan was finally defeated. Again the Filipino collaborationists had to show their allegiance to the United States. This they did and continue to do so up to the present.

History, then, shows the long process of evolution and development of the Filipino elite. The era of colonization and its impact particularly in the fields of politics, economics, culture and religion vividly illustrate not only the evolution but also the behaviour toward change taken by this class. We also note its class bias, its narrow and parochial outlook together with its opportunist tradition. This is the reason why the change that can come from "above" cannot be complete and meaningful.

SOCIETY AND PEOPLE

Society is a huge social system of compromises among men of different color, religion, country and class. Man founded society, lived in and developed it. Society is unthinkable without man while man cannot live outside of society. "Man is a social animal" says the Greek philosopher Aristotle. Within the society, all spheres of human endeavours are conducted through the institutions which man himself created. These institutions were founded to give justification to man's prevailing philosophies. This is not to say, however, that institutions are products "only" of the mind. On the contrary, the development of philosophies is primarily a reflection of the developments in the material world outside of man. Material is primary and society as a whole was founded to suit man's material needs.¹⁹

¹⁶ Renato Constantino, *The Mis-Education of the Filipino*, "The Filipinos in the Philippines" (Quezon City: Filipino Signatures, 1966), p. 39.

¹⁷ A group of 300 American teachers came to the Philippines during the early period of American occupation aboard the ship "Thomas." They became the first teachers in the Philippine system of education. They came to be known as the *Thomasites*.

¹⁸ See David J. Steinberg, *Philippine Collaboration in World War II* (Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1967).

¹⁹ G. Kursanov (ed.), *Fundamentals of Dialectical Materialism* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1967), p. 87.

The individual and society are enmeshed in a complex and endless process of interaction. Martin Hiedegger, the German existentialist philosopher maintains that there is "an eternal antagonism between the individual and society."²⁰ However, since society's institutions are mere creations of man, he must therefore reign supreme over the system and must never allow the reverse to happen. But speaking of today's society, Pope Paul VI says:²¹

It is unfortunate that on these new conditions of society, a system has been constructed which considers profit as the key motive for economic progress (sic), competition as the supreme law of economics and *private ownership of the means of production as an absolute right that has no limits and carries no corresponding social obligation*. This unchecked liberalism leads to dictatorship rightly denounced by Pius XI as producing *the international imperialism of money*. (italics supplied)

Evidently, this observation is also true in Philippine society today. Under the present set-up, only those in the upper bracket of the society are given the benefit of living in a "civilized" way. Majority of the population live on subsistence level.²² Change, therefore, is imperative. Its direction should be toward progress—to uplift the lot of many by increasing their share in the national wealth. Because the change that the elite can generate is limited, the greater responsibility of giving solution to said social problems rests primarily on the Filipino people.

Unlike their leaders, the Filipino people have a limitless capacity for change. An Asian leader declares that "of all things in the world, people are the most precious . . . as long as there are people, every kind of miracle can be performed."²³ The revolution of 1896 could not have been possible and successful had it not been due to the people's participation in the movement. The Reform Movement of Rizal and his group while serving as a catalyzer for change, alone could not have brought about the desired goals of the revolution. We noticed that Rizal himself in the final hour capitulated and was against the revolution at the time arguing that the time was not yet ripe for it. He wanted more time to prepare, people must first be educated, arms must be purchased.²⁴

But then, precisely, who are the Filipino people? Definitely, they are not the writers, commentators and politicians who talk of sufferings while

²⁰ Martin Hiedegger, *Being and Time* (Sein und Zeit), translated by John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), p. 276.

²¹ Pope Paul VI, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

²² The Philippine Bureau of Statistics and Census reveals that 90 per cent of Filipino families have income of less than P5,000 or roughly P417 a month. Only 1 per cent of the families have an income above P24,000 a year or P2000 a month. On the average, there are about seven members in a Filipino family. (M.A.N.'s Goal, *op. cit.*), p. 18.

²³ Mao Tse-tung, *The Bankruptcy of the Idealist Conception of History*, "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung" (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1967), vol. 4, p. 454.

²⁴ T. A. Agoncillo, et al., *History of the . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 203-4.

in exclusive social gatherings, in the halls of Congress or simply in their flashy offices. These critics belong to the elite class, though perhaps in a relatively lower category compared to the big Filipino compradors and landlords. As such, they also bear the ugly marks and tradition of the elite and therefore cannot be relied on. They are expected to take a limited position regarding social change.

The Filipino people may be classified into three groups: first, those who suffer from the ills of society but who lack the necessary political consciousness enough to make them understand why they are suffering; second, those who suffer, are conscious of their lot and who do something to solve it within the existing social set-up; and third, those who suffer from the ills of society, are conscious of their suffering and who do practical activities to solve their problems within the existing social set-up *but at the same time recognize its inherent limitations*.

These classifications should not and cannot be viewed in absolute terms. They are used mainly as a convenient tool in identifying the social forces that distinguish one group from the others. They are not exclusive and closed groups of people with characteristics unique only to their class. On the contrary, they are mutually dependent and interlocking groups of impoverished individuals. There is fluidity between them and a man may belong to one group today and to another tomorrow depending upon circumstances.

Suffering is the thing common to these three groups. This problem may either be material or spiritual. We will not discuss spiritual suffering here since it is purely personal and is basically rooted on faith and other similar idealist notions. Besides, spiritual suffering is only a mere adjunct of the material.

The first group of people are those who suffer from the ills of society but who do not possess the necessary consciousness enough to make them understand why they are in such condition. It is easy to identify these people. They are the most numerous of the groups. They live either below or at subsistence level. They are either employed, unemployed or underemployed. They may come from any sector of the society—workers, farmers, street sweepers, drivers, beggars, office workers, etc. Their reaction to suffering is basically passive and oftentimes account their fate to God. Their mind is usually vacuous to ambition. Their perennial problem is how to make both ends meet. Their entire philosophy in life can be reduced mainly to the problem of survival.

The second group of people are those who suffer, are conscious of their fate and who do something to carry on the desired change *within* the existing social set up. These people are less numerous than those in the first group. They live below, at subsistence level or a little above it. They too, may be employed, unemployed or underemployed. If unemployed, they get their subsistence either from their meager trade or small properties.

They may come from any sector of the society. Their reaction to suffering is generally active. They entertain materialistic ideas and their religiosity is only nominal. They are ambitious and desirous of a quick rise to affluence. Selfishness and intense individualism pervade in their personality. They have tasted a minimum of luxury. Compared to the previous group, they are not as much concerned with their next meal. With painstaking efforts, they believe they can improve their lot *within* the set-up.

The third group are those who suffer, are conscious of their problems, do practical activities to solve them within the existing social system but at the same time *recognize its inherent limitations*. They are less numerous than those in the previous groups. All the rest of their attributes are similar to those in the previous category. What makes people belonging to this group different from the others is *the degree of their social and political consciousness*. Their materialistic outlook makes them realize the materiality of their suffering. They consider themselves part of the society consciously plotting its course and direction. They recognize the transient nature of the social system, its laws and system of values. They see their suffering not as an end in itself but only a manifestation of the system's inherent nature and character. They believe that the solution to their problems cannot come from the benevolence of those in power but something that must be fought. As such, they are as much concerned with power as those in the elite. This awareness puts them in a better position than the rest since they can articulate and, if given the opportunity, concretize their demands through political action. Thus, they may be active in labor, peasant, student and other similar reformist movements. This group can provide leadership to the entire people.

It is this political maturity and social consciousness that a society like the Philippines is very much in need of. This is the consciousness that has yet to be developed among its people in order to bring about a meaningful change. It is indeed unfortunate that there are only a few Filipinos endowed with this kind of awareness. One German philosopher and sociologist considers this lack of consciousness as a serious social problem when "people have not yet learned the objective laws of the world . . . do not see the causes of the phenomena of nature, life, death, etc. . . . the uncognized economic laws which led the bulk of the people into one kind of slavery to another." Not until the Filipino people recognize the need for re-orienting their outlook and values; for objectively analyzing the social forces at work in their society today; for the realization of their legitimate demands from the government and society; these social problems will continue to assert themselves. This is the reason why the absence of political maturity is as much a problem in Philippine society today as the other social phenomena described above.

THE SOCIAL SET-UP

Basically, the Philippines is still a colonial country. A nation has no claim to sovereignty and independence if its economy is still tied up, if not outrightly under the control of the foreigners.²⁵ Shortly after formal "independence" was granted to the Filipinos, the Americans had already stripped them of whatever economic independence they can ever hope for. From 1946 onward, the Americans imposed upon them a series of agreements that placed their economy within the orbit of American control. Some of these treaties are: the RP-US Trade Agreement of 1946²⁶ and its later version the Laurel-Langley Agreement; the Economic and Technical Cooperation Agreement which was the consequence of the Bell Trade Mission of 1951; the agreement granting entry rights to US traders and investors signed on September 6, 1953; and finally, the Agricultural Commodities Agreement which provided among other things the forceful buying of American exports by the Filipinos.

A recent survey shows that more than 50% of tax revenues in the Philippines come from foreign-owned businesses and corporations of which 20 per cent is American.²⁷ Under this set-up, the Philippines cannot have a genuine and meaningful industrialization program. Foreign monopolies would never tolerate competition with Filipino-owned corporations. A case in point is the Fil-Oil²⁸ Company which, after a brief period of operation was swallowed by the Atlantic Gulf and Pacific Co., another giant American firm.

The extent of foreign investments, particularly American, in the economy is further aggravated by their strategic nature and location. Vital industries like mining, petroleum, chemicals, drugs, tire and transport are virtually under alien control. Leading hotels, banks, insurance companies and other financing institutions are also in the hands of foreigners. As a consequence, huge profits are regularly being remitted outside of the national economy which in turn has disastrous effects on the gold reserves of the country.²⁹ Also, because of these considerations, the development of a Fili-

²⁵ A survey of the top 100 corporate taxpayers for 1968 in the Philippines shows that 80 of them are either partly or wholly owned by foreigners. (M.A.N.'s Goal, *op. cit.*, Appendix B).

²⁶ Connected to this agreement is the Parity provision giving Americans equal rights as the Filipinos in the exploitation of natural resources and utilization of public utilities. The Philippine Constitution drafted in 1935 was amended to give way to this American demand.

²⁷ M.A.N.'s Goal, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

²⁸ This company was the first Filipino-owned oil corporation ever to be established in the Philippines.

²⁹ For the period 1950-1960 inclusive, foreign capital invested in the Philippines amounted only to \$19.2 million. During the same period, remittances abroad on earnings, profits and dividends by the same foreign firms amounted to the staggering sum of \$215.7 million. (From the *Philippine Chamber of Industries Policy Statement on Laurel-Langley Agreement*, 1965). Also, from 1967-1966 inclusive, the total American investments (net capital flow) in the Philippines amounted to \$92 million. During the same period, American investors gained a profit of some \$230 million

pino middle-class capitalists is retarded if not altogether suppressed. However, under the existing set-up, a different group of Filipinos is definitely being favored—the landlord-comprador class. The economic interests of people belonging to this group coincide with those of the foreigners. The import-export trade is too profitable to them that they tend to gloss over the fact that concentration on agricultural production alone will not bring about economic sufficiency. Under the terms of Laurel-Langley Agreement, for instance, it is this group that provides the Philippine quota on goods going to the US market. It goes without saying that this group is for the continued operation of the said agreement—another example of class bias and selfishness.

A colonial economy gives rise to a colonial form of government and system of politics. The *lagay*³⁰ and *padrino*³¹ system in government offices and in practically all levels of the bureaucracy is one outstanding feature of this kind of politics. Money spent during elections are considered investments with sure returns of profit. Public office is no longer a public trust but a means to affluence and wealth. Indeed, some Filipino leaders had already imbibed this new system of values. This explains the rampant graft and corruption that pervade in Philippine government today.

On the other hand, the general public is not at all without knowledge of this social disease.³² As a form of retaliation, they are forced to sell their votes to the highest bidder. Corruption is answered by corruption, demagoguery by applause, principles by the proddings of the stomach. Many of them are still under the spell of the myth of a two-party system.³³ This myth is being preserved by social critics through the mass media which are controlled or owned either by the local elite or foreigners.³⁴ Because of the influence of the mass media, people are somewhat immobilized. They do not know whom and how to direct their revenge. Some may single out the politicians, others the system and institutions. In the latter case, the end

of which \$45 million is retained in the country while the remaining \$185 million is remitted abroad. (From *Survey of American Current Business*, compiled by the Center for Research & Communication.) See *The Sunday Times Magazine*, August 17, 1969, p. 11.

³⁰ *Lagay* is a Tagalog term which means "to put or give" something, money in general, in exchange for a *favor*. In many government offices and bureaus in the Philippines, *lagay* is held to be the stimulus that drives officials to work. Their duties and responsibilities are therefore not complete without a *lagay* from the people they are supposed to serve. *Lagay* is a special form of graft in the government.

³¹ *Padrino* is a Spanish word which means nepotism or patronage.

³² Paradoxically, graft and corruption in the government is an acknowledged fact in the Philippines. The public somehow have become immune to it that no one seriously takes it anymore as a topic of discussion. To many, it has become part and parcel of a "normal" process of politics.

³³ To date, there are two leading political parties in the Philippines—*Nacionalista* and *Liberal*. The two have no specific and definite program of government or ideology sufficient to distinguish one from the other. Consequently, political turncoatism is rampant both in local and national levels of politics.

³⁴ Three of the six leading Philippine newspapers are owned by two Filipino family corporations. The remaining three are owned by Americans and Spaniards.

result is the so-called "disrespect to the rule of law" which of course is nothing but a reflection of the people's impersonal vendetta. This outlook, together with the outrageous effects of starvation explains the decline of peace and order in the country today.

The colonial system of politics is reinforced and maintained by a colonial system of education. Indeed, the civilizing imprints of the American Thomasites are still legible today in the Philippines. Students, intellectuals and professionals—those who have the niceties of education have now become the modern *Basilios*, *Donya Victorinas*, and *Capitan Tiagos*.³⁵ They speak the language of the colonizers, acquire their values, taste and idiosyncracies. To date, Philippine society has in its midst caricatures of Westerners in an Eastern setting. And to prove their allegiance to the West, they form regular exodus to the "promised land." This, the Filipinos call, the brain-drain,³⁶ the export of Filipino talents.

To stave off the wrath of the suffering masses and guard foreign vested interests in the country, American military bases act as the faithful sentinel of the establishment. It is worth mentioning here some of the military agreements the Philippines entered into with the United States: the Military Bases Agreement of March 14, 1947,³⁷ The Mutual Defense Treaty of August 30, 1951 and the SEATO of September 8, 1954. All these were assumed to be for its protection and defense against threats of subversion. The Philippine defense program, however, is mainly designed to quell internal and not external threats simply because the latter does not exist. No less than President Marcos himself admitted this in a speech abroad in 1968 while touring Asia.

CONCLUSION

Thus, the prime responsibility of carrying on a meaningful social change rests solely on the people. They are the most important factor that will decide the future of the country. Today, the objective conditions for change are already present in the Philippines and cannot anymore be ignored. Only the subjective factor is needed. It is this "subjectivism" that will make the Filipino people understand the reality of their problems.

We do not deny the role of the ruling elite in bringing about social change. Indeed, we recognize their part in nation building. We maintain,

³⁵ Some of the leading characters in Jose Rizal's *Noli Me Tangere*. They portray the mentality of Filipinos during the Spanish period resulting from Spanish cultural influences. The analogy is carried on to present-day Filipinos with strong American cultural and mental outlook.

³⁶ The term is used to denote the flow of Filipino technicians, engineers, Doctors, Nurses, etc. to other countries particularly the US in order to seek high-paying employment.

³⁷ This agreement gives the United States rights to establish military bases in different parts of the country for a period of 99 years. Subsequent talks reduced the period "in principle" to 25 years. Presently, there are about half a dozen active American bases in the country.

however, that the change coming from them can only go up to a certain extent whereas those from the people is unlimited. Furthermore, we hold the view that the change from "above" cannot be taken as an act of charity. Under no illusion should the Filipino elite be that sharing their wealth with others is their Christian obligation. To paraphrase St. Ambrose "you (the rich) are not making a gift of your possessions to the poor . . . you are handing him what is his. For what has been given in common . . . you have arrogated to yourself." ³⁸

The poor, for their part must assert their rights and their historic mission to change society. Some will not like it of course. "Rich people" says Dostoyevsky "don't like the poor to complain aloud, they disturb them, they are troublesome! Yes poverty is always troublesome." ³⁹

Finally, the social problems in the Philippines today are not the creation only of the rich. They themselves may not even know why the affluence of a few exists along with the poverty of many. The answer to this paradox cannot be found in the minds of all but in the character of the social system itself. The system is still a mystery to many. Its laws are yet to be cognized. But someday, many will.

³⁸ Pope Paul VI, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

³⁹ Fyodor Dostoyevsky, *Poor People, etc.* (New York: Dell Publishing Company Inc., 1960).

THE RESPONSE TO HARRISON'S ADMINISTRATION IN THE PHILIPPINES, 1913-1921

NAPOLEON J. CASAMBRE

WHEN FRANCIS BURTON HARRISON CAME TO THE PHILIPPINES IN 1913 to serve as the first governor-general under the Democratic Party administration in the United States, he was fully aware of the fact that his stewardship would not altogether be a very pleasant experience. The storm of criticisms generated by his appointment gave him some idea of the obstacles and difficulties that he would encounter during his incumbency. Also, while still in Washington, D.C., he was warned that if he would not administer the affairs of the country in a manner agreeable to the interests of certain local groups, "matters would go hard" with him.¹ He ignored the threat, however, and governed the territory according to his own convictions and the dictates from Washington, D.C. As might be expected, his policies were severely criticized.

The foremost target of criticism was the rapid Filipinization of the civil service. Critics alleged that the policy brought many Americans in the Philippines to the verge of destitution, and also that it led to administrative inefficiency in the government.² Despite opposition, Governor Harrison proceeded to carry out the policy in all levels of the government. As a result the "colonial government of Americans aided by Filipinos" was transformed into a "government of Filipinos aided by Americans."³

The policy of fiscal retrenchment was also criticized. Although Governor Harrison believed that it was necessary for the sake of economy,⁴ his critics contended that it was too drastic and unnecessary.⁵ They opposed particularly the various measures that would implement the policy, such as the reduction of salaries of government officials and employees, the abolition of some government positions, the temporary stoppage of public works, and the imposition of new and increased taxes. These measures according to opponents were negative and not constructive, and, as such, they could

¹ Francis Burton Harrison, *The Cornerstone of Philippine Independence: A Narrative of Seven Years* (New York, 1922), p. 51.

² D. R. Williams, *The United States and the Philippines* (New York, 1924), p. 183. See also *The Press* (Philadelphia), Nov. 13, 1915.

³ Rafael Palma, *Our Campaign for Independence from Taft to Harrison* (Manila, 1923), p. 38.

⁴ "Message of the Governor-General to the Philippine Legislature, Oct. 16, 1913," found in *Journal of the Philippine Commission*, 3rd Philippine Legislature, 2 sess., pp. 4-5.

⁵ *The Manila Times*, March 8, 1914.

not fail to bring about destructive results. To adopt them would only mean the satisfaction of Governor Harrison's passion for change at all costs.⁶

Harrison was also attacked for not seeking often enough the advice and counsel of the members of the American community in the Philippines. His critics pointed out that he depended too much on the Filipino leaders, particularly Speaker Osmeña, Quezon, and Palma, all members of the dominant *Nacionalista Party*.⁷ For this, they branded him as a "mere figure-head," a "pliant tool of shrewd native politicians who used him largely for personal or party ends," and the "plaything and the catspaw of the leaders of the *Nacionalista Party*."⁸ One of his worst critics, Representative Richard W. Austin of Texas, while speaking in the House of Representatives of the United States Congress, referred to him as an "agent" of Quezon in the latter's drive to build his political fortunes in the Philippines.⁹

The same critic denounced Governor Harrison for practising the spoils system. He pointed out that the Governor made "forced resignations" in the Philippine service in order to accommodate "deserving Democrats."¹⁰ The practice of the previous administration of filling higher positions by promoting men from the lower ranks was alleged to have been discarded. Instead, the vacancies were now being filled by "Democrats fresh from the United States."¹¹ Governor Harrison was also accused of delivering the government into the hands of the *Nacionalista Party* leaders, for only members of that party were the ones appointed to positions in the government.¹² The critics believed that this anomalous situation existed, because the Governor invariably consulted the *Nacionalista Party* leaders in making his appointments concerning Filipinos.¹³

Moreover, Governor Harrison was criticized for his frequent and extended leaves of absence from the country. On three different occasions during his incumbency, he took a leave from his official duties in order to visit the neighboring countries of China, Japan, Korea, the Federated Malay States, Burma, and some islands in the Indonesian Archipelago. He was also away for six months (from December, 1918 to August, 1919), when he returned to the United States for a vacation. In an editorial, the *Philippines Free Press* pointed out that his absenteeism worked "inconvenience and expense to those who paid him his salary and who had the right to

⁶ *The Manila Times*, October 11, 1914.

⁷ Redfield to Garrison, Dec. 27, 1913, in *Bureau of Insular Affairs File—Personnel File of Francis Burton Harrison*.

⁸ D. R. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 151; *The Manila Times*, Sept. 29, 1914.

⁹ *Congressional Record*, 64 Cong., 1 sess., p. 1028.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Jones O. Garfield, *The Unhappy Conditions in the Philippines* (Oakland, n.d.), p. 10.

¹² *La Democracia*, Dec. 20, 1914.

¹³ *Congressional Record*, 64 Cong., 1 sess., p. 1028.

require that he attend to his official duties.”¹⁴ It further stated that even though these absences were designed to test Filipino capacity for self-government, his presence in the Islands was still deemed necessary because there were governmental matters which required his daily attention.¹⁵

While most of the Governor's critics denounced his policies and official acts, some went one step beyond by attacking him personally. One of them characterized Governor Harrison as “a man without knowledge or experience of the Philippines, or of the Orient, partisan, prejudiced, and narrow in his point of view, and wholly unfitted by political training to guide the toddling footsteps of our Filipino wards in ways of decency and civic righteousness.”¹⁶ Others went to the extreme of hurting his feelings by refusing to admit within their circles or clubs fellow Americans who were known to be his friends and sympathizers. An example of this vindictiveness was the case of Commissioner Winfred T. Denison, who was denied membership in the University Club of Manila because of a speech he made favorable to the administration.¹⁷

The detractors of Governor Harrison comprised an imposing array of individuals with different backgrounds and professions, but almost uniformly belonging to, or identified with, the Republican Party. They were found on both sides of the Pacific Ocean—in the Philippines and in the United States.

In the Philippines, the critics were mostly members of the American community, which included army officers, soldiers and ex-soldiers, missionaries, bureaucrats and ex-bureaucrats, who found employment in private enterprises, and businessmen.¹⁸ These elements were accustomed to the policy of the earlier administrations based on the premise of an indefinitely long period of political tutelage under the United States before the Filipinos could be entrusted with self-government. They felt it madness to change that policy, and, therefore, any attempt to modify it was opposed.

¹⁴ *Philippines Free Press*, Jan. 6, 1917 in *Bureau of Insular Affairs Files—Personnel File of Francis Burton Harrison*.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ D. R. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

¹⁷ Governor Harrison's response to this incident can be seen in his letter to Secretary Garrison which said in part: “Such an action upon the application of a most desirable member for any club solely because of the expression elsewhere of political opinions by him is unheard of by our communities at home, so far as I am aware. I myself resigned from the club in consequence.” Harrison to Garrison, Sept. 30, 1914, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

¹⁸ According to Governor Harrison, his critics in Manila were organized into a group and met “quite regularly” in the office of Ex-Chief of Police, John E. Warding. Among the most prominent members of the gathering were the following: Edwards P. Bruce of the Pacific Commercial Company and *The Manila Times*; Ex-Collector of Customs, Frank McCoy; Ex-Director of Lands, Charles M. Sleeper; Ex-Director of Navigation, J. M. Holmes; and Percy McDonnell of the *Cablenews-American*. He also pointed out that this group acted as a source of information for the detractors in the United States. See Harrison to Garrison, Sept. 30, 1914, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

Of these critics, the most outspoken ones were the ex-bureaucrats and businessmen. The former had "no love" for the man who was responsible for their separation from the government service. The latter felt the same way, but for different reasons. First of all, they were adversely affected by Governor Harrison's policy of retrenchment. It brought about the slackening of trade and commerce in the country as well as the imposition of new and increased percentages taxes on business.¹⁹ Another reason was what they believed to be Governor Harrison's poor attitude toward business in general, as expressed in the following:

Every legitimate business enterprise should and will receive the protection of the Insular Government. But we must bear in mind that business is intended to serve the Government, not the Government to serve business. The duty of Government is to see that every businessman receives an equal opportunity before the law, not that any businessman should enjoy a special privilege.²⁰

The businessmen also felt hostile toward Governor Harrison because of his positive stand on the issue of early Philippine independence. They feared that their investments and interests would be jeopardized the moment the United States severed its political relationship with the Philippines.²¹ But aside from this, their hostile attitude was partly caused by the failure of the Governor to consult them often enough on matters regarding the policies of the administration.

Some of the critics were members of the bureaucracy, whose personal interests and party allegiance were threatened by the policies of the new administration. Others differed with the Governor on administrative matters, as for example, in the case of Commissioner Fred Riggs. Aside from objecting to the policy of retrenchment, the Commissioner took the contrary view that his functions as head of the Department of Commerce and Police could not be interfered with, nor limited by the Governor.²² He justified his stand by pointing out that he was appointed by the President of the United States, like the Governor. Commissioner Riggs felt that if the Governor had any relation with him, it was merely advisory.²³

In their opposition to Governor Harrison, the local American residents found support from some of the leading newspapers and news magazines in the country, such as *The Manila Times*, *Daily Bulletin*, *Cablenews-Amer-*

¹⁹ In order to increase the government revenues, the Philippine Legislature passed Act No. 2432 on Dec. 23, 1914. See *Report of the Governor-General, 1915*, pp. 49-50.

²⁰ "Message of the Governor-General to the Philippine Legislature, Oct. 16, 1913." *Journal of the Philippine Commission*, 3rd Philippine Legislature, 2 sess., p. 12.

²¹ This was pointed out by Secretary of War, Garrison, in an interview published by the *Christian Science Monitor*, and cited by Manuel L. Quezon in his speech before the House of Representatives of the United States Congress. See *Congressional Record*, 63 Cong., 2 sess., p. 16491.

²² *New York Evening Post*, Dec. 17, 1915.

²³ *Ibid.*

ican, and the *Philippines Free Press*. The owners and publishers²⁴ belonged to the same group of American business interests hostile to the new administration. Their subscriptions and paid advertisements came almost wholly from that group. These publications not only carried in their columns the criticisms of the local Americans, but also joined in the condemnation of Harrison's administration through their editorials.

Governor Harrison had also critics in the United States who were as outspoken as those found in the Philippines. Some of them were Republican members of Congress and, perhaps, the most important figures in this group was Representative Clarence B. Miller of Minnesota. He was a member of the Committee on Insular Affairs in the lower house of Congress, a body which was directly concerned with the administration of the territorial possessions of the United States, including the Philippines. On several occasions, he visited the Philippines, and on the basis of the information he gathered, he attacked Governor Harrison's administration. In an interview after his return from one of his visits, he denounced the Democratic administration policy in the Philippines. He said in part:

The statement from Washington does not begin to tell the tale. The changing of a few officials and the appointing of a few more Filipinos to the public service are relatively unimportant and insignificant. The system and structure of government has been changed. And it has been changed without knowledge of or regard to conditions in the Philippines, the characteristic of the people, or the essential elements in the government heretofore existing in the Islands. It has been a blind, fatuous, monumental blunder.²⁵

The other critics in the United States were ex-bureaucrats who held high positions in the Philippine service. In this group belonged ex-governors Howard H. Taft, William C. Forbes, and Dean C. Worcester, who served as Secretary of Interior in the colonial government from 1900 to 1913. Having an intimate familiarity with the conditions in the Philippines as a result of their service here, their opinions and judgments on the Philippine problem carried much weight in the American press. All three denounced what they believed to be the destruction of American accomplishments in the country during the Taft regime by the implementation of the Wilson-Harrison policy.²⁶ Worcester was contemptuous not only of Governor Harrison, but also of the Filipino politicians. In his book, *The Philippines Past and Present*, he said of the latter:

²⁴ Some of the prominent names connected with these publications were the following: Martin Egan, George W. Fairchild, L. Thibault, and W. K. Lewis for *The Manila Times*; Phil. C. Whitaker, Carlos Young, and Percy McDonnell for the *Cable-news-American*; Carson Taylor, William Crozier, and Mortimer Stewart for the *Daily Bulletin*, and McCullough Dick and F. Theo. Rogers for the *Philippines Free Press*. See Jesus Z. Valenzuela, *History of Journalism in the Philippines* (Manila, 1933), pp. 137-143.

²⁵ Quoted by *The Manila Times*, Jan. 30, 1914.

²⁶ *Springfield Republican*, December, 1915.

What have we ever gained by concessions to politicians? Can any one point out a single instance in which they have aroused a feeling of gratitude, or even that sense of obligation which may fully justify the adoption of measures that would otherwise be of doubtful utility? No . . . Gratitude does not enter into the make-up of the average Filipino politician, and we must learn not to expect it. We must do what ought to be done because it ought to be done and not look for appreciation to a small but very noisy body of men who curse us for standing between them and their prey as we stood from the day Dewey first forbade Aguinaldo to steal cattle(?) until now.²⁷

Governor Harrison's critics were most active and vocal during the first years of his tenure. Their attacks and allegations were so intense and carried to the extreme, causing his great annoyance.²⁸ Nevertheless, knowing that their real motive was merely to discredit his administration and to force him out of his job,²⁹ he never answered "in kind." "My constant effort during all these years," he said later in life, "was not to 'answer back' in similar terms, not to engage in personal controversy with my opponents."³⁰ He further stated: "I have always hesitated to participate in newspaper controversies, and never wrote a magazine article so long as I was in office."³¹

To mollify his critics, he sent occasional statements to the newspapers, and on one occasion, he invited the members of the American business community to Malacañang and disabused them of their wrong impressions about his regime. He also wrote letters—sometimes personal and confidential—to the Secretary of War in Washington, and it was in these messages, plus those he sent to some intimate friends and associates, that he expressed his feelings towards his critics. For instance, in a letter to Quezon, who was then serving as one of the Filipino resident commissioners to Washington, Governor Harrison said that, in general, his critics "seemed to criticize me for everything . . ." ³² Referring to Representative Miller's attacks on him, he said: "I am unable to understand the animus of Representative Miller's attack on me. They seem to me to transcend the bounds of debate upon public questions."³³

In these letters, Governor Harrison also gave his answers or explanations to some of the criticisms raised by his detractors. He denied having

²⁷ Dean C. Worcester, *The Philippines Past and Present* (New York, 1914), II, p. 965.

²⁸ Governor Harrison characterized some of the attacks levelled against him as "abusive" and "absolute misrepresentation." See Harrison to Garrison, March 28, 1915, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

²⁹ In 1914, rumors spread in Manila that Governor Harrison was going to resign from his post. The Governor-General denied them and further stated that they were circulated "by persons who desired me to resign because they found they could not handle me to their liking. . . ." See Harrison to Garrison, July 6, 1914, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Harrison to Quezon, Aug. 28, 1914, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

³³ *Ibid.*

committed any infraction of the civil service laws of the Philippines as a result of the implementation of his rapid Filipinization policy, and if it had led to the deterioration of administrative efficiency, the disadvantage was more than offset by the gain in contentment of the Filipinos, the growth of respect and friendship for the United States, and the valuable lessons in self-government secured by the people.³⁴ He also denied the charge that the policy brought about the destitution of many Americans in the Philippines because they were forced out of their employment; instead, he pointed out that "there are rather less Americans out of employment here now than is customary. . . ." ³⁵

As for the charge that he very rarely sought the "advice and counsel" of the members of the American community in the country, he explained that he lacked the time to do so, because of the pressure of his work as a member of the Philippine Commission.³⁶ According to him, the real cause of the "trouble" was the fact that his predecessor had more time to see them because he was a bachelor. He said:

I think the trouble arises more from the fact that Governor Forbes was a bachelor and went around in the evening with these men and they were accustomed to seeing a great deal of the Governor-General.³⁷

Governor Harrison also explained to Secretary Garrison why he could not be accused of practising the spoils system in the government. He pointed out that up to September, 1915, out of the forty-one American high officials he nominated for appointment, seventeen were members of the Republican Party, eleven were Democrats, and thirteen could not exactly be identified with either of the two parties.³⁸ He further said that his general policy in matters of appointment was to promote the man who was next in line. Secretary Garrison evidently was satisfied with his explanation, and in reply to the Governor, he wrote the following: "You refer to the pressure from home for appointment in the Islands and to the fact that you have resisted such pressure. Your position in this regard meets my entire approval."³⁹

Likewise, the Governor refuted the charge that all the Filipinos appointed to the government service were all members of the dominant *Nacionalista Party*. This he denied and stated that if there was anything wrong in connection with Filipino appointments, it was perhaps because he in-

³⁴ Harrison to Garrison, Feb. 19, 1914, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ On this matter, Governor Harrison wrote a personal and confidential letter to Secretary Garrison which said in part: "Had I been a dozen different individuals I would still have been unable to see and talk as much as they desired with each one of the Americans here. For some months I was alone in my responsibilities here and was sitting nearly every day in the Legislature, thus reducing materially the working hours available for interviews. Nevertheless, I have tried to see all I could, and my office has been simply besieged by Americans and Filipinos alike . . ." Harrison to Garrison, March 31, 1914, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Harrison to Garrison, Sept. 26, 1914, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

³⁹ Garrison to Harrison, Jan. 13, 1915, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

variably consulted the Filipino leaders, mostly *Nacionalista*, before making the selection. However, he justified this practice as "not only advisable from every point of view, but is absolutely just."⁴⁰ Besides, not all the nominees of the *Nacionalista* leaders were party members, as could be seen in this letter of Quezon to the Governor:

I don't know whether by the time you have received this letter a selection for that position [mayor of Manila] shall have been made. If not, I would recommend for your consideration, Dr. Alejandro Albert. He does not belong to my party and perhaps the Speaker [Osmeña] would object to the appointment, but he may have to understand that appointive positions in the Islands are not supposed to be used in connection with political affairs. Otherwise, in my opinion, he is a very competent man to discharge that office.⁴¹

In regard to the accusation that he was neglectful of his official duties because he seldom went to his office in the Ayuntamiento Building, Governor Harrison explained that this was not completely true. He admitted the fact that he went to his office only "two or three times" a week, but denied that he abandoned his official duties and functions simply because he went to his office irregularly. He pointed out that he performed most of his office work in Malacañang Palace, his official residence.⁴²

Although the members of the American business community in the Philippines were hostile to him, Governor Harrison made efforts to gain their support and cooperation. For instance, on April 3, 1914, he invited their representatives to an informal "smoker" in Malacañang and pointed out to them what seemed to be the real causes of the differences between them and his administration.⁴³ He cited the question of Philippine independence and also the business depression. He clarified both issues, and he told them that in so far as the former issue was concerned, it could not be settled by any one of them, only Congress could. He also told them that his administration could not be blamed for the business depression, because it was part of a world-wide trend. In order to find the "reasons for the present tightness of money", he asked them "to look beyond the limits of the Philippines."⁴⁴

On another occasion, Governor Harrison pledged to do everything possible to help business in the country. In a letter to a friend, he said: "I take the pleasure in saying to you personally that I am desirous of aiding legitimate business in the Philippines in every possible way."⁴⁵ The Governor was serious in what he meant to do for business, for even before he wrote this letter, he had already done something along that line. In the first few

⁴⁰ Harrison to Garrison, Sept. 26, 1914, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

⁴¹ Quezon to Harrison, April 28, 1914, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

⁴² Harrison to Garrison, March 28, 1915, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

⁴³ *The Manila Times*, April 5, 1914.

⁴⁴ *The Far Eastern Review*, April, 1914, p. 426.

⁴⁵ Harrison to Gallagher, Sept. 6, 1914, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

months of his incumbency, he authorized the extension of government loans to the sugar growers in the Visayan Islands in the amount of ₱2,000,000. The following year, he again made available ₱700,000. He also gave loans to the tobacco growers of northern Luzon, totalling ₱1,000,000.⁴⁶

Partly as a result of Governor Harrison's efforts and partly due to the business prosperity resulting from the First World War, the attitude of the American businessmen in the Philippines toward the administration improved.⁴⁷ Some of the adherents of the previous regimes were still bitter, but a great majority of the American residents seemed to have "quieted down" and began "attending to their own business."⁴⁸ The American-controlled newspapers became mild in their criticisms, and this shift was attributed by Governor Harrison not to the "change of heart" on the part of their editors and publishers, but to the fact that public opinion among the Americans would no longer support any further attacks that were of the same nature as those previously aired in the press.⁴⁹

While his detractors in the Philippines became more reconciled in their attitude toward his regime, their counterparts in the United States continued to criticize him. Although he felt that some of the charges were unfair, Governor Harrison never bothered to refute them in public. He was more concerned about the effects they would have on the Democratic Party administration in Washington. Thus, he wrote to the Secretary of War, Garrison, that should the attacks "prove embarrassing to the administration, the Secretary, himself would have to answer them."⁵⁰ He pledged himself to help the latter by supplying the necessary information needed to make a reply.

On a number of occasions, Secretary Garrison felt it necessary to answer some of the critics of the Harrison administration. One such instance was when ex-Governor Forbes contended that the main reason why foreign capitalists would not want to invest in the Philippines after 1913 was because they had no confidence in the government then in power.⁵¹ Secretary Garrison refuted this contention in a letter to the ex-governor, saying that outside capital had not seriously sought investment in the Philippines ever since the start of American occupation, and in that respect, the Harrison administration found itself in the same position as all the previous administrations found themselves.⁵²

The Secretary of War again came out in defense of the Harrison administration when Samuel E. Hilles of Cincinnati, Ohio, who visited the

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Harrison to Garrison, Dec. 4, 1913, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

⁴⁸ Harrison to Garrison, July 6, 1914, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

⁴⁹ Harrison to Garrison, Sept. 30, 1914, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

⁵⁰ Harrison to Garrison, Sept. 19, 1914, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

⁵¹ Forbes to Garrison, Nov. 5, 1914, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

⁵² Garrison to Forbes, Nov. 18, 1914, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

country for five weeks, criticized the Wilson-Harrison policy in the Philippines as "going too fast."⁵³ In a letter to the critics, Secretary Garrison pointed out that this was an old criticism, which was raised as early as the Taft administration. The explanation said in part:

You, of course, are aware that the criticisms that we are going too fast in the Philippine Islands began with the establishment of civil government in these Islands. Persons who visited the Islands in 1901 and 1902, in general, came back with the feeling that we were going too fast . . . Had you gone to the Philippines in 1903 when many Filipinos had been appointed to prominent offices in the government, you would have found that this feeling that we had gone too fast was very much emphasized. You would have found that Mr. Taft, the Governor-General, had become among the Americans in Manila . . . "the most unpopular American in the Philippine Islands" because he was regarded as the one responsible for what most Americans in Manila . . . regarded as our policy of going too fast in the Islands.⁵⁴

There were other officials in the United States Government occupying positions influential in Philippine affairs who supported as well as defended Governor Harrison's administration. These included President Wilson, General Frank McIntyre, then Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, and William Atkinson Jones, who was the Chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs and the author of the Philippine Organic Act of 1916.

