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