President Wilson gave Governor Harrison a "fairly free hand" in the conduct of his office and assured him of his confidence in his administration.⁵⁵ In 1915, he cabled the Governor, congratulating him for the good work being accomplished in the Philippines:

Please accept my congratulations upon the success of your administration and my earnest assurance of belief in a happy and prosperous future for the Islands. The people of the Islands have already proved their quality, and in nothing more than in the fulfillment of our promises. Continuance in that admirable course of action will undoubtedly assure the result we all desire.⁵⁶

General McIntyre characterized the criticisms against Governor Harrison's regime published in the United States as "without basis or trivial in character" and as reserved for those who were "ignorant of the conditions in the Islands."⁵⁷ He maintained that there was administrative efficiency in the government despite the "loss of some excellent men" due to

⁵³ Hilles to Garrison, Nov. 11, 1914, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

⁵⁴ Garrison to Hilles, Nov. 16, 1914, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

⁵⁵ President Wilson expressed his confidence in Harrison indirectly through a letter to Samuel Ferguson, Secretary of the Governor-General, dated Jan. 20, 1915. See *Bureau of Insular Affairs Files—Personnel File of Francis Burton Harrison*. Governor Harrison was deeply grateful for the President's support, for he believed that he could not have stayed in office for even "six months" without it. See Harrison to Tumulty, Feb. 10, 1921, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

⁵⁶ Quoted in William C. Forbes, *The Philippine Islands* (Boston, 1928), II, p. 245.

⁵⁷ Frank McIntyre, "Special Report to the Secretary of War," *Senate Documents*, 64 Cong., 1 sess., No. 242, p. 33.

retrenchment and voluntary resignations. In the lower house of the United States Congress, Representative Jones invariably defended Governor Harrison's administration every time the Philippine problem came up on the floor for discussion. In one of his speeches, he pointed out that, perhaps, the "first and foremost" accomplishment of the Governor-General was the establishment of "confidence on the part of the Filipino people in the justice and fairness of the American people."⁵⁸

Outside government circles, the supporters and admirers of Governor Harrison's administration were found among the members of the Anti-Imperialist League, ex-bureaucrats, and American tourists who had visited the Philippines. In 1914, the Anti-Imperialist League, through its president, wrote Governor Harrison, praising him for the "calmness and dignity" with which he conducted his office in the face of severe attacks from critics.⁵⁹ Four years later, the League again wrote him, giving him assurance of the "great respect and admiration" of its members for his "faithful and successful" conduct of his office in the Philippines.⁶⁰

Morgan Shuster, a former member of the Philippine Commission and Collector of Customs, also lauded the Democratic Party regime in the country. "The Philippines," he said, "are better governed than ever before in their history. Governor-General Francis Burton Harrison, in his two and a half years' stay, had done a great piece of administrative work."⁶¹ James Ross, an ex-judge in the Manila Court of First Instance, not only praised Governor Harrison, but also defended his policies. In explaining why the Governor was severely criticized, he said:

The trouble seems to me, is that Governor Harrison has treated very seriously the promises and pledges of the United States to the Filipino people, and that, finding the machinery moving slowly, has "speeded it up"—translated words into deeds and promises into performances.⁶²

A feeling of satisfaction was expressed by some American visitors at the progress made in the Philippines under Governor Harrison. E. Alexander Powell, whose journeys brought him to the Philippines, British Malaya, and Dutch Indonesia, tried to compare the conditions in these areas. He found out that the Philippines were "so far advanced" that there was "no real basis for comparison."⁶³ "The more I saw of what we have accomplished in the Philippines," he wrote Governor Harrison, "the prouder I was of being an American. I am deeply impressed by what I saw . . . The people are prosperous and contented."⁶⁴ Eleanor Franklin Egan, who also

⁵⁸ *Bureau of Insular Affairs Files—Personnel File of Francis Burton Harrison.*

⁵⁹ Storey to Harrison, March 18, 1914, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

⁶⁰ Anti-Imperialist League to Harrison, April 15, 1918, Manuel Quezon Papers.

⁶¹ *The New York Times*, April 20, 1916.

⁶² *Congressional Record*, 63 Cong., 3 sess., (Appendix), p. 840.

⁶³ Powell to Harrison, April 10, 1920, Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

had visited the Philippines, felt the same way. She was particularly impressed by the improved relationship between the Filipinos and the Americans.⁶⁵

Even Governor Harrison's detractors found something to admire in his administration. For instance, *The Manila Times* credited him with having stood firm in the execution of General Mariano Noriel, a veteran of the Philippine Revolution, who was found guilty of having killed a law-abiding compatriot. Commending Governor Harrison's action, its editorial said:

Rare indeed have been the occasions when the *Times* has found an opportunity of unstinted praise of Governor-General Harrison but we believe that his action in ordering the execution of General Noriel and his accomplices, is one of the most courageous acts of any administration in American occupation of the Philippines. It required a degree of moral courage that only those who know of the powerful and insidious influence which have been brought to bear to save Noriel from the gallows, can appreciate.⁶⁶

Ex-Commissioner Worcester, a bitter critic of the Governor, strongly recommended the latter's support of Dr. Victor Heiser, then Director of Health, on the occasion of certain unjust attacks on the part of the Filipinos. In a letter to *The Manila Times*, he said:

Governor-General Harrison has proved himself to be a staunch friend of sanitation in the Philippine Islands and has given effective support to the Bureau of Health during some very trying times, undeterred by the fact that this had made a serious drain on his popularity in certain quarters.⁶⁷

While his fellow countrymen in the Philippines confronted him with a hostile attitude, the Filipino people, with the exception of the members of the opposition party and their sympathizers, extended to Governor Harrison support and encouragement. Their leaders readily gave him advice, as he sought them, and they saw to it that his legislative proposals were enacted by the Philippine Legislature.⁶⁸ They also defended his administration from the attacks of his critics, and it was among these people that, perhaps, he found his most effective defender, Manuel L. Quezon.

Quezon vigorously and faithfully defended Governor Harrison's regime. While serving as one of the two Filipino resident commissioners to the United States, he delivered speeches in the halls of Congress and before the American public to answer some of the criticisms directed against Har-

⁶⁵ Her article on the Philippines, in the *Saturday Evening Post*, Jan. 26, 1918, said in part: "For the first time Occupation Day has been celebrated by Filipinos and Americans alike, with joint ceremony and with mutual congratulation and compliment. It was on the whole a most significant day, marking as it did the beginning of the end of the old antagonism and ingratitude with which these people, whom we could not with honor set adrift, have met every effort we have made to benefit and assist them."

⁶⁶ *The Manila Times*, Jan. 17, 1915.

⁶⁷ *The Manila Times*, May 17, 1914.

⁶⁸ This explains Governor Harrison's good record with the Philippine Legislature. See *The Manila Times* editorial of Feb. 8, 1915, found in the *Bureau of Insular Affairs Files—Personnel File of Francis Burton Harrison*.

ri son and his administration.⁶⁹ On one occasion, he made an extended remark in the House of Representatives in reply to ex-Commissioner Worcester's attack against the policy of Filipinization. In part, he declared:

The truth is that the methods of Governor-General Harrison in matters of appointment are absolutely free not only from any justified charge but even from any appearance of justification that he has employed the methods of—in the words of Mr. Worcester—"a ward politician." Governor-General Harrison has not given positions in the Philippine Government to personal friends. He has not brought with him relatives to do business in the Islands . . . and this dignified conduct of the Governor is the more praiseworthy since he is the first Governor-General of the Islands, who was previously a Member of Congress, and had therefore many political friends, a circumstance which doubtless has on more than one occasion put to a test his integrity of character and devotion to duty. . . .⁷⁰

Commissioner Quezon, however, in his defense of Governor Harrison, stressed the positive accomplishments of the latter's administration—the increased mileage of roads, expansion of trade and commerce, better health and sanitation, more public schools, and progress toward self-government, as well as the improved relations between the Americans and the Filipinos.⁷¹ Speaking on Harrison's first year in the Philippines before the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Cleveland, Ohio, Quezon declared:

The people of the Philippines have not been disappointed in Governor Harrison. His popularity has been increasing, and during the short time of his administration he had demonstrated that we were right in placing our confidence and hope in him. His achievements will speak of American intelligence, justice, and patriotism long after his detractors are dead and forgotten. How hard he has worked and how economical and efficient a government he has given us! He has not only honored himself and the President who has appointed him, but he has also honored his own people and has given credit to the whole American nation.⁷²

The Filipinos showed unmistakably their approval and support of Governor Harrison's administration when they chose to remain loyal to the United States during the First World War. A few days after Congress declared war against Germany and its allies, the Filipinos held a big parade in the city of Manila to express their loyalty to the United States.⁷³

⁶⁹ In one of his letters, Governor Harrison thanked Quezon for the latter's work on his behalf. He said: "I can never thank you sufficiently for the extreme loyalty, official and personal, which you have shown me on all occasions, and for the splendid assistance you have given me in all of these difficult questions." See Harrison to Quezon, Sept. 22, 1914, Manuel L. Quezon Papers.

⁷⁰ *Congressional Record*, 63 Cong., 2 sess., p. 16490.

⁷¹ See Manuel L. Quezon, *Speeches of Honorable Manuel L. Quezon, Resident Commissioner from the Philippines, in the House of Representatives, September 26-October 14, 1914* (Washington, 1914).

⁷² Manuel L. Quezon, "New Freedom in the Philippines". (A speech delivered on April 15, 1915, at the Annual Dinner of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce and Industry), Francis Burton Harrison Papers.

⁷³ *The Manila Times*, May 6, 1917.

Speeches were delivered by the Filipino leaders, and in response, Governor Harrison said in part:

Nothing could have been more gratifying than this spontaneous and generous offer of devotion and loyalty from the Filipino people to the United States.

Never in the years of occupation here have the friendship between Americans and the Filipinos been so deep, so sincere and so unselfish as today. And their friendship has come to stay forever because it is founded upon mutual respect and understanding.

The war is not only the greatest and let us hope the final combat between democracy and autocracy, between human rights and despotism, between the new order of freedom and the old order of tyranny; the right of small nations to exist and retain their independence.⁷⁴

As a further manifestation of their loyalty, the Filipinos placed a moratorium on their campaign for independence.⁷⁵ They also actively supported the United States in its war efforts by undertaking relief work through the local chapter of the American Red Cross, and by responding enthusiastically to the appeals for Liberty Loans.⁷⁶ The Philippine Bureau of Science and other insular agencies cooperated with the Chemical Warfare Service of the United States Army in an effort to produce in the country the greatest possible amount of coconut shell (charcoal) gas masks.⁷⁷ Moreover, the Filipinos offered to participate actively in the war by supplying a division of troops for service in the United States Army, and by underwriting the construction of a destroyer and a submarine.⁷⁸

Speaking of Filipino loyalty during the war, Governor Harrison, in his letter to President Wilson, said:

. . . that loyalty is deep, genuine, and universal in the Philippines. It is based upon the recognition of what the United States has done specifically for the Philippine people and, also, upon an appreciation of what the United States is fighting for in this war as expressed on many public occasions by yourself. I think that in their offer and organization of a division for the military service, in their loan of a destroyer and a submarine to our Navy, in their response to

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ *Report of the Governor-General*, 1918, p. 5.

⁷⁶ During the war, there were four campaign drives for Liberty loans conducted in the Philippines. According to Governor Harrison, at the end of the fourth campaign, the subscription reached the figure of 23,247,000 pesos, or more than double the quota allotted to the Philippines. Of this sum, about 9,000,000 pesos came from provinces where fully ninety-five per cent of the subscribers were Filipinos. See Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

⁷⁷ Alvin J. Cox, "The Philippines and the War," *The Far Eastern Review*, Dec. 1918, p. 512.

⁷⁸ The offer was made in a resolution passed by the Philippine Legislature which provided: "That the Governor-General be, and hereby is, authorized to take all the necessary steps for the earliest possible construction, under the direction of the Government of the United States and at the expense of the treasury of the Philippine Islands, of a modern submarine and a modern destroyer which shall, as soon as available, be offered to the President of the United States for service in Philippine waters or elsewhere, as said President may require or authorize." See Harrison, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-186.

liberty loans and Red Cross appeals, the Filipinos have made visible demonstration of their attitude toward our country.⁷⁹

From what has been said, it is apparent that the response to Governor Harrison's administration was almost completely based on partisanship. His fellow Democrats on both sides of the Pacific Ocean admired and commended him for his work in the Philippines. On the other hand, the members of the Republican Party and their sympathizers bitterly criticized his regime. Similarly, the Filipinos, in a lesser extent, reacted in the same pattern. While the members of the *Nacionalista Party* and their followers actively supported as well as defended his policies, the minority party members and their partisans denounced his administration.

⁷⁹ Harrison to Wilson, Nov. 13, 1918, Manuel L. Quezon Papers.

PILIPINO NUMERALS: A DISCOURSE ON LANGUAGE INTEGRATION

UKUN SURJAMAN

INTRODUCTION

DISCUSSIONS ON HOW FAR PILIPINO CAN BE DEVELOPED INTO A MODERN medium of communication in all aspects of national as well as local life in the country have been the pre-occupations of many national leaders involved in this process. Attention has been concentrated, however, on the possibility as to how far that language can be used as the medium of instruction in the schools, more specifically in the elementary school level. Some of the views that have been elicited in these discussions may be summarized as follows:

(a) Pilipino is still unable to replace English as the medium of instruction, because of the lack of scientific terms in its vocabulary. To fill up this deficiency, much time is still needed. This means that English should still remain as the medium of instruction. Meanwhile, work should be started on the preparation of textbooks in Pilipino and other types of book to be used in the schools on all levels by Filipino writers and educators;

(b) Pilipino lacks the capability to “educate” the Filipinos as a nation which is as progressive as other nations that use English as the language of science. English is the medium through which one could achieve progress on the highest possible level; and

(c) English is a foreign language to the Filipino people; therefore it would be easier to impart knowledge to them in their own language. Thus it would be better if Pilipino is the medium of instruction in the schools, first on the elementary level, then in the secondary and finally in the college levels; whereas English would remain as a foreign language course only.

Irrespective of these views, one point is clear—there is *growing* interest in the national language. Tagalog, chosen as the base in the development of Philippine national language, lacks scientific and modern technical terms to express modern ideas and concepts. It has not yet realized its application throughout Philippine society. However, this does not mean, that the language cannot be modernized. Chinese, Japanese and Bahasa Indonesia for example, have proven their capabilities in all branches of studies without difficulties. What is important is the will of the people themselves to develop a national language. In this connection, J. V. Cruz, a columnist of the *Manila Times*, wrote that:

"One argument that has been advanced against the use of Pilipino in the schools is that there is an inadequacy, and the reason simply is that English always has been the medium of instruction, so why should anyone have bothered in the past to produce Pilipino textbooks and other teaching aids? But this argument is a case of putting the cart before the horse. Once Pilipino is introduced as the medium of instruction in the schools, books and other teaching devices in this language will materialize as a matter of course. Airports got to be built when airplanes started flying, not before.

Another argument that has been invoked is that Pilipino is an impoverished language for keeping up with the progress of science, medicine, technology and industry in the more advanced countries. This is fallacious contention. There is no such thing as an impoverished language, provided that language is given a normal chance to grow and develop. Given such opportunity, Pilipino can and will keep up with the pace of progress and advancement all over the world. It will improvise where it will have to improvise, borrow here and there where it will have to borrow here and there, and lift boldly where this may be the most convenient and practical alternative."¹

Furthermore, Teodoro A. Llamzon, S.J., more or less elaborates in vivid terms J. V. Cruz's arguments—

"... it is not true that because Pilipino now lacks an adequate technical vocabulary to cope with the most modern advances in the arts and sciences, it can never develop such vocabulary in the future. As a tool of communication, every language that we know today has a built in capacity to refer to any object or situation in the outside world."²

It is necessary to note, that every nation has its own culture. No matter how extensive Spanish and American influences in the Philippines are, the Filipinos have developed a culture entirely of their own. Hence, not all feelings, thoughts and hopes of the Filipino can be adequately expressed in Spanish or English. Likewise, not all the feelings, thoughts and hopes of the Indonesian people can be adequately expressed or explained in Dutch. Thus, in formal speech, even in informal speech, life among members of the family, where intimate feelings are expressed, the Filipinos prefer to use Tagalog as their own language. In this relation Teodoro A. Llamzon, S.J. writes:

"The Filipinos (with few exceptions) do not feel entirely at home in English. It is true that they speak English at all times—especially in the mass media and in educated circles. But for the most part, when Filipinos are by themselves, in more intimate circles (parties, house calls, etc.) their talk usually reverts to the native (Tagalog, Ilocano, Cebuano, etc.) or to a pigeonized version ("mismix") of English. The native tongue is still the language of intimacy, camaraderie and close friendship."³

¹ J. V. Cruz, "We'll find Pilipino words, don't worry." Manila: *The Sunday Times*, July 21, 1968, p. 5-A.

² Teodoro A. Llamzon, S.J., "On Pilipino as medium of instruction," *Philippine Free Press*, Number 23, Volume LXI, August 17, 1968, p. 6.

³ *Loc. cit.*

But some questions may be raised relevant to this problem of language development, *vis a vis* Pilipino, *viz.*, What would be the form of Pilipino? To what extent would Pilipino differ from Tagalog? What do we mean when we say that Pilipino is based on Tagalog? Do we have to adopt the totality of Tagalog enriched with elements from the vernaculars and foreign languages? The phrase "based on Tagalog" does not mean that one has to accept everything found in Tagalog. Whatever is functional and practical should be retained, but whatever has become obsolete, useless, impractical and generally not acceptable for the Filipino people should be replaced with elements from the other Philippine languages and foreign languages. Furthermore, Pilipino is not the language of any one tribe or group who may feel a proprietary interest in it as its dialect, but it belongs to the entire people. Filipino should be [is] the mirror of the national culture. It stands to reason, therefore, that the other Philippine languages should make a positive contribution towards the continuing development of Pilipino.⁴

It is only along this line that the Filipino shall accept Tagalog as the basis of the national language, not only officially, but also in reality, without dispute or controversy.

THE NUMBERS IN PILIPINO

To illustrate my views, I would like to present the numbers in Pilipino. Can the numbers in Tagalog be a basis in Pilipino numeral system? If the numbers in Tagalog were composed with other major Philippine languages, it may be seen that several numbers in Tagalog probably need to be changed or substituted in order to fulfill its function as national language which can be accepted by the whole Philippine society.

1 — *isa*. There seems to be no problem in the use of *isa* in Pilipino, because other Philippine languages like Iloko, Hiligaynon, Cebuano, Pampango and Tausug show similar or almost similar phonology. Compared to Bahasa Indonesia (Indonesian language), besides the word *satu*—one, the word *esa* is also used in the expression "Tuhan Jang Maha Esa," meaning "The One Supreme God." Apart from this, in Bahasa Indonesia the prefix *se* is also found which must have come from the word *isa* or *esa*, which means "one", for instance: *seratus*, "one hundred", *seribu*, "one thousand", *seorang*, "one person", *setengah*, "one half".

2 — *dalawa*. In Iloko and Tausug, *dua* is used, in Cebuano and Hiligaynon *duha*, in Bicol *duwa*, in Pampango *adua* and in Maranao *doa*. Both in Bahasa Indonesia and Bahasa Melayu (in Malaysia) the word *dua* is also used. In Pilipino the use of the word *dua* is perhaps more acceptable for the majority of the Filipinos do not use the word *dalawa* as it is in Tagalog.

⁴ See and cf. Ukun Surjaman, "Bahasa Indonesia, the Indonesian National Language," *The Philippine Journal of Education*, Volume XLVI, Number 4, October 1967, p. 254.

This will also facilitate communication among the different linguistic groups in the South East Asian regions. Development of a common language for Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines appears easy considering the existence of significantly common vocabulary in the three languages.⁵ After all, Bahasa Melayu, Bahasa Indonesia and Tagalog belong to a common ancestor, called Austronesian.

3 — *tatlo*. Just like the word *isa*, the word *tatlo* may be used in Pilipino. In Javanese (spoken in Central and East Java), *telu* is used; in Sundanese (spoken in West Java) *tilu*, while in Bahasa Indonesia and Bahasa Melayu the word *tiga* is used.

4 — *apat*. The word *apat* also does not present a problem in its usage in Pilipino, because in other Philippine languages its phonology shows almost the same structure. In Bahasa Indonesia and Bahasa Melayu the word *empat* [ampat] is used, but in daily conversation the word *ampat* is used more frequently. It is probable that *ampat* will later replace *empat*.

5 — *lima*. The word *lima* may be used in Pilipino. What is interesting is that the word *lima* is the only number that does not undergo any change in phonology in Philippine and Indonesian languages.

6 — *anim*. *Anim* may also be used in Pilipino, because in other languages its phonology is apparently the same. In Bahasa Indonesia and Bahasa Melayu *enam* [anam] is used. However, in daily conversation the word *anem* [anam] is used more often. It is probable that the word *anem* will eventually replace the word *enam*.

7 — *pito*. *Pito* may be used in Pilipino. In Javanese the word *pito* is also used, whereas in Bahasa Indonesia and Bahasa Melayu the word *tujuh* is used.

8 — *walo*. Just like *pito*, the word *walo* may be used in Pilipino. In Javanese, *walo* is also used, whereas Bahasa Indonesia and Bahasa Melayu use *delapan*.

9 — *siyam*. *Siyam* may be used in Pilipino. In Bahasa Indonesia and in Bahasa Melayu *sembilan* is used.

10 — *sampu*. In Cebuano, *napulo* is used, in Iloko, *pulo*, in Pangango, *apulu*, in Bicol, *sampulo* and in Maranao, *sapulo*. Bahasa Indonesia and Bahasa Melayu use *sepuluh*. Would it be more appropriate for Pilipino to use *sapulo* (one ten) in order to be more easily accepted by the majority of the Filipinos? Besides, its phonology is similar to that of Bahasa Indonesia and Bahasa Melayu. It is interesting to note that Indonesia and Malaysia have succeeded in unifying the romanized orthography of Bahasa Melayu and Bahasa Indonesia on June 27, 1967,⁶ which perhaps would be

⁵ Paraluman S. Aspillera, *A Common Vocabulary for Malay-Pilipino-Bahasa Indonesia*. Published by the Institute of Asian Studies, University of the Philippines, July 1967, p. iii.

⁶ See: "Agreement of the Spelling Committee Meeting," Tenggara, Vol. 2, Number 1, April, 1968, pp. 79-83.

a good basis for the establishment of a unified numeral system for Pilipino.

Commenting on this unification, S. T. Alishjahbana expressed his view, among others:

“We should regard the agreement reached by the Indonesian and Malaysian representatives for the unification of Bahasa Indonesia in Indonesia and the Malay language in Malaysia as an important event in the history of Malay-Indonesian language as well as in the history of cooperation among nations in Southeast Asia. This is the first stage in reunifying Malay and Bahasa Indonesia after the two languages (which in reality are one) had been separated by Dutch colonialism in Indonesia and British colonialism in Malaysia, Brunei and Singapore, followed by the separate growth of the four areas as independent nations. This attempt at unification must be received with joy by all those who use Bahasa Indonesia or Malay because the more uniformity there is in the use of a language over a wide area the more efficient will be the communication between its users, and the greater the possibility of its development as a great language. When there are more users for a language not only will there arise more talented creators and thinkers within the language but they will also have a bigger audience.⁷

The numbers 11 through 19 may be illustrated thus:

11=labing-isa	16=labing-anim
12=labindalawa	17=labimpito
13=labintatlo	18=labingwalo
14=labing-apat	19=labingsiyam
15=labinlima	

This system is different from that which are found in other Philippine languages, e.g., Cebuano, Hiligaynon, Iloko, Maranao, Tausug, etc.

The succeeding numbers after *ten* in:

Cebuano, based on the denomination *napulo* (ten):

11=napulo'g usa (ten plus one)
12=napulo'g duha (ten plus two)
13=napulo'g tolo (ten plus three)
14=napulo'g upat (ten plus four)
15=napulo'g lima (ten plus five)
16=napulo'g unum (ten plus six)
17=napulo'g pito (ten plus seven)
18=napulo'g walo (ten plus eight)
19=napulo'g siyam (ten plus nine)

Iloko, based on *pulu* (ten):

11=sangapulo ket maysa (ten plus one)
12=sangapulo ket dua (ten plus two)
13=sangapulo ket tatlo (ten plus three)
14=sangapulo ket uppat (ten plus four)
15=sangapulo ket lima (ten plus five)
16=sangapulo ket innem (ten plus six)
17=sangapulo ket pito (ten plus seven)

⁷ S. T. Alishjahbana: "Critique of the Spelling Agreement," *Tenggara*, Vol. 2, Number 1, April, 1968, p. 84.

- 18=sangapulo ket walo (ten plus eight)
 19=sangapulo ket siyam (ten plus nine)

Maranao, based on *sapolo* (ten):

- 11=sapolo ago isa (ten plus one)
 12=sapolo ago doa (ten plus two)
 13=sapolo ago telo (ten plus three)
 14=sapolo ago pat (ten plus four)
 15=sapolo ago lima (ten plus five)
 16=sapolo ago nem (ten plus six)
 17=sapolo ago pito (ten plus seven)
 18=sapolo ago walo (ten plus eight)
 19=sapolo ago siao (ten plus nine)

Tausug, based on *hangpo* (ten):

- 11=hangpo tag isa (ten plus one)
 12=hangpo tag dua (ten plus two)
 13=hangpo tag too (ten plus three)
 14=hangpo tag upat (ten plus four)
 15=hangpo tag lima (ten plus five)
 16=hangpo tag unom (ten plus six)
 17=hangpo tag pito (ten plus seven)
 18=hangpo tag walo (ten plus eight)
 19=hangpo tag siyam (ten plus nine)

Perhaps for Pilipino, the denomination 11 through 19 may be arranged as follows:

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| 11 — sapulo't isa (ten plus one) | 11 — labing-isa |
| 12 — sapulo't dua (ten plus two) | 12 — labing-dua (instead of labindalawa) |
| 13 — sapulo't tatlo (ten plus three) | 13 — labing-tatlo (instead of labintatlo) |
| 14 — sapulo't apat (ten plus four) | 14 — labing-apat |
| 15 — sapulo't lima (ten plus five) | 15 — labing-lima (instead of labinlima) |
| 16 — sapulo't anim (ten plus six) | 16 — labing-anim |
| 17 — sapulo't pito (ten plus seven) | 17 — labing-pito (instead of labimpito) |
| 18 — sapulo't walo (ten plus eight) | 18 — labing-walo |
| 19 — sapulo't siyam (ten plus nine) | 19 — labing-siyam (instead of labinsiyam) |

or:

If Pilipino accepts *sapulo* for the denomination 10, the denomination 20 up to 90, may be arranged as follows:

- | | |
|-------------------|--------------------|
| 20 — duang-pulo | 60 — anim na pulo |
| 30 — tatlong-pulo | 70 — pitong pulo |
| 40 — apat na pulo | 80 — walong pulo |
| 50 — limang-pulo | 90 — siyam na pulo |

One hundred (100) is *sandaan*. In Iloko *sanga gasut* (one hundred) is used, in Cebuano, *usa ka gatus* (one hundred) in Hiligaynon, *isa ka gatus* (one hundred), in Tausug *hanggatus* (one hundred), whereas Bahasa Indonesia and Bahasa Melayu use *seratus* (one hundred). Would it not be better for Pilipino to use *sagatus* (one hundred)? If *sagatus* were accepted, the two hundred (200) through nine hundred (900) may be arranged as follows:

200 — duang-gatus	600 — anim na gatus
300 — tatlong-gatus	700 — pitong-gatus
400 — apat na gatus	800 — walong-gatus
500 — limang-gatus	900 — siyam na gatus

One thousand (1,000) is *isang libo* (one thousand). In Iloko *sanga ribo* (one thousand) is used, in Cebuano *usa ka libo* (one thousand), in Hiligaynon *isa kalibo*, where Bahasa Indonesia and Bahasa Melayu has *seribu*. May *isang libo* be changed into *salibo*? Based on *salibo*, following numbers may be arranged thus:

10,000 — sapulong-libo	100,000 — sagatus na libo
20,000 — duang-pulong libo	200,000 — duang-gatus na libo
30,000 — tatlong-pulong libo	300,000 — tatlong-gatus na libo
40,000 — apat na pulong libo	400,000 — apat na gatus na libo
50,000 — limang-pulong libo	500,000 — limang-gatus na libo
60,000 — anim na pulong libo	600,000 — anim na gatus na libo
70,000 — pitong-pulong libo	700,000 — pitong-gatus na libo
80,000 — walong-pulong libo	800,000 — walong-gatus na libo
90,000 — siyam na pulong libo	900,000 — siyam na gatus na libo

For 1,000,000 the word *samilyon* is suggested.

SUMMARY AND OBSERVATIONS

The above proposals for a system of numbers in Pilipino may be summarized —

1 — isa	70 — pitong pulo
2 — dua	80 — walong pulo
3 — tatlo	90 — siyam na pulo
4 — apat	100 — sagatus
5 — lima	200 — duang-gatus
6 — anim	300 — tatlong-gatus
7 — pito	400 — apat na gatus
8 — walo	500 — limang-gatus
9 — siyam	600 — anim na gatus
10 — sapulo	700 — pitong-gatus
11 — sapulo't isa or labing-isa	800 — walong-gatus
12 — sapulo't dua or labing-dua	900 — siyam na gatus
13 — sapulo't tatlo or labing-tatlo	1,000 — salibo
14 — sapulo't apat or labing-apat	10,000 — sapulong-libo
15 — sapulo't lima or labing-lima	20,000 — duang-pulong-libo
16 — sapulo't anim or labing-anim	30,000 — tatlong-pulong-libo
17 — sapulo't pito or labing-pito	40,000 — apat na pulong-libo
18 — sapulo't walo or labing-walo	50,000 — limang-pulong-libo
19 — sapulo't siyam or labing-siyam	60,000 — anim na pulong-libo
20 — duang-pulo	70,000 — pitong-pulong-libo
21 — duang pulong isa	80,000 — walong-pulong-libo
32 — tatlong pulong dua	90,000 — siyam na pulong-libo
43 — apat na pulong tatlo	100,000 — sagatus na libo
54 — limang pulong apat	200,000 — duang-gatus na libo
65 — anim na pulong lima	

76 — pitong pulong anim	300,000 — tatlong-gatus na libo
87 — walong pulong pito	400,000 — apat na gatus na libo
98 — siyam na pulong walo	500,000 — limang-gatus na libo
30 — tatlong-pulo	600,000 — anim na gatus na libo
40 — apat na pulo	700,000 — pitong-gatus na libo
50 — limang-pulo	800,000 — walong-gatus na libo
60 — anim na pulo	900,000 — siyam na gatus na libo
	1,000,000 — samilyon

The planned development of Pilipino should be in the hands of a Committee composed of a group of linguists with specialization on various major languages of the Philippines; a group of experts in many fields of knowledge, such as medicine, law, economics, agriculture, etc.; a representative author; a representative journalist; a representative radio/television announcer.⁸ This committee should be coordinated by the Institute of National Language.

It is high time that the Institute and the committee which are in charge with the specific duty to compare Tagalog with the other major languages of the Philippines publish the results of their investigations, in order to fill the gaps found in Tagalog or if necessary change the elements which are considered not practical or not really acceptable with the elements of other vernaculars. In this connection Rep. Aguedo Agbayani, explains, that in order to eliminate the mental resistance to the acceptance and propagation of the Tagalog-based national language on the part of non-Tagalogs, he proposes among others: the areas of similarity among the vernaculars and the Tagalog-based national language should be widened as much as possible, in order to facilitate its acceptance and learning by non-Tagalogs, and to hasten its propagation among them; simplify the grammar of the Tagalog-based national language and of the vernaculars; an initial vocabulary of the national language should be formed consisting mainly of words that are common to all Philippine tongues, including Spanish and English words "as are already familiar to the Philippine tongue, having been accepted and being generally used in the same," which is ordained by the law.

He further proposes the implementation of RA 184, as amended by RA 333, by appointing other members of the Institute of National Language so that the major Philippine dialects will be represented in that body, or better still increase the membership to include Kapampangan, Pangasinan, Magindanao-Maranao and Tausog-Samal. This will assure the non-Tagalogs that they will not be discriminated against.⁹

Should these practical proposals be accepted and implemented, there would be no reason why Pilipino would not belong to the Philippines, and at the same time stimulate its continued development as a national language.

⁸ Ukun Surjaman: *op. cit.*, p. 301.

⁹ Rep. Aguedo Agbayani, "A realistic approach on the national language problem." *The Manila Times*, September 30, 1968, p. 9-A.

The results of the decision of the Committee as "legalized" by the Institute of National Language should be communicated throughout the country, through the schools, government and private offices by means of the newspapers, radio and television.

Perhaps, the following questions may arise—Will this change not create a compulsion from the national government over the masses? If such changes bring about the practical development of Pilipino, then there should be no reason for opposition. However, the final acceptance lies in the people themselves. The findings of the committee must be carefully discussed before it is circularized by the Institute of National Language. Perhaps, a regular congress on the National Language may be convened for further study of these findings and for final acceptance.

It is interesting to note that the Lupon sa Agham (Committee on Science) under the auspices of the Unesco National Commission of the Philippines has been collecting, forming and systematizing scientific and technical terms. Until August 1968, it has accumulated 6,500 Pilipino words for scientific and technical terms.¹⁰ The task of developing a national language, which is the lingua Filipina of the different ethnic groups, is not an easy one. However, with a sense of mission on the part of the people themselves and their leaders, Pilipino will become one of the modern languages of the world, respected by other peoples. Gonsalo del Rosario writes of this view—

"A far more meaningful justification for having a national language is the attainment of national unity. This is a practical and productive function [*sic*]. We have seen how India, sundered by many languages, has actually split into two parts, and we have witnessed how Japan, welded firmly by Nipongo, has remained [*a*] strongly united people through the disaster of utter defeat in a global war.¹¹

¹⁰ Eddie Monteclaro, "Language problem", Manila: *The Manila Times*, August 12, 1968, p. 1.

¹¹ Gonsalo del Rosario: "A Modernization-Standardization Plan for the Austro-nesian-Derived National Languages of Southeast Asia," *Asian Studies*, Volume VI, Number 1, April, 1968, p. 2.

THE NOVEL IN THE PHILIPPINES

PETRONILO BN. DAROY

LITERATURE IN THE PHILIPPINES CONTINUED TO BE LARGELY ORAL until the initial years of establishment of the Spanish colonial regime. The Roman alphabet in the country gradually changed the native script, the prayers and other religious and didactic materials continued to be disseminated orally. These new literary materials did not really replace the native literature. On the contrary, the native literature was solely assimilated to the colonial letters. Radical changes, however, began to take place in the "content" of the indigenous and oral literary traditions. Christian ideas and morals began to creep into the ancient literary forms of the Filipinos such as the *salawikain*, the *lagda* and even the epics, while regional literary traditions slowly came to be replaced by a body of literature that was largely derived from Hispanic and European models, and, bore no immediate relation to the social organization and economic life of the people. Religious materials, and later the *corrido* provided a unifying body of literary tradition, simultaneously disseminated in various regions. Thus a body of literature, directly reflecting the new centralized organization of the archipelago began to take the place of the regional literary traditions of the Filipinos.

Tomas Pinpin's establishment of a printing press initiated a radical event in the level of literacy in the Philippine society. His publication of the *Doctrina Cristiana* and later on, *Ojas Volontas* reflected the growing literacy among the people and a shift from a pre-literate consciousness to that based on print. The *Ojas Volontas* provided the people in the country a vehicle for their taste in historical events and real happenings in the colony. Previously, the *corrido*, and its natural adoption, the *awit* were largely occupied with exotic and fantastic events and characters. Mythical places and kingdoms formed the setting of these narratives. *Ojas Volontas*, on the other hand, gave the people a more empirical and "truthful" account of life happening in the colony. It formed a taste for "facts."

By the seventeenth century there were about two newspapers in the country. The increase in journalistic publications was in direct relation to two factors: 1) the increase in the number of a literate audience, and, 2) the development of the colonial society which "thickened" the texture of culture and therefore multiplied the events to be reported about. Related to these developments, was the rise of a native middleclass directly involved in the economic life of the country, particularly in agriculture and commerce. The participation of this class in politics was limited, but its initial interest

and aspirations were in the printed materials that were beginning to circulate.

The Secularization Movement expressed the feeling of the Filipino middleclass about its position in the colonial society. Although considered principally as a religious issue, it had economic and racial undertones. The rich parishes in the archipelago were in the hands of the foreign clergy; the Filipino priests were disqualified from these parishes by reason of their "native" status. Politics at that time was inextricably involved in religion, and the assignment of natives to parishes was considered a "tactical" error. The loyalty of these priests was suspect.

Consequently the first expression of "nationalism" took the form of a religious question. The first and only system of instruction opened in the Philippines was religious, and the religious vocation was the first opportunity open to the Filipinos for personal advancement. By the eighteenth century, several Filipinos, mostly *peninsulars* or coming from the middleclass had been ordained for the priesthood. Supported by the Filipino middleclass, the native clergy began to question the structure of the colonial society, of which the status of the Filipino priest was only a reflection. Although these priests did not demand disengagement from the total body of the Catholic hierarchy in Rome, they initiated some sort of protestations within the Catholic fold in the Philippines. *El Catolico Filipino* became the vehicle for this dissent. The writings of Father Pelaez and Jose Burgos established a close intimacy between letters and society; Father Modesto Castro was also to describe the education of the native "ladies and gentlemen" in his *Urbana at Felisa*, showing in the process how Tagalog, predominantly used previously as a medium for verse could be suited to the prose description of simple details, individual behavior. Alienated from the masses by their very status in society, the discontent of the new ilustrados lacked mass support. Because of this, they were prevented from actually engaging in open political struggle. Literature became the instrument for their "politics."

What may be gleaned from Burgos' *La Loba Negra*, for instance, is the presentation of a political possibility for the ilustrado class. Governor Bustamante was not a native, but represented the type of liberal administrator, occasionally sent by Spain to the colony. This liberalism of Governor Bustamante has often been mistaken as essentially deriving from his tolerant attitude towards the Filipinos. This is I think to identify liberalism with the more popular notion of *liberality*, meaning to say, a generous attitude towards divergences, either in terms of point of view or of values. The fact is that Governor Bustamante is liberal in one of the essential meanings of liberalism, i.e., a believer in the secular state, in the principle of the separation of powers in government, and of church and state, and in the efficacy of laws as reflective of human reason. Although a member of the religious

order, Burgos thought that the nature of the church was and ought to be separate from the body politic. In the fate of Governor Bustamante, he saw the error of what could take place if the friars were to continue to hold so much power.

But the second part of *La Loba Negra* deals with the series of killings perpetuated by Governor Bustamante's wife. The monastic supremacy in the Philippines was not impregnable because other Filipinos, forced to become outlaws, were equally desirous of change. Doña Luisa de Bustamante joined a band of outlaws, and, in a series of murders that brings the quality of the novel to the gothic, succeeded in the assassination of her husband. She was killed. Her daughter, married to a Mexican disguised as a jeweler, lived in the city. Her wealth gave her sanctity from persecution.

Burgos' perception in the novel is acute. The bourgeoisie, unaffiliated with religion, could be a power in society. Its economic position makes it an independent entity, representing a powerful interest in politics. This is the meaning of the seemingly unrelated *Epilogue* of the novel where Burgos foresaw a revolution. The role of the bourgeoisie as among the powers in society merely marks a stage in the history of freedom. The harmony resulting from the sharing of powers in society among the traditional sources of authority and the new middleclass would soon be shattered by the emergence of the masses who will gradually take advantage of the developments of science and use technology in their fight for their own interests.

La Loba Negra was based on a historical incident. But it is a realistic novel in more than the historical element. Its realism derives from its factual reconstruction of society and its psychological analysis of motives. More significantly, its principal characters are of the middleclass in dialectical relationship with the established authority of society. Its central theme, too, is inextricably involved with money. Governor Bustamante's strict accounting in the treasury leads to his assassination by the friars.

The position of the middleclass in relation to the colonial authority also forms the central concern of Rizal. At the time of the writing of the *Noli*, the ilustrados had gone beyond the profession of priesthood and had occupied minor bureaucratic positions, like Pardo de Tavera, in the colonial government. Some had been given recognition for intellectual or artistic achievement like Luna, and sent as *pensionados* to Europe. There were also lawyers, like Marcelo H. del Pilar, who were beginning to contest the legitimacy of some colonial ordinances and policies. The ilustrados, therefore, had gained the social status corresponding to their economic position in society. As a matter of fact, the relative affluence of some ilustrado families enabled their sons to enjoy a life of leisure, like Buencamino and Paterno, or to study in Europe, like Rizal. These scions of the ilustrado class began to claim a share in political power in the colonial society. It was from this class that the idea of representation in the Cortes originated. The

illustrados were not really for independence; rather, they regarded themselves part of the entire society under the Spanish monarchy, co-equal with the rest in rights and privileges. This was precisely the sentiment of Crisostomo Ibarra in the *Noli*. He had none of the anti-Spanishism of Elias and the masses. His downfall at the end of the novel represented the crisis in its complicated relationship of the Filipino bourgeoisie with the colonial authority. It showed Ibarra temporarily a victim of the reaction of the traditional sources of authority in the colony, principally, the monastic authority. In the *Fili*, Ibarra, or Simoun, recaptures the old privileged position of the bourgeoisie and defines the nature of the class' capacity to collaborate with the colonial authority. As a source of capital, it can share political power, but it cannot claim this power solely. The liberalism of Simoun is founded on economic individualism: the right of a man to own property and to use this for the social good (the "revolution" he was trying to instigate) and to advance the same right of other individuals.

Rizal understood the economic basis of political attitudes. In the *Fili* Simoun's power is directly related to his wealth symbolized by his jewels. The relationship of Simoun to property tends to diminish in his consciousness the importance of such ideas as family ties, and even nationalism. In the novel, he is not associated with family, which accounts for the air of "mystery" about his person, whereas the subject of nationalism was discussed by him only in Chapter VII in his encounter with Basilio. But at the end of the chapter, we become aware that he had all along been perpetuating an intrigue. His motives were revenge on his accusers in the *Noli* and against his having been dispossessed of property. In the *Fili*, particularly in this chapter, he had used nationalism to involve the students in his scheme.

To comprehend how central is the idea of property in the novel, one has merely to refer to a chapter seemingly unrelated to the plot, the chapter on Cablesang Tales. The surprising element in the story of Tales is in the manner with which Rizal dismisses the idea of legal contract in reference to property. To him, the title to the land in the possession of the friars does not legitimately settle the question of ownership. Rizal awards the right to Tales because he had made the land productive and in the context of the novel, the capacity of the individual to render property socially useful determines his "right" to own it. This idea is nearly a summary of the petition of the Laguna tenants led by the Rizal family, presented to the colonial government concerning their "right" to the land they had been cultivating.

This position of the Filipino ilustrado in relation to the idea of a larger society — the nation — was not without its hints of uneasiness. Rizal himself created Elias as a counterpart to the ilustrado Crisostomo Ibarra and in Kalaw's *The Filipino Rebel*, the middleclass Martin betrays the national interest, but towards the end, the novel promises a resurgence of the social struggle. We are made aware that Martin's bastard will protest against

the corruption his father had helped create in society. But it remains a vague suggestion.

The fact is that Kalaw, like Burgos and Rizal, belonged to the ilustrados. The perspective of human individuals and society he offers derives from his position in the socio-political structure. He belonged to one of the wealthy families in Lipa, and during the pre-Commonwealth era occupied a position of authority in the new institutions established by the colonial regime. An opposite perspective, during the early days of the American occupation, was provided by Lope K. Santos' *Banaag at Sikat*, namely, the view of society from the angle of laborers. Santos started as a laborer in a printery; at the turn of the century, and during the commonwealth, he was catapulted to position of power in the government. *Banaag at Sikat* testifies to his early experience. The socialism in the novel, however, is fake because it is not integrated to the framework of the narrative. Ultimately, the book reduces itself into a crude morality play, sustained by the opposition between wealth and labor.

The Filipino novel, however, was to continue its chronicle of the Filipino middleclass. In Laya's *His Native Soil* we see Martin Romero as a product of the colonial dispensation. His advancement had been made possible by a government *pension* to study in the United States where he assimilated the ethics of capitalism. Upon his return, he tries to work this out in the feudal society in his province. The family business he established becomes in his mind an early stage of a corporation. In his efforts to succeed in the business, he tries to reform the attitudes of his relatives and the community. To him everything relates to the idea of gain or profit, and towards this end, he denigrates the clannishness, the sentimentalism, and the nepotistic tendencies of his relatives. *His Native Soil* is a minor compared to *La Loba Negra* as the *Noli* and the *Fili*, but Laya adds a dimension of perception to his novel not available in Burgos to Rizal, namely, the requirement of economic liberalism for controlling the instinctive or "humane" values. Not only does Martin Romero inhibit familiar emotions; he also repulses the more anarchistic sexual instincts.

The realism of the Filipino novel, therefore, derived from its convention of documenting the struggle of the middleclass for social status or political authority. This struggle took two directions: 1) against colonial control of the polity and the economy, and, 2) against the condition of the native society and its traditions which resisted the modern economic scheme of the middleclass. Thus the Filipino bourgeois novel reflected the sense of "modernity" of the middleclass culture. After the Second World War, we witnessed a decline in the Filipino novel of the energy of protest. The change of political power, from colonial authority to the native middleclass, fulfilled the "nationalist" aspirations of the middleclass during their struggle against colonialism. To the extent that, in 1957, an American critic surveying Phil-

ippine literature, was to remark that Philippine literature was characterized by its failure to come to grips with reality. The fact was that the middleclass had realized its aspirations. They were in control of politics, of the bureaucracies, of the educational system, and, in the economic field, they were in co-equal terms with the previous colonialists. The social world, for the bourgeois Filipino novelist, ceased to be an interesting context for investigation; nor would he expose his self-created anomalies.

The withdrawal of the novelist from the social world led him to explore (and indulge) his own psyche (Edilberto Tiempo's *Watch In The Night*; Nick Joaquin's *The Woman Who Had Two Navels, May Day Eve, Guardia de Honor*). This shift in attention led to the abandonment of realism, but did not present new viewpoints in the treatment of society.

MAHARADIA LAWANA

JUAN R. FRANCISCO

OUTLINE

- I. Introduction
- II. The Setting
- III. Contact History
- IV. *Maharadia Lawana* in the Context of Asia
 - Introductory
 - The Major Characters and Relationships with each other
 - The Place Names
 - Important Episodes
 - The Winning of Sita
 - The Abduction of Sita
 - The Search for Sita
 - The Return of Sita
 - Ravana
 - Interpolations and Accretions
 - The Probable Date of *Maharadia Lawana*

ABBREVIATIONS

BIBLIOGRAPHY

APPENDIX—TEXT AND TRANSLATION

I. INTRODUCTION

There is a huge body of Philippine ethnic and folk literature that has been collected through the years.¹ These are either in the original languages or in English renderings, but seldom in the text and translation.² The latter

¹ For a comprehensive listing of works including collection done on Philippine folk-literature, see E. Arsenio Manuel, *Philippine Folklore Bibliography* (A Preliminary Survey). Quezon City: Philippine Folklore Society, 1965; Shiro Saito, *Preliminary Bibliography of Philippine Ethnography*. Quezon City: Institute of Philippine Culture, The Rizal Library, Ateneo de Manila, 1968; Leopoldo Y. Yabes, *A Brief Survey of Iloko Literature*. Manila: The Author, 1936 (with J. R. Calip).

² E. Arsenio Manuel, *The Maiden of the Bukong Sky* (A complete song from the Bogobo folk epic Tuwaang). Rev. Ed. Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1958 [Text and Transl.]; "Upland Bagobo Natives," *Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review*, vol. 26, no. 4 (October 1961), pp. 429-552 [English Transl.]; Robert Day McAmis, *An Introduction to the Folk Tales of the Maranao Muslims in the Southern Philippines*. Transcript Series No. 9, PSP, Dept. of Anthro., University of Chicago, July 1966. Abdullah T. Madale, *A Preliminary Study of Maranao Folk-literature*. Institute of Research for Filipino Culture, Mindanao State University, 1966.

type of publication is relatively very scarce owing perhaps to the dearth of scholars, either native speakers of the original languages in which the literature is known or people who would devote their time to this type of scholarship alone. And, this is, indeed, the most urgent type of work that need be done now owing to the increasing demand for materials to be used in the study of Philippine literature, particularly folk literature, in the various institutions of learning in the country. The present paper is one contribution to this demand, which it is hoped should create greater impetus in studies such as this.

Maharadia Lawana is a prose tale in Maranaw, the text of which, already in *madrassa*,³ came to my attention during the initial field work I conducted in the Lanao area relative to my research project "An Investigation of Probable Sanskrit Elements in Maranaw Language and Literature." This was in the summer months of 1968 (Philippine Summer—March, April and May). The text was shown to me by Dr. Mamitua Saber, Director of the University Research Center, Mindanao State University at Marawi City, during one of our discussions on the various aspects of Maranaw language and literature. It is entitled "Maharadia Lawana: A Lanao Prose Version of the Ramayana, A Celebrated Hindu Poem," and on the last leaf of the text, after the word *Tamat* (finis), is an "inscription"—"As recorded by MS [Mamitua Saber] and Severino Velasco;⁴ related by Bai Pamoki".⁵

By the time Dr. Saber showed me this text, my knowledge of Maranaw had somewhat improved after a few weeks of intensive lessons. On going over the text, I recognized immediately that, even without the title, the tale is, indeed, derived from, or more appropriately tells of, similar episodes in the abduction and recovery of Sita as told in the Rama epic, and not exactly a "version of the Ramayana, . . ." To effect its immediate translation, I asked my Maranaw language teacher, if I could use the text for my lesson in translation. My teacher⁶ gave assent to this proposal, and with the aid of available Maranaw-English dictionary I spent some three to four hours in the evenings translating the text, after the informant work on the subject of my field research. The mornings following were devoted to checking on my translation by my *guru* and working on the syntax and other aspects of the language necessary for the work on the literature. The translation was finished towards the end of the field work, fully checked.

³ The term *Madrassa* has a two-fold meaning in Maranaw, (1) a school where Arabic learning and Islamic religion are taught, (2) the Roman script rendering of the Maranaw Arabic script. The term as used in the present essay has the second meaning.

⁴ Mr. Severino Velasco, at the time the text was acquired, was one of the senior members of the National Library, where as a young man met Dr. Mamitua Saber, then a youth just arrived from Marawi City (then Dansalan) as his assistant.

⁵ Bai Pamoki was an informant from Taraka, Lanao del Sur.

⁶ Mr. Nagasura T. Madale, a public school teacher, who later on was engaged to be my research assistant in the research project mentioned above.

Upon my return to the field in September 1968 to continue the work, the translations were again reworked with my teacher. It was further edited and rechecked by my teacher, who had already joined me in Diliman (June 1969) as research assistant for the project mentioned above.

The tale is known throughout the lake area. This may be due to the fact that in the *darangen*⁷ a similar episode telling of the abduction and subsequent recovery of Princess Lawanen is the most frequently told portion of the epic. And, since the *darangen* version is chanted and only during special occasions, the prose version in the language of the masses is easily understood in contrast to the language of the *darangen*, which is relatively archæic or classical. It is most popular among gatherings of less serious nature.

The phonemic rendering of Maranaw as seen in the text is based on the common system, without distinction between the vocalic sounds *u* and *o*, and the pepet vowel rendered *e*; *i* is rendered as *i*. Consonantal sounds are rendered like roman consonants.⁸ For the purposes of this essay, and all other essays relative to Maranaw language and literature that shall be written by me, I use a system which I devised considering the many systems used by different workers in the same area.⁹

The phonemic system used in the text is based on a reading made by the research assistant, who is himself a native Maranaw speaker. The sounds elicited through this reading would be the following—a, i, u, o, e, k, g, ng, b, t, n, l, m, r, d, h, s, z, p. The *e* represents the pepet vowel, a representation which would reduce printing difficulties. The velar (glottal) stop in the initial position is not indicated; but in the *ultima* position, it is indicated by the sign '. The same sign (') is used to indicate the two vowel sounds in contiguous positions, e.g., *gawi'i* (night), *dii* (present progressive marker—*dii gitagita*, "is playing"), etc. The diphthongs are represented by the compound *ai*, *ao*, *ui*, *ei*, with *i* and *o* representing the semi-vowels *u* and *w*. The other semi-vowel, *y*, is represented by *i*, when it precedes or follows a vowel. The exact or perhaps more exact phonemization of Maranaw as represented in the text could have been approximated if the text was written in the *kirim*¹⁰ when I acquired it.

⁷ The *darangen* is a long, almost genealogical account of the mythological history of the Maranaw. Because of its epic proportions, it has been considered in the light of literary traits as an epic, comparable only to the Greek Homeric poems, and the Indian *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*. See Mamitua Saber, "Darangen: the Epic of the Maranaw," *Journal of History*, vol. 10, no. 3 (September 1962), pp. 322-329.

⁸ Cf. Howard P. McKaughan and Batua A. Macaraya, *A Maranao Dictionary* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1967), Introduction, pp. viii-ix.

⁹ See Charles Winslow Elliot, *A Vocabulary and Phrase Book of the Lanao Moro Dialect* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1913); David L. Hamm, et al., *The Dansalan Junior College Maranao-English Dictionary* (Dansalan City, Philippines: Madrasa Press, 1952); Melvin Mednick, *Encampment of the Lake, The Social Organization of a Moslem-Philippine (Moro) People*, Research Series No. 5, PSP, Dept. of Anthropology, University of Chicago, 1965.

¹⁰ The term means in Maranaw, the Arabic script modified to suit the Maranaw phonological system.

Further printing difficulties are here reduced as diacritical marks and long and short signs in the transliterated Sanskrit names and terms in the discussions have been omitted. These names and terms are negligible in number, hence no attempt was made at transliterating these according to the standard transliterations of *devanagari*.

For convenience in the cross-references between text and translation, all paragraphs in the text are numbered, which numbers are retained with the corresponding paragraph in the translation. As a research device, these numbers are indicated in brackets. Moreover, words and phrases or clauses indicated within brackets in the translation are inserted to complete ideas and/or concepts evident in the text but which are missing without these accretions. Hence, the liberal use of this device. Parenthesis are liberally used in the translation for emphasis and to avoid confusion in cross-references.

The translation was done on the line by line method to insure retention of the ideas as they are expressed in another medium. In many cases where the ideas or concepts in Maranaw could not be literally translated into English, the device of annotation is liberally utilized. While the device may be cumbersome it is very helpful in the basic understanding of the nuances of the Maranaw language as well as the Maranaw mind.

The writing of the present essay was made possible through the help of many friends, scholars and institutions interested in the study of Philippine *folk* as well as *kunst* literatures. I owe them a debt of gratitude for the priceless help—to Dr. Mamitua Saber, Director of the University Research Center and now Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, Mindanao State University, for allowing me to work on the tale, the use of his own Maranaw materials relevant to it, and for contacting informants; to Bapa Hadji Kali Lawa, Research Assistant of the Research Center for the reading of the text in my attempt to check on the phonemics of the language as used in the text; to Dr. Antonio Isidro, President of the Mindanao State University for allowing me to remain in one of the dormitories during the initial period of my field work owing to the immediate facilities of the University library; to Pagari Nagasura T. Madale, my language teacher, for his patient understanding of my situation as a pupil learning Maranaw for the first time.

To the University of the Philippines' Office of Academic Services Ford Foundation Fund Committee, for the grant-in-aid to the research project "An Investigation on the Probable Sanskrit Elements of Maranaw Language and Literature", thereby allowing me to conduct the field work during which the folk tale was discovered; and to the Asian Center (then, Institute of Asian Studies) for releasing me from my teaching duties during the period of field work. There are many others who in one way or another had contributed to the completion of this essay. To them my grateful thanks.

II. THE SETTING

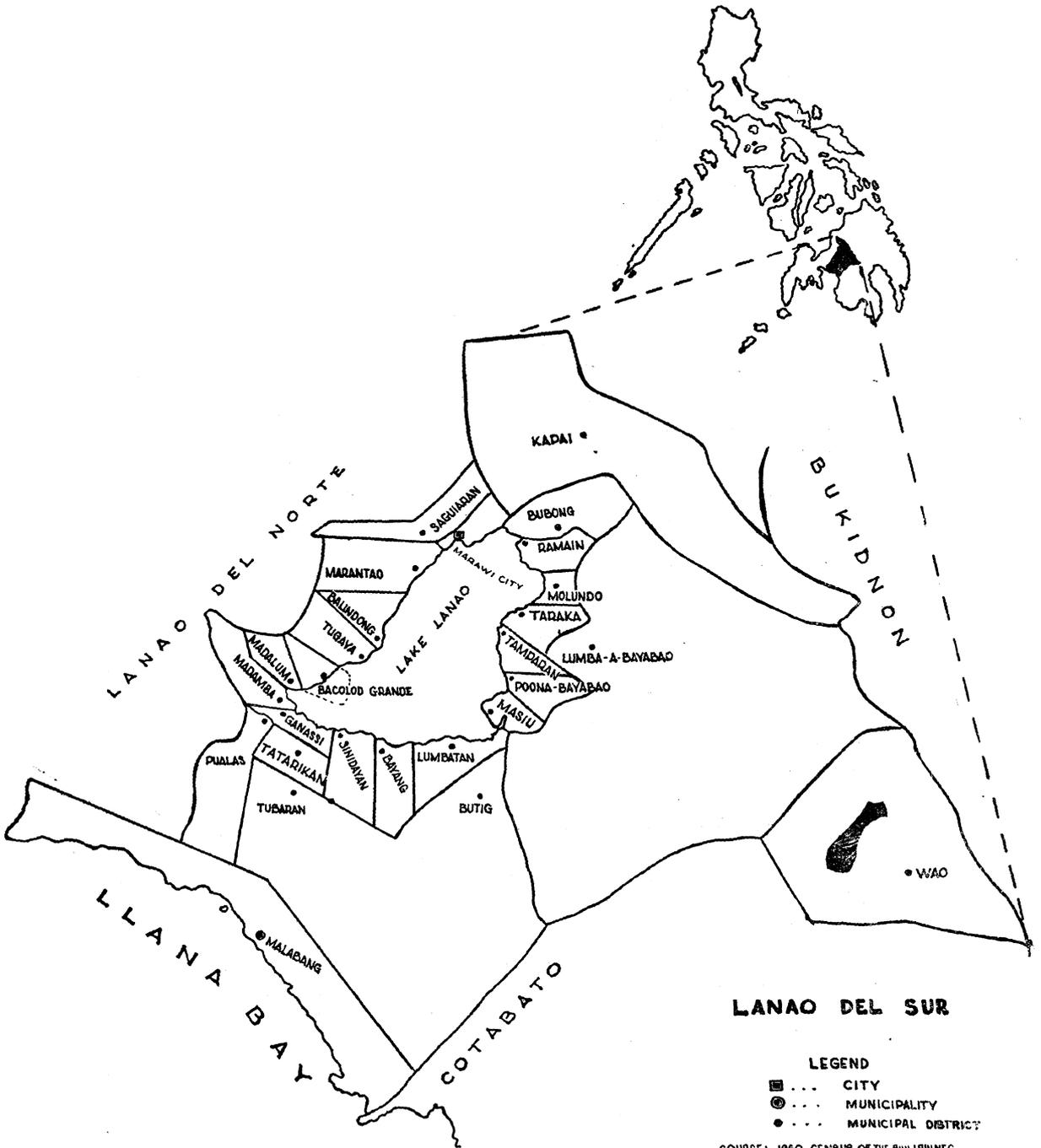
Lanao del Sur, the land where the folktale was nourished, may be best described as a part of volcanic highlands of Mindanao.¹¹ It forms the western portion of these highlands, the eastern being the Bukidnon province. The most important feature of this highland is Lake Lanao, the largest freshwater lake on Mindanao and second only to Laguna lake in Luzon. It is roughly triangular in shape with a 28.8-kilometer long base. Its surface is 780 meters above sea level, and surrounded on the east, south and west by a series of peaks reaching up to 2,300 meters. On such an elevation the lake provides a scenic grandeur and pleasant temperature compared to the rather hot temperatures in greater areas of the country. On the northern tip of the lake lies Marawi City, the premier urban center of the province, which is bisected by the Agus River, the only outlet of the lake to the sea to the north, and feeds the Maria Cristina Falls—now the major source of hydroelectric power throughout the two Lanao provinces—Sur and Norte.

Since the stage of the research field work has been concentrated on the northern and eastern sides of the lake, I had not therefore visited the other parts of the area. Hence, I am citing rather extensively the description by Melvin Mednick who spent about three years of field work in the area. It is quite precise a description that no paraphrasing is necessary for clarity.

... North and northwest of the lake are to be found some fairly level stretches of land and same is true, to an extent, directly west of the lake. South and southwest ... the areas tend to be forest covered and sharply broken ...

The areas around the edge of the lake itself, particularly those just south and to the east of it, mark the beginnings of the Lanao-Bukidnon plateau, a region of some 4,500 square miles of undulating hill and flat lands which are interrupted at the Lanao-Bukidnon border by a broken range of forested hills of varying degrees of steepness. The areas adjacent to the lake on its northeastern corner and on the eastern side are marshy but after a short distance these marshes give way to a relatively flat lowland type of terrain suited for wet-rice agriculture. About 90 square kilometers of this kind of land are to be found northeast of the lake before the hills are encountered. Due east of the lake this lowland widens out to cover about 165 square kilometers before being interrupted by the forested hills which lie between Lanao and Bukidnon. These hills form a rough half-circle around this eastern lowland, rising almost within sight of the lake on the northern and southern extremes, while they are perhaps 15 kilometers inland directly east of the lake. Another lowland area is to be found south of the lake toward its eastern side. This area centers on the smaller Lake Butig, and there are other small lowland areas scattered in valleys to the south and west of Lake Lanao. However, the lowland area *par excellence* is immediately to the east of the lake, particularly in the municipal districts of Disu'un, Taraka, Tamparan, Gata (Po'on a Bayabao) and Maging (Lumba a Bayabao). This area as a whole is known

¹¹ Frederick L. Wernstedt and J. E. Spencer, *The Philippine Island World* [A Physical, Cultural and Regional Geography. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967)], pp. 557-569. See also Robert E. Huke, *Shadows on the Land* (An Economic Geography of the Philippines), Manila: Bookmark, Inc., 1963.



LANAO DEL SUR

- LEGEND
- ... CITY
 - ⊙ ... MUNICIPALITY
 - ... MUNICIPAL DISTRICT

SOURCE: 1960 CENSUS OF THE PHILIPPINES

as the *basak*, the Maranaw word for a lowland area given over to wet-rice cultivation.

The northwestern, western, and southwestern areas adjacent to the lake contrast sharply with those areas just mentioned. Here, there are narrow beaches which quickly slope up to become hills, and then on the south to the mountains. This area, particularly that on the western side of the lake (municipal districts of Marantao, Watu (Balindong), Tugaya, Bacolade) are known as the *kalopa'an* a term for land that is either idle or suitable only for dry crops.

The Lanao-Bukidnon plateau as well as the region between the lake and the ocean is of volcanic origin and is tectonically unstable. There is at least one presently dormant volcano and a history of earthquakes, the last major one occurring in 1954. The hilly and mountainous areas show numerous evidences of volcanic activity, but in the lowland (*basak*) area the signs are few, though the soil is specially fertile because of its volcanic origin.

Lanao is below the typhoon belt of the Philippines and is in that portion of Mindanao which knows no marked wet or dry seasons. The annual rainfall is around 110 inches. In the lowland region, rainfall tends to be more pronounced and continuous from late August or September through December. This is the main growing period for wet rice, with the harvest starting in December. In January and February there are short dry spells, while in March, April, and May there occur dry spells which may last several weeks at a time. It is in this period that fields are prepared for planting which begins in late May, when the rainfall tempo begins to pick up.

Rainfall on upland and hilly regions on the western side of the lake is affected by the terrain and tends to follow somewhat different patterns. In the area between the coast and the lake there are periods of drought lasting a month or more.

Because of the elevation, the climate in the Lake Lanao area tends to be cool with daytime temperatures ranging from the low 70's to low 80's and with a drop of 10-15 degrees at night.¹²

According to the Census of 1960, Lanao del Sur has a total population of 378,327; 355,727 of whom are Muslims or claim Islam as their religion. The remaining number would be divided among other religious groups; i.e., Christians (Roman Catholic—19,934; Protestant—923; Aglipayan—591 and Iglesia ni Kristo—399), Buddhist—40 and others—713.

With the exception of the municipal districts of Saguieran, Kapai, Lumba a Bayabao, Wao, Pualas, Tatarikan, Tubaran and Butig, all the other districts are oriented to the lake. Only the Malabang municipal district is directly oriented to sea on the Illana Bay, and its advantage over the other districts either oriented to the lake or not lies in its greater latitude for sea commerce and traffic with centers like Davao, Zamboanga and even trans-ocean commercial connections with Sabah, Celebes, etc. Malabang, however, is connected with the central provincial government in Marawi City by the National Highway 42 miles long, and with the industrial city of Iligan in the northern shores of Mindanao by another 22 miles from the provincial capital.

Apart from the lake being the traditional means of communication between and among districts, its economic importance needing no further

¹² Mednick, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-26.

elaboration, the national government, in cooperation with the provincial and municipal governments, had constructed roads connecting these, thereby enhancing faster and more efficient communication. The lake, furthermore, provides the major source of protein in the diet of the Maranaw and other inhabitants of the area. It occupies also very great importance among the Muslims for it provides immediate source of water, a commodity most important to Islamic religion. The lake waters, too, apart from its traditional importance, is now the major source of power that is generated by the hydroelectric plants in the Maria Cristina Falls and fed back to Lanao del Sur.

The wet and dry agricultural economy is supplemented by fishing, and further augmented by the very extensive home industries such as weaving and brass making. The logging and sawmill operations in the eastern side of the lake have also increased the economic potentials of the area.

III. CONTACT HISTORY

The contact history of Lanao, particularly the lake area, may be viewed in the broader perspective of Philippine (contact) history. For hundreds of years before the coming of Islam into the lake area, there had been already an earlier contact, though indirectly with the great Asian traditions, Indian and Chinese. It is known that Chinese wares, particularly Sung and Ming,¹³ had been seen to form part of family heirlooms (pusaka) of the Maranaw. These constitute what perhaps would be the earliest evidence of Maranaw contact with one of the great traditions—Chinese. It is interesting to note, however, that these may be indirect contact evidence, because of the relative isolation of the area from direct contacts with movements of culture coming from overseas.¹⁴

Perhaps, contemporaneous with the influx of Chinese elements found in the cultural complex of the Maranaw, albeit, indirect, is the coming of Indian elements which are discernible only in the not-so-tangible aspects, e.g., language and literature, which further on would be dealt with in greater detail, particularly the latter aspect. The language aspect of this influx is purely borrowings of the vocabulary rather than syntactical, which, more or less, is the nature of the borrowings from Indian languages by the languages of South East Asia. These words had to adopt themselves to the phonetic systems of the borrowing languages, a normal process occurring in such a linguistic phenomenon. These borrowings are made through the intervention of the contiguous languages—Malay and Javanese, languages which belong to the same family of languages, known as Austronesian, to which Maranaw also belongs.

¹³ The National Museum and the Mindanao State University Museum are in possession of many Chinese porcelain wares ranging from Tang through Ming dynasties.

¹⁴ Cf. Mednick, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-35.

"Contacts with the Moslem world has been . . . , via the Magindanao," and the "influence has been in direct proportion to distance so that those Maranao communities closest to Magindanaw, i.e., those around the south and southwest portions of the lake, show greater Magindanao influence in language, custom, and in some aspects of society than those due east, west, or north of the Lake."¹⁵

Relative to the extent of Maranaw contacts beyond the shores of Mindanao, particularly in regard to the other South East Asian regions, it may be seen in the extent of their knowledge of Malay in relation with their Muslim co-religionists. The Magindanao, a number of them, claim knowledge of Malay, in contrast to the Maranaw's very little, if at all, knowledge of Malay.¹⁶ The Maranaw's knowledge and practice of Islam may also indicate their relative isolation and the indirectness of the influx of the religion into their culture complex.

. . . . The number of persons having a direct knowledge of Islam in the sense of being able to read directly from the Koran appeared to be fewer even in such Maranao centers as Marawi City than in comparable Magindanao centers such as Cotabato City, or Tao-sug centers such as Jolo. The large majority of Maranao, and this includes the most devout, at the least must follow a phonetic transcription. They have, of course, no understanding of what they recite.¹⁷

At present, the Islamic overlay on Maranaw culture is intensified by the coming of missionaries in large numbers very recently, and the annual pilgrimages of Maranaw of all ages and sexes to Mecca. These pilgrims bring back with them into Maranaw society the ideals of Arab Islamic society, which in many ways are instruments in the continuous process of islamization of everything Maranaw.

In spite of the process of islamization which more or less seems to give meaning to the entire Maranaw society,

. . . various pagan beliefs, particularly in regard to river spirits and the propitiation of the dead remain prominent in the Maranao system of religious belief. In some cases, these exist separately from Islam and are acknowledged by many to be non-Islamic. In this category falls the practice of the *kalilang*, a feast which involves the calling of water spirits, *tonong*, to protect the new born or to bring health to the ill. Other customs of obvious pagan origin, . . . include placing spirit houses in the eaves of dwellings and in the fields, notions of a companion spirit (*inikadoa*) house in the body of a yellow-legged chicken. Some beliefs of pagan origin have been integrated into Islamic practice and are considered to be sanctioned by, if not a part of, Islam. These particularly relate to treatment of the dead and include such customs as setting aside food for the spirit of the newly deceased, periodic celebrations over a period of 104 days when the spirit of the dead is still earthbound, and periodic revisits by the dead at times of *araoak*. . . .¹⁸

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

¹⁶ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

The above brief discourse on the encounter between the indigenous culture and an intrusive one, Islam, shows certain of the accommodations made by both to make the society viable in not only the religious, but also all other aspects of Maranaw culture.¹⁹

This society, perhaps now invigorated by the infusion of Islam through the centuries, would have its painful encounter with Christian Spanish and American cultures. Violent as the encounters were, the Maranaw society had demonstrated to their fellow Filipinos of those times its stability as well as its vigor in standing against attempts to reduce it as one of the societies under the hegemony of colonial administrators. They were partly subdued, but still retained their identity apart from the lowland christianized and the mountain pagan peoples. This persisted even into the independence and republican periods of Philippine history, for which the government in its attempt to integrate these Muslim Filipinos into the greater Philippine society had given very wide latitude for education and development.²⁰

The present Maranaw society is, indeed, a composite of all cultures that influenced its development—both peaceful and violent according to the nature of the influx of these cultural elements. To this process, the society has been enriched, invigorated to persist through the centuries to come.

IV. MAHARADIA LAWANA IN THE CONTEXT OF ASIA

In discussing the relations of *Maharadia Lawana* with the Malay, Javanese, Thai and Bornean literatures, the format that shall be used follows that which I used in a paper I presented to the All-India Oriental Conference, XXIst Session, Srinagar, Kashmir, October 12-14, 1961, entitled "The Rama Story in the Post-Muslim Malay Literature of South-East Asia."²¹ But certain modifications are made on this format to fit into the nature of the subject under study.

Introductory. The influence of the Rama story in the literature of Malaya, Indonesia, Borneo and other countries in Southeast Asia is no longer a

¹⁹ See and Cf. Cesar Abid Majul, "Theories on the Introduction and Expansion of Islam in Malaysia," in *Proceedings, Second Biennial Conference, International Association of Historians of Asia*, Taipei, Taiwan, October 6-9, 1962, pp. 339-398. See also Najeeb M. Saleeby, *Origin of the Malayan Filipinos*. Manila: Philippine Academy, 1912, *History of Sulu*. Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, Inc., 1963 (Reprinted from the 1908 edition published by the Bureau of Science, Division of Ethnology Publications, vol. IV, part II, Manila, Bureau of Printing).

²⁰ The National Integration Law, R.A. 1889, created the Commission of National Integration, to facilitate the integration of all national minorities, including the Muslims, into the national community. The Mindanao State University was also chartered by the Government to participate in this national effort at bringing together all peoples of the country, particularly in the Mindanao and Sulu as well as the Palawan areas in preparation for the greater national integration.

²¹ Originally published in the *Sarawak Museum Journal*, vol. x (19-20, n.s.), July-December, 1962, pp. 468-485.

Post Muslim as used in the essay would be the period after the islamization of Malaya—a conservative 250 more or less years after the conversions in circa late 14th century A.D.

debatable problem. As such it ranks high among all other stories of definitely Indian provenance. It is the source of much aesthetic inspiration, apart from the inspiration it has created in literature. Its influence upon the art²² of the region is too famous to need any reference here just as its pervasive spirit has permeated human imagination—"crude" or refined—among the varied peoples of Southeast Asia.

In *literature*, particularly, the Rama story has been source of almost every known composition.²³ In Malay literature, it is the main story-theme of the famous *Hikayat Seri Rama*²⁴ (HSR) and the *Hikayat Maharaja Ravana* (HMR).²⁵ It is the source, too, of another story styled as a Fairy Tale. In Maranaw (Philippine) literature, the Rama story, an episode of which forms a major theme of the epic cycles,* and a popular prose story. The latter is the subject of the present essay.

The Fairy Tale was originally published *in extenso* in both the English summary and Malay-Arabic text in the JRAS-SB,^{25a} and believed to be founded on the *Ram*.²⁶ In 1910, another tale was published in the same journal,²⁷ entitled *Hikayat Seri Rama* with a preface by Sir William E. Maxwell. This paper now contains the romanized text of the same tale by Sir R. O. Winstedt. An examination of the two reveals that the former version seems to be an English summary of the Malay romanized text.

While Sir William incorporated in his English summary a number of footnotes explaining a number of points that are significant in the comparison with the HSR and the *Ram.*, they are, on closer examination, inadequate. It is the purpose of this essay to supplement the notes of Sir William, since, moreover, his work was written more than half a century ago, and the work is no longer readily available. At the same time, it is also the purpose of

²² For the Rama story on stone, see W. F. Stutterheim, *Rama Legendes und Rama Reliefs en Indonesien*, Munchen, 1925; *Le Temple d'Angkor Vat*, 2 vols. (Mémoires Archéologiques de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient, t. ii, 1929). See also H. B. Sarkar, below.

²³ See H. B. Sarkar, *Indian Influences in the Literature of Java and Bali* (Calcutta, 1934), for the various literary compositions that were inspired by the Rama story; P. Schweisguth, *Etude sur la Littérature Siamoise* (Paris, 1959), for the Siamese version of the Rama epic. Cf. Suzanne Karpeles, "Une Episode du Ramayana Siamoise," *Etudes Asiatiques*, I, pp. 315 ff.

Also Edouard Huber, "Legende du Rama en Annam," BEFEO, V, 5, pp. 168 ff; Francois Martin, "En Marge du Ramayana Cambodgien," *Journal Asiatique*, 1950, pp. 51 ff.; Louis Finot, "Researches sur la littérature Laotienne," BEFEO, XVIII, 5, pp. 1-128.

²⁴ Arabic, *hikayat*, "story, romance, autobiography." It is more likely that the meaning of the word as used in the title is "romance". In Indonesian literature, *hikayat* comprises different kinds of prose, but the greater part of it consists of tedious and fantastic, romantic stories dealing with the endless adventures of kings and princes, and numberless wars." See T. P. C. Sutopo, "An Introduction to Indonesian Literature," *Indonesian Review*, II, 1 (January-March, 1954), pp. 50 ff.

²⁵ H. Overbeck, in JRAS-MB, XI, 2, pp. 111 ff.

* See footnote no. 7 above.

^{25a} W. E. Maxwell, "Sri Rama, A Fairy Tale told by a Malay Rhapsodist," JRAS-SB, XVII, May 1886.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ JRAS-SB, LV, June 1910.

the present essay to present the *Rama* story in a broader perspective in the light of its “diffusion” in other parts of Southeast Asian locus; in this instance in the Philippines—the *Maharadia Lawana* in Maranaw.

It is apparent that the *Maharadia Lawana* has not been studied in relation with other *Rama* story versions in Southeast Asia. This essay would attempt to investigate the following points: (1) the major characters and their relationships with each other; (2) the names of the important places and episodes connected with these places; (3) interpolations and accretions. The *Rama* story versions in Southeast Asia that shall be referred to in the process of comparison are the *Hikayat Seri Rama* (HSR),²⁸ the *Hikayat Maharaja Ravana* (HMR) the Fairy Tale (Maxwell version). To bring the story in further and broader view, the Sanskrit *Ramayana* (*Ram.*)²⁹ shall be cited here extensively for the purpose of showing the most important changes of the original story as it finds itself in an entirely different eco-social and cultural contexts.

The Major Characters and Their Relationships with each other. The following table gives a graphic representation of the characters in the *Maharadia Lawana* in comparison with those in *The Fairy Tale*, the HSR [HMR] and the *Ram.*:

<i>Mah. Law.</i>	<i>Fairy Tale</i>	<i>HSR/HMR</i>	<i>Ram.</i>
Radia Mangandiri	Sri Rama	Seri Rama/Rama	Rama
Tuwan Potre	Sakutum Bunga	Sita Dewi/Sita	Sita
Malano Tihaiia	Satangkei		
[Laksamana, son of R.M. by Potre Langawi]	Kra Kechil Imam Tergangga	Tabalawi/Janggapulawa	Kusa-Lava
Radia Mangawarna	Raja Laksamana	Laksamana/Laksamana	Laksmana
Laksamana	Shah Numan	Hanuman/Hanuman	Hanuman
Maharadia Lawana	Maharaja Duwana	Ravana/Ravana	Ravana

The birth of Radia Mangandiri, and for that matter, of his brother Radia Mangawarna, is not described. The story merely relates that Radia Mangandiri and Radia Mangawarna are the sons of the Sultan and Sultanness of Agama Niog. Therefore, there seems to be no way of knowing the facts of the birth of these two sons, unlike that in the HSR, HMR and the *Ram*. Similarly, there is no mention of the fact of the birth of Sri Rama in the Fairy Tale, as well as the circumstances of the heroine’s birth. No inference from

²⁸ *Hikayat Seri Rama* (Text), in JRAS-SB, LXXI, 1917. With introduction to this text which is a ms. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, by W. G. Shellabear, in JRAS-SB, LXX, 1917.

²⁹ See J. Kats, “The Ramayana in Indonesia,” BSOS, IV, 1926-1928, pp. 279-285, for a comparatively extensive discussion on the various adaptations of the Rama adventures in the literature of Indonesia (Java).

the tale itself can be drawn as to the circumstances of these births. The story commences only with the reference that Sri Rama is married to Princess Sakutum Bunga Satangkei and that he was unhappy about their being childless for years.

The names of Sita and of her sons (Kusa and Lava) in *Maharadia Lawana* show entirely different developments. This is also true in the Fairy Tale. Sita becomes Tuwan Potre Malano Tihai. She is *Sakutum Bunga Satangkei*, "Single Blossom on a Stalk", and Kusa and Lava, *Kra Kechil Imam Tergangga*. In the HSR, she is born as Sita Dewi, of the second Mandu-dari (who was carried away by Ravana) by Dasarata, who by supernatural power goes to Langkapuri and sleeps with her. It would lead to the inference that Rama in this *Ram.* version married his own (half) sister. However, in *Maharadia Lawana*, the identities of Kusa and Lava become rather complicated, for Radia Mangandiri (Rama) and Tuwan Potre Malano Tihai (Sita) in the story do not have as yet an issue. Radia Mangandiri becomes the father of a monkey son, not by Tuwan Potre Malano Tihai; the circumstances of such an issue shall be discussed in the following paragraph.

In the Fairy Tale, *Kra* implies that the son is born as a monkey, a small (kechil) monkey, but a leader (imam terganggu) "among the simians". The monkey birth of the son was caused by the transformation of Sakutum and Sri Rama into monkeys on their excursion for the acquisition of a son. In the HSR, there is no clue to the development of the name of Sri Rama and Sakutum's son. It may be well to assign this question to an independent source which may be indigenous Malay. While Rama's son turns out to be a monkey in the HSR, he is not directly born of Sita Dewi. Instead the embryo was massaged out of Sita Dewi's womb, wrapped and thrown into the sea, where it falls into the mouth of Dewi Anjati, while the latter was performing spiritual austerities. Dewi Anjati becomes the vehicle through whom the son is born (see below).

The birth of a monkey son (in *Maharadia Lawana*) of Radia Mangandiri, but not the counterpart of Lava and Kusa in the *Ram.*, shows a similarity with that in the HSR. He is born of Potre Langawi, who swallows the testicles of Radia Mangandiri, which was gored out (of his scrotum) by a wild carabao (*Bos sondaicus*) in his dream. Potre Langawi thought it to be precious stone. In the *Ram.*, these events are entirely absent. Thus, it may be safely said that these developments owe their introduction into *Maharadia Lawana*, the Fairy Tale, and even in the HSR to indigenous literary traditions. Even in the popular versions of the *Ram.* in India, no evidence of this episode is seen.

The birth of a monkey son in *Maharadia Lawana* is relatively complicated because while it is an issue by similar circumstances, the son takes on the role of Hanuman as seen in the *Ram.* He was born of a dream which becomes empirically true, with Potre Langawi as the vehicle of birth. On

the other hand, Hanuman becomes Shah Numan in the Fairy Tale, and he turns out to be a “grandparent” of Kra Kechil Imam Tergangga. *Shah Numan* appears to be a corruption of Sans. *Hanuman*, the name of a general in the Monkey army of Sugriva, who helped Rama recover Sita.³⁰ Moreover, the title *Shah* must have been mistaken by the rhapsodist (from Perak who narrated the tale) to be corrupted in *Hanuman*. Shah Numan is a monarch in the monkey world by the sea. All the adventures of Hanuman in the *Ram.* are now attributed to Kra Kechil Imam Tergangga in the Fairy Tale. In the HSR, Hanuman³¹ is born as the son of Sita Dewi and Seri Rama. His birth came about after the couple had plunged into a pond which as an embryo after having been massaged out of Sita Dewi was then deposited into the mouth of Dewi Anjati who becomes pregnant with it; she gave birth to a simian-boy who was named Hanuman. In the *Maharadia Lawana*, Hanuman becomes Laksamana, and there seems to be no internal evidence with which to check these developments. Moreover, even in the larger versions of said episode in the *darangen*, the incident is not verifiable.

One of the most interesting developments in the Fairy Tale is Laksamana's (Laksamana in the HSR) relation to Rama. He becomes Rama's elder brother and is given the title *Raja*—Raja Laksamana. In the *Ram.*, Rama is the first born of Dasaratha, and Laksmana, the third, born of a different mother. There is no way to determine whether or not Sri Rama and Raja Laksamana were born of the same mother. The brothers Rama and Laksmana in the *Maharadia Lawana* are known as Radia Mangandiri and Radia Mangawarna, respectively, being the sons of Sultan and Sultaness of Agama Niog. Their relation is that from a double-single consan-

guineal line, $\Delta = \bigcirc$, contrast to the Rama-Laksmana kinship through the single-double line, $\bigcirc = \Delta = \bigcirc$, that is, both were born of one father through two mothers. It is, indeed, interesting to note that certain cultural factors may be operating in the kin structure of the *dramatis personæ* of the story. (See below for more discussion on this aspect).

As noted above, Laksmana, who becomes Radia Mangawarna in the *Maharadia Lawana*, appears to be the younger brother of Rama, the major hero, as he is known in the *Ram.* But their relationship (Radia Mangandiri and Radia Mangawarna) seems to be more egalitarian than that between Rama and Laksmana.

However, in the Fairy Tale, apart from being the elder brother to Rama, Raja Laksamana becomes a diviner, a man well versed in sorcery.

³⁰ W. E. Maxwell, *Loc. cit.*, writes a note to the name, that Hanuman was the “monkey king in the Ramayan.” This is not exactly so.

³¹ In Indian mythology, Hanuman is the son of Pavana, the god of the winds, by Añjana, wife of the monkey named Kesari.

This seems to be an "allusion to the art of divination still practised by Malay sorcerers and devil dancers, the impiety of whose performances, from the Muhammedan point of view, is excused by immemorial usage."³² The ceremonies that he performed in order to divine whether Sri Rama, his younger brother, would be favoured with a child are exactly those of a Malay *pawang*³³ of present day. Raja Laksamana's name and position in the Fairy Tale is in direct disregard to the meaning of the words in the Malay language. *Laksamana*, in Malay, means "admiral", the name with whom historically Han Tuah compared himself in the 15th century Malacca.³⁴

Ravana in the Maranaw story occupies the major position as both villain and hero, but much less so of the latter, for he forcibly abducts without her consent the wife of Radia Mangandiri (Rama in *Ram.*, Sri Rama in the Fairy Tale, Seri Rama in the HSR). It is indeed, interesting to note that the story presents Maharadia Lawana first, and describes him as one with vile tongue, albeit having great compassion for the world, because "the world is chained" to desire (see fn. 1, in Text and Trans.). He is still a young man subject to the commands of his parents—the Sultan and Sultanness of Pulu Bandiarmasir.

In the Fairy Tale, the position of Ravana seems interesting.³⁵ He is Maharaja Duwana of an Island equivalent to Lanka (Kachapuri, see below); he is an island ruler of less violent tendencies. After his abduction of Sakutum, he is discovered to be consanguinally related to the princess—that the princess stood to him in the relation of a daughter to a father. This relationship is not found in the *Ram.* as well as in the HSR. In fact in the HSR, Ravana carries away Rama's mother, Mandudari,³⁶ who is actually the double of his real mother, from whose skin's secretion the former had been created.

The Place Names. Only two important place names shall be discussed in this essay.

³² Maxwell, *loc. cit.*

³³ Malay, *pawang*, "1. magician, expert in spells, talismans, drugs and some peculiar industry, 2. a shaman who invokes ancestral spirits, Hindu gods, Arabian genie, and Allah to reveal the cause of the illness or drought or pestilence and accept placatory sacrifices." See R. O. Winstedt, "Notes on Malay Magic," JRAS-MB, III, 3, pp. 6-21; and "More Notes on Malay Magic," JRAS-MB, V, 2, pp. 342-347.

³⁴ See R. O. Winstedt, *Malay-English Dictionary*. It is certain that the Hang Tuah of the 15th century Malacca may have been a ruling Sultan who was at the same time an admiral of the navy.

³⁵ See H. Overbeck, "Hikayat Maharaja Ravana," JRAS-MB, XI, 2, December 1933, pp. 111 ff. This *hikayat* is not dated. While its title tells of Ravana, it more or less tells the story of Rama, his exile, his search for Sita, his combat with Ravana, and the return of the princess, who is purified in the pyre. The entire *hikayat* shows the influences (?) of the Rama and the HSR, and it appears that it could be the source of the Fairy Tale.

³⁶ In the HSR, Mandudari, having been "given" by Dasarata to Ravana although she had already given birth to a son, Seri Rama, retires into the inner apartments, and from the secretion of her skin, she produces by massage a mass which she first changes into a frog, then into a woman exactly like herself, whom she dresses with her own clothes and sends to the king.

<i>Mah. Law.</i>	<i>Fairy Tale</i>	<i>HSR-HMR</i>	<i>Ram.</i>
Pulu Agama Niog Pulu Bandiarmasir	Tanjong Bunga Kachapuri	Mandu Puri Nagara/Mandurapura Bukit Serindib (Later, Langkapuri)/ Langkapura	Ayodhya Lanka

The city of Dasaratha, Ayodhya, in the *Ram.* does not have any traces in the *Maharadia Lawana* as well as in the Fairy Tale, and in the HSR. The HSR city of Dasaratha has Sanskrit suffixes, e.g., Mal. *puri* (Sans. *pura*, "city"), "ruler's private apartments in a palace," and Mal. *nagara*, *negara* (Sans. *nagara*, "city"), "lit., state, country; ar., the top of a hill." *Mandupuri nagara*³⁷ may, therefore, mean "the city of Mandu on top of a hill," if it were to be interpreted literally. But the city of Sri Rama, Tanjong Bunga, which may be inferred to be also the city of his father, in the Fairy Tale, apparently shows a development independent of both the HSR and the *Ram.* Similarly, Pulu Agama Niog does not show any traces of the city in the Fairy Tale, HSR or in the *Ram.* The name may be interpreted to mean the "City located in an Island of Coconuts," which is quite interesting in terms of the fact that the setting is relatively a source of products derived from coconuts.

The events that happen in Lanka in the *Ram.*, in the HSR, as well as in the Fairy Tale are not transferred to Pulu Bandiarmasir in the *Maharadia Lawana*. The word *Bandiarmasir* is reminiscent of the city of *Bandjarmasin* in the southeastern part of Borneo. Whether or not *Bandiarmasir* has any relation to *Bandjarmasin*, it is one problem that needs further investigation.

W. E. Maxwell³⁸ interprets *Kachapuri* to be Conjeeveram (the Kañcipuram of the inscriptions and literature) in the Coromandel (Cholamandala) coast in South India. He interprets it further to be the "Kachchi in Tamil literature."³⁹ There is no internal evidence of the development of *Kachapuri* from *Lanka*. It seems that *Kañcipuram* was yet unknown in the *Ram.*, although it is likely that the city may already be known in the later versions of the epic, like the Tamil Rama story by Kambar. Moreover, it is probable that the Fairy Tale may have sources other than the HSR from which this interesting interpolation may have been lifted. Even the phonetic development of the word is curious. Ravana's island kingdom in the HSR, Bukit Serindib, is already known in the Arab records on Southeast Asia as

³⁷ Although the story of Seri Rama in the HSR commences only on page 51 of the text, the city is mentioned for the first time on page 62.

³⁸ *Op. cit.*

³⁹ *Ibid.* His authority is Yule's Glossary, p. 782.

Serindib.⁴⁰ This island kingdom would be later known as Langkapuri which follows closely the *Ram*. island kingdom with the *puri* accretion.

The identity of both Pulu Agama Niog and Pulu Bandiarmasir in the historical records of the Maranaw as well as in the references in literature is not known. A check with known historico-literary texts in Old Malay and Old Javanese, particularly in those that are contemporaneous with the introduction of the Rama story (see below) into Indonesia and Malaya, yielded negative results.

Important Episodes. The episodes that have been selected for discussion in the present essay are (1) the winning of Sita, (2) the abduction of Sita, (3) the search for Sita, and (4) the return of Sita. These episodes roughly correspond to the *Bala-*, *Aranya-*, *Kiskindha-*, *Sundara-* and the *Yuddha-kanda-s* of the *Ram*. It may be seen that the story is reduced to almost microscopic size in the *Maharadia Lawana*. The Fairy Tale is equally microscopic, but the HSR is still relatively voluminous.

(1) *The Winning of Sita.* Radia Mangandiri and Radia Mangawarna had learned of the incomparable beauty and charm of Tuwan Potre Malano [Malaila] Tihaiia, daughter of the Sultan and Sultanness of Pulu Nabandai. Now they set out for the journey to the princess's home which could be reached only by sea for ten years. After suffering the privations of the journey they reach Pulu Nabandai wrecked by the strong waves of the sea. However, they did not know that the island was Pulu Nabandai.

While they were recuperating in the home of their rescuer and benefactor, they heard of the playing of the *agongs* and the *kulintang*s and upon inquiry were informed that a festival is going on for the winning of Tuwan Potre Malaila Tihaiia's hand in marriage; that a game of the *sipa* is to be played among the suitors, and whoever kicks the rattan ball to the *lamin*, pent-house, where the princess lives with her retinue, to him shall she be wed. To make the story short, Radia Mangandiri kicks the *sipa* to her pent-house, and wins the hand of the princess. (See details of the winning in the Text and Translation.)

The Fairy Tale and the HSR (Maxwell) do not tell of the winning of Sakutum Bunga Satangkei by Sri Rama. Rather they open with the married life of both being described as childless. The HSR and HMR tell of the winning of Sita's hand by Rama's shooting one arrow through forty palm

⁴⁰ Serindib is mentioned (Dimaski, 1325) as one of the islands met in a west-east route (from Arabia) in which Malay closes the chain—"Serindib (Ceylon) and Sribuza. . . ." See and cf. J. L. Moens, "Srivijaya, Yava, en Kataha," JRAS-MB, XVII, 2, January 1940, p. 85.

A check with the Malay Annals (Sejarah Melayu) does not mention the name *Bukit Serindib* or *Serindib*. But the modern name is known as Ceylon already (See "Outline of the Malay Annals: Shellabear's romanized edition, Singapore, 1909" Chapter XXVIII, in "The Malay Annals or Sejarah Melayu" (The Earliest Recension from Ms. No. 18 of the Raffles Collection, in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, edited by R. O. Winstedt), JRAS-MB, XVI, 2, pp. 12-13.

Perhaps it owes its not being mentioned to the late composition of the Annals—between the 16th and 17th centuries. *Ibid.*, pp. 27-34.

trees, which was the condition set by Sita's guardian, Kala, that whosoever pierces these forty trees with just one arrow to him shall Sita be wed.

While the HSR and the HMR show the use of the bow and arrow in the winning of Sita, it is only the bow that plays a significant role in the winning of Sita in the Valmiki *Ramayana*. King Janaka offers Sita in marriage to whoever could raise and string the bow of Siva. Rama instead of merely raising and drawing it with just one arm also snaps it asunder. He wins the hand of Sita in marriage.

(2) *The Abduction of Sita*. The cause of the abduction of Sita in the *Ram.* is found in the HSR, although there are already certain variations in the episodic unfoldment. It is Sura Pandaki (Surpanakha, in the *Ram.*) alone who suffers the humiliation and in the hands of Laksamana. Ravana's abduction of Sita is in revenge against Rama and Laksmana. In the *Ram.*, Surpanakha tells Ravana of the exquisite beauty of Sita; thus the abduction had two purposes—revenge and the desire to possess such a woman of unsurpassed charm and beauty; in the HSR, the attraction to Sita's beauty is not mentioned.

In the Fairy Tale, no revenge is known. Maharaja Duwana, having merely heard of Sakutum Bunga Satangkei's fascinating beauty, falls in love with her.⁴¹

Now begins the adventure of Maharaja Duwana. Possessing supernatural powers, he flew from Kachapuri to Tanjong Bunga and there by magic charms he affected the behaviour of the princess. Subsequently he appears before her in the form of a golden goat. She and her attendants around her, as well as Sri Rama himself, were fascinated by such an unusual animal. The king, therefore, summoned his people to seize the golden goat, but it proved elusive. It ran deep into the jungle. Having thus enticed all, it disappeared, and returned to the palace. Resuming his human form and having by magic charms opened all the locks of the palace doors, Maharaja Duwana presented himself before Sakutum Bunga Satangkei, who was extremely agitated by the confrontation of a person who is a complete stranger to her.

Here follows one of the most interesting episodes in the Fairy Tale. The conversation between Princess Sakutum Bunga Satangkei and Maharaja Duwana in rather symbolic-euphemistic verse, particularly the replies of the latter to the former, is very curious. The following excerpts from the conversation is a case in point,⁴²

"From the island of Kachapuri," he said,
Yang tersisip di-awan mega
Hilang di-puput angin menyankar

⁴¹ Sakutum Bunga Satangkei is described thus— "...her waist could be encircled by the fourth fingers and the thumbs joined, how her figure was as slim as the menjelei (a kind of grass or weed something like millet?) stem, her fingers as slender as the stalk of the lemon grass, and her heels as small as bird's eggs;... when she ate sirih or drank water her face acquired an indescribable charm..." Maxwell, *loc. cit.*

⁴² See JRAS-SB, LV, June 1910, p. 68.

Belam tampak dari kemunchak gunung
Enggil-berenggil

(It may be seen peeping out from among the clouds, but is lost to view when the wind blows; From the summit of Enggil-berenggil it looks no larger than a dove's nest.)

"What uneasiness of mind," asked the princess, "has brought you to my house at such an hour of the night?"

He answered in the following stanza:

Berapa tinggi puchock pisang
Tinggi lagi asap api
Berapa tinggi gunung melentang (*ledang*, Windtedt)
Tinggi lagi harap kamil

(How high soever the shoot of the plantain, Higher still is the smoke of the fire; High though may be the mountain ranges; Higher yet are the hopes I indulge.)

To which the princess replied:

Kalau bagitu kembang jala-nya
Ikan sesak ka-berombong
Kalau bagitu rembang kaya-nya
Choba berserah beradu untong.

(If the casting net be skilfully thrown, the fish are found together at the upper end of it; If these words are said in earnest, Let us yield to fate and see what comes of it.)

He retaliated with the following verse:

Meranti chabang-nya dua
Di-tarah buat kerentong
Sedang mati lagi di-choba
Inikan pula beradu untong.

(The meranti tree with a forked limb; Shape the wood and make drum of it. The path that leads to death is often ventured one; Here I yield to fate and see what comes of it.)

The princess then ceremonially entertained the stranger with *sirih*. The ceremony being over, Maharaja Duwana found no difficulty in convincing the former to elope with him to Pulau Kachapuri. But with his magic power, he carried her off. Having reached Pulau Kachapuri, Maharaja Duwana looked over the genealogy of his house and discovered that the princess stood to him in the relation of a daughter to a father. Thus he could not marry her.

Meanwhile, Sri Rama, having entered the jungle in search of the golden goat, realized the futility of the chase. He ordered his men to return to the palace. Having reached his court, he discovered his inner apartments violated. Learning of the true situation, he uttered a horrible cry which terrified everyone in the palace.

In the *Ram.*, the abduction of Sita was accomplished by Ravana's deception. He orders Marici to assume the form of a golden deer, and gambol about Rama's hut in the jungle. Sita sends Rama after the deer while Laksmana remains to watch over his sister-in-law. Marici when struck by Rama's arrow utters a cry similar to Rama's voice. Sita anxious of Rama's safety sends Laksmana, who goes reluctantly. Ravana, as in the HMR and HSR, thereby appears before Sita in the guise of a Brahman, and is admitted into the princess's confidence. But later on, he reveals his own nature, and forcibly abducts the helpless Sita. The use of a magic car in the *Ram.* is not found in the Fairy Tale; neither is the combat between Jatayu and Ravana. The flying chariot is found in the HMR and HSR. Two raksasas, one of gold and the other of silver, appear before Sita Dewi. As in the HSR, the conversation between Sita and Ravana in the *Ram.* was congenial before the latter's revelation of his true intention. In the Fairy Tale, it was friendly.

As in the *Ram.*, the HSR scenes are located in the jungle where the couple, accompanied by Laksamana, were in exile. In the Fairy Tale, the scene is in the kingdom (palace) of Sri Rama. This interpolation seems to be an independent development from *Ram.* and HSR-HMR, whereas the variations in the employment of the silver golden fawns, the golden goat, and the golden deer, have shown or show very close affinity. This last point seems to give a clue to the origin of the Fairy Tale.

There is no evident cause for the abduction of Malaila Ganding [Ti-haia] by Maharadia Lawana in the Maranaw story. The abduction is introduced by the scene of ripening rice grains which Radia Mangandiri and his party had planted while they were on their long journey to their kingdom, Pulu Agama Niog. While they watched the golden grains, their attention is caught by a deer with golden horns, grazing in the nearby cogonal area. Malaila Ganding, upon seeing it immediately harbours a craving for the rare animal, that if it is not caught she would die. Radia Mangandiri, to satisfy such desire, goes forthwith to catch the animal with instructions to his brother Mangawarna not to leave Malaila Ganding even if he would call for help.

The deer did not prove elusive to Radia Mangandiri. Rather it met him, and fought back. Radia Mangandiri in his difficulty cried for help, but Radia Mangawarna did not leave his sister-in-law. However, Potre Malaila Ganding not being able to bear the predicament that Radia Mangandiri is in, threatened to die (to kill herself) if Radia Mangawarna did not go to help his brother. So he went telling his sister-in-law ". . . I think that when I go down, you close the window, and whoever knocks, do not open."

Upon reaching the site where Radia Mangandiri and the deer were fighting, and the deer seeing him thus, made himself into two and ran away. The brothers ran after each till darkness fell, and Radia Mangawarna finally found himself right at their house. Radia Mangandiri had reached the forest, and the deer was nowhere to be found.

Radia Mangawarna, upon his return, saw the result of his action—the women were wailing because Potre Malaila Ganding has been forcibly taken away by Maharadia Lawana, the wall of their house was destroyed and everything in the house was in disarray. He said to himself, “That which we were running after was Maharadia Lawana who disguised himself as a deer.”

It is interesting to note that there is a common identifying element in the stories, particularly the HMR, HSR (Maxwell and Shellabear) and the *Maharadia Lawana*; and that is the presence of the golden deer, or golden goat or silver goat or golden gazelles or a deer with golden horns. All these are coveted by the heroine in each story. These fantastic animals are Ravana in each story appearing thus before the heroine to draw away the heroes from her preparatory to the abduction. In the *Ram.*, Ravana orders Marici to assume the form of a golden deer to draw away Rama, and then Laksmana, so that he would have no difficulty in penetrating the defences of the brothers. All these were done by deception.

No drawing of the protective magic circle is evident in the Southeast Asian versions of the episode as it is found in the *Ram.* Neither is there any evidence of Sita's accusations against Laksmana's desire to possess her should his brother Rama die in the pursuit of Marici disguised as a golden deer. Many other details could be cited here but these are the most significant to the episode of the abduction.

(3) *The Search for Sita.* This episode takes on very curious turns. Radia Mangawarna, upon learning of the abduction of Malaila Ganding and seeing that Radia Mangandiri had not returned from his search for the golden horned deer, returned to the jungle to look for his brother. He finds him unconscious (asleep).

Now Radia Mangandiri dreams that he fought a carabao and he was gored; and one of his testicles was thrown east where Potre Langawi, Queen of the East swallowed it, causing her to become pregnant and later to give birth to a monkey son named Laksamana. He awakes and sees his brother Radia Mangawarna. He feels his scrotum and finds his testicle missing. He thinks to himself that his dream may be true.

Subsequently, the brothers discuss the plans for the search and recovery of Potre Malaila Ganding. And they felt despair because there are only two of them; they have no arms, no army to pursue their search for the princess who has been brought to Pulu Bandiarmasir by Maharadia Lawana, who had deceived them.

Now, Radia Mangandiri's dream indeed is true; Laksamana, the monkey son asks his mother Potre Langawi about who could be his father, since while growing up he had not seen him. She evades answering the question, for she knows that he “has no father.” The monkey son being disappointed by such evasion, leaves home, and goes in search of his father. In one of

his adventures, he falls right between Radia Mangandiri and Radia Mangawarna, and addresses them father and uncle, respectively. And both were surprised to be addressed thus by a complete stranger and a monkey at that. After proper introductions, and a presentation of their problems, Laksamana offers to help the brothers to search for Potre Malaila Ganding. All their problems—weapons, soldiers, etc.—are now within solution. Laksamana gathers all his subject carabaos to attack Bandiarmasir. He also asks his father and uncle to help gather rattan to be used for building a causeway between Pulu Bandiarmasir and the land where they now are.

Laksamana ties one end of the rattan to a tree, and holding the other, he prepares to leap to Pulu Bandiarmasir. He asks his father to support him on his (father's) palm; but is directed to leap from the mountain. The mountain can not support him. It fell apart. Hence, Radia Mangandiri has to support his son's leap with his palm. The leap is successful; and stringing the rattan back and forth, the causeway is finally constructed. They proceed to cross to the other side.

As they walk, the bridge sways and they fall into the sea, where crocodiles waited to eat them. But Laksamana battles and defeats them. The crocodiles promise aid to the cause of Radia Mangandiri and Radia Mangawarna. Thus they are to battle those subjects of Maharadia Lawana who shall run to the sea for safety. They proceed to the palace of Maharadia Lawana. At the Palace, they witness Maharadia Lawana approach Potre Malaila Ganding, but fire appears between them. They are surprised at such a phenomenon. Maharadia Lawana himself is perplexed by such a situation and he is told by Laksamana that such a phenomenon occurs because she was abducted from Radia Mangandiri.

After this exchange, betel chew is prepared and exchanged between Radia Mangandiri and Potre Malaila Ganding. Then Laksamana takes the princess' hand, leads her to his father.

At this point, the battle between the forces of Maharadia Lawana and Radia Mangandiri led by Laksamana begins. Laksamana commands the carabaos to enter the village to fight Maharadia Lawana's army. Those who fled to the sea/water are eaten by crocodiles. Later, Maharadia Lawana enters into the fray and fights with Radia Mangawarna, who cannot equal the strength and power of his adversary. Radia Mangandiri takes over, but he cannot wound Maharadia Lawana. Laksamana, seeing that his father seems to be unable to cope with Maharadia Lawana's prowess, takes the *kampilan* of Radia Mangandiri and sharpens it on the whetstone set upon a *naga* wood found in the palace. With this, Radia Mangawarna wounds Maharadia Lawana, who falls, for according to the prophecy Maharadia Lawana could only be subdued from the power he acquired while performing "austerities" during his exile, by any bladed weapon sharpened on the whetstone set upon a *naga* wood. Thus the battle comes to an end.

In the Fairy Tale, Sri Rama, having been advised by his chiefs, consults Laksamana, his elder brother. After deliberating upon the course of action they should take, they set out to recover the lost princess. Having reached the realm of a monkey monarch, who is actually Sri Rama's son whom he had driven away from Tanjong Bunga, they are asked what their business was. Sri Rama thereupon asks his son to help him search for his mother. But the monkey prince promises to fulfill his father's request only if he is permitted, just for once, to eat a meal with his father off the same leaf, and to sleep in his arms. Having extracted the promise, and having fulfilled it, they prepare for the prince's jump to Kachapuri. After two or three attempts, he jumps from his father's shoulder but lands upon an island in the midst of the sea. He calls upon the jin, whom he had befriended in one of his attempts to help him land upon Pulau Kachapuri.

The meeting between the mother and son was effected through the recognition of the ring that Kra Kechil had slipped into one of the water jars which forty-four maidens carried with which to collect water for the bath of the princess. After this meeting, Maharaja Duwana and Kra Kechil confront each other, before which, however, the latter destroys the former's favorite trees—a coconut tree (*nyor gading*) and a mango tree. Furious at this outrage, Maharaja Duwana fights the monkey prince who changes himself at will into a buffalo bull and declares his mission. Thereafter, a battle rages between Maharaja Duwana's army and the prince. No weapon could hurt him; even when bound and thrown into the fire, not a hair is singed. After a seven day truce, the battle continues. Kra Kechil is caught. He instructs his captors to swathe him with cotton cloth soaked in oil, and to set fire to the mass. He jumps about the palace and the fire spreads reducing Pulau Kachapuri to rabble and ashes.

All the adventures of Hanuman in both the *Ram.*, HMR and the HSR are attributed to Kra Kechil Imam Tergangga in the Fairy Tale. But these adventures are attributed to Laksamana in the *Maharadia Lawana*. The meeting between mother and son in the HSR is not quite represented in the *Maharadia Lawana* for Laksamana is the son of Radia Mangandiri by another *potre*. Hence, there is no evidence of recognition by the mother, rather it was merely identification of who Laksamana was before her, just as the identification of Hanuman in the *Ram.* (but with rings for recognition of his mission from Rama). The ring incident is not found in the *Maharadia Lawana*.

There are no evidences in the HSR that may have led to these developments. The meeting between mother and son, however, is known in the HSR. Kra Kechil's appearance in monkey-form before his mother is perhaps an echo of Hanuman's appearance before Sita in the Asoka groove of Ravana, while Hanuman in the HSR appears first as a Brahman before Sita Dewi. The ring incident is found in all three stories, as well as in the HMR,

although in varied forms. In the HMR, Hanuman appears before Sita in the form of an old woman, and later assumes his monkey-form and identifies himself as her son.

The single combat between Maharaja Duwana and Kra Kechil is not found in either *Ram.* or the HSR or in the HMR. But the burning of Pulau Kachapuri is known from the *Ram.*, the HSR and the HMR, although again interesting accretions and developments occur. In the *Ram.* and HMR, Hanuman's tail is swathed with cloth soaked in oil/petroleum (*minyak tanah*) bestrewn with saltpetre (*sendawan*); Hanuman in HSR is swathed all over, but he grows till all the cloth in Langkapuri becomes insufficient. The oil-soaked cloth is burned, and when only that which binds the tail is left he leaps over the roof and sets the palace on fire. No bodily expansion of Kra Kechil takes place in the Fairy Tale. All these are not known in the *Maharadia Lawana*. There seems, therefore, to be no significantly sustained nourishment of the literature in the past. Either this was due to the changes in the political climate in the area, or this was more or less a case of misunderstanding of the literary motif by the borrowers who belong to a different socio-cultural complex. Whichever is probable, it is a very important task of further research to investigate.

(4) *The Return of Sita.* The return of Potre Malaila Ganding from Pulu Bandiarmasir after the death of Maharadia Lawana is not as dramatic as the return of Sakutum Bunga Satangkei in the Fairy Tale, the return of Sita Dewi in the HSR or Sita in the HMR and *Ram.* There's no evidence of the carrying of Sita Dewi by Kra Kechil nor the use of a flying car or chariot to carry Sita back to Ayodhya. Moreover, no fire ordeal is known in the *Maharadia Lawana* to purify Potre Malaila Ganding, from her "contact" with Maharadia Lawana. But the fire that appears between them is reminiscent of this fire-purification in *Ram.*

Details of the return of Potre Malaila Ganding is here presented for comparative purposes. Tarrying in Pulu Bandiarmasir after their victory over Maharadia Lawana, they make preparations for their return to Pulu Agama Niog. For this Laksamana tells them that he will effect such an event. He calls all the crocodiles on whose backs all the subjects may ride across the ocean to Pulu Agama Niog. The biggest crocodile with the broadest back becomes the mount of the prince and the princess, and Radia Mangawarna and Laksamana. After travelling through the sea they reach the shores of Agama Niog, and the waves created by all the crocodiles were like those created by strong winds; "also the forest seemed to tremble at the footsteps of the carabaos that were walking" escorting the party on land.

The people of Agama Niog were frightened, but Laksamana announces to them that they should not fear, for Radia Mangandiri with his bride Potre Malaila Ganding and Radia Mangawarna is returning from long travel. They are welcomed with joy instead of with fear. Laksamana metamorphoses into a handsome datu.

Following are the details relative to this episode as they are found in the HSR, HMR, Fairy Tale and the *Ram*. This will further bring to mind the various interesting aspects of the Maranaw story in relation to the South-east Asian versions of the story as it is known in India also.

The return of Sakutum Bunga Satangkei follows the burning of Kachapuri. She is carried off by her son and restored to Sri Rama at the plain of Anta-ber-Anta, in the kingdom of Kra Kechil. Her return to Tanjong Bunga was marked with rejoicing and feasting, but the celebrations are interrupted by the arrival of Maharaja Duwana who had come to avenge his defeat at Pulau Kachapuri. (He had previously warned Kra Kechil that he would follow him.) In the midst of the fierce combat, Raja Laksamana is killed but is immediately revived by a powerful remedy that Kra Kechil brings from Mount Enggil-ber-Enggil. Maharaja Duwana, seeing his power being reduced to nothing, leaves Tanjong Bunga in token of defeat. His men who died in the combat are revived by Kra Kechil.

Sri Rama and Sakutum Bunga Satangkei now acknowledge Kra Kechil Imam Tergangga as their son and heir to the throne of Tanjong Bunga.

The adventures of Hanuman are carried on to the third episode. While the return of Sita in the *Ram*. agrees with the return of Sita Dewi in HSR and Sita in HMR, Sakutum's return takes on another turn in the Fairy Tale. Sita is carried back to Ayodhya by Rama in the magic car of Kubera which was forcibly appropriated by Ravana from the god of wealth. No mention of the magic car or flying chariot is made in the HSR and HMR, while Sakutum is carried off to Sri Rama by her son. No flying car or magic chariot is used.

Perhaps the fire ordeal is not necessary, as it is in the *Ram.*, the HSR and the HMR, for the purification of the heroine because it is her son who took her away. Moreover, Sakutum Bunga Satangkei is sanguinally related to Maharaja Duwana, who stands to her as a father to a daughter. Thereby no chastity test and purification ceremonies are necessary. There is no clue to the incident relating to the "invasion" of Tanjong Bunga by Maharaja Duwana in the HSR, HMR or in the *Ram.*, while the death and revival of Raja Laksamana is known. Moreover, no proof of Sri Rama and Sakutum's acknowledgment of Kra Kechil as their son after his adventures connected with the recovery of his mother is also known.

(5) *Ravana*. Of Ravana's position in the *Maharadia Lawana*, the account points out a very important relation with the HMR and the HSR (Shellabear). *Maharadia Lawana* commences with Maharadia Lawana described as the son of the Sultan and Sultanness of Pulu Bandiarmasir; he has eight heads (seven heads, in Par. 61, Text and Translation). He is said to have caused the death of many a man in the realm because of his vile tongue—he intrigues. Then he is sent on a ship to Pulu Nagara on exile as a punishment for his false representations.

In Pulu Nagara, he gathers leaves and wood, ignites these, and climbs a tree over the fire. He cries that the world is chained (see Notes and Translation); thereby, Diabarail (Angel Gabriel), hearing it, appears before the Lord (Tohen), informs the latter that Maharadia Lawana cries because the world is in chains. The Lord (Tohen) instructs Diabarail to tell Maharadia Lawana to desist sacrificing himself, because nothing can cause his death, except when he is cut by any tool (knife, sword, etc.) that is sharpened upon a whetstone kept in the heart of the palace of Pulu Bandiarmasir.

The HMR commences with the relation of the genealogy of Maharaja Ravana. Then being unruly and having become a danger to his sire's dynasty, he is banished to Langkapura. In Langkapura he practices austerities, collects firewood during the day and sleeps in the night hanging over the fire, head down. Twelve years elapse and Allah sends down Adam to find out what Ravana wants. Ravana asks for the rule over the four worlds—earth, air, water and the nether world. His wish is granted on condition that he angers nobody, and does not steal women. Should he break the covenant, Allah's curse will fall upon him. (When delivering the message, Adam omits the stealing of women.) Ravana agrees and conquers the four worlds.

Reference to Ravana's having ten heads is made when he becomes angry as he passes over the hermitage of a great rishi (sage). The ten heads appear thus.

The HSR (Shellabear) commences with an account describing Ravana as ten-headed and twenty-handed Raksasa. He is banished to Bukit Serindib (called later as Langkapuri) where he performs austerities for twelve years, hanging himself by the feet downward. While engaged thus, the Almighty God in heaven sends Prophet Adam to ask what he wants, and God, informed of his desire, grants his wish—that he rule over the worlds: the earth, the heavens, the seas and the nether world.

Ravana, in the *Ram.*, is described with ten heads and twenty arms; performs austerities for conquering four worlds.

In all the stories, the asceticism event seems to be the common "denominator"; with just slight variation according to each story. All the four stories describe the austerities as having been caused by the banishment imposed upon him for causing disorder in, and danger to the dynasty/kingdom of his father. The use of fire in order to perform the ascetic acts is also a feature which is indeed very much Indian in character. The appearance of Allah and Adam and the Angel Gabriel (Diabarail) in the *Maharadia Lawana*, the HSR, and the HMR may be and could be interpolations in exchange for the persons of Brahma and Visnu (both Hindu gods in the Indian Pantheon) to give the stories Islamic character considering the development in the area, e.g., the introduction of Islam and the subsequent changes that occurred to give the literature and other social aspects some Islamic spirit, if not entirely to supersede the earlier overlay. However, these

may just as well be indigenous developments considering also the importance of fire in even the most "primitive" societies in the area.

One of the interesting aspects of the austerities by fire of Maharadia Lawana is his lament that the world is chained. Whatever this means to the Maranaw, it means that he is performing this asceticism to relieve the world of the sins (desires) to which it is chained. This (concept) appears to evince a relatively Buddhist orientation, considering the influence of the Buddha's teachings in the area. However, whatever could be said about its relationship with the Buddha concept, the other Rama story versions—the HMR and the HSR—in the Malay literature do not seem to show such a tendency. Certainly, the austerities performed by Ravana in order to gain power to challenge Siva in the puranic literature is definitely Brahmanic in character. Of course, in Southeast Asia, there developed in the course of the long years of encounter between Brahmanism and Buddhism, a blend of these two systems of thought as expressed in the Siva-Buddha syncretism.

In the HMR and HSR, Ravana is described physically as ten-headed and twenty-handed king of Langkapuri (Bukit Serindib), or Langkapura, which physical description is derived from the *Ram. Maharadia Lawana* describes Maharadia Lawana as eight-headed in paragraph 1, while in paragraphs 61, 65, and 73 he is seven-headed. There seems to be no clue to the change from ten to eight or seven heads. No mention of the other hands of Ravana in the *Maharadia Lawana* is made. No reference even is seen to such number of other hands during Maharadia Lawana's combat with the brothers Radia Mangandiri and Radia Mangawarna during the battle for recovering Potre Malaila Ganding (Tihaiia). Perhaps, the problem may be solved only upon examination of the greater literary piece, the epic *darangen*, which is still in the process of being put together into one volume, and translation to be made available to the non-Maranaw. The *Darangen* describes in detail the abduction, at least in terms of the many re-narrations of the story in English by Maranaws themselves and others who have passing interests in the literature. Perhaps, the genealogy of Maharadia Lawana in the text may help solve the problem of the reduction of the number of heads.

The foregoing episodes may be touched upon again in the discussions that follow.

Interpolations and Accretions. A collation of the *Maharadia Lawana* with the Fairy Tale and the HSR and HMR reveals that a number if not all of the interpolations and accretions found in the former cannot be traced to the latter two. This may lead to the inference that these interpolations and accretions are independent of the historical development of the story in Maranaw literature. Some of the accretions and interpolations found in the HSR and the Fairy Tale relative to the *Ram.* are not found in the *Maharadia Lawana*, e.g. (a) Sri Rama's desire for offspring even after three years of married life does not show any distinct connection with either the

two Rama stories. The desire for offspring, however, may derive from Indian custom and tradition; but it is universal among all peoples of the world.

(b) While showing independent development from the two Rama stories, Raja Laksamana's sorcery to predict the birth of a son to Sri Rama and Sakutum Bunga Satangkei is purely an indigenous influence. This indigenous accretion is an allusion to the art of divination still practised by Malay sorcerers and dancers, since time immemorial.

The excursion of Sri Rama and Sakutum seems to show connection with the decision of Sri Rama in the HSR not to return to his father's country after winning the hand of Sita Dewi, and the connection is perhaps carried on to the transformation of Seri Rama and Sita Dewi into monkeys, which transformation is also found in the Fairy Tale. The pregnancy is explained by this excursion. This is not found in the *Maharadia Lawana*, but which birth is known.

(1) The birth of Laksamana, the monkey son of Radia Mangandiri, in *Maharadia Lawana*, takes on a very interesting aspect. Laksamana is born of Potre Langawi after she swallows Radia Mangandiri's testicle thinking it was a precious stone which was gored out and thrown to the east by a carabao in his dream. Laksamana's searching questions addressed to his mother enquiring about his birth and his sire are, indeed, significant in the light of the structure of Maranaw society. Here reference to a certain taboo in the society, e.g., incest, becomes important in the relations between mother and son. Moreover, the Maranaw's "congenital" concern with genealogy to establish the greatness of his birth is brought to focus by the son's searching questions as to who his sire is. However, the problem becomes moot as Laksamana finally finds his father.

The birth of Laksamana as a monkey finds no clue or clues in the story itself. Unlike the birth of Kra Kechil in the Fairy Tale and of Hanuman in the HSR (also in the HMR) which are more or less explained, Laksamana in the *Maharadia Lawana* is not. Details of the births of the sons of Sita in the *Ram.*, HSR (HMR) and the Fairy Tale may be described briefly to show the major interpolations; as such in relation to the *Maharadia Lawana*, where no mention of the birth of Radia Mangandiri and Potre Malaila Ganding (Tihai'a)'s son(s) is made.

The birth of the monkey son in the HSR takes on another interesting turn. Seri Rama and Sita Dewi like Sri Rama and Sakutum Bunga Satangkei in the Fairy Tale were turned into monkeys after having plunged into a lake, but were later restored to their human forms after bathing in another lake. Having thus been transformed into monkeys, the germs that developed were monkeys. Hanuman is born of Sita Dewi, through Dewi Anjati who carried the embryo that was conceived by the former, while Sakutum Bunga Satangkei herself conceives, carries and gives birth to the monkey son, Kra

Kechil Imam Tergangga. The birth of Hanuman in the HMR is similar to that in the HSR.

In the *Ram.*, Sita gives birth to sons in exile; in the HSR, Sita Dewi, Hanuman and later gives birth again to another son, Tabalawi, also in exile. This incident does not occur in the Fairy Tale as well as in the *Maharadia Lawana*. What is interesting, however, is that in the Fairy Tale, there is an expressed desire for an offspring which does not occur in the *Ram.*, HSR, HMR, and is not known in the *Maharadia Lawana*.

On the occasion of the birth of a son, ceremonies described in the *Ram.* and HSR are not found. This is also true in the *Maharadia Lawana*. The presence of *lebis*, *hajis*, *imams* and *khatibs* and the readings of the Koran do not have any reference in the *Ram.* These are not found in the HSR and HMR which are already influenced by Islamic ideas. But perhaps these owe their presence in the Fairy Tale to the complete islamization of the Malay (Perak) peoples. There are no clues to the incidents of the breaking of the news to Sri Rama of the birth of a monkey son, and of the sending away of Kra Kechil in either the *Ram.* or the HSR.

The departure of Laksamana in *Maharadia Lawana* from his mother's home is impelled by his search for bigger sources of food. This is somehow paralleled by that in the banishment of Kra Kechil (in the Fairy Tale), for he has been a shame to the kingdom, "to a remote part of the forest where human foot had never yet trod." Later, he leaves the forest to look for more adventure and in the process he finds Shah Numan (Hanuman), his "grandsire". Further on, he leaves the realm of Shah Numan to pick the large round red fruit, which is actually the sun. He falls in his attempt to pick it. Jumping from tree to tree, Laksamana (in the *Maharadia Lawana*) falls between his sire Radia Mangandiri, and uncle Radia Mangawarna. This is the end of his search for his sire, and hence his problem of being "born" of a supposed incestuous relation between his mother and grandfather is solved. But the immediate recognition of the brothers Radia Mangandiri and Radia Mangawarna as his sire and uncle respectively is a problem that is to be solved; perhaps the solution of which may be found in the greater epic version, the *Darangen*.

(2) Sugriva's or Bali's position in the *Ram.* appears to be taken by Shah Numan (Hanuman) in the Fairy Tale. Hanuman in the HSR is the same Hanuman in the *Ram.*; the former's birth shows no clue to the birth of Shah Numan in the Fairy Tale. He (Shah Numan) is an aged sagacious monarch in the kingdom by the jungles. Moreover, he becomes a friend of the sun (Mata Hari).

Shah Numan by his declaration that he already knew of the origins of Kra Kechil upon their first meeting, that he is related to Sri Rama and Sakutum Bunga Satangkei, and that Kra Kechil is his "grandchild" is very

interesting. These will perhaps give the clue to the parentage of Sri Rama or Sakutum Bunga Satangkei. It may not be without basis to conjecture that Shah Numan may be the father of either Sri Rama or Sakutum, judging from the filial affection, the concern and loving care that he (Shah Numan) had for Kra Kechil Imam Tergangga.

In the *Maharadia Lawana*, Sugriva's or Bali's roles are not known; and, therefore, it seems that this is a very perplexing problem, at least in the light of the story. For the kinship of Laksamana with the monkey world further adds to the problems. It seems, however, that the roles of Sugriva or Bali and Hanuman in the *Ram.*, and that of Shah Numan in the Fairy Tale, of Hanuman in the HSR and HMR are performed by Laksamana in *Maharadia Lawana*. This is evident in his gathering all the carabaos and crocodiles to compose the army that shall invade Pulu Bandiarmasir, and in his great leap across the sea from Pulu Nabandai to Pulu Bandiarmasir to secure the rattan vine for the bridge that shall be constructed on which they shall cross to the latter island. Towards the end of the story still no evidence of the kinship of Laksamana with the simians could be established. Perhaps it is only in the examination of the larger Maranaw literature, the great epic *Darangen*, that this problem would be brought to light.

(3) It seems evident that the adventures of Hanuman in both the *Ram.* and the HSR as well as the HMR are attributed to Laksamana in the *Maharadia Lawana* and to Kra Kechil Imam Tergangga in the Fairy Tale. However, there are no other adventures attributed to Laksamana than the discovery of Potre Malaila Ganding (Tihai). Kra Kechil's other adventures can not be traced to the two epics.

It may be assumed that since Hanuman in the *Ram.* and in the HSR-HMR occupies a prominent position in the cynosure of the hero, Kra Kechil's becoming a prince of all monkey tribes in the Fairy Tale is traceable, for the Tale appears to have its original source in either or both the epics. With this situation it is understandable that no traces of the presence of Sugriva and Bali are evident. Similarly, Laksamana occupies an important position in the Maranaw story; but there is no evidence of his being a monkey prince as such in spite of his being born of a princess (Potre Langawi, Queen of the East). However, the monkey aspect as well as the adventures of Laksamana may be traced back to the HSR-HMR and further back to the *Ram.*, perhaps with the Fairy Tale as the intermediate story.

There seems to be no evidence at all in the HSR to show Kra Kechil's eating from one leaf with, and sleeping in the lap of, his father, Sri Rama, in return for which he will undertake the search for his lost mother. In the HMR, however, Rama and Hanuman eat from the same banana leaf. Neither does his metamorphosis into a handsome prince towards the end of the tale has any evidence. This metamorphosis, however, may be

explained to be an influence from the folk-literature⁴³ of the Malays.⁴⁴ Indeed, the assumption that this accretion is independent of any folk-literature development can not be ignored. For the metamorphosis motif is comparatively widespread not only in locality but also in all forms of folk-literature.

The *Maharadia Lawana* is so microscopic, in comparison with the HSR, HMR and the Fairy Tale, that no traces of Kra Kechil's eating from one leaf with, and sleeping on the lap of, his father, Sri Rama, are found in the story. However, there is a trace of the metamorphosis of Kra Kechil into a handsome prince in the *Maharadia Lawana*. Laksamana metamorphosed into a very handsome *datu*. However, there is no reference to any further adventures he undertakes, unlike what is evident in the Fairy Tale (see below).

Such a metamorphosis as referred to above may be an influence of the folk-literature, such as seen in the many metamorphosis stories in Maranaw literature—both *kunst* and *volk*.

(4) Both the *Maharadia Lawana* and the Fairy Tale end with the metamorphosis respectively of Laksamana and Kra Kechil into handsome prince/*datu*. But Laksamana's change is not followed by other events, and he does not assume any other name. Kra Kechil henceforth is known by the name of Mambang Bongsu; becomes the son-in-law of a king (Raja Shah Kobad), who abdicates his throne in favour of Mambang Bongsu, and reigns as Raja (of) Bandar Tawhil. All these are not found in the greater Malay text, the HSR as well as the HMR, and no traces are found either in the *Ram*. This is understandable for it appears that in spite of the evident attempt at islamization of the HSR and HMR, there seems to have been some resistance to the introduction of new elements and interpolations, because of its being closer to the traditional story as introduced from Indonesia than to the developing literature which found its way into the folk traditions.

The Probable Date of Maharadia Lawana. In comparative studies such as the present one, the most important aspect is the attempt to place in the

⁴³ See and cf. Howard Mckaughan, *The Inflection and Syntax of the Maranao Verb*, Text Illustration No. 2A, "Si Someseng sa Alongan ago si Amo" (Someseng of Alongan and Monkey), pp. 50 ff.; Dean S. Fansler, *Filipino Popular Tales* (Lancaster, Penn., 1921), No. 19—"Juan Wearing a Monkey Skin"; No. 29—"Chongita" (Little Monkey Lady); and the Tinguian Tales, found in Fay Cooper Cole, *Traditions of the Tinguians*, Field Museum of Natural History Publication 180, XIV, 1 (Chicago 1915).

Also Mary Frere, *Old Deccan Days* (London 1858), No. 12—"The Jackal, The Barber, etc.," pp. 175-194; *Ram*, I, 48; III, 71; The *Puranas* and the *Kathasaritsagara* also provide us with a number of tales that show the motif. The story of Urvasi and Pururavas in RV, X, 95, is another major paradigm for his motif. The motif in this story is also known as the "Swan Maiden" motif (see *Kathasaritsagara*, II, Appendix I—"Urvasi and Pururavas"; VIII, Appendix I—"The 'Swan Maiden' Motif").

Furthermore, see Ivor N.H. Evans, "Folkstories of the Tempasuk and Tuaran Districts, British North Borneo," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, XLIII, 1913; *Studies in Religion, Folklore and Customs in British North Borneo and the Malay Peninsula* (Cambridge, 1923).

⁴⁴ *Malay* is used here as a generic term. This would include therefore the whole of the Malaysian Peninsula and Archipelago.

literary historical context of the major literature with which it is compared. And, it seems it is a most difficult task, for it involves more speculative rather than absolute dates. Arbitrary dating would more or less be resorted to but with extreme caution.

The attempt to date the *Maharadia Lawana* in the context of its appearance in Maranaw literature is indeed a perplexing one. However difficult it is, it would not be a futile exercise in putting it in historical perspective, at least, in the light of its relatively close kinship with the Malay Rama stories. This attempt to date the piece would be done on two levels, e.g., internal and external. By *internal*, the date shall be inferred from the evidence in the piece itself; and on the *external* level, the date inferred from the former shall be collated with the date of the Fairy Tale and/or the HSR and HMR in Malay literature.

Internal evidences may constitute mostly (a) Islamic religious aspects, e.g., references to Diabarail (Angel Gabriel), the Muslim prayer corrupted in Maranaw (see par. 6, in Text and Transl.), also reference to Muslim titles as *Sultan*, *Shah*. References to (b) Indian titles as *potre* (Sans. *putri*), *Radia* (Sans. *raja*), *maharadia* (Sans. *maharaja*) and other Indian terms, such as *manosia* (Sans. *manusia*), *nagara* (Sans. *nagara*), *sowara* (Sans. *svara*) and many others that would also have some bearing upon the date of the piece of literature.

(c) The metamorphosis of Laksamana from a monkey-form to a man-form.

In terms of the movement of cultures in Philippine proto-historic times, the Indian aspects of Philippine culture came earlier than the Arab (more commonly related to the Islamic religion). However, in the light of the *Maharadia Lawana* story, it is possible and significantly probable that both the Indian and the Arab elements seen and recognizable could have reached their present setting simultaneously. More precisely, the story itself, or the theme, reached the Maranaw area already complete with these elements at a period after the islamization of the adjoining areas, e.g., Java, Sumatra and Malaya. This date would be extended further into the period during the early incursions of the European in the area. The references to Islamic terms itself do not invalidate the view that the piece of literature has its early beginnings in pre-Islamic times, and that these terms found their way into the literature as an attempt on the part of the recipients of this culture aspect to infuse islamic spirit in it to make it acceptable to the orientations of the new institution.

The transformation of Laksamana from a monkey aspect to a human form, may reveal that the story dates back further in time—into the mythological age of Maranaw folk-history. The presence of a parallel event in a piece of literature with the same theme and plot in a different setting is evidence of its antiquity. However, such a phenomenon is also found in other

tales not necessarily of the same plot and theme and in one setting alone, but in other folk literary traditions.

Without referring to item (c), for it shall be adverted to again subsequently, the date of the story may now be set in the light of items (a) and (b). Considering the aspects referred to under these items, and in relation to the date of the entry of Indian and Arab culture elements into the Philippines, it seems that the piece of literature may have reached its present setting sometime between the middle of the 17th century and the early 19th. The range of very significant Maranaw elements in the literature is itself an indication that the story has floated in Maranaw society for quite some time, and that it would have taken that long to assume an entirely Maranaw character and image (see Text and Transl. for details of this reference). Between the 17th and 20th centuries is a relatively long period of adjustment to the literary traditions, in the context of its cultural milieu; hence, the result was no longer one in which the sharp distinctions between the local and the alien elements have been blurred.

As the date of the *Maharadia Lawana* has been set arbitrarily, it may be instructive to look at this date in collation with the date of the Malay Fairy Tale with which it is compared. The date of this Fairy Tale constitutes the external evidence of the *Maharadia Lawana* date. In the essay, whose format is utilized in the present work, I wrote that the date of the Fairy Tale shall be inferred from two points (internal as they were): “. . . (a) the presence of religious men (lebis, hajis, imams, khatibs)⁴⁵ during the birth of the monkey son and the reading of the Koran at such an important event; (b) the changing of Kra Kechil Imam Tergangga's name to Mambang Bongsu after his metamorphosis.”

Among other references to the Malay Muslim religion, the presence of religious men—lebis, hajis, imams, khatibs—during the birth of the son certainly points to the late date of the Fairy Tale. Moreover, the readings from the Koran present another clue to the very late composition of this piece. These two accretions show that the tale developed during the later period of the incursions of Islam into Malay society. It may even be surmised that allowing a conservative number of years from the earliest conversions in Malaya, the Fairy Tale may be dated not earlier than the 16th century. This conservative estimate may be collated with the second internal evidence.

The changing of the monkey son's name from Kra Kechil Imam Tergangga to Mambang Bongsu after his metamorphosis to man's form is significant in the historical development of Malay literature. This phenomenon in Malay literature, while it may not be recurrent in the Fairy Tales seems

⁴⁵ *Haji* (Arabic), “pilgrim to Mecca, a title for those male or female who have made the pilgrimage.” *Imam* (Arabic), “1. leaders, g.g., the caliphs and the four muslim jurists (Ibn Hanbal, Hanifah, Malik and Shafi'i); 2. leader of a congregation at prayer in a mosque.” *Khatib* (Arabic), “reader or preacher in the mosque.” *Lebai* (Dravidian?), “pious elder, mosque official.”

to reveal a character trait of the Panji tales—that is, the hero in the course of his adventures changes his name in almost every important episode in the story.⁴⁶ The Panji tales are not indigenous in Malay literature. According to R. M. Ng. Dr. Poerbatjaraka,⁴⁷ the Panji tales may have first appeared in 1222-1292, the Singhasari period of Javanese history. But Winstedt⁴⁸ believes that the cycle appeared during the early Majapahit period, c. 1350 A.D., and that the cycle was introduced into Malacca in the middle of the 15th century A.D.⁴⁹ Another hundred years or more may have elapsed before the cycle reached the interiors of the Malay Peninsula.

If the phenomenon in the Malay story were borrowed from the Panji tales, it shows that it was yet in the early years of the introduction of the tales, owing perhaps to the occurrence of only one instance in the Malay tale.

In collation with the probable date of the tale on the basis of the first point, the Panji tales having already picked up influences of the Islamic faith the date of whose introduction in Java being sometime towards the middle of the 14th century A.D., perhaps the end of the 16th century A.D., or even later, may be taken as a *terminus a quo* for the composition of the Rama Fairy Tale.

It would not seem superfluous, therefore, that the *Maharadia Lawana* would have appeared in Maranaw literary milieu at the date set for it (see above). For as the date of the Fairy Tale takes a significant bearing upon that of the *Maharadia Lawana*, it becomes equally important to the whole Maranaw literary tradition. This is particularly so in relation to the *Darangan*, which belongs to the classical period of Maranaw literature, for it belongs to a date relatively earlier considering the language of the folk epic and the many cultural elements that no longer persist in present Maranaw society.

ABBREVIATIONS

BEFEO	Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient
BSOS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies
FAIRY TALE	The Rama Story in the Maxwell study.
HIKAYAT or HSR	The Malay <i>Hikayat Seri Rama</i> (Shellabear)
HMR	<i>Hikayat Maharaja Ravana</i>
JRAS-SB	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Straits Branch
JRAS-MB	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Malayan Branch
Mal.	Malay
PSP	Philippine Studies Program
Ram.	The Sanskrit <i>Ramayana</i>
Sans.	Sanskrit

⁴⁶ See R. O. Winstedt, "The Panji Tales," JRAS-MB XIX, 2 (October 1941), p. 235, for an illustration of this tale character trait. See furthermore, R. O. Winstedt, "A Pañji Tale from Kelantan," JRAS-MB, XXII, 1 (March 1949), pp. 53-60.

⁴⁷ Cited in Winstedt, *ibid.*

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

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APPENDIX

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

*[Text Edited and Translated with the Collaboration
of Nagasura T. Madale]*

MAHARADIA LAWANA

TEXT

[1.] So Maharádia Lávána, na wáta o Solótan sa Pulu Bandiármásir, agu so Ba'i sa Pulu Bandiármásir. So Maharádia Lávána na walo i ulu. Aia bo den a pinggalebek ian na so langon a tao a pekelimod sa lama na di'i nian pakate-ta'ondura'an: Teru'on ian a "pindeda'ora'an ka i aki oto." Somong peman ko isa na tig ian a "pimbabasa'an ka sa marata i girao." Si'i ngka so korang i pariksa' ana kianama'an na mimbeloi a bala'ola, a pekepolangan sa manosia.

[2.] Kagia peketalawan den sa tao a inged ka sabap sa karata i mudul o Maharádia Lávána, na mianik sa torogan so Móna sa Kálalagán, na inadap ian den so Sulutan sa Pulu Bandiármásir. Tig ian a, "He'i! Datu ami, anda manaia so Maharádia Lávána a di'i nian pakate-ta'undura'an so madakel a tao na di'i makapupulanga? Makapangokit ka saia ka aia keori'an on na kebabasan sa pagetao so inged ka."

[3.] Somimbag so Solotan na tig ian a "Akoli ngka so manga pagetao aken sa di siran mawa', ka di ako peman mbebawata sa ba ikabinasa o kadato aken, agu gia di'i kapag'inged i sa Pulu Bandiármásir. Aia lalag aken on na pagaror kano ka aden mibuwang sa kalodan so Maharádia Lawana."

[4.] Si'i ngka sa kiamba'alan den so aror na pimbabalalaian, agu langon taman a tamok, agu ikewi'ag ian na piro-ran on. Piagaiokan iran so Maharádia Lávána na miakada ko aror, a piakiguiud, sa kapal sa kalodan, na agu iran bu buka'i sa posed a ragat. Aia miasowa ian na maito, mala a ndu' a somamber na pa'unot'unot on so aror.

TRANSLATION

[1.] Maharadia Lawana [is] the son (child) of the Sultan of Pulu Bandiarmasir and the Sultan[ess] of Pulu Bandiarmasir. Maharadia Lawana [has] eight heads. [What] he does only [while] among (all) people gathered in the yard [is] to tell [gossips]: he says "you have been cursed by the other fellow". He goes also to the other (fellow) and says "the other fellow says vile words [against you]." So that those who are short of understanding get irritated and become troublesome, and cause the death of many.

[2.] Because the people of the sultanate (village) feared Maharadia Lawana owing to his vile language (bad lips), the Muna sa Kalalagan (the wisest of the wise) went up the palace and reported (faced) to the Sultan of Pulu Bandiarmasir. He said, "Sir, My Datu, why does Maharadia Lawana [always] tell (bad words) on many people [thus] causing death? If you do not pacify him the result would be that the people of your sultanate (village) will decrease owing to this trouble created [by Maharadia Lawana]."

[3.] The Sultan replied, and (he) said, "You plead to my people that they will not leave because I will not bear children that shall destroy my kingdom and that will destroy the peace of Pulu Bandiarmasir. This [is] my order (thought) that you build a raft and let Maharadia Lawana be driven away to the ocean."

[4.] And so the raft was made and a shelter was constructed on it; and all possessions [including] food were loaded on the raft. They persuaded Maharadia Lawana to board the boat (raft); and had [the boat] pulled by a ship to the ocean, and they untied [the raft] in the middle of the sea. And so it happened that weak and strong winds blew [causing] the raft to drift.

[5.] Gowani den a gegawi'i a kepita na miagedam ian a miakaseko so aror ian. Mimbawat na pangilailai na pulu a kiadungkoan ian. Giutu a Pulu Nagára. Tomipad na ini'iket ian so aror ko mala a kaio. Pianimo' ian den a langon a r-rag ko itadu nian na minirampai sa ki-ombawan ian so malaioq a kaio sa Pulu Nagara. Miamanik den ko sapak o kaio na libedan ian sa apoi so atag ian na mipu'un komadeg sa rapog. Kagia pesukeiao na ian nian den ipenggoraok so balod a dunia (opama na gakot o dunia).¹

[6.] Mianeg den o Diabarail (Angel Gabriel), na miakatarbang sa adapan ko Tuhen. Tig ian a "He'i, Tuhen ko! ino so Maharadia Lawana a mitutong sa Pulu Nagara na aia den a ipenggura'ok ian so balod a dunia: 'Alkamundo lila i laila, hi laila ka ilala, Alaho Akbar, alakaola o alakoatila, adubila hi Allah Alim.'" ²

[7.] Mianeg ian so Sowara, aia tig o Sowara na, "Diabarail, ngega'an ka na gu ngka sungowi so Maháradia Lávána na tero ngka on a di den petutong ka da den a ipetai nian ko langon a ipetai.³ Ogaid na gia ka'ulunan iran oto Pulu Bandíarmásir na ana kamanga on, sa makamanga on a keteb na aia ombu makasokar."

[8.] Minggaga'an so Diabarail na lagid o Kilat a obat na iniraut den ko apoi na kiulawan ian so Maháradia Lávána, "He'i, Maháradia Lávána pakinega ko ngka, di ka petutong ka aia tig o Dion'diongan a Tuhen na asar a di ka tutong na langon o ipetai na da'a ipetai ngka on. Sa [aia] oga'id na sa makamanga a keteb sa kamanga oto sa ka'ulunan a torogan i Bapa ka na iaa ngka bu ikasokar."

[9.] So peman so kianega nian ko Diabarail, na da den a madakel a inisembag ian, na mianog agu mida ko aror ian. Inawa'an den o Diabarail. Isa a gegawi'i na somiamber peman a mabeger a ndu na minimbember agu miasoba ian a akal a kiapakadungko ian sa inged ian a Ban-

[5.] When (after) many days, at day-break (dawn) he felt that his raft had run aground. He got up and saw an island. He anchored. That was Pulu Nagara. He disembarked and tied his raft to a large tree. He gathered all the leaves under the tree, which [he] piled higher (exceeded the height of) than the highest (tallest) tree in Pulu Nagara. He climbed (and mounted a) branch of the tree; from there he threw (built) fire below [the leaves] and started a fire and smoke. When the leaves (ian) were [already] burning, he cried that the world is chained.¹

[6.] Diabarail (Angel Gabriel) heard (the cry of Maharadia Lawana), and he (Dia.) appeared before the Lord (Tuhen). He said, "My Lord! Why does Maharadia Lawana burn [himself] in Pulu Nagara, and (why) he cries (because) the world is in chain:¹ Alkamundo lila i laila, hi laila ka ilala, Alaho Akbar, alakaola o alakoatila, adubila hi Allah Alim." ²

[7.] He (Dia.) heard the Voice; said the Voice (to Dia.), "Diabarail, you go posthaste (fast) to Maharadia Lawana, and tell him not to burn (himself); none which causes death shall kill him.³ But in the heart of (the Palace of) Pulu Bandiarmasir, there is a whetstone that whatever tool that is sharpened upon it, that only will kill him."

[8.] Like a flash of lightning Diabarail moved, and reached the pyre (fire) and stopped Maharadia Lawana (from sacrificing himself), "Ho, Maharadia Lawana, listen to me, do not burn yourself, because god (the highest) said that as long as you do not burn, all that causes death will not kill you. However, any tool that is sharpened on a whetstone in the heart of the palace of your uncle, that will kill you."

[9.] When he (Maharadia Lawana) heard Diabarail, without saying many words, he descended (from the tree) and embarked upon his raft. Diabarail also left. One night he drifted with the blowing of the strong wind, and thought of anchoring at the (city) of Bandiarmasir.

diarmasir. So kia'ilaila on o madakel a tao a miakadungko na pitero iran den ko Solotan. Somimbag so Datu a tig ian a "Kagia ba miaka'oma so Maharádia Láwána sa okor ian a da matai, na marata i ba makapira kabetadi sa kasala'an so tao. Apia aia miasowa ian na ba tano miapolang a maginged na di aken paki-peromanan mowang, kena i ba ako kabaia a ginawa i kada o moriatao aken a inibegai raken o Tuhen."

— 2 —

[10.] So peman so Radia Mangándiri, ago so Radia Mangáwárna, na manga wata o Solotan sa Agama Niog ago so Ba'i sa Agama Niog. Miamakala siran den a manga kanakan na da siran mamakabangon sa walai. Mianeg iran den a ana pemaiongen a ba'i a labao den so kata'id ian ka kia'opakatan ko mbalabala, pekeliagan den sa langan a wata a dato'. Pitero den a magari oto ki Bapa iran agu si Bebo iran, a panalaingedan iran si Towan-Potre-Malano-Tihaia, a wata o Solotan agu so Ba'i sa Pulu Nabandai a maraiag sa mawatan marani a kapekeliagron a ba'i.

[11.] Somimbag so manga lokes iran na tig iran a "Di kami kiog i ba kano makalalakao ka kembu kano manga wata na da kano makalio sa tampad a atup.⁴ Gia Pulu Nabandai na tonganai a mawatan a lopa sa sabala a ragat, ka sapulo ragun a ilaiag on a kapal. Pitero a Radia Mangawarna a "Ba kano den pendapat Bapa agu seka Bebo, ka ba kami manga bebai a apia di kami lomio sa tampad a atep na makaoma bo so pantag a koris⁵ ami. Amai ka gia'i den a kuku-dalen kami nio na di kami den mamakabangon sa walai."⁶

[12.] Paras a kiabeneran so Solotan sa Agama Niog, na mitero den. "Kagia di kano peman ke'akolan, na naiao kano, ka benar so mama na amai ka di makalio sa tampadan a atup na si'i rampi sa bebai. Kamba'alan sa manga sasari a awang ka teroon ko rekano na pagelatan oto a Polo Bandiarmásir agu gia Polo Nabandai na tonganai so kabeger

When he anchored, many people saw him, and told the Sultan. The Datu answered and said, "As Maharadia Lawana has arrived, it is his fate that he did not die, it is bad to impose another punishment upon him. Even if it happens that all of us will perish, I will not again send him away, it is not my wish that my son who was given to me by god be lost."

— 2 —

[10.] (Also) Radia Mangandiri and Radia Mangawarna [are] the sons (children) of the Sultan of Agama Niog and the Sultan[ess] of Agama Niog. They grew up to be young men, but they were still unmarried. They heard of a noble princess agreed by all (to be of) incomparable beauty, adored by all sons of datus. Said the brothers to their father and their mother [that] they set [on] a journey to the place and visit Tuwan Potre Malano Tihaia, daughter of the Sultan and Sultan[ess] of Pulu Nabandai whose beauty is known far and near.

[11.] Their parents answered and said, "We will not permit you to go; since your childhood, you have not been allowed to go beyond the house (roof).⁴ This Pulu Nabandai is too far away a land, it is on the other side of the sea; it will take ten years for a ship to sail thereto." Said Radia Mangawarna, "Father, Mother (kindly) think, are we women that we can not leave the house; what is due us will come.⁵ If you keep on restricting us, we will not be able to get married."⁶

[12.] It seemed that the Sultan of Agama Niog was convinced; he said also, "Because you can not be prevented, you wait, it is true that if a man is kept in the house, he becomes a woman. We will construct (make) a strong ship because I tell you (that) in the middle (between) of Pulu Bandiarmasir and Pulu Nabandai, the current is very strong, the currents

a reges on agu di'i kasumbakan a reges, na amai ka alang-alang a kapal na pekitaman on. Tanto a mabeger a sobosobo⁷ ron."

[13.] Miamoroburo den a datu oto na mialimod so pagetao nian a mbumbor a ambi, sui a pila, sapolo kandatoan, siao ka sulutan an a kadakel ian a tao, sareta a piakapu'un ian siran den mba'al sa kapal na sadiap a kiapasad ian. Piakiperoranan den sa langon a barapati a tamok, ka inisaian dun sa torogan a ba piakalletao sa ragat. Piroranan pen sa langon a matanog ka amai ka ba di ma'ula' so pagangin iran na aia iran den pakatarosen a tamok iran. Langon taman a pangengken a irampai sa sapulo ragun na rioran on mambo. Piakipamilian den so langon a pagetao iran na balaksa a miapili on a pakaonoten kiran. Somialawat siran, agu siran bo gending na sareta a tomiolak siran sa tata'odan siran den o langon a tao sa taman sa di den mailai so laia g iran.

[14.] Ganatan [ta] den a Agama Niog. Di'i siran den di'i gantogantong sa kalodan ko miakapira ragun, na lagid siran bo oba matatago sa walai. Kagia den a bubulongen siran na inirampai siran sa pageletan oto a Pulo Bandiarmásir agu gai Pulo Nibandai na so begel na lagid o manga palao agu lagid o rereduten a gapas a di'i nian di'i pakasumbasumbak. Di ta den pakadakelun so tutul⁸ na inawidan siran on o ndo na da'a pepeparinan o awang ka so ari⁹ so tinibeba a isoba sa maregen. Apia pen potao igira a miakandamar na monot bo, minitobak so mala a kapal, na minigaleneb so madakel a tao, ka anda manaia i ikidia ngka on igira a so bagel na domansal sa lolong na tampusen ian sa olinan. Kagia kigaleneb den so Radia Mangawarna na mialilai Kaka nian (so Radia Mangandiri) na miasalikewa ian na minibagai nian on so tapi a awang na miadowa siran on. So manga pagetao iran na da'a ba on miakapesik. Siran peman na langon a sumamber a ndo na paunutunot on siran on agu inalomot den a lawas iran agu da den a ba iran pepeleng sa dunia.

meet (in this part), that if the ship is just ordinary, it will be wrecked. The *sobosobo*⁷ there is very strong."

[13.] The datu caused the *agong* to be sounded, to gather his people, (who came) like the spreading ashes, the returning ants, (from) ten sultanates (kandatuwan), nine sultans, that is the whole population of the sultanates; immediately they commenced to build a ship, and in no time it was finished. They loaded (the ship with) all kinds of wealth, thus appearing like a palace floating on the sea. They (also) loaded all (kinds of) brassware so that their purpose shall not be in vain, these shall be accepted as property (gifts by the other party). They also loaded all (kinds of) food to last ten years (of journey). They selected [also] all the strongest men to accompany them. They praised [Allah], and played the gongs and immediately left (and) all the people bid them goodbye, until they (the people) no longer can see the ship's sail.

[14.] Let us now leave Agama Niog. They are now floating on the sea for many years, (and) seemed to be still in their house. When they felt lonely they had already reached the middle (of the sea between) Pulo Bandiarmásir and Pulo Nibandai, but waves as high as mountains and breaking like torn cotton when they meet [with force battered the ship]. To make the story short⁸ the wind carried them [and the waves] continuously [hit] the ship,⁹ but (the ship) was made to withstand all battering. Even if it be of steel if battered hard, it will be destroyed; the big ship fell apart, many of the passengers drowned, because what can you do when the waves dash from the front (prow) to the rear (stern). When in drowning Radia Mangawarna (he) saw his elder brother Radia Mangandiri snatch a part of the wreckage (of the ship) and gave it (to) him, and both clung to it. None of the people (with them) escaped the calamity. They floated on and on as the wind blew upon them, and seaweeds clung to them; and they no longer knew what was happening to the world.

[15.] Kagia alongan a Dimaat, na si Kabaian na sa kilid a ragat ka pengilonan sa getik, odi na oba ana makedut ian a pako. Kagia matei a kapepegilid ian sa ipameted na miaka'oma den sa manga inalomot a gantong. Miatei a kapaikatitindog ian agu mapapandang ian, na inikalek ian. "Antona'a kaio aia a lagid o ba kadepili sa manga tao," a tig ian. Da sa songowan ian, da sa magendod ka tig ian i ba manga diwata a gumiakap. Kagia bo a matei a kapandangan ian on na inobai nian, ka tig ian a "Marata i ba ako baling na korang a tutul¹⁰ aken amai ka ba ako inise'an, ka da ko mapariksaan o antona'a." Naino o ba den mabubulandeng a mata nian na malo ian kiri so alomot na miakagemao so sapo a tao. Na malo kialuke'an a kapekikiab a atai nian. Pianagikesan ian den na so manga nditaren iran na paras a manga nditaren a manga pipia a tao. Tig ian a "Panaguntapien ko a manga bangkai iran aia ka balasan raken a Tuhen agu so manga lokes iran."

[16.] Kagia panapowaten ian siran na miagedam ian a manga aiao pen a manga posed iran, ago penggarak. Na tig ian sa ginawa nian a "Masiken siran mangao'oiag." Inenda'an ian nian den so salapis ko malong ian na initanggub ian kiran. Initawag ian den ko manga soleda' ian a manga bebai a pakiwitan iran sa maiao a ig. Mianggula'ula den na inipema'igo ian kiran na malo kiatagu-an sa kaiao a lawas iran. So mialamba ko kararao a ig na pianaridutan ian on a manga ngari iran na malo kiaiawan a tian iran. Malo siran miamakatekab. Giuto a inipanik ian siran sa walai. Miakitinda ko manga bebai sa lianot a begas, na piakikan nian kiran na miakapenapas siran. Mimirapai sa miamakatero siran na pianutul iran so piamaakit iran, sa sareta a pitetagikor siran i Kabaian sa kiatokawi nian kiran sa manga wata a timpo a tao. Siran so Radia Mangandiri agu so Radia Mangawarna wata o Sulutan sa Agama Niog ago so Ba'i sa Agama Niog.

[17.] Kagia malo siran roo den peketei ki Kabaian na mianeg iran a puka'aog'aog

[15.] When the day Friday came, Kabaian [living] by the seashore, [went] to look for shells, or to pick some ferns. While going about for a long time on the sandy shore, she came upon a piece of wood [covered with] seaweeds. (For a long time she stood and stared (at the wood) in fear. "What wood is this to which (two) men are attached?" she said. [Sometimes] she would advance, and would retreat, saying that these may be *diwatas* (spirits) coming ashore. After staring at it for a long time, she approached it nearer, and said, "It is bad for me to go back without adequate knowledge of it,¹⁰ if others would ask me, because I was unable to examine what it is." Even if she stared hard (at the wood), she touched lightly the seaweed which appeared (to her) to be human skin. She experienced a relief in the beating of her heart. She removed the clothes [of them] and appeared to be the clothes of noble people. She said, "I will take care of their bodies, so that god as well as their parents will repay me."

[16.] When she lifted them, she felt that their navels are still warm, and (the hearts) still beating. She said to herself, "I think they will come to life." She took off one layer of her *malong* and covered them. She called for the other women in her house that they give her hot water. This was done to bathe them which gave little warmth upon their bodies. What is left in the (water) container was spooned into their mouths to give little warmth to their stomachs. They breathed a little. Immediately she brought them up the house. The women cooked, and the soft (cooked) rice was fed them, (thus) they gained strength (little by little). Until they were able to talk and relate what had happened to them (thus), she took care of them, upon knowing that they were sons of a noble man. They are Radia Mangandiri and Radia Mangawarna, sons of the Sultan and Sultan[ess] of Agama Niog.

[17.] When they were there for some time [at the place of Kabaian], they

a madakel a tao sa tepad a inged. Di'i siran kolintang agu di ta pakaneg sa lalis iran.¹¹ Minise den so Radia Mangandiri sa tig ian a, "Ina a Kabaian, na antona'a di'i aia di'i ngeganding-ganding sa saputol a inged?"

[18.] Aia tig i Kabaian na, "Manga ikaritan ko na gianan so Potre Malano Tihaja, a wata o Sulutan sa Pulu Nabandai, agu so Ba-i sa Pulu Nabandai a pekaliagan sa madakel a wata a dato sa pagaia'on a sipa, ka sa maka'aiao ron na samaia i Bapa ian a aia nian den kawing." Miakandingila siran a magari ka ino siran kon ketagu ko inged a di'i iran di'i ngiloba'an. Gioto pen ka katokawan iran, na tig o Radia Mangawarna a "Kaka, na mbentai ta on."

[19.] Tig i Kabaian a "di kano ron pembantai, ka kagia da ako pen makapasad sa manga nditaren io."

[20.] Tig a Radia Mangawarna a "Ina a Kabaian na ba ka den pamikir ka ona' an a marata i ba so mama na baden genek sa walai, na pekasaian sa bebai.¹² Apia manga togak i manga nditaren ami na pakambentaia kami ka sa pakaradia'an aia."

[21.] Somimbag si Kabaian na tig ian a, "Kagia di kano ke'akolan i ba kano ron di makasong na naiao kano ka mba'al ako sa manga nditaren io."

[22.] Si'i ngka sa miontod den si Kabaian sa pa'itao na miamana'i na mipo'on mambo tomoger sa sipa a dowa katao to a magari, na kagia makapasad siran na tomipad siran ko lama i Kabaian na misipa siran. Lagid siran kon a penggilingen a manga somagaian a orai¹³ sa di'i iran di'i kanggita'a ko sipa. Miamemesa kon so lokes ka kagia da den a ba nian kiran kia'ilaian a manga papasang sisipa. Tig ian a mata'an siran manga wata a dato ka kataia a para a miatadiam siran sipa ka kagia pakaradian a manga wata a dato.

[23.] Kagia makapasad siran na mia'alao siran i Kabaian na mapepenising ian a manga ating iran sa di'i nian kapaka-

heard that a great number of people are moving to the heart of the town. They were playing the *kolintang*, and their shouts can not [even] be heard.¹¹ Radia Mangandiri, asked, saying, "Mother Kabaian, what is this music playing in the other part of the town?"

[18.] Kabaian replied thus, "My sons, that is Potre Malano Tihaja, daughter of the Sultan and Sultan[ess] of Pulu Nabandai, adored by sons of datu who want to reach her by means of the *sipa*; he who can kick the *sipa* (to her room), her father promised that she will be wed to him [who can kick the *sipa* so high]. The brothers looked at each other, because why were they in this *inged* that they were [looking for. They immediately knew, and Radia Mangawarna said, 'Kaka, let us go and see.'

[19.] Kabaian said, "Do not (go and) see [yet], because I have not finished (stitching) your clothes."

[20.] Said Radia Mangawarna, "Mother Kabaian, better think that it is bad for a man to remain in the house (always), [lest] he may become a woman.¹² Even if our clothes are of rags, allow us (to go) to witness the festival (fiesta) there."

[21.] Kabaian answered, saying, "Because you can not be stopped from going there, you wait (for) I shall make for you clothes [to wear]."

[22.] And so, the old woman Kabaian, sat by the door and sewed (meanwhile) the two brothers started to make the *sipa*; when they were finished they went down to the yard of Kabaian, and they played [*sipa*]. They played the [*sipa*] like (as if) they were rotating the *somagaian a orai*,¹³ as it rotated when hit. The old woman (Kabaian) was amazed because she has not seen like them (who can) play the *sipa* best. She said, "Verily, they are sons of a *dato* because it seems that they are versatile, and *sipa* is a game (associated) with children of *datos*."

[23.] When they finished, Kabaian approached them, and she wiped their sweat because they were considered her sons.¹⁴

teia'a.¹⁴ Tig ian a "mangatatao kano bes sisipa."

[24.] Inalegan a kala so Radia Mangawarna na tig ian a "Ina kena a ba kami mangatatao, oga'id na marata i ba so pakaradian a mama na ba di masowa."

[25.] Miapasad ian mambo so manga nditaren iran, na tig ian a "Kataia so manga nditaren io na ilaia nio o kepakai ka poringana bo i pasad a lokes."¹⁵

[26.] Inobai iran den na tig iran ki Kabaian a "Ina na angkaino di kepakai." Pianlot iran den na lagid o ba pise-sapo¹⁶ sa yawas iran. Lagid siran o bebegan sa walo a kagaan¹⁷ sa kapekaba-baia iran ko pasad i Kabaian. Mianog siran den sa rosuwan a towak na tig o Radia Mangawarna a "Kaka, na itugi ako ngka ka aia ta den ipesong sa lama a Pulu Nabandai a di'i ta di'i kasipa." Pinggita iran den so sipa na pimbala-an iran so pasoi na pegandog siran den sa lama a torogan, na si Kabaian na miontod den ko patao na ona'an ian a pekebebaian¹⁸ a kapekegiling[giling] iran ka taman sa da siran pen ma'ipos na di nian siran pukasen sa mata nian.

[27.] Ba miatei na inira'ot siran ko gimoa o lama, na minikekentawa'i den a "Kataia so peka'oma a manga dato a ona'an a manga tata'id¹⁹ agu saiana a sisipa ka aia iran den ipesong sa lama a di'i iran di'i kasipa." Na piatangan siran den a madakel o dato na miamemesa siran. Kagia maka'oma siran sa lama na tomiareg siran na miontod siran ko bangko.²⁰ Aia mambo kiapantagan di'i sipa so Radia Magaiag agu so Radia Magarib, a manga wata o Sulutan sa Magaiag agu so Sulutan Magarib, na di'i siran sipa sa lama.

[28.] So paman so Radia Mangandiri agu so Radia Mangawarna na so kiapaka'oma iran ko bangko na miasakot siran agu di'i siran mbebantai. Na da den a sendod sa dowo oto a dato sa di'i iran kasipa. Domingil kon so Radia Magaiag na mia'ilai nian a inalegan a kala so Radia Mangawarna. Domingil mambo so Radia Magarib na mia'ilai nian a ina-

She said, "So you know how to play *sipa*."

[24.] Radia Mangawarna [threw] a mild smile and said, "Mother, we are not good players, but it is bad not to learn the game of man."

[25.] Their clothes had been finished also, and she said, "Here are your clothes and see if they fit you because they are made (only) by an old woman."¹⁵

[26.] They approached the old woman, Kabaian, and said to her, "Mother, why would they not fit?" They put on the clothes, and the clothes fitted them like they were tailored for them.¹⁶ They were extremely happy¹⁷ that what [the clothes] Kabaian had finished gave them inspiration. They went down; at the foot of the stairs, Radia Mangawarna said, "Brother, you throw me (the *sipa*) as we go to the yard (lama) of Pulu Nabandai, and let us keep on kicking the *sipa*." They played *sipa*, kicking it to and from both sides of the road, as they moved on to the yard of the palace; and so Kabaian sat also at the door (of her house) beside herself in happiness;¹⁸ and they exchanged kicking the *sipa* until they can not be seen, and they were out of her sight.

[27.] Not long (after) they approached the gate of the yard; they were recognized; here are *datos* very handsome,¹⁹ indeed arriving (or approaching); and very versatile in the *sipa*, because as they approached the yard, they keep on kicking (between themselves) the *sipa*. A great number of *datos* stared at them and they were amazed. When they arrived at the yard they stopped, and they sat on the bench.²⁰ At that moment, Radia Magaiag and Radia Magarib, sons of the Sultan of Magaiag and the Sultan of Magarib are playing the *sipa* in the yard.

[28.] Immediately Radia Mangandiri and Radia Mangawarna upon sitting on the bench, (they) were entertained and they became part of the spectators. There was no interruption of the *sipa* playing by the two *datos*. Radia Magaiag glanced and saw Radia Mangawarna smiling at him. Radia Magarib glanced and saw (at the same moment) Radia Mangandiri

legan a kala so Radia Mangandiri, na malo siran kon kianama'an ka aia katao iran on na ba siran di'i sodia'a magari oto. Giuto a ba siran den tomiareg na miontod siran ko bangko.

[29.] Romiowas so Sulutan sa Pulu Nabandai na pengila'ilai na da'a ba di'i sipa na mikerata a ginawa²¹ nian sa kipetaregen²² ko pakaradian. Tiawag ian den so Ma'ongangan ian na tig ian a "Panog ka na agu ngka ise'i a manga dato anan o ino siran tereg sipa."

[30.] Kiapandara'an den so bintang na pianugan siran den o Ma'ongangan, na piakisakot ian siran na agu nian siran bo ise'i o ino siran genek sisipa. Tig iran a "aia mata'an a inigenek ami na kagia gia manga dato anan a miamaka'oma na paras a manga papasang siran sisipa ka lagid o ba kami iran ma'arig'arig. Aia kiagenek ami na pialad ami so pakaradian sa manga dato anan a miamaka'oma."

[31.] Mianik den so Kalalagan na pitero ian a giuto i sabap a inigenek a manga dato oto. Na sokiatokawi ron o Sulutan na tig ian a "benar mambo teroa nio sa dowa katao anan a manga dato a kagia si'i kiran minisabap a kinitaregen ko pakaradian na aia lalag aken on na tarosen iran. Sipa siran."

[32.] Mianog peman so Ma'ongangan na tig ian a "Aia lalag o Sulutan sa Pulu Nabandai na amai ka ikapipia a ginawa nio na pialad ian rekano a pakaradian aia sa sisipa kano kon." Somimbag siran a magari na tig iran a "kena a ba kami mangatata'o sisipa na kagia lalag peman a dato io anan a sipa kami na apia kami di mangatatao na makapaganad kami, ka di mapakai o ba pakada'a so lalag o dato."²³

[33.] Si'i ngka sa mia'ian siran dun a magari na tig o Radia Mangawarna a "Kaka, na aia lalag aken on na aian ka sa lama na agu ako ngka itugi." Initugan den o Radia Mangandiri, na mipo'on den sipa so Radia Mangawarna, na di ta ki-saibarat²⁴ sa somagaian a orai kagia di'i nian gita'an so sipa a lalis dun a saganian²⁵ a di'i nian on di'i kisenggolangan.

smiling at him; and they were a bit provoked and thought that the brothers were despising them. And so they also stopped and sat on the bench.

[29.] The Sultan of Pulu Nabandai looked out of the window and saw there was no one playing the *sipa*; and felt sad²¹ when the game was discontinued.²² He called his wise man (chief minister) and said to him, "Go down and ask the *datus* why they had stopped playing the *sipa*."

[30.] With the decorated betel nut container prepared, the wise man went down to them; and had them served (with betel) and later asked them why they stopped playing *sipa*. They said, "the truth we stopped was when these *datus* arrived; they seemed to be versatile in the *sipa*, as if they seem to provoke us. Thus, we stopped, and handed to them (the brother *datus*) the game, the *datus* who just arrived."

[31.] The wise man went up and related the cause why the *datus* stopped. So when the Sultan knew (this), he said, "It is true also; tell the two *datus* (that) the cause of the game's being stopped (is them); that my decision (word) is that they should continue. They must play."

[32.] The wise man came down again and said he, "It is the desire (word) of the Sultan of Pulu Nabandai that for your own good or benefit that he is handing to you the game, so you play the *sipa*." The brothers answered and said, "We are not good players of the *sipa*, and since it is the word of your *datu*, that we play the *sipa*, even if we do not know, we must try, because the word of the *datu* must be followed."²³

[33.] And so they pushed the brothers; Radia Mangawarna said, "Brother, my word is that you pose and I will go to the other side of the *lama*, and throw me the *sipa*." Radia Mangandiri threw also the *sipa* to Radia Mangawarna, and we cannot compare²⁴ the *Somagaian sa orai*, because the younger brother as he played with the *sipa* he screams²⁵ as he goes

Tig o madakel a tao o "mata'an a kapa-sang ian." Kagia den a dukawan on sengguling a oman'oman na iokit ian ko Radia Magaiag, a oman sumipa na ikolat ian so mosala nian na lagid ian o ba kelampes a dato oto na tikawan ian sumipa na si'i miatago ko pagari nian.

[34.] Kagia aia peman sipa so Radia Mangandiri na kia'omanan peman a di-i kapamemesa ka o mapasang so ari na aia pen so kaka. Pinggita ian den mambo sa lalis den a sagaian a di'i nian on di'i ki-senggolingen sa lama. Giuto a inipelibelibet ian den a apia so manga raga a di iran peki'ilai a paras iran na romiowas siran sa taman ko kasadan sa kapelalis ron a madakel a tao. Kagia makatelo nian milinggi a oman sumipa na taman ian bo di kelampes a mosala so Radia Magarib na tikawan ian na mianagantagantar sa lamin na lalis den sa lama. Miontod den ko bangko²⁶ sa Radia Mangandiri.

[35.] Endodan²⁷ ta lamin na kagia makasoled so sipa ko rowasan na di den madakel a inikidi'a ian²⁸ on. Miangipas den sa mama'an na inisoled ian ko sipa. Tiago ian²⁹ on mambo so sising ian, agu so mosala nian, agu so katiopo ian na inolog ian sa lopa. Si'i den kiatang ka'an ko o'ontodan o Radia Mangandiri sa sareta a mia'aben ian. Pinggaga'anan ian on komowa so sising, mosala, agu so katiopo na inika'ias ian so gianap sa lama. So kini-tagigai o pialot na piamagegao den o madakel a tao, na sareta a inawa'an siran o dowa katao oto a magari na mialing siran ko walai i Kabaian.

[36.] Kagia mapasad a kagogorigao iran na ana kiadowa'an, ana kiatelowan ko gianap, na giuto a petidawa siran den ka'ana ngirao a "saken i miaka'aiao a sipa, na pekikawing ako." Giuto a mipepawala siran den na kagia petitidawa siran na miankapanog so Sulutan sa Pulu Nabandai na tig ian a "Di kano petitidawa ka di ako

around (playing with the *sipa*). The people said, "He is truly versatile." When he became tired going around, very often he would pass by Radia Magaiag and as he kicked the *sipa* his handkerchief flicks, as if it is whipping the *datu* (Magaiag); surprisingly he kicked the *sipa* towards his brother.

[34.] Now, it is also Radia Mangandiri's turn to play the *sipa* and added also to the amusement of the spectators because if the younger brother was versatile, so was the elder. He also played the *sipa* screaming as he went around (playing) around the *lama*. So he went around the *lama* and even the young ladies, who do not show their faces, looked out of the window up to their waists as the crowd screamed. After turning around three times, everytime he kicked the *sipa*, his handkerchief almost hit /whipped Radia Mangarib, he kicked it with full force sending the *sipa* to the *lamin*. (with) the crowd in the *lama* screaming. Radia Mangandiri sat (on the bench).²⁶

[35.] Meanwhile²⁷ in the *lamin*, when the *sipa* went through the window, they (the women in the *lamin*) picked it (the *sipa*) up immediately.²⁸ They cut the betel nut into pieces and put inside the *sipa*. She (referring to the princess)²⁹ also put her ring inside, her handkerchief, and her betel nut case, and threw it back to the ground. It fell exactly where Radia Mangandiri was sitting, at the same time landing on his lap. Immediately he took the ring, kerchief and the case and scattered the betel pieces on the yard. That which was tied was scattered, and the crowd grabbed (at it), and at the same time the two brothers left, and they returned to the house of Kabaian.

[36.] When the commotion subsided, some had two, some three pieces, and so they fought (among themselves), some saying "I am the one who kicked the *sipa*; have me wed (to her)." So they discussed (argued) and when they were about to fight, the Sultan of Pulu Nabandai came down and said, "Do not fight, I am not

kebenaran sa gianap anan. Sa ma'ilai aken a katatago'an ko sising, katiopo, agu so mesala a wata aken aia na aia mata'an a miaka'aiiao. PENDINGILA siran na da a ke'ilai iran a katatago'an on."

[37.] Kagia da'a ba maikagemao ko sising, agu so ped a manga tamok, na tig a dato oto a "Mbebaling kano den na sa migemao nian a manga tamok a wata aken aia a miatago ko sipa na kaso'i ka aden makawing. Oman i isa na komiasoi ko kapal ian ka aia kadakelan ko tao na so miamanala'inged. Si'i ko tulo gawi'i na komiasoi siran bo. Kagia ma'oma so telo gawi'i na miamaka'oma siran, na oman i isa na ma'awid sa sising, katiopo, agu mosala ka tig iran a giuto kon so manga tamok o Towan Potre-Malano-Tahaia. Miamemesa kon so Sulutan sa Pulu Nabandai sa kadakel a minigemao a tamok. Tig ian kon a "kagia di aken di ketordu o andai tamok si'i a wata aken aia na lalang aken on na timowa nio ka paki'ilai aken on, ka ba di sarirong ka makilala nian on so mata'an a rek ian."

[38.] Mianggula'ola den na tig o Potre-Tihaia a "Pangowa'a nio si'i ai ka kuna a ba giaia so manga rek aken. Aia lalag aken on na amai ka ba nio penggiloba'a so manga tamok aken na si'i bo ngiloba'a sa dalem a inged."

[39.] Kagia iraot ki bapa ian a lalag ian na mianunugo den so sulutan sa orobang sa ngiloba siran sa dalem a inged. Komiorapa siran den sa dalem a inged na langon a walai na pianikan iran na da'a a ba iran kia'ilaian ko manga tamok, na giuto a komiasoi siran sa torogan. Na di'i den makimbebasa so langon a manga dato sa torogan.

[40.] Kagia alongan a Diamat na somiong sa ig so Sulutan sa Pulu Nabandai. Ba den miabago sa ola'ola nian a mianik ko walai i Kabaian. "Ala, (tig i Kabaian) Dato, a kembo walai a walai aken aia na da ka on panik." Somimbang a dato oto na tig ian a "Ino ako mianik ka kagia kembo walai na da ago ko ron makapanik." Piakabulos den i Kabaian na si'i

convinced by the pieces of betel nut. From whom I can see the ring, the betel case and the kerchief of my daughter, is truly the one whose *sipa* reached the *lamin*." Looking at one another no one among themselves has any of the three (ring, case, kerchief) in their possession.

[37.] When no one can show the ring and the other two (things), that Datu said, "Go back (all of you) immediately, and whoever can present all these things of my daughter which are kept in the *sipa*, he will return to be wed (to my daughter)." Everyone returned to his ship, because many of them were fortune seekers. Within three days they returned to Pulu Nabandai. When the third day came, they arrived; each one bringing with him a ring, a betel nut case and kerchief saying these are the possessions of Tuwan Potre Malano Tihaia. Amazed was the Sultan of Pulu Nabandai at the many things presented by them. The Datu said, "Because I can not point out which is the property of my daughter, I would ask you to gather (the property), I will show them to her, because certainly, she can distinguish what is truly hers."

[38.] It was done, and said Potre Malanao Tihaia, "Remove these things here, because these are not mine. I suggest that if you plan to search for these property of mine, look for them here within the kingdom."

[39.] When her word reached her father, the Sultan sent slaves to search for the property within the kingdom. They scattered within the kingdom and all houses they went up to search, but they did not see the property, so they came back to the palace. All the *datus* in the palace debated among themselves.

[40.] When the day of Friday came, the Sultan of Pulu Nabandai went to the water (seashore). He changed his daily routine and went up the house of Kabaian. "Oh," said Kabaian, "Datu, since this house was erected you have not visited." Answered the Datu thus and said he, "That is why I visited you because since it was erected, I have not visited." Ka-

mianaros ko panggao. Giuto a mia'ilai nian den so mosala a ibebetad ko panggao.

[41.] Tig ian ki Kabaian a "Ino a panggao aia a kasasambiran sa mosala, (agu ana katiopo on). Ino aia anta'a i kirek on?"

[42.] Tig ian a "Dato na (manga) tamok anan o Radia Mangandiri." Aia nian on kiaposa na tig a dato oto a "Kabaian, na giaia i di'i aken ngiloba'an a rek o Potre-Malano-Tihaia." Paras kon a mialek si Kabaian na miakapelibulibun.

[43.] Da matei na miakasimbo'ang ko paita'o so Radia Mangandiri agu so Radia Mangawarna. Tig iran kon a "Dato na sisi'i ka bes." Tig ian kon a "Owai."

[44.] Inobai den o Radia Mangandiri agu so Radia Mangawarna. Tig o Radia Mangawarna a "Ina a Kabaian, ino a dato aia miasakot."

[45.] Somimbag si Kabaian na tig ian a "Da ka ikeia ta on somakot a maresik aia a loto'an a lokes." Inigemaon den o Radia Mangandiri so katiopo ian, agu so kiasawai sa lima nian na mia'ilai a dato oto so sising o Towan Potre-Malano-Tihaia a lagid o pekarab a apoi³⁰ sa diaramanis ian. "Dato" (a tig ian) "mbama ka sa loto'an aken aia ka da kapagineka'a i Ina a Kabaian ka kagia so lokes na pekalipat."

[46.] Kagia makambama na inisa'an iran, "Dato na antona'a i mala a inipanik ka sa walai ami aia. Mawatan sa ginawa³¹ mi i ba ka panik sa walai a pekegegoran i atep."

[47.] Somimbag na aia tig ian na "Somiong ako si'i ka aia mala sa ginawa ko³² na pengilain ko so Radia Mangandiri, agu awidi nian so sising ian, mosala, agu so katiopo ian."

[48.] Somimbag so Radia Mangawarna na tig ian a "Dato na apia aia ngka pen kinowa so lawas ian na pialad aken reka."

[49.] "Owai, Dato (a sembag mambo o Radia Mangandiri) ka opagonoten aken so lawas aken na aia pen i tamok."

[50.] Gomianat siran den na piaka'ona a Sulutan so Radia Mangandiri, na tion-

baian welcomed (the *datu*) and he went through the *panggao* (that part of the house that is elevated). And so he saw the kerchief lying on it (the *panggao*).

[41.] He said to Kabaian, "Why is the kerchief hanging on the *panggao* (and also the betel case)? Who owns these?"

[42.] She said, "Datu, these property belongs to Radia Mangandiri." After saying thus, the Datu said, "Kabaian, these are what I am searching for, these belong to Potre Malano Tihaia." It seemed that Kabaian was afraid and she hid.

[43.] Not very long after, Radia Mangandiri and Radia Mangawarna appeared at the door. They said, "Datu, you are here." He replied, "Yes."

[44.] Radia Mangandiri approached nearer. Said Radia Mangandiri, "Mother Kabaian, was this datu served (or entertained.)"

[45.] Kabaian replied saying, "I am ashamed to serve (him) because the betel nut case is dirty and owned by an old woman like me." Radia Mangandiri brought out his betel nut case, and showed his hand, and the Datu saw the ring of Tuwan Potre Malano Tihaia like a burning fire³⁰ around the third finger. "Datu," he said, "chew (please) from my betel nut case, because the old woman Kabaian does not notice, for she always forgets."

[46.] While chewing, they asked him, "Datu, what is your main purpose in coming up our house. Far from our expectation,³¹ you have visited our house of dilapidated roof."

[47.] He replied, saying, "I came here because my purpose³² is to invite Radia Mangandiri, and let him bring his ring, kerchief and betel nut case."

[48.] Radia Mangawarna replied, saying, "Datu, even if you get his body, I (gladly) hand him to you."

[49.] "Yes, Datu", Radia Mangandiri himself also answering, "If my body goes with you, how much more the property."

[50.] They left and Radia Mangandiri went ahead of the Sultan of Pulu Na-

dog ian na agu siran bo tundoga o Radia Mangawarna.³³ Lagid kon o pekikiab a atai ³⁴ i Kabaian ka kagia ipekalek ian o antona'a a i ma'ola'ola iran sa manga tamok oto o Potre-Malano-Tihaia. Kagia den a pelalakao siran na pisipatan den o Sulutan so Radia Mangandiri. So langon a gowagawa'i nian na matotolik ian. Ipepo'on ian sa olo na taman sa palo na di'i nian den pakapagaloianan sa mata. Antona'a ri ke'ilai ngka a dawai ko mata-an a wata a dato a tiadinan sa langon a langka ian.³⁵

[51.] Kagia maka'oma siran na da den a madakel a bitiana.³⁶ Tig o Sulutan sa Pulu Nabandai a "Radia Mangandiri na aia lalag aken on na pagabedas ka angka makawing." Miakapagabedas na so mambo so Imam na miakapagabedas. Oga'id na mitero dun so Ba'i sa Pulu Nabandai. Tig ian a "di aken pasin pekikawing so Radia Mangandiri o di mitoman so samaia akun. Aia ped a minisemaia aken na sa makapatai sa ba'os aia a sa masebangan tano aia a palao a igira a somibang so alongan na di pakaborantao ka sabap sa kala ian. Na sa makapatai ron aia den kawing o Towan-Potre-Malaila-Ganding. Amai Radia Mangandiri ka ba ngka penggula'ola'a i kapatai a ba'os aia na oga'id na iketiar ka ka kembomatago saia, na oman'oman na pekigobabat ami sa madakel a tao na pekitaman siran on. Amai ka mala ka i okor, na di den dowadowa na pakikawing ami seka."

[52.] Aia somimbag na so Radia Mangawarna na aia basa nian na "Kagia mininggulalan so samaia o Sulutan sa Pulu Nabandai, na di mambo mapakai Ba'i o di mitoman so samaia ka. Apia aia kala ian na miasa'opak ian pen so dunia, na inggolalan ami den. Kagia kama'oto na magudas kami siran an ami mininggulalan". Sareta a mianog siran a magari na mialing siran ki Kabaian.

[53.] Tig o Radia Mangawarna a "Kaka, na aia lalag akun on na memba'al ta sa pana. Da aped a mipatai ta on a ro'ar sa pana. Da a ped a mipendai siran den, na da matei na miakapasad siran. Sareta a mianog siran na mikikiab den a atai i Kabaian kagia di'i nian siran mbenta-

bandia, (the latter following) and Radia Mangawarna followed them.³³ Her heart beating with fear,³⁴ Kabaian feared what will happen to them, because of the property of Potre Malano Tihaia. While they were walking, the Sultan was studying the person of Radia Mangandiri. All his movements were checked by him. From head to foot his eyes moved to and fro. What defect can you see, truly a son of a *datu* walks with educated movements.³⁵

[51.] When they arrived, nothing much was said.³⁶ Said the Sultan of Pulu Nabandai, "Radia Mangandiri, it is my feeling that you perform abluion, so you can be wed." After Radia Mangandiri has performed his ablutions, the Imam also performed his. But the Ba'i of Pulu Nabandai said, saying, "I will not have Radia Mangandiri be wed, if my vow is not accomplished. My (other?) vow is whoever kills the big snake in the mountain to our east (will wed Tuwan Potre Malano Tihaia). When the sun shines, because of its size, its rays do not show. And whoever kills it will marry Tuwan Potre Malanao Ganding. When you Radia Mangandiri go (to do) and kill the big snake be careful since it was there, and very often (we send) many people to kill (the snake) but they meet their end. If you are fortunate, it is doubtless, that we will have you wed."

[52.] Radia Mangawarna answered in a word, "Now that the vow has been said by the Sultan of Pulu Nabandai, it is also fitting that the vow of the Ba'i (Sultness) be fulfilled. Even if the size (covers) one half of the world, we will do it. And so we bid you goodbye so that we will fulfill your vows." Immediately, the brothers went down and returned to Kabaian.

[53.] Said Radia Mangawarna, "Brother, I think we have to make bows and arrows. No other weapon can kill it save the bow and arrow." Thus, they crafted (the weapon); not long after, they finished. Immediately, they came down the house; Kabaian's heart began to beat,

ian sa di'i iran kapamanika ko bebong. Da miatei na mia'oma iran so olo nian. Pisipatan iran na totorogen. Tig o Radia Mangandiri a "Aria na anda manaia i kapatai na maka'isa'isa. Amai ka ba aia ta okor a mitaman ta on na rila ta ko Tuhén. Mamanik ta sa lawa'an aia.³⁷ Ka amai ka makabao sa tao na ana di nian kapagenao, di ta malotang amai ka bunu on ta a totorogen. Agu paras a katatalawi amai kadita pakana'on. Apia oled na paki'ilai ta di ta kakelek. Mala peman a kia'adena rekita o Tuhén a dia gia oled aia. Amai ka bekaren ian a mata nian na pagoradan³⁸ ta mana. Gia'ungkoto kawan na aia ngka tindo'i ka aia ko mambo tindo'an a diwang." Kagia makadapo siran ko sapak a kaio na miakabao den so ba'os. Di'i nian pangeba'oba'on so ta'o a miabao nian. Sa kiatangkiri a mata nian kiran na pirenganan iran mana. Iko'an ngka kagia kon a masugat a mata a ba'os. Miabosilek na lagid di'i kugar a siombali a manok. Di'i nian bo kakogar na inipatai nian. Mianog siran na mianaros siran sa torogan, ka petero iran a minitoman iran so pasad. "Miapatai o Radia Mangandiri so ba'os" (a tig o Radia Mangawarna).

[54.] Tig o Ba'i a "Di ako mbenar o di ko ma'ilai a katelebeg a lawas o ba'os." Mitero so Radia Mangawarna na tig ian a "Ta'aliken sa pito gawi'i ka an io ma'ilai." So ikatelo gawi'i na mia'ilai iran dun a lagid o ba miakaporo so palao. Kagia ikapito gawi'i na di siran pekabangowa sa mado, sa kiapakado o ba'os. Kiabenaran den so ba'i na tig ian "Ngiloba'an so Radia Mangandiri ka an ian saia mako'a so ba'os aia ka matowa tano a magi'inged."

[55.] Kagia maka'oma so Radia Mangandiri, na tig ian a "Ba'i na di ami malotang sa aia akal aken on na ka'ogupan kami o pagetao ngka." Si'i ngka sa kaia'ogupan siran o madakel a tao na minggusod den sa kiliid a ragat. Agu babo piamutol a kiaga'osa iran on, na miakatarotop pito gawi'i a kiapasada iran on. Kagia mapasad na miakabalaga a kapesebangi kiran a alongan. Da den mi'ipos sa

when she looked at them climbing the mountain. Not long after they reached the head (of the snake). They saw it sleeping. Said Radia Mangandiri, "Brother, how can we kill it (ian) instantly. If it is our fate that we will meet our end, let us give ourselves to God. We climb to the *lawaan* tree,³⁷ here. That when it smells a person, it will wake up, we can not afford to kill it if it is still sleeping. And it seems cowardly if we do not wake it up. Be it a beast let it be seen that we are not afraid. God, indeed created us (to be superior to) the beasts. When it opens its eyes, let us shoot at the same time.³⁸ You aim at its right (eye) and I will aim at the left." When they finally reached the branch of the tree, the snake smelled them. It (went on) smelling the persons it smelled. Its eyes turned to them; at the same time they aimed and shot their arrow. What do you say when the eyes of the snake is cut? The eyes were hit, they were gouged out, like the movements of a dying chicken. While moving thus it died. They got down and proceeded to the palace, because said they, they had fulfilled their agreed task. "Radia Mangandiri killed the snake," said Radia Mangawarna.

[54.] Said the Sultan[ess], "I do not believe until I see the bloating body of the snake." Replied Radia Mangawarna, saying, "Let us wait till seven days so that you can see." On the third day, they saw (witnessed) as if the mountain grew. On the seventh day, they can no longer stand (smell) the odor of the decaying snake. The Sultan[ess] now was convinced, and she said, "Search for Radia Mangandiri so he can remove the snake, because we shall be poisoned."

[55.] When Radia Mangandiri arrived, he said, "Sultan[ess], we can not cope up with the work, so let your subjects help us." And so they were helped by many people in transporting to the seashore (the dead snake). And they had to cut it into pieces to be able to carry it; and it took them seven days to finish the task. When they finished, the sun already rises (shines) early because the

alongan³⁹ na miakawing so Radia Mangandiri. Kagia ikapira nian ro'o den gawi'i na ri'a'ot den a mala a gegao sa inged, ka kagia mambo a miatei a kialalaka-iran. Miniporo den a alongan na da den misambir so kulambo⁴⁰ sa kapipikira nian ko manga lokes ian sa Agama Niog. Na kagia mapamikir ian opama ka makapesembi agu so kapatai na tomo'on ian. Inisa'an den i karoma nian, ka kagia miakapira kasambi'i so ipepita iran ka peketenggao. Tig ian a "Ino ka di pagembo-war." Pitero ian on a di nian ketangka'an kadali ian ko manga lokes ian. Tig a Ba'i oto a "ba kaden mbaiaabaia." Na somimbag na tig ian a "Ba'ana a ikekarata a ginawa ko a ro'ar sa kagia amai ka maling ako na kaganatan ko seka."

[56.] Somimbag a ba'i oto na tig ian a Endudan ta si kisi Bapa agu si Babo ka amai ka miog siran na mionot ako reka sa Agama Niog. Kagia makakan siran na miobai siran den ko Sulutan agu so Ba'i sa Pulu Nabandai, sa sareta a miodas siran. Na kagia matero iran na ba den miakadusong so Sulutan na miatei na agu makatero.⁴¹ Kagia bangonen ian a olo nian na tig ian a "Kokoman a makapagaroma so ta'o na mawit ian sa inged ian so karoma nian. Oga'id na ala ikararata a ginawa ko na kagia tonganai a maregen a kasong sa Agama Niog ka kagia gia peki'okit anan sa pageletan a Pulu Bandiarmasir, agu gia inged tano aia na di'i kasombakan a reges na di kano ron maka'okit." Na somimbag so Radia Mangandiri sa aia tig ian na "Bapa na amai ka ba ka kewan na lomalag kami.⁴² Benar ka kiasagadan⁴³ ami mambo na ba ami bo da pata'in a magari, agu inikada o langon a pagetao ami a mionot ko galigai ami sa kiapanompanga mi sa inged ka ini."

[57.] Tig ian a "Di aken sekano pekalalagen sa ba kano matotong sa alongan. Apa kano ka pakimba'alan aken a usonan a kada'an io." Si'i ngka sa pianunogo ian den so langon a pagetao nian na mipendai siran sa usonan. Ba miatei na miapasad. Langon a tamok a ba'i oto na rioran on den. Langon taman a pangenengken na rioran on mambo. Mida on den so Radia

snake is now dead. On that very day,³⁹ Radia Mangandiri was wed. After staying there for many days a big longing for his land befell him, because they had long been wandering. The sun has risen but the mosquito net was not hung⁴⁰ thinking of his old parents in Agama Niog. He, thinking thus, that if death be the substitute, would choose it (kapatai). The wife asked him, because the breakfast has been changed many times, it was getting cold. She said, "Why don't you get up?" He said to her that he feels uneasy longing for his old parents. The Sultan[ess]* said, "You better decide." And he answered, "There is a thing that bothers me (or makes me sad) except that when I go, I have to leave you."

[56.] The Sultan[ess] answered saying, "Let us go back to Father and Mother if they consent, then I go with you to Agama Niog." After they have eaten, they approached the Sultan and the Sultan[ess] of Pulu Nabandai, and at the same time bid them goodbye. After saying thus, the Sultan bent his head and remained silent.⁴¹ As he lifted his head, and said, "It is lawful that when a man marries, he brings with him his wife to his village. But, I feel sad, because it is difficult (risky) to go to Agama Niog for the journey between Pulu Bandiarmasir and our village is where the currents meet that you can not pass there." Radia Mangandiri replied and said, "Father, if you are doubtful (of our safety over the sea), then we shall walk.⁴² It is true, for we experienced⁴³ (it) and we (brothers) nearly died, and lost all our company, together with our "carriage" (ship) in our travel to your village here."

[57.] He (the Sultan) said, "I will not allow you to walk, which will get you burnt by the sun. You wait, and I will construct a covered carriage on which you can ride." So he ordered all his subjects to construct a carriage for them. Not long after, it was finished. All the things of the Ba'i (princess) were loaded on it. Everything, (including) food was loaded

Mangandiri agu si karoma nian, agu si Radia Mangawarna. Biagi so ta'o sa inged a Pulu Nabandai na aia den piaka'awid ko usonan. Na kiawatanan siran de. Kagia den a matei na inirumpai siran ko ipangegi a lagid o ibebetad a rendem,⁴⁴ agu liolio'an den so kapantar ian a lopa. So gi na tataman sa panintilan. Malo mambo maka'obai sa Kalasan. Aia sana oto ko madakel a tao na amai ka di siran mioma sa Agama Niog na di siran ebetad. Si'i ngka sa so kiapaka'oma iran ko ipangegi oto na tig o Radia Mangandiri a "betaden kami nio." Da den mipaar.⁴⁵

[58.] Kagia mibetad siran na pelantapan iran a mata na benabenar den so kapia nian a lopa. Tig o Mangandiri a "si'i tano den." Pianunugo ian den so manga ngongoda sa kelasan siran ka pembalai ro'o. Biagi ian siran den, so sabegi na pemapan, so sabegi na pengowa sa balagen, so sabegi na teingan⁴⁶ ian a lopa oto. Miangula'ola den ka kagia sa den sa di'i nian tero'on na aia peko'onotan. Si'i ngka sa miakambalai siran ro'o ago mitad siran sa per iran na gianatan siran o madakel a tao na aia bo mialamba na maito a sanasana'an iran. Na mapipia den a ginawa iran sa kapenaiawa iran ko kinibetad a per iran ko lopa.

— 3 —

[59.] Inirumpai sa maga'an den garaben ilao iran. Aia bo dun a sowasowa i iran na igira kegebi, na somong siran a telo ka tao sa rowasan na pegilain iran so ilao. Sa gowan den a giuto i sowasowa i iran, na kagia pegasar na mia'ilai iran ko ipangegi a saladeng a pepanga sa bolawan a di'i manateb. Aia mia'ona on maka'ilai na so Towan-Potre-Malaila-Ganding, na initoro ian de ki karoma nian. Mitero den sa tig ian a "Radia Mangandiri, na amai ka di'i ngka raken makowa a saladeng anan a bolawan, na mageget ako."⁴⁷ Somimbag sa Radia Mangandiri sa aia tig ian na "Ino ba ka bo pegeget. Ombes a ba ako kekowan na di tano minilawan ko repeng tano, di tano repeng."⁴⁸ Pitero ian den ko pagari nian a kagia songowan ian so saladeng oto na oba nian

also. Radia Mangandiri and his wife rode also, and Radia Mangawarna. Half of the people of Pulu Nabandai carried the carriage. They were far already, when after sometime they reached a cogonal area which is very calm⁴⁴ and very flat land. The cogon grass is just ankle high. (The plain) is near, very near the forest. The servants were ordered that they must not put down the carriage until they reach Agama Niog. And so upon reaching the cogonal area, said Radia Mangandiri, "You put us down." They had to obey.⁴⁵

[58.] When they were put down they looked around and truly the land is fertile. Said Mangandiri, "We stay here." He ordered the young men to the forest, because they will build a house there. He divided them, one half to cut wood, one half to gather rattan, another part, to cultivate the land.⁴⁶ It was done because whatever he said was always followed. And so they built a house there and planted crops already and some servants left them, (but) few trusted (servants) remained. And they were all happy waiting for the crops (to ripen and) to be harvested.

— 3 —

[59.] Their palay is (now) nearly to be harvested. So it was their habit every afternoon, the three of them to go to the window, to watch the palay. After doing so, after the early afternoon prayer, they saw in the cogonal area a deer with golden horns, agrazing. The first who saw it was Tuwan Potre Malaila Ganding, pointing it to her husband. Saying, she said, "Radia Mangandiri, (that) if you can not get the golden deer for me, I will die."⁴⁷ Replied Radia Mangandiri, saying to her, "Why do you have to die, it is good that if we get it, our prestige [in the *bangsa*] shall be raised."⁴⁸ Said he also to his brother, when he went to see the deer not to leave the Potre Malaila Ganding. "Even if I beg for help do not help me."

awa'i so Potre-Malaila-Ganding. "Sa apia i kapenggora'ok aken sa tabang na oba ako ngka tanbangi."

[60.] Si'i ngka sa pianogan ian den so saladeng. Si'i ngka sa inalao o saladeng na so piakambaratemowa iran na miangato mikitidawa so saladeng, na di petu'on so Radia Mangandiri. Gora'ok ian den sa tabang, na di den tabangan i pagari nian ka kagia sana nian on. Kagia den a di pekapa'ar na tig o Potre-Malaila-Ganding a "Radia Mangawarna na tabangi ngka si pagari ngka." Gomegenek den so Radia Mangawarna. Kagia matei na miakagirao so Radia Mangandiri a "Radia Mangawarna na saiana ka a matiger sa kapepagari. Petai ako." Na di nin den oto ketiger a ma'ola'ola oto i pagari nian.

[61.] Kagia penog so Radia Mangawarna na aia tig ian na "Potre-Malaila-Ganding, na aia lalag aken on na kagia penog ako na pangeleb ka na apia antawa'a i pakileka na oba ngka leka'i." Mianog den, na so kia'ilaia on o saladeng sa miadowa siran na mindod. Si'i ngka sa sialoba iran a magari. Kagia merimon den a di'i iran kaseloba'a ko saladeng na miadowa kapeke'ilaia iran on. Guito a mimbela'g siran den sa kalasan ka kagia mimbela'g so saladeng. So Radia Mangandiri na kagia irampai siran sa kalasan na ba den miada so peseloba'n iran.⁴⁹ So Mangawarna na kialiwatan ian mambo so peseloba'an ian ko ikapito lapis a palao, na kagia mabereg den sa si'i minisogat ko walai iran. Kagia maka'oma na di'i ngogora'ok sa manga bebai. Tig ian a "Ino kano di'i ngogora'ok?" Tig iran a "Miada so Potre-Malaila Ganding ka kinowa o Maharadia Lawana a pito i olo."

[62.] Inilai nian so keleb o walai na miageba. Tig ian sa ginawa nian a "Gia'i bes a peseloba'an ami oto na so Maharadia Lawana, a miselin sa saladeng." Giuto a da den deke na mialalagoi sa kalasan ka aia nian paman penggiloba'an si pagari nian. Langon a kia'okitan iran sa kalasan na piagenebneb ian on so lakao i kaka nian. Peseged ka kagia da iran bo makowa so arap iran, agu mapipikir ian a masiken miakan a tarabosao si Kaka nian. Antona'a ri i kaka nian a mia'ulog

[60.] So he went down to meet the deer. So the deer was met and as they approached each other, the deer fought back, that Radia Mangandiri can not cope up. He cried for help, but the brother did not go to help him, for it was Potre Malaila Ganding spoke, "Radia Mangawarna, you help your brother." Radia Mangawarna did not move. Not very long, Radia Mangandiri shouted, "Radia Mangawarna, how can you endure seeing your brother in this situation! I am dying." So, he (Radia Mangawarna) can not endure the situation in which his brother is.

[61.] When Radia Mangawarna went down the house, he said, "Potre Malaila Ganding, I think that when I go down you close the window, and whoever knocks, do not open." He went down, and when the deer saw him, (that) they were two already, it retreated a bit. The brothers begun running after each. When darkness came they were still following the deer, (for) they saw it to have become two. So they separated also to the forest because the deer was nowhere to be found.⁴⁹ Radia Mangawarna also lost track of the other deer, on the seventh range of the mountain, that he was running around and around he reached their house. When he arrived the women were crying. He asked, "Why are you crying?" They said, "Potre Malaila Ganding is now gone, because she was taken by Maharadia Lawana of seven heads."

[62.] He saw that the wall of the house was destroyed. He said to himself, "That which we were running after was Maharadia Lawana who disguised himself as a deer." So he did not rest, and ran to the forest to look for his brother. He followed all the footprints of his elder brother in the forest and searched for him. Crying because they were not able to get their desire and thinking that his elder brother may have been eaten by a beast. What can you see when the brother

sa lawas a ig so di'i nian keketeda'a ko saladeng. Kagia den a matei a di'i nian kaketeda'a ko langon a lakao na miaka'oma sa lawas a ig. Tonganai a mabandes na iangoi nian den. Kagia pelangoi na kiada'an sa bager na mia'anod na da den a tatanod ian sa dunia.⁵⁰ Kagia peka'anod na minisanggolai a barokan ian ko dalog a kaio. Malo miabaton a olo nian na kiatago'an sa tanod.⁵¹ Si'i ngka gomiakap den. Miatingag ian den a kaio a Gindolongan (oak) na mia'ilai nian on a mama a totorogen a ililikasao a ating. Inobai ian den na tig ian "Gia'i den si Kaka, ka igiri a totorogen na lagid a pengalilid a bito'on a ating ian."

[63.] So peman so Radia Mangandiri na di'i tetaginep sa di'i ian katurug. So Radia Mangawarna na da nian pokawa ka da'an a somigad, ka kagia kon a miarasai siran a magari na da iran bo makowa so saladeng, agu miada so Potre-Malaila-Ganding.

[64.] Si'i sa di'i katetaginep o Radia Mangandiri, na aia taginepen ian na miakimbolang sa karabao, na sinidong o karabao na minipesik a satiman sa orak ian, na si'i mini'itog sa Sebangan, si'i ko Potre-Langawi (Ba'i sa Sebangan) na liamed ian, ka aia katao ian on na montia. Sc kialameda nian on na girawa ngka sa baden mia'ogat sa lamin. Si'i ngka sa mimbawata sa amo, a aia ngaran ian na so Laksamana.

[65.] Endudan ta so Radia Mangandiri, na kiatakawan sa taginepen ian oto na minikorot, na pagaperen ian a lawas ian na benar a korang, agu lagid o ba kiasakitan. Si'i ngka sa kagia mikorot na mia'ilai nian si pagari nian, a peseged, na misegeda siran. "Oba kowan, Aria (a tig o Mangandiri), ka miato'on ako ngka ka di aken den katawan o anda ko song." Tig o Radia Mangawarna, a "Aia mala a iningiloba aken reka na kagia takinoba a so di'i ta seloba'an, na so Maharadia Lawana a sesalin sa saladeng. So Maharadia Lawana na pito i olo, na kagia maliwat ta na kiasoian ian so walai tano na giba ian so keleb, na inipalagoi nian so Potre-Malaila-Ganding sa Pulu Bandiar-

fell into the river in running after the deer? When not long after he was running following his trail, he reached the river. He swam across the strong current of the river. While swimming he lost his strength and was carried away because he fainted.⁵⁰ While drifting his hand got caught upon a root of a tree. His head was lifted a little and he regained consciousness.⁵¹ He rose up. He stood on a tree called *gindolongan* and saw a man sleeping while perspiring. He approached him and said, "This must be my *kaka*, because when he sleeps his perspiration looks like rolling stars."

[63.] Meanwhile Radia Mangandiri was dreaming as he slept. Radia Mangawarna did not wake him up, because he was still crying, since the brothers encountered difficulties and were not able to catch the deer and Potre Malaila Ganding was kidnapped.

[64.] In the dream of Mangandiri, he dreamt that he fought a carabao, and he was gored by the carabao and one of his testicles was thrown to the east, where Potre Langawi, Queen of the East, swallowed it, thinking that it was a precious stone. That which she swallowed, let us see that she became pregnant in the *lamin*. She gave birth to a monkey, who was named Laksamana.

[65.] Going back to Radia Mangandiri, who was shocked by his dream that he jumped, and touching his body, he realized that truly he had one lacking, and it seemed he was hurt. When he jumped, he saw his brother crying, and both of them cried. "We are lucky," said Mangandiri, "that you found me, for I do not know where to go." Said Radia Mangawarna, "I have been looking for you because what we were running after was Maharadia Lawana, of seven heads, we lost track (of the deer), it returned to our house, destroyed the wall, and ran away with Potre Malaila Ganding to Pulu Bandiarmasir." Radia Mangandiri fainted. Because he followed the order (the mind) of the woman. "I do not know

masir." Gitanan kon so Radia Mangandiri. "Kagia", ki a tig ian a "igira a miakowata so lalag a bebai. Da den a katawan ko a kagobata ta sa Pulu Bandiarmasir, ka da a pagetao ta, da awang ta, agu da a ba ta sandiata."

[66.] So taginepen a Radia Mangandiri na benar. So Laksamana, a amo, a wata o Potre Langawi na inise'an ian si ina ian. Tig ian a "Ina, na ipagisa aken reka a antawa'a i Ama aken." Somimbag na tig ian a "Da a mapetero aken reka ka da'a katawan ko." Tig ian a "Ati ba ako den mia'aden sa da ama aken. Isan a sabarang." Tig ian a "aia ama ka na si Ama." Tig ian a "ino ngka petarowa a aia Ama aken na si Ama ka? Ino ba kano misebo?" Tig ian a "Isan aia a lalong a wata, Angkaino kami makapesebo ki Ama."

[67.] Piakataman nian on den a da a ba nian katawan, na kiagenekan o Laksamana mise. Miontod ko rowasan na miakagedam sa ka'or so Laksamana. Tig ian a "Da den a katawan ko a makan aken ka kagia mialengan aken a langon a onga kaio sa kalasan." Mia'alai nian den a mariga a lagid o pamorawag sa sedepan, na tig ian a "Masiken oto mala a pagenengken." Tomipak den ko manga ka[io] na piamakapagalioana ian na inirampai sa sedepn. Kagia di'i den tepatepak na ba den miaroseng, na mia'olog ko pageletan o Radia Mangandiri agu so Radia Mangawarna.

[68.] Tig o Laksamana a "Ama agu seka Bapa, na ino mararata a ginawa nio? Antona'a i sabap a ipesegad io?"

[69.] So peman so Mangandiri na apia nian on kiadingili na da. Tig o Mangawarna a "Ino ari a amo ini a tialowan ka nian a ama, na saken na bapa? Pama'lo'in ta." Di iran den pekebotan ka mialek siran.

[70.] Tig peman o Amo a "Ama agu seka bapa na pagise'an aken sekano. Teroa nio raken ka kena a ba kano pemaloia."

[71.] Tig o Radia Mangawarna a "sembaga ngka kaka, ka apia palanggalanggam na kagia tiawag ka nian a ama, na marata i ba ngka di sembaga."

how we can attack Pulu Bandiarmasir, because we do not have men, ship and we do not have arms."

[66.] The dream of Radia Mangandiri was true. Laksamana, the monkey son of Potre Langawi asked his mother. Saying, "Mother, may I know who is my father." She replied, saying, "I can not tell you because I do not know." He said, "So I was created without a father? It is very strange." She said, "Your father is my Father." He said, "Why did you say that my father is your Father? Did you commit incest?" She said, "What a foolish child, how can Father and I commit incest (adultery in the text)?"

[67.] She said (further) that she knows nothing, and ended thus, and Laksamana stopped asking. Laksamana sat at the window and felt hungry. He said, "I do not know what to eat because I have consumed all the fruits of the trees in the forest." He saw something red like a twilight in the west, and said, "I think that is a big (source of) food." He jumped from tree to tree over the mountains, and reached the west. While jumping from one tree to another he fell, and he fell between Radia Mangandiri and Radia Mangawarna.

[68.] Said Laksamana, "Father and you, uncle, what is bothering both of you? What is the cause of your crying (sadness)?"

[69.] Mangandiri, on the other hand, did not even take notice of the monkey. Said Mangawarna, "Why does this monkey call you father, and myself uncle? We may be enchanted." They did not bother because they were afraid.

[70.] The monkey said, again, "Father and you, uncle, I am asking you both. Tell me, because you are not enchanted.

[71.] Said Radia Mangawarna, "Answer him, brother, even if he is an animal, and because he calls you father, and it is bad if you do not answer."

[72.] Tig peman o Amo a "Amai ka matero io raken i ikararata a ginawa nio na oba'ana mitabang aken rekano." "Sa ken" (a tig ian so Laksamana)" wata io Ama agu so Potre-Langawi."

[73.] Kiatademan o Radia Mangandiri so taginepen ian na tig ian a benar bes. Giuto a somimbag. "Aia ikararata a ginawa ko na kagia so karoma ko a Potre-Malaila-Ganding a wata o Sulutan sa Pulu Nabandai, na minipalagoi o Maharadia Lawana a pito i olo, na inowit ian sa Pulu Bandiarmasir. Aia sabap a kia'akalian rekami na kagia miselinsalin sa saladeng a pepanga sa bolawan. Di ami kegotat, ka kagia da'a pagetao ami. Agu da den a pagetao ami agu da a kisong ami sa Pulu anan, agu da a sandiata ami."

[74.] Tig o Laksamana a "di nio rarata a ginawa nio, ka tabangan aken sekano." Tig o Radia Mangandiri a "Laksamana, na di tano tu'on ka telo-telo tano." Tig ian a "Ama, na panggugubat so madakel, na panggugubat so maito. Naino ka ba ako di angkata a langon a pagetao aken a karabao sa kalasan. Naiawa ko nio."

[75.] Gianatan ian siran den na tni-motimo ian so langon a militilitig a karabao a pagetao nian. Sa pitero ian kiran a ngubaten iran a Pulu Bandiarmasir. Kagia maka'oma siran ko Radia Mangandiri, agu so Mangawarna, na tig o Laksamana a "Ama, na ogopi kami nio mangowa sa balagen."

[76.] Si'i ngka sa miagaion'aion siran den na miangakokowa so balagen, na piakingusod iran ko manga karabao ko itado o kaio a gindolongan. Na kagia matimo na miamelepel so alog. Na giuto a piakampungasumpat iran den. Kagia mapasad na tig o Laksamana "Bapa na pakadasel⁵² ako ngka sa palad ka, ka iseiaio aken sa sabala a poro aia a balagen." Tig o Radia Mangandiri a "Si'i ka pasig sa palao aia." Somiong den ko palao na (lomitakat) na minitobak so palao ka di nian keren. Tig ian a "Si'i ako ngka Ama pakapasiga sa palad ka."

[77.] Piakapasig ian sa palad ian na somia'iao so Laksamana na inira'ot sa

[72.] Said the monkey, "If you can tell me what your problem is, I may be of help to you." "I", said Laksamana furthermore, "am the son of you and Potre Langawi."

[73.] Radia Mangandiri remembered his dream, saying, "It is true." So he replied, "What is bothering me is my wife Potre Malaila Ganding, daughter of the Sultan of Pulu Nabandai, who was abducted by Maharadia Lawana of seven heads, and who brought her to Pulu Bandiarmasir. That is the cause of the deception upon us when he changed himself into a deer with golden horns. We can not attack, because we do not have soldiers. And also we do not have men who will go with us to Pulu Bandiarmasir and we do not have weapons."

[74.] Laksamana said, "Do not be bothered yourself, for I will help you." Said Radia Mangandiri, "Laksamana, we can not (challenge them) because we are only three." He said, "Father, many can attack and few also can attack. Never mind, because I will call all my subjects (consisting of) carabaos in the forest. Wait for me."

[75.] He left then and there and gathered all the strongest carabao subjects of his. He told them that they will attack Pulu Bandiarmasir. When they reached place where Radia Mangandiri and Radia Mangawarna were waiting, Laksamana said, "Father help us gather rattan."

[76.] So they were united in gathering rattan, and had the carabaos carry it under the tree called *gindolongan*. And when it was gathered, the slope was full. And so they tied together the rattan. When they were finished, Laksamana said, "Father support me with your palm, and holding the other end of the rattan I will leap."⁵² Radia Mangandiri said, "Let the mountain be your support." He went to the mountain, and because the mountain can not support him, it fell apart. He said, "On your palm, Father, will I use for support."

[77.] Using his father's palm, Laksamana leaped and reached Pulu Bandiarmasir.

Pulu Bandiarmasir. Inisanggulai nian so balagen ko kaio a *gindulongan*, na inikekasokaso nian na miabaloi a titai sa sabala kagia mapos. Kagia mapasad na tig ian ko Radia Mangandiri, a "Ama, na rumipag tano sa sabala ka di'i siran di'i kelilang sa kapelilanga iran ko Potre-Malaila-Ganding ka kembo saia matagu na oman on magubai so Maharadia Lawana, na kaletan siran sa apoi a pekasuko sa bu'ongan." 53

[78.] Giuto a lomialakao siran den na tinitai iran so titai a balagen. Kagia den a petita'in iran na minisibeg so titai na mia'olog siran sa ragat na pemagega'on siran a bowaia. Kagia den a di'i siran makitidawa ko manga boawaia, pingega'an anan den o Apo a bowaia si Laksamana, na inarab ian na di nian kelino. Kagia di nian kelino na tig o Laksamana a "apo a Bowaia na piapia ka, ka aia bo a turo'on aken reka, na matai ka den." Kiape-tan ian a mata o bowaia ba den milelepot na gora'ok den o bowaia. Tig o bowaia a "somiangkok ako den na geneki ako ngka." Kagia somiangkok so bowaia na tig ian a "Kiandato'an aken sekano na aia lalag aken on na awidi kami nio agu so manga pagetao ngka sa sabala na agu kami nio ugopi makitidawa." Kia'okitan den na mala maito a bowaia na lomitao na iniripag ian siran sa sabala. So mambo so manga karabao a pelangoi na miakagakap siran. Kagia den a matimo siran o Laksamana a "aia lalag aken on manga bowaia na amai ka ba tano makapetidawa na langon a maka'agao sa langon aia a tao sa Bandiarmasir sa ig na oba nio di masakab. Si'i kano dun Ama agu gia manga pagetao tano aia ka somong ako sa gakap ka pakatoka'on aken siran sa alongan imanto na tidawa tano."

[79.] Giuto a lomialakao den na mianik sa torogan na mia'ilai nian a so den so kapaka'obai o [Maharadia] Lawana ko Potre-Malaila-Ganding na kiale-tan siran. Miontod den ko panggao na tig ian a "Maharadia Lawana, na ino kano pekeleti sa kadeg, agu so Potre-Malaila-Ganding."

[80.] Somimbag (tig ian a) "Amo na giaia kami den sa kembo kami makatepi."

masir. He tied the rattan to the *gindolongan* tree, and he went back and forth (between the two banks of the river), and it turned out to be a bridge, bridging the two sides when it was finished. When it was finished, he said to Radia Mangandiri, "Father, we now cross to the other end, because they are having a festival to console Potre Malaila Ganding, because everytime Maharadia Lawana gets near her, fire reaching the roof appears to separate them." 53

[78.] So they walked across the bridge made of rattan. While crossing, the bridge swayed and they fell into the sea, (a) crocodile(s) snatched them. While fighting with the crocodiles, the king of the crocodiles immediately went to Laksamana and devoured him, but can not swallow (him). When he can not swallow him, Laksamana said, "King of Crocodiles, do your best, because I tell you, you are to die." Laksamana took hold of the crocodile's eyes, thus forcing out the eyes, the Crocodile cried. Said the crocodile, "I surrender to you, stop (hurting) me." When the crocodile surrendered, Laksamana said, "I am your king now, my orders are (that) you and your subjects carry us to the other side, and help us fight." It was done, and big and small crocodiles came up and carried them across. Also, the carabaos swam, and they went ashore. When they were assembled by Laksamana, he said, "My orders are—crocodiles, when we fight, all the people of Bandiarmasir who run to the river, eat them. Stay here, Father and all subjects, for I go ashore to let them know that today (now) we will fight (them)."

[79.] So he went and proceeded to the palace and saw that when Maharadia Lawana got near (approached) Potre Malaila Ganding a fire appears between them. Laksamana sat on the bed and said, "Maharadia Lawana why does fire separate you and Potre Malaila Ganding?"

[80.] Replying, he said, "Monkey, this usually happens since we were together."

Tig o Laksamana a "Si'i sabap sa kagia da makarila so manga lokes ian sa kia-pangaroma angka on." Tig ian a "Owai, ka si'i aken inagao ko Radia Mangandiri."

[81.] Tig i Laksamana a "benar a kiateroa ngka on ka siogo ako mambo o Radia Mangandiri a petidawa kano kon, ka kataia a di'i ka nian pagaianan sa itogon io aia." Miobai so Amo ko Potre-Malaila-Ganding, na tig ian a "Ganapen ka so Radia Mangandiri, ka kembo kami si'i ripag na da makambama sa di'i nian reka kimbuko'on." Tig ian a "kembo ako si'i na da'a ako makambama, na aia pen sa ba ko ganapen so Radia Mangandiri." So kia'ilaia on o Amo sangka, na siningga'ot ian na ino'it ian ki Ama ian. So kiapaka'oma nian na siogo ian dun so manga karabao sa lontana siran sa inged na agu siran pakitidawa. Lomiontana so langon a karabao sa inged, na wata, mala a tao, bebai na pisemakan iran den. Oman i maka'agao ron sa ig na sakaben a bowaia.

[82.] Miakapanik sa torogan so Mona sa Kalalagan, na pitero ian den ko Maharadia Lawana a miapado so pagetao iran. Minikorot kon tominipo sa lopa, na pianaloba ian kon a kampilan so manga karabao na lagid o pelampinasen.⁵⁴ Miska'agao dun ko darpa o Mangawarna na mitidawa siran a kampilan, na di pekakowa sa pa'ar ian so Mangawarna. Sialiovan peman o Radia Mangandiri, na di pagotengan so Maharadia Lawana. Kagia ma'ilai o Amo a di pekapa'ar si Ama ian, na kinowa ian so kampilan o Radia Mangandiri na kiamanga nian ko kamanga sa ka'olonan oto o torogan a kaio a naga, pa malo ian on biodi'ol, na komiasoi bo na inibegai nian ko Radia Mangawarna. Tig ian a "Maharadia Lawana, na amai ka ana anugon ka sa dunia na tareg ka na agu ka sangkop." Tig ian a "sabentar kano ka di ako sengkop."

[83.] So piakapos ian a di sengkop, na giander o Radia Mangawarna si kaka nian ka kagia diokawan, na mitidawa siran na piangapalian so Maharadia Lawana, ka giuto so miatero o Tuhen a sa

Laksamana said, "This is [the cause] because her parents did not consent to your marriage." Maharadia Lawana said, "Yes, because I abducted her from Radia Mangandiri."

[81.] Laksamana said, "That is true, what you said, because I was sent by Radia Mangandiri to fight you because he is now waiting for you at the river." The monkey approached Potre Malaila Ganding and said, "Prepare chewing betel for Radia Mangandiri, since we have crossed here, he has not chewed (betel) because he is sad for you." She said, "Since I reached here, I did not also chew, much more if I prepare chewing betel for Radia Mangandiri." Upon seeing her there, Laksamana, the monkey took her and brought her to his Father. When they reached there he sent all the carabaos to go to the village; children, adults, women they killed all. All those who ran to the river were eaten by the crocodiles.

[82.] The wise men went up the palace and told Maharadia Lawana that his subjects were being killed. He leaped and jumped to the ground, and with his *kampilan* he ran after the carabaos cutting them down like *pelampinasen*.⁵⁴ (Maharadia Lawana) reached the place where Radia Mangawarna was, and they fought with *kampilans*, and Mangawarna can not equal (his adversary). Radia Mangandiri relieved him, but Maharadia Lawana can not be wounded. When the monkey (Laksamana) saw that his father can not kill Maharadia Lawana, he got the *kampilan* of Radia Mangandiri and sharpened it on the whetstone set upon a *naga* wood, found in the palace, and slightly sharpened on it, and returned and gave it to Radia Mangawarna. Radia Mangawarna said, "Maharadia Lawana, if you value the world, stop and surrender." Maharadia Lawana said, "You double your efforts for I will not surrender."

[83.] After saying that he will not surrender, Radia Mangawarna grabbed his elder brother who was tired, and he fought and wounded Maharadia Lawana, because it was told by god that whatso-

makamanga a keteb sa kamanga oto sa ka'olonan a torogan, na aia bo makapatai. Kagia kapali'an na minilampas so Maharadia Lawana.

— 4 —

[84.] Miatarotop so miakadowa polo ragun a kiandalakao o Radia Mangandiri agu so Radia Mangawarna, sa langon a maregen na kia'okitan iran. Da'a panamaraan o tao a ba on di makandamar. Oga'id na miakowa iran bo so baia a ginawa iran. Si'i ngka sa kagia magagandai siran den sa itogon oto a Pulu Bandiarmasir na tig o Laksamana a "Kagia ba mia'ipos so rido tano na ibaling aken sekano sa Agama Niog." Tig o Radia Mangandiri a "anda manaia?"

[85.] Na tig ian a "Meda tano sa likod a bowaia." Tialowan ian den so maito mala a bowaia, na palaia siran lomita'o sa ragat. Piamili'an den o Laksamana, na da'a ba on miasowat so Potre-Malaila-Ganding a ba iran kapageda'an iran ka kelek. Aia nian peman piakaletao so Apo'apo'an a bowaia na lomita'o a likod ian na mipelagid o matalanged a bubung. Si'i ngka sa miabaia on meda so Potre-Malaila-Ganding. Mida on den so mambo so Radia Mangandiri, so Radia Mangawarna, agu Laksamana, na siagabai siran o langon a maito mala a bowaia na miandog siran den sa ka'omag sa Agama Niog. Kagia den a peka'obai siran sa Agama Niog na lagid o ba di'i subusubo sa kabeger o langon a bowaia, gia mambo a kalasan na lagid o lilinogen sa dalepek o manga karabao sa kapelalag iran.

[86.] Kaitekawan siran sa Agama Niog na mia'opakat siran den sa giuto den i bangkit.⁵⁵ Siombali iran a langon a ai'am iran ka aia katao iran on na kaposan sa ranonan.⁵⁶ Kagia malangkao siran o Radia Mangawarna na tig ian a "Ino a langon aia pagetao tano a ba siran den maguguri-gao. Kelek siran?" Tig o Laksamana a 'Naino ka tero'on ko kiran." Somiaiao dun sa ipameted na tig ian "A madakel a tao na di kano kelek, alawa nio so Radia

ever tool that is sharpened on that whetstone kept in the sacred corner of the palace, it always kills. When he was wounded Maharadia Lawana collapsed.

— 4 —

[84.] Twenty years have passed in the wanderings of Radia Mangandiri and Radia Mangawarna, they experienced all kinds of hardships. In whatever task one would do (undertake) he would always encounter difficulties. But they achieve what they desire. While they tarry in a house (by the river or sea) in Pulu Bandiarmasir, Laksamana said, "after we end this war, I will bring you back to Agama Niog." Radia Mangandiri said, "How?"

[85.] Laksamana said, "We will ride on the back of the crocodile." He called all the big and small crocodiles and all of them came up from the bottom of the sea. Laksamana selected those (one which Potre Malaila Ganding can ride), but none of these was liked by Potre Malaila Ganding for them to ride because they were afraid. He (Laksamana) had the king of the crocodiles come up and it came up and its back is compared to a relatively large mountain. And so Potre Malaila Ganding preferred to ride on it. Radia Mangandiri, Radia Mangawarna, Laksamana also rode and they were escorted by all small and large crocodiles moving towards Agama Niog. When they were about to reach Agama Niog, the waves created by all the crocodiles escorting them were like those created by the strength of a strong wind, also the forest seemed to tremble at the footsteps of the carabaos that were walking.

[86.] The people of Agama Niog were frightened and they believed that it is the end of the world.⁵⁵ All animals were slaughtered by them because they thought it is their last chance to eat.⁵⁶ When Radia Mangawarna saw them, he said, "Why are all our people troubled? Are they afraid?" Said Laksamana, "Never mind because I will tell them." He jumped to the shore and said, "O Many People, do not be afraid, you meet Radia Man-

Mangandiri, agu Radia Mangawarna ka miaka'oma siran, na ped iran so Potre-Malaila-Ganding, a wata o Sulutan sa Pulu Nabandai agu so Ba'i sa Pulu Nabandai." Aia minisambi a kiapandara'an iran so osonan agu tangkongan, na mia'alao iran so Radia Mangawarna, Radia Mangandiri, Potre-Malaila-Ganding, na mala den a pakaradi'an sa Agama Niog. Kia'ompi'an a dalem a inged na sionodan⁵⁷ peman a papalangan. So peman so Laksamana na miselin bo sa miakata'ita'id a dato. Na mapipia den a ginawa iran sa Agama Niog. TAMAT.

gandiri and Radia Mangawarna, they have arrived, and together with Potre Malaila Ganding daughter of the Sultan and Sultan(ess) of Pulu Nabandai." Instead, they changed (from fear to joy) and prepared the carriage and chair, and they met Radia Mangawarna, Radia Mangandiri, Potre Malaila Ganding, and there was a big festival in Agama Niog. The whole village was cleaned and they were all happy.⁵⁷ As to Laksamana, he metamorphosed into a very handsome *datu*. And they have a happy (good) feeling in Agama Niog. FINIS.

NOTES

¹ Maharadia Lawana was sacrificing himself in the pyre because the world is chained to all sins of the world, e.g. chained to desire.

² An Islamic formula.

³ cf. the causes of death of all (men) shall not cause the death of Maharadia Lawana. cf. furthermore, Ravana's sacrifice to gain all the power to challenge Siva, in Indian puranaic literature.

⁴ *tampad a atep*, lit., edge of the roof, fig., beyond the confines of the house, "They are yet too young to leave the house."

⁵ *koris*, fate, also the lines of the palm indicating fate(?).

⁶ *makabangon sa walai*, lit., to build a house; fig., to get married.

⁷ *sobosobo*, typhoon, storm.

⁸ *Di ta den pakadakelen so tolot*, "let us not lengthen the story." The first person reference in this phrase is to the narrator of the story, who is addressing his audience. The present rendering of the phrase is merely a usage of the cliché.

⁹ *ari* refers to the one relating the story.

¹⁰ *korang a tolot*, lit., short of story; fig., inadequate information.

¹¹ *di ta pakaneg sa talis tran*. cf. note 8, above.

¹² cf., may turn effeminate.

¹³ *somagaian sa orai*, fluttering gold pieces or foil.

¹⁴ *kapakateiaa* (mataia), favourite, beloved like being sons or children.

¹⁵ This is a phrase which expresses humility, particularly if a thing is offered to one of high station. The reference to the old indicates the idea of humility in relation to people of rank.

¹⁶ lit., cut into parts, e.g., butchering animals. Refers furthermore to garments being cut before stitching.

¹⁷ lit., given eight speed; fig., happy. The "eight speed" may in Maranaw thought be an idea of fast speed, hence in this context, it may mean "extreme happiness."

¹⁸ lit., first love, fig., extremely happy.

¹⁹ lit., first in beauty; fig., very beautiful or very handsome.

²⁰ Maranaw, *ontoda*, seat.

²¹ *marata*, bad. *mikarata a ginawa*, lit., bad self or feel bad; fig., feels sad. *ginawa*, self.

²² *tareg*, stop; *pakaradian*, royal game; cf. *kalilang*, festival.

²³ *daa*, lose, to lose. The phrase literally means—"The word of the dato should be lost." Fig., "The datu's word should be followed."

²⁴ lit., example, fig., compare.

²⁵ maybe creating a noise of life and joy.

²⁶ See note 20, above. This indicates how deep the hispanic influence upon Maranaw has gone.

²⁷ *undod*, to go back.

²⁸ lit., not much was done.

²⁹ *ian* refers to the princess.

³⁰ The ring is definitely of precious stone, because of the glitter it emits and is comparable to fire.

³¹ lit., far from ourselves; fig., far from our expectations, unexpectedly.

³² lit., big self; fig., purpose.

³³ meaning, the Sultan was between the brothers when they went to Sultan's home.

³⁴ lit., beating liver; fig. beating heart.

³⁵ All movements are evidence of a royal origin. He moves with artistic aspect, evidencing royal origins.

³⁶ lit., no large congregation; fig., nothing much said in the *torogan*.

³⁷ *lawaan*,

³⁸ lit., to run at the same time full speed.

³⁹ lit. the day did not end; fig. on that very day (that the sun rose early).

⁴⁰ lit., mosquito net is not folded up; fig., that either the people are still sleeping or some one is sick, hence it is not folded up. The Maranaws believe that if the mosquito net is not folded up, somebody will get sick and die.

* Tuwan Potre Malaila Ganding/Tuwan Potre Malano Tihaila.

⁴¹ lit., was not able to say anything for long; fig., remained silent for long.

⁴² lit., walk; fig., to go on a caravan.

⁴³ *sagad*, lit., pass through; fig., experience.

⁴⁴ lit., like a mat lying flat; fig., very calm.

⁴⁵ lit., no control; fig., they had to obey—this refers to the fact that even if the Sultan of Pulu Nabandai ordered his subjects not to put the *osonan* down, they can not disobey the orders of Radia Mangandiri to put them down.

⁴⁶ lit., to touch; fig., to cultivate.

⁴⁷ lit., not to breathe; fig., to die, to kill.

⁴⁸ lit., equal to us or not equal to us; fig., their prestige in the *bangsa* will rise.

⁴⁹ lit., that which was running was lost; fig., the deer was nowhere to be found.

⁵⁰ lit., to forget the world; fig., to faint, become unconscious.

⁵¹ lit., to put sense; fig., to regain consciousness.

⁵² *pakadasel*, to kick, in the sense it means a supporting board like the spring, rather a diving board in a swimming pool.

⁵³ According to the belief of the Maranaws, fire will always plague the life of a couple living together without the benefit of marriage ceremonies. The symbolism is quite unique because to the Maranaw fire is associated with hell—being an eternal fire.

⁵⁴ *pelampinasen* is not found in the Maranaw Dictionary, and therefore seems archaic. Whatever it means as used in the text may be “like falling banana trunks.” cf. *darangen* texts relative to the deaths caused by direct hand to hand combat, where the vanquished fall like banana trunks being cut.

⁵⁵ *bangkit*, as it is used alone here, means the world at its end, that is, the world will perish.

⁵⁶ lit., end of desire; fig., last farewell.

⁵⁷ *sionodan*, lit., return; fig., as used in the text it refers to the return of the people from sadness to joy because the two princes had come back from their wanderings, with a princess who was the object of their long years of journey.

SUPPLEMENT

PROBLEMS AND HAZARDS OF FIELD WORK

The Case of the Filipina Researcher

with an

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

by

THE ISSUE EDITOR

PROBLEMS AND HAZARDS OF FIELD WORK

The Case of the Filipina Researcher

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

One of the most exciting phases of social science research is fieldwork. But the excitement has its own counterpart in frustration and sometimes discouragement. This, however, has not been written on in formal essays, much more so if the fieldwork were undertaken by the fairer sex. The famous women social scientists particularly the anthropologists, like Margaret Mead, Cora Dubois and Ruth Benedict do not give us any insight into the problems and hazards of their fieldwork in their respective research areas. We can draw these insights only from reading their works.

In the Philippines, the Filipina social science scholars, like Mary Holnsteiner and Mary Gonzales of Ateneo, Celia Tagumpay-Castillo and Gloria D. Feliciano * of U.P. do not also provide us with accounts of these problems and hazards as they encountered them in their field work, at least in articulated essays.

The present collection of three essays attempts, in very modest terms, to present the problems and hazards of field work as the Filipina researcher encounters these in the process of data collection. The novelty of these essays lies perhaps in its being the first of its kind in Philippine social science research. Except for an essay on a semi-urban area, at least these essays cut across the cross-section of Philippine society, viz., rural-agricultural and sub-urban, industrial-commercial. These researchers are graduate students in the Asian Center—two now in the last stages of their theses, and one has already passed the oral defense of her thesis.

“Research in a Cockpit” by Marialita M. Tamanio brings to focus a very important problem of data gathering for her work, for as she discussed the approaches she used she was faced with the extreme value judgments of the community, which endangered her rapport with the people. “Research in a Pampanga Barrio” by Realidad Q. Santico also presents relatively similar problems and hazards of her field work but in a different setting—that is, the community at large. Hence her problems and the hazards she was faced with were broader in magnitude and more intense in involvement.

* Gloria D. Feliciano, however, has written a very important paper which touches upon “The Limits of Western Social Research Methods in Rural Philippines: The Need for Innovation,” (*Lipunan*, Vol. I, No. I, 1965, pp. 114-127), which more or less implies some problems of research in the field.

The cynicism of a relatively urbanized community like Santolan, Pasig, Rizal seems to be the major problem that Carolyn C. Israel encountered in her field research on "Kinship and Socialization in a Suburban Community." These and many others, however, are presented in the essays with relative lucidity.

To present in broad outlines, at least within the purview of the researchers' field work, some guideposts in approaching the possible problems and hazards of a female researcher is the reason these essays were written. They may in one way or another generate essays of the same nature as to give prospective female researchers pre-field work insight into what to expect as they themselves embark on similar ventures. If these essays in the collection shall have given impetus to further ventures then they shall have justified their being presented here.

Issue Editor

RESEARCH IN A COCKPIT

MARIALITA M. TAMANIO

“CLASS DISTINCTION SEEMS TO BE ERASED IN THE SABONG” IS A VIEW expressed by one of my professors in one of our encounters in Asian Studies courses; a view which challenged me to conduct a more intensive investigation on the *sabong* among the Tagalog. This included fieldwork for twelve months. It was divided into three phases: first, four consecutive Saturdays of interviews with my uncles—who are cockfight *aficionados*¹ in the province, the next days being Sundays were spent in the cockpit as a participant-observer; second, four consecutive weekends with similar routine as in the first phase, but in three other different localities; and third, the succeeding six months with residence of five days within one week in the research areas.

In the first stage my primary intention in conducting fieldwork was to collect data for two term papers in the Asian Studies 292, Research Topics in Asian Studies, because the first term paper which I wrote for this course received a failing mark. In the initial fieldwork I collected some data which were not utilized in my previous papers. This motivated me to conduct further investigation in connection with another course, Anthropology 284, Seminar on Culture Change, with Dr. Willis E. Sibley. Thus, in the second phase, I worked on the comparative study of the functions of cockfighting among the Tagalogs living in the cities and in the towns. After the first two phases, my interest in cockfighting intensified. I decided then to extend the study on cockfighting as a socio-political element in the Tagalog community.

Conducting field studies on a subject such as this, I anticipated that the expansion of the limited knowledge of it, the methodology and its validity, the choice of the research areas, and the financial resources available, would be the major problems. My information on cockfighting was primarily based on feature articles occasionally published in local weekly magazines, and from conversations with uncles while I was still in the province. In the course of my research I gained a wider perspective and a deeper insight on the subject-matter, thereby amplifying the prior limited knowledge I had in the beginning of my research.

Apart from having insufficient knowledge on the subject, my only background on theories and methods in research was a reading of the works of

¹ *Cockfight aficionados* in this essay will refer to those men who go to the cockpit regularly during Sundays and holidays, but they do not necessarily bet every-time.

Basu,² Feliciano,³ and Mead.⁴ Depending on this, and working on the assumption that there is social stratification/structure in the cockpit founded on mere impressions gleaned from published articles, I drew up a set of structured interview questions. The questionnaires included the choice of fighting cocks, their care, how and when the informant began to be involved in cockfighting as well as its consequences on the informant himself, the importance of cockfighting in the community and finally the community elites who frequent the cockpit.

Initially I tested the questionnaire when I interviewed my uncles and cousins who live in the province, but later on I had to revise the questions according to the nature of the involvement of the informants in the game, *i.e.* whether he is an "asensista",⁵ "sentenciador",⁶ "llamador",⁷ "soltador",⁸ "tahor",⁹ "kristo",¹⁰ etc. There were also questions which were inhibitive and could not be asked and answered in the cockpit since it is a public arena. For example—

"Ano ang 'ginagawa' ¹¹ ninyo sa alangang araw?"

What do you do during weekdays? or

What is your occupation?

"Nagiging simula baga ng paminsan-minsang away ninyo [ng inyong asawa] ang pagsasabong?"

Does your going to the cockpit/cockfighting cause family quarrels once in a while?

"Nanalo/Natalo baga kayo? Magkano? ¹²

Did you win/lose? How much?

The same questionnaires underwent several revisions, corresponding to the different phases of the research. Modifications, however, were still made during the actual interviews depending upon the interests of the informants.

² Minendra Nath Basu, *Field Methods in Anthropology and Other Social Sciences*. Calcutta: Bookland, Ltd., 1961.

³ Gloria D. Feliciano, Limits of Western Research Methods in Rural Philippines: The Need for Innovation. *Lipunan* Vol. 1, No. 1 (1965), pp. 114-127.

⁴ Margaret Mead, Report of the Committee on Ethics. *Human Organization*, Vol. 8, No. 2, (1949), pp. 20-21.

⁵ The *asensista* is the owner of the cockpit. If he himself could not manage the cockfights and he employed a 'manager', the latter assumes the same title.

⁶ The *sentenciador* is the referee or the judge of the game.

⁷ The *llamador* is the equalizer of the basic bets or *guarden* or *warden*. He is also called *taga-tawag*, *taga-kasá ng pusta*, *cazador* or *pagador*.

⁸ The *soltador* is the 'taga-bitiw' or 'taga-butaw' which literally meant 'the one who throws' or 'the one who lets go' the cocks inside the *rueda*.

⁹ The *tahor* is a person who bets a large amount of money for a cock in a game quite regularly.

¹⁰ The *kristo* is a person who bets for somebody else. He is responsible in the collection and payment of the bets he made for that somebody. Just in case he made a mistake in counting the amount of their bet and the cock they betted on won, the *kristo* must pay the exact amount agreed upon (from his pocket).

¹¹ 'Ginagawa' is a euphemism in these areas for one's occupation.

¹² All translations from Tagalog to English in the subsequent references to the local language are free renderings.

In the course of the research, original attempts to utilize the tape-recorder, camera, even note-taking, were dismissed. The use of these was possible only in the interviews with my relative-informants. Apparently, the utilization of such instruments destroys the fluidity of communication. Moreover, the informants refused to give information especially on the political affairs and economic status of other informants in the community. The difficulty lies in the inaccuracy of my memory of everything I gathered during the interviews. Thus, there was the necessity of going back to them and of asking the same questions.

During the third phase, I finally elicited answers to the questionnaires. The informants, however, insisted that they should remain anonymous especially where the information should be held in confidence. Hence, the use of fictitious place-names and identities of informants in this essay. To complete the data, and to gain further first-hand perspective, I still felt the need to sit in the cockpit myself, and subsequently to reside in the communities. Hence, the insufficient information I gathered from direct interviews was augmented by residence in the particular areas. Furthermore, it has provided me with a deeper insight into the roles of those directly involved in the game in their respective communities.

The work was conducted in the Tagalog areas for the following reasons: the accessibility of facilities—like transportation, housing and ‘contact persons’, and my knowledge of the language of the area of research. These factors are indeed very important taking into consideration the limited time and funds available. From my hometown the two cities¹³ are only an hour’s drive and the two towns¹⁴ an hour and fifteen minutes away.

Under the town category, are *Niing*, a more than ninety year old municipality in the north central part of Batangas Province, and *Maculot*, a ten year old municipality in the southwestern part of Quezon Province. [There is a wide gap between their founding dates as municipalities.] On the other hand, the research areas under the city category are *Ilaya City* and *Balintawak City*. These two cities are the metropolis in the respective provinces where they are located. They were formerly the capital towns of the provinces of Batangas and Quezon. Having colleges and vocational schools within their territorial jurisdictions, both offer educational opportunities in their respective locations at lower costs. They, too, are the recreational centers of the areas.

There are cockpits which are more accessible from the University of the Philippines campus. However, the composition of the *aficionados* in these areas is relatively heterogenous. This factor alone would require more expenditure, timewise and moneywise. In the chosen research areas I have

¹³ The term *cities* is based primarily on the political units of the Philippine political system.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

a fore-knowledge of a number of families that may help me identify other families whose members are *aficionados* of the game.

A problem arose when I decided to reside in the communities during the period of field research. The elder brothers of my parents insisted that I commute to and from the research areas for fear that I might get into "dangerous situations". There have been a number of rape cases in Maculot. Thus, a compromise was arrived at with my relatives. Instead of residing in Maculot, I resided in the adjacent community, Ilaya City, which is also one of the research areas. Two-thirds of the third phase interviews were conducted in the evening, due to the fact that my informants work at daytime.

Financial assistance was another major concern from the first stage. About ₱40.00 per weekend was the budgetary requirement for the first two stages. Fortunately, the Asian Center appropriated a Thesis Aid for its students among whom I was a recipient.

Prior to the work, I prepared a schedule (of data gathering) so that my term papers could be submitted on time. However, I did not anticipate that to keep pace with my timetable would be a major problem, as well as the cause of other minor ones. To keep me within the limits of my schedule was a problem encountered while establishing rapport with the informants at the same time getting as much information as possible from them.

This could be explained by the fact that this field of research is a recent development in the Philippines, and as yet, unfamiliar to many, at least from the scientific point of view. This requires a longer time to make the value of research comprehensible to the informants. This did not exclude my relatives. Between my relatives and me the research introduced another level of relationship, which did not exist before. The problem was indeed difficult. My particular activity, especially my presence in the cockpit, significantly affected their own status in the community. For instance, the eldest brother of my mother upon knowing I would enter the cockpit was very resentful, and said:

"Nakahihiya kung magbabad ka sa sabungan, ka babae..."

It is shameful if you will stay in the cockpit, you a girl..."

It was only after a great deal of persuasion that my relatives and the other informants were convinced that it was necessary for me to go to the cockpit and not *depend* on magazine articles. These attitudes I believe can be traced to the very nature of the topic I was dealing on. Apparently, cockfighting is "no woman's business" in Philippine society.

Indeed, there are women in the cockpit, but they are operators of the *carinderias*,¹⁵ vendors of household goods or women porters employed by the *asensistas*. It was only in Balintawak City that I had occasion to see

¹⁵ *Carinderias* are small stores selling lunch and snacks.

women who sat in the *palko*.¹⁶ They were elderly women most of whom were wearing the *sayas*,¹⁷ and gray-haired too. These did not exceed twenty in number.

Among my relatives I chose *Kakang*¹⁸ Imoy and *Kuya*¹⁹ Temyong to serve as my key informants, because they were regarded as "professional sabungeros"²⁰ in the neighbourhood.

On the first Sunday of my fieldwork, *Kuya* Temyong accompanied me to the cockpit in Balintawak City. He often spent his Sundays in Balintawak, for cockfighting season in our town does not begin until after harvest-time in November through early June. I gathered that the operation of most cockpits in towns are suspended during the rainy season, because the greater portion of the *aficionados* are farmers.

Kuya Temyong left me with the *asensista* after introducing me to him (the latter). This gave me familiarity with the actual cockpit situation, hence the subsequent work in other areas are conducted without his aid. The *asensistas*, therefore, became my initial 'contact persons' in three other areas.

The *asensista* in Balintawak is the son of the owner, and a college student, which made it easier for me to explain my purpose in going to their cockpit. While I talked with him, middle-aged men around us made such comments as:

"Boy, bago ba 'yan?"
 Boy, is [she] new?
 "Magkano?" with a winking of one's eye.
 How much?
 "Baka naman taga-riles 'yan?"
 [She] might be from the railroad?

I knew that in Balintawak the row of 'red houses' is located along the railroad. I was irritated. Were it not necessary for me to finish the term papers for my courses, I would have "blown my top!!!" The *asensista* must have noticed that I was about to lose my temper, when he said in an authoritative tone that I am his friend from a university in Manila, that as long as I was there he would be responsible for my safety. He continued that should I encounter difficult situations in the cockpit, such would be tantamount to offending him. These statements from the young *asensista* silenced them but they still looked at me with suspicious eyes.

¹⁶ The *palko* is the 'general admission' area of the cockpit-building.

¹⁷ The *sayas* are the traditional floor-length skirts of Filipinas which are for everyday use.

¹⁸ *Kaka* is a respect address to the elder brothers, sisters, and even to the third degree cousins of one's parents.

¹⁹ *Kuya* is also a respect address, but to the elder brothers and cousins.

²⁰ "Professional sabungeros" refer to the men of the community who go to the cockpit regularly on Sundays and holidays, except maybe when they are sick, and usually stay in the cockpit the whole day. They bet regularly.

From this incident, I learnt that the *asensista*, inspite of his age, is an authority figure inside the cockpit. Even those who are older has to reckon with him. It may be added that in the Tagalog communities the safety of a stranger is attributed to his relationship with an authority figure.

During the third phase of the research I was informed that the *aficionados* misinterpreted my presence in the cockpit, and that disguised as a student, I was a woman of ill-repute looking for prospective customers. They do not know what research means; they do not know me personally, and logically all these fit into the fact that there are 'red houses' in the areas where the research is being conducted.

In connection with this, in a conversation with some of my new friends, I became aware of another situation—that is, a proposition to become someone's concubine. They considered me lucky for the nature of my research is very conducive to such a situation. The proposition they said comes from the political elite of the communities. Apparently, this was due to the stereotyped "easy-to-get" image of girls residing in Manila. How I escaped from such an experience was a guessing game. Probably it was because I greeted my informants in Tagalog with a handshake, which latter gesture is considered as an index of a highly educated person.

As I resided longer in the research areas my informants developed more ambivalent impressions towards me. In the first two stages I did not immediately tell them I came from the University of the Philippines, taking into account the "radical image" of U.P. students to those outside the campus. Whether or not there is truth in this "image," it did not matter, for to be identified with "radicals" might restrain them from freely associating, and cooperating with me. When they learnt that I came from U.P., there were *aficionados* who approached me and introduced their friends as "kristos", "llamadors", etc., whom I could interview anytime if I wanted to. It seemed that those who were introduced to me did not only pretend to be such, since I always saw them performing the functions of what they professed to be. I noticed my informants became relatively more responsive after knowing where I am studying.

I was anxious when the informants refused to give me any definite amount of their approximate income from cockfighting; neither did the *asensista*. Frequently, they said that what they get from cockfighting was "pang-inom lamang".²¹ I realized later that the informants might not really know exactly how much they earn in one year because they are either farmers or daily wage-earners. According to them they feared I might be a Bureau of Internal Revenue agent, investigating probable taxable amusements of their community. I confused them further when I began inquiring about

²¹ "Pang-inom lamang". Literally, meaning 'for drinks only'. In these Tagalog areas one of the favorite pastimes is drinking *lambanog* or fermented wine made from coconut sap.

the legal cockfighting days and how it should operate. They thought I might be a Philippine Constabulary agent trying to investigate unlawful business in their localities.

These impressions were disclosed to me only during the third phase when finally the rapport with my informants was established. At this period I was considered "hindi na iba."²² This kind of relationship was strengthened when a number of families requested me to be the godmother of one of their children. The problem now was how to come up to their expectations as a ritual sponsor, for this involved some monetary considerations. Being a graduate student, another unfamiliar status to them, they expected a "better gift" from me.

Another difficulty was eliciting reliable information during the intervals of the *soltadas*,²³ owing to the presence of onlookers and the very short period of the intervals. Added to this was the particular time of research. The field study coincided with the beginning of the cockfighting season—that was October. The number of *soltadas* steadily increased each weekend. I did not want to annoy them unnecessarily. The spectacle inside the *rueda*²⁴ was more interesting to watch than to talk 'nonsense' with a stranger-researcher.

Domestic harmony and humility as social desiderata in Tagalog society were factors which hampered the accuracy of data being gathered. The *aficionados* avoided answering questions on domestic problems arising from their involvement in cockfighting. For example, the case of Mang Pedro from Maculot. When asked if his "devotion" to his fighting cocks caused family misunderstanding once in a while, emphasizing *once in a while*, his immediate response was a vehement *no*. I did not pursue the subject because he left for the *rueda*. Barely twenty minutes after, I followed him when he brought his wounded winning cock to the "cock-doctor".²⁵

Mang Pedro unconsciously started telling his "cock-doctor"-friend that he was very hesitant to bring the winning cock to the fight. Early that morning he found the cock hanging from the *batalan*.²⁶ It made him very mad at his wife who was not careful in driving away their dog, which frightened the cock. Apparently it was a bad omen. Mang Pedro added, he did not want to stay home after a "civil war" and the only place where he could cool-off is the cockpit.

²² "Hindi na iba" is a colloquial which means that somebody is accepted by the community even without any consanguinal or ritual relationship existing between them.

²³ The *soltada* is the game of one pair of cocks.

²⁴ The *rueda* is the platform where the *soltada* is held.

²⁵ The *cock-doctor* is the one who cures the wounded cocks inside the cockpit. His paraphernalia are merthiolate, tincture of iodine, penicillin ointment, gauze, scissors, cotton, shaving blade, needle and thread. All of these are placed in a small wooden box. His service fee ranges from ₱0.50 to a few pesos depending on the seriousness of the cock's wound and his prestige as a 'good doctor'.

²⁶ *Batalan* is a roofless appendage of the kitchen in Philippine barrio houses.

“Kung pupunta naman ako sa sabungan at mag-mimiron lamang ay wala ring kuwenta.”

If I will go to the cockpit to be an onlooker only, it is not so nice.

While we were on our way home I asked Mang Pedro again why he responded negatively before. He explained that there were other people around. He said:

“Ang batang ito, ibabandera ko bang away naming mag-asawa sa mga usyoso doon?”

My child, will I go around telling those kibitzers about our quarrel?

My intention in following Mang Pedro to the “cock-doctor” was to see what the latter was doing. It turned out to be an unexpected check on Mang Pedro, giving me an idea of another way of checking on my interviewees. The situation presented above showed me the disparity between the “ideal” and the “real” in relation to cockfighting, as perceived by my informants.

The onlookers were a nuisance to me in the initial stage, but then I realized they (the onlookers) also did unconsciously help me, with their unsolicited comments. For instance, I was asking one informant on his wife’s attitude towards his being involved in cockfighting. Mostly the answer was that his wife does not mind anymore, because she (the wife) is already accustomed to it, but the onlookers would make comments like:

“Oy hindi ah, narinig kong ‘outside de kulambo’²⁷ ka noong isang araw.”

Hey, I heard you were not allowed to sleep with your wife the other day.

“Pare, magsabi ka na ng totoo. Tayo-tayo lamang naman eh.”

Friend, tell us the truth.

In order to find out who was telling the ‘truth’ I had to go to their homes and talk with them further. During the third phase of the fieldwork when I met the wives of the *aficionados*-informants I was amazed to find out how vocal their wives were about their domestic problems.

After the social amenities on meeting the informants and their families, I would start asking them how they became cockfight *aficionados*. When the topic turned to the ways wherein the cockpit or cockfighting was exploited for political gains and their opinions, I put away my notes to affect an air of “conversation”. After two weeks I went back to “visit” them and had another “conversation” to countercheck on the prior statements. This was how I conducted the third phase of my study.

²⁷ “Outside de kulambo” is a colloquial which means the husband would have to sleep somewhere else but not beside his wife.

Being a transient in the community most of the young people in the neighborhood, both male and female, came to my boarding house. It was mostly in the form of *harana*.²⁸ Although they came every night and stayed until midnight I appreciated their coming because the topic of our conversation was mostly on cockfighting. They were in fact another set of informants. Indeed, in my fieldwork it was not informants and information I was in need of but to keep with the pace within my schedule while still trying to establish rapport with them.

Problems and hazards obstructing one's fieldwork, especially when least expected, indeed cause discouragement, but as the discipline of economics would put it, "in the business cycle there is the period of depression, recovery and abundance." The barriers encountered in fact are profitable lessons which I could not have learnt elsewhere. I realized that a student will not fully understand the difficulties facing a researcher unless he himself would go out into the field and test the methodological theories learnt in the classrooms and from the books. Now I understand better the "field-workers' complaints". What are being taught formally in schools are only guidelines, unlike the algebraic expression, wherein $X \times Y = XY$.

²⁸ *Harana* or serenade.

RESEARCH IN A PAMPANGA VILLAGE

REALIDAD Q. SANTICO

IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN ASSERTED THAT "FIELDWORK IS INTERESTING AS any other social activity, both as a matter of sociability and satisfying intellectual curiosity."¹ While there is truth in such a statement, it must not be construed however that fieldwork is all fun. There is much more to it—as a matter of fact, there are a number of unexpected obstacles and barriers which one cannot learn through formal classroom instruction but which one encounters only as he goes out into the field to conduct his own field-research.

It is, therefore, within this perspective that such an article has been conceived, with the end in view of presenting interesting facts about the problems and hazards of field research. It is also the purpose of this brief article to provide students of anthropology with insight as to what to expect when conducting their own field researches.

With F. Landa Jocano's advice and motivation, I conducted my field research in Pampanga, with Kalayaan,² a typical farming village in the municipality of Santa Ana,³ as the area of study for my M.A. thesis in the Asian Center. There were a number of reasons why Pampanga was chosen. First, its accessibility to Manila gave me the opportunity to consult with my thesis adviser on weekends or from time to time whenever need and problem arise since commuting to and from Pampanga is less than two hours by bus. Second, the fact that most of the materials written about the Capampangans are either historical in nature, survey reports or impressionistic articles, this study therefore, will be the first attempt at a descriptive analysis of the structure, function, and value orientation of the Capampangan family and social organization.

The method employed in this research is largely anthropological in nature and this includes: residence in the community under study, participation (without subjective involvement in local problems) in the day-to-day activities of the people under observation, interviews, socio-economic surveys, gathering case studies which illustrate the general principle of social

¹ Buford J. Junker, *Fieldwork: An Introduction to the Social Sciences*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960, p. 12.

² Fictitious name of the barrio. This has to be done to preserve the integrity of the person concerned.

³ Fictitious name of the municipality where this study has been undertaken.

relations, and library research for the historical documentation of historical events in the community.

To facilitate such community study, I lived in Kalayaan with a number of families for a period of eleven months, from July, 1968 to June, 1969, thereby affording me the chance to gain insight into the child-rearing practices of barrio mothers, their beliefs, and the interactions between members of the family.

On the 15th of July, 1968, I paid the Mayor a courtesy call and informed him of my plans to do fieldwork in Kalayaan. I had to do this because I felt that out of propriety, the Mayor should at least be informed of my objective in doing research work within his municipality. This was done because I knew that the support coming from the town officials could in a way expedite my research work in the barrio. The Mayor himself showed interest and concern over the prospect of putting Kalayaan and Santa Ana in the limelight. I was given all the assistance and cooperation by the Mayor himself and his staff. I did not realize that such a move would prove hazardous and detrimental to my research project. The Mayor then introduced me to the Barrio Captain who happened to be in his office on that very morning. The Mayor explained to him the plan and the research work and the Barrio Captain accepted willingly the task of extending all possible assistance as soon as I was ready to conduct the census survey.

The fact, however, that I proceeded directly to the Mayor's office before informing the Barrio Captain caused much confusion at the start of my fieldwork. The Barrio Captain showed much indifference and resentment to the research project when he outrightly defied the Mayor's request to accompany and introduce me personally to his people. He relegated his duty to Tata Caryo, one of his councilmen, who later on became my chief informant. For a time, the Barrio Captain and I were not on speaking terms. One day, while my informants and I were conducting our census survey, he ordered a municipal policeman, who happened to be with him at that time, to summon us by blowing his whistle. I did not pay attention to them and I advised my informants to do the same thing. He blew his whistle thrice and when he failed to attract our attention, they stopped and approached the house where I was conducting my interview. They created all kinds of tricks to attract our attention. And in the weeks to come, he did everything within his capacity as barrio official to make me desist from doing fieldwork. And when the Mayor came to see me and inquire about the progress of my work, I told him the whole truth. It did not occur to me that it would lead to further complications and more conflicts. He took immediate action by conducting an investigation of his own. The policeman was to be dismissed but I mediated and told him that it was too harsh a decision. The policeman was just warned and advised to be more courteous to strangers. And in the case of the Barrio Captain, the Mayor acted as the

middleman in order to right whatever wrong had been committed by both parties concerned. From that time on, my identity with the Mayor started to gain the attention of the people. Talks started to circulate around that I was favored by the Mayor during the confrontation meeting between the Barrio Captain and me. But these talks did not affect me much at the beginning for the effect came very much later.

Since I do not speak the Capampangan dialect fluently but can understand it, I had to ask the assistance of an interpreter, Anding, who also became my guide and bodyguard throughout the period of my fieldwork. I attempted to study the dialect in my desire to understand better the interactions among the barrio people and also to record the data without the assistance of an interpreter. My zeal and enthusiasm were hampered by the lack of cooperation on the part of my relatives to extend the necessary help in terms of guiding me as to proper stress and intonation. Everytime I attempted to talk in the dialect, my relatives and other informants giggled and criticized my intonation. This discouraged me from pursuing the plan to speak the dialect fluently before leaving the field. Nevertheless, I did not find language a real barrier to the spontaneity of my informants since most of the barrio people speak and understand Tagalog. It was only with the very old respondents that I had difficulties in communicating because they do not understand any single Tagalog word. In cases like this, I sought the help of an interpreter.

I was called, and known to the small children and my other informants as a Tagalog since I conducted my interviews in Tagalog or English instead of the Capampangan dialect.

The first few weeks of my fieldwork were devoted to establishing rapport with the barrio people by joining them in their conversations and accepting invitations to baptisms, weddings, picnics, and birthday parties. I did not encounter much difficulty in gaining their confidence because the barrio people were cooperative. They showed willingness to share pieces of information which they considered relevant to my study. However, there were at least three respondents who displayed resentments to my interviews and observations. One mistook me for a Bureau of Internal Revenue agent and refused to commit himself by withholding minute details that I asked about his family. Only after assuring him that I was not in any way connected with any government agency, and that the data I would gather in the barrio would be used for my thesis at the University of the Philippines, did he oblige to respond to some of the questions asked.

Two middle-aged female respondents on the other hand, questioned my presence in the barrio during the first few weeks of my stay. When I tried to converse with them to show my desire to make friends with them, they always found excuses to evade me. I learnt later from some reliable sources that these women used the socio-economic position of an individual

as the yardstick for friendship. This came to my knowledge accidentally when one day, I decided to bring my car to the field as I brought with me a few things I needed in the field. It took the people by surprise—they could not believe that I own a car because they always see me clad in simple dresses and slippers as I conducted my interviews. People from that time on regarded me differently and then these particular women approached me the following morning and invited me to have lunch with them. I declined the invitation politely but could not refuse to have merienda with them. I took this opportunity to interview the family but it went the other way around. They started asking questions about my economic status in Manila, my family, my educational background and other pertinent data about my life. From that time on, things went on smoothly for me and my informants.

To know the genealogy of the family, I conducted a house-to-house census of the barrio. This gave me the opportunity to meet and know the barrio people personally. I started from one end and worked gradually to the other. As I went from house to house, I explained to the people the objectives of my study. I told them that without their help, I would not be able to finish my thesis. It took me one whole month to accomplish this, in spite of the help of Tata Caryo, my guide-informant. After this census, I picked out at random the families I intended to use for intensive interviews. Sometimes, I took down notes while interviewing an informant. At other times, I made recapitulations of the interviews when I reached home. This was done because some informants were sensitive to note-taking.

I did not use standard questionnaires but I had well in mind the problems to be discussed. My interviews were conducted at the informants' homes from 8:00 in the mornings until 5:00 in the afternoons. To accomplish this, I stayed with a different family each day in order to observe variations and similarities of their day-to-day activities. Despite the fact that the social nature of the interviews enabled the informants to feel at ease and talk with increasing freedom about their personal lives, there were some who were still indifferent to interviews and observations. For instance, last August 15, 1968, I went to visit a housewife in the far end of the barrio at 8:00 in the morning. She was attending to her hogs and when I greeted her, she did not bother to stand, she just glanced at me and continued with her chores. I stood near her for about five minutes, with the thought that she was just finishing her work. After ten minutes had passed, she told me frankly to leave the place as she was very busy and told me to come back in the afternoon. I took my leave and I promised her I would come back in the afternoon. I felt very much embarrassed, depressed, and decided instead to stay at home and cancel all my appointments for the whole afternoon. I never expected that fieldwork could be deplorable at times.

But after that incident, I mustered myself and came up with the thought that I could not accomplish anything by indulging in depressive thoughts or

by spoiling the whole project with what my colleagues (classmates) call a minor occurrence—it is part of the game.

I continued with the interviews which were always informal and unstructured. I visited the families unannounced so I would be able to observe them in their most unguarded moments. There were times however, when I could not help but accept invitations to drop by on them. At one time I accepted the invitation of a family to visit and interview them because they claimed they were left out or discriminated against. To oblige them, Anding, my guide and I accepted the invitation one Saturday morning. The family prepared for the interview, the house was very clean, the children had their baths, they were instructed to behave properly as there were visitors expected for the day, and the housewife prepared a sumptuous meal. This was the very reason why I objected so much to structured interviews, the people do not act naturally and the real activities of the family are veneered by their desire to project only the best in them. Thus, after the first interview, I always made unannounced social visits. I found out that their behavior during the first interview was not generally consistent with their behavior during the second interview. Doing this enabled me to check and recheck my data.

One of the most important hazards of fieldwork which I encountered during my stay in the barrio was to be identified with an authority—the town Mayor. Since he showed concern and attention to the difficulties I met as a researcher, he was always around to extend his personal assistance and cooperation to the success of my research work. He made all the necessary arrangements for possible meetings and interviews with the elite group in the barrio and he accompanied me personally during these interviews. Because we were seen together most of the time, people began to identify me with him and vice versa. The barrio people dissented in their interpretations of the Mayor's interest in the project. Some of those who knew him long enough belied the accusations while those "dirty-minded" people, particularly the women, made sweeping conclusions which proved to be morally damaging, disappointing, and disgusting for both of us.

I was not aware of all these malicious talks until one day, August 15, 1968, to be exact, the Mayor's driver dropped by and told me that the Mayor was inviting me out for lunch because it was the birthday of one of the municipal employees. I accepted his invitation with the idea that it might prove beneficial to my research work—I had always my project in mind. And when I boarded the Mayor's jeep, I noticed the womenfolk by the windows, staring at us but I did not give any importance to it because I knew that they do it to everybody.

The people made speculations and conjectures when the Mayor himself brought me home alone. My guardians in the barrio confronted me and informed me about their custom. They told me to refuse the invitation of

the Mayor to go out because people started to put color to our relationship. My line of thinking did not run parallel to their thinking because I knew that I was not guilty of their accusations. I respected his office as well as his honesty and sincerity. But my guardians insisted that in the barrio, people consider it immoral for girls to go out with married men, and to violate this injunction in their custom is a direct defiance of the community norm. I decided to pull out from the field for at least one month and started organizing my data at the University while I prepared for my language examinations. I did not explain to anybody the tight situation where I was in, except to my adviser, F. Landa Jocano. In fact, it was he who suggested my leaving the field for at least a month to put an end to such gossip.

On September 30, 1968, I went back to the field with the thought that my absence had normalized conditions in the barrio. I arrived at 6:00 in the evening. I learnt from one of the people I met on the way to my foster parent's home, that the Mayor had been waiting for me since 3:00 in the afternoon but left just five minutes before I arrived. The following morning, the Mayor came and inquired why I left the barrio hurriedly without informing his office. I told him the whole truth and he decided to call on the older members of the community to a meeting to explain his concern for me and my research project. But I knew that the meeting and the explanation did not in any way alter the credulity of the people. The situation was further aggravated by the fact that my return to the barrio coincided with his (Mayor) yearly leave of absence and I was told that he usually took his vacation leave between October and January every year. But people mistook this for something else. Thus, the Mayor had plenty of time to spare and assist me with my research project. I learnt to take the people's talk and the gossip in stride and became "calloused" to their criticisms. Fieldwork taught me to accept the fact that the problem of learning to be a good researcher is like the problem of learning to live in a society.

KINSHIP AND SOCIALIZATION IN A SUBURBAN COMMUNITY

CAROLYN C. ISRAEL

THIS PAPER ATTEMPTS TO PRESENT A BRIEF PERSONALIZED NARRATION of the methodologies and techniques of field research employed in a suburban community—Barrio Santolan, Pasig, Rizal. It includes the various problems encountered from the first time the research team set foot in the community until the final day of withdrawal. In so doing, it is hoped that this paper may provide some hints or guidelines for future anthropological field researches particularly those which may be conducted in semi-urban communities.

This project was financed by the Social Science Research Council of the University of the Philippines, and jointly conducted by Dean Eva Gonzales of the College of Home Economics and Dr. Felipe Landa Jocano of the Department of Anthropology. Unlike many previous projects of the University of the Philippines, this was an inter-disciplinary research wherein graduate students of various academic fields like Anthropology, Asian Studies and Nutrition studied the community simultaneously. This is significant in the sense that the research area and its ramifications were perceived and analyzed with the use of varied approaches and from different view points.

The anthropological aspect of the research dealt on the kinship and family structure and patterns of child-rearing. It formally started in July, 1968 with Dr. F. Landa Jocano as Senior Researcher, and Melissa de Lara and the writer as research assistants who at the same time are graduate students in Nutrition and Anthropology respectively. Later, Lerma de Lima and Luz Sevidal, also graduate students in Anthropology and Asian Studies joined the team. Occasionally, Home Economics students participated in data gathering both for training and for meeting some term paper requirements.

APPROACH AND PREPARATION FOR FIELD WORK

The initial research activity was an ocular survey of several barrios of Pasig, initiated to determine which area was most suited for the projects. Of the barrios visited, Santolan was chosen on the basis of its relative proximity to the University of the Philippines, its population density and other demographic features, as well as the apparent willingness of the barrio officials to extend their help and cooperation to us. The nearness of the barrio to

the said school was indeed a very important determining factor since we were taking up some graduate units and had to attend classes once or twice a week. As soon as the research area was chosen, the next activity we did was to gather as many written materials available about the barrio. The College of Home Economics had conducted earlier a demographic and socio-economic survey. This material together with those taken from the files of the provincial and municipal offices of Rizal and Pasig respectively, Presidential Arm on Community Development, Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement, Rural Health Unit Clinic and Commission on Elections lessened the difficulty of approaching the community, a problem which is usually encountered by field workers and students of "primitive" societies. In other words, these materials furnished us with introductory information about the community, *i.e.* land area and topography, climactic condition, size and nature of population, means of economic livelihood, and health and sanitation. From the reports of the community development workers we were more or less briefed on the attitudes and reactions of the barrio folks towards strangers in general. In like manner we got some hints on how to deal with them to enable us to gain their confidence and cooperation. In addition, monographs on similar studies in the Philippines as well as articles and books relevant to the project were compiled and carefully studied. During the entire period of the project we had regular conferences with the Senior Researcher for purposes of evaluation, with particular emphasis on the methods and techniques we were using in the field.

The focal point of interest was the kinship institution and socialization practices in the barrio. To get, however, a holistic perception of the barrio life, information on the other aspects of the culture like economy, politics, religious and magical beliefs and practices, folk medicine, etc. were equally gathered. Such initial knowledge indeed provided significant insights on how to actually proceed with the project; for instance, where to position or locate the researchers in the area in order to obtain the maximum opportunity for observing community behaviors and activities, what techniques of research are best suited to the situation, and what aspects of the people's life are least sensitive for probing. Later on, it likewise proved that a prior knowledge of the varied aspects of the culture helped immensely in analyzing and understanding better the kinship and family systems. It was only after these information were obtained and studied carefully that we went into a depth study of the subject of interest.

INITIAL CONTACT

The first activities my fellow-researchers and I did during the initial visits to the barrio was to be acquainted with the political leaders composed of the barrio captain and councilmen, the rich and influential barrio families as well as personnel of agencies who were conducting studies and

welfare-projects in the community. We also scouted for Santolan residents who were then enrolled at the University of the Philippines to act as our initial guides and informants. Since the College of Home Economics had conducted an earlier survey, we requested one of the workers to orient us in the locality and to introduce us to the above-mentioned persons. Thus, the initial trips to Santolan were solely characterized by walking about the barrio noting down the locations of the houses, chapel, schools, clinic, stores, etc. With all the impressions thus far gathered, we then planned on how to divide the community among ourselves. I stayed in a sitio where the majority of the people belong to the lower economic stratum while my fellow-researcher located herself in another sitio where resided most of the affluent—the old families of the barrio.

Meanwhile, we undertook the task of establishing rapport with the people. The Rural Health Unit clinic which had a favorable reputation seemed to be the most accessible agency to temporarily affiliate with in order to get close to the people. Hence, we “hang around” the clinic, talked with the mothers and other patients, and sometimes played with their children. Otherwise, we alternately joined the Rural Health Unit midwife in her house-to-house visits on patients. In some of these occasions I was able to witness and assist in a delivery of a baby as well as administer post-natal medical care. On the other hand, my companion helped in treating a person who was sick of meningitis and influenza. Apparently, situations like these become rich sources of observations and close studies pertaining to family life as well as beliefs and practices about delivery and infant care.

Later on, the barrio captain also introduced us to the parish priest, faculty members of the Parochial High and Public Elementary Schools and some old men from whom we secured many valuable data on the history of the barrio. Since reciprocal relationship on a give-and-take basis usually reinforces friendship, we returned favors by accepting the invitation to give lectures on Anthropology before high school students and by providing the barrio officials with copies of the surveys and other documents gathered pertaining to the barrio.

PARTICIPANT-OBSERVATION AND OTHER TECHNIQUES OF INQUIRY

After a month of regularly visiting the barrio, we formally became participant-observers by actually residing there. Unlike in most rural areas or among some ethnic minorities of the country, there is little choice of residence open to an outsider in this suburban area. Not all families are willing to allow a non-kindred to stay and live with them. As such we had to contend with the very few choices of a place for board and lodging. However, I was fortunate enough to live with one of the highly respected and relatively affluent family in the sitio I was assigned to. The house was a

two-floor structure which made it possible for me to observe from the top floor without being noticed, the behaviors of children and adults alike in the nearby street, stores and houses. Furthermore, the family keeps a store and by helping them run it, I met more people, heard gossips and learned of their attitudes and sentiments toward certain objects and individuals. At nights, young men gathered here and conversed about the events of the day, local and otherwise, while sipping beer or rum.

As days progressed and as our circle of acquaintances expanded, opportunities for community participation likewise increased. I heard mass on Sundays, and Wednesday evenings, attended birthday parties, joined outings of young people, participated in baptismal rites, wake and funeral ceremonies, political meetings and many other barrio activities. During the barrio fiesta, I helped clean the house and prepare the food. However, caution was taken in order not to get emotionally involved; not to influence or interfere in the planning and decision-making of these activities. During ordinary days, I went from house to house to observe and talk to whoever was at home at that given time of the day. In the afternoons I sometimes stayed in the stores or rest house called *lamyaan* where adults spend their leisure time conversing and/or bantering with each other. The other areas for direct observations were held in the ricefields, nearby river, factories, market place, schools, etc. As such, photographic recordings of individual and group behaviors whether at work, play or study were carefully noted down.

In addition to being a participant-observer the project also utilized the technique of formal and informal interviews. The latter was conducted whenever I was with anybody coming from the barrio and while observing community activities. All responses elicited from the informants were written down as soon as I arrived home or after each conversation. On the other hand, formal interviews were guided by a schedule of structured questions and administered to persons who are more or less specialists in the particular field of our inquiry. For example, we formally interviewed the medicine men or *albularyos* on matters pertaining to folk medicine, the priest on the social and religious aspects of the study and the barrio officials on political matters. Daily activities and impressions were carefully noted down in a diary which I kept throughout the duration of the field work.

Finally, the project utilized gadgets like camera, maps, measuring tools and tape recorder to facilitate and render more accurate the data collected.

PROBLEMS IN FIELD WORK

Compared to field studies in "primitive" societies, suburban research apparently has lesser difficulties to reckon with particularly in terms of living accommodations and adjustments. In our case, the field problems were minimized not only because the barrio is already complete with the modern conveniences of living but also because we can speak the language of the

locality which is Tagalog. This saved us the time, money and effort which would have been otherwise spent in learning the *lingua franca* or in hiring interpreters. Furthermore, the barrio is only about twenty to thirty minutes ride from the University of the Philippines and from the commercial center of Cubao. It was, therefore, very easy to get reading materials and supplies whenever the demand for these arose.

The problems I encountered are probably similar to those being experienced by researchers in urban setting. For instance, I had some difficulty in explaining to the people our presence there and in convincing them that the materials solicited would not be used to their disadvantage. I had to repeatedly explain to every barrio folk I talked with, the nature and goal of the project. Secondly, there was the difficulty of interviewing many of those whom I considered valuable informants. This is due to the fact that they either worked in the office, factory or went to school during week days. Their free times were in the evenings and during weekends. Moreover, being a girl restricted my chances of going out at nights not mainly because of fear of harrassment but in order to avoid unnecessary adverse public opinion. This limited my research activities and I was not able to go to the nightly gambling sessions of mahjong and cards and drinking fests of the barrio men, and other occasions which could have been rich sources of information. But even during weekends it was also difficult to find some of the informants in their homes since they either went to the movie, *sabong*, church or visited friends residing in another barrio. However, this problem was partly solved later on, when I started arranging interview appointments at their most convenient time.

Like any urbanizing community in the Philippines, Santolan is fast becoming a heterogenous society. Immigrants from all regions of the country are continuously settling in the barrio because of the job opportunities generated by the sprouting factories and flourishing cottage industries. Even residents of nearby urban centers are moving in due to the conversion of large tracts of agricultural lands into housing subdivisions. This cultural diversity which markedly exists at the time of the research inevitably rendered more difficult the observation and isolation of the traditional cultural traits from those overlays.

To students exposed in the field for the first time, research is both exciting and many times discouraging. Exciting because of the challenge of translating into action the knowledge learned in the classroom and experiences contained in books by earlier field scholars. On the other hand, an initiation to field work is discouraging since one is suddenly made to realize that there is a wide gap between classroom ideas and barrio situations. The research tools which appeared perfect in the books became shrouded with shortcomings once personally tested in the field. For instance this research proved that the use of anthropological methods and techniques alone in

studying transitional communities are far from sufficient. It has to be reinforced by more precise tools of scientific inquiry like those of psychology, sociology and the natural and biological sciences. Although there are standard and prescribed methods and techniques of field research available in books for students to follow, the test for its suitability at a given time and situation would largely depend upon individual judgment and the conditions obtaining in the research area. At times it would be necessary to modify or readjust one's procedure of inquiry if only to maintain a favorable researcher-informant relationship and to get as much information as possible. In other words, a researcher must be well-trained—sometimes self-trained—in the application of these tools and sensitive enough to know when to use them. But probably, it is only through constant field work that a student can hope to be a good researcher, because as the saying goes "experience is still the best teacher".

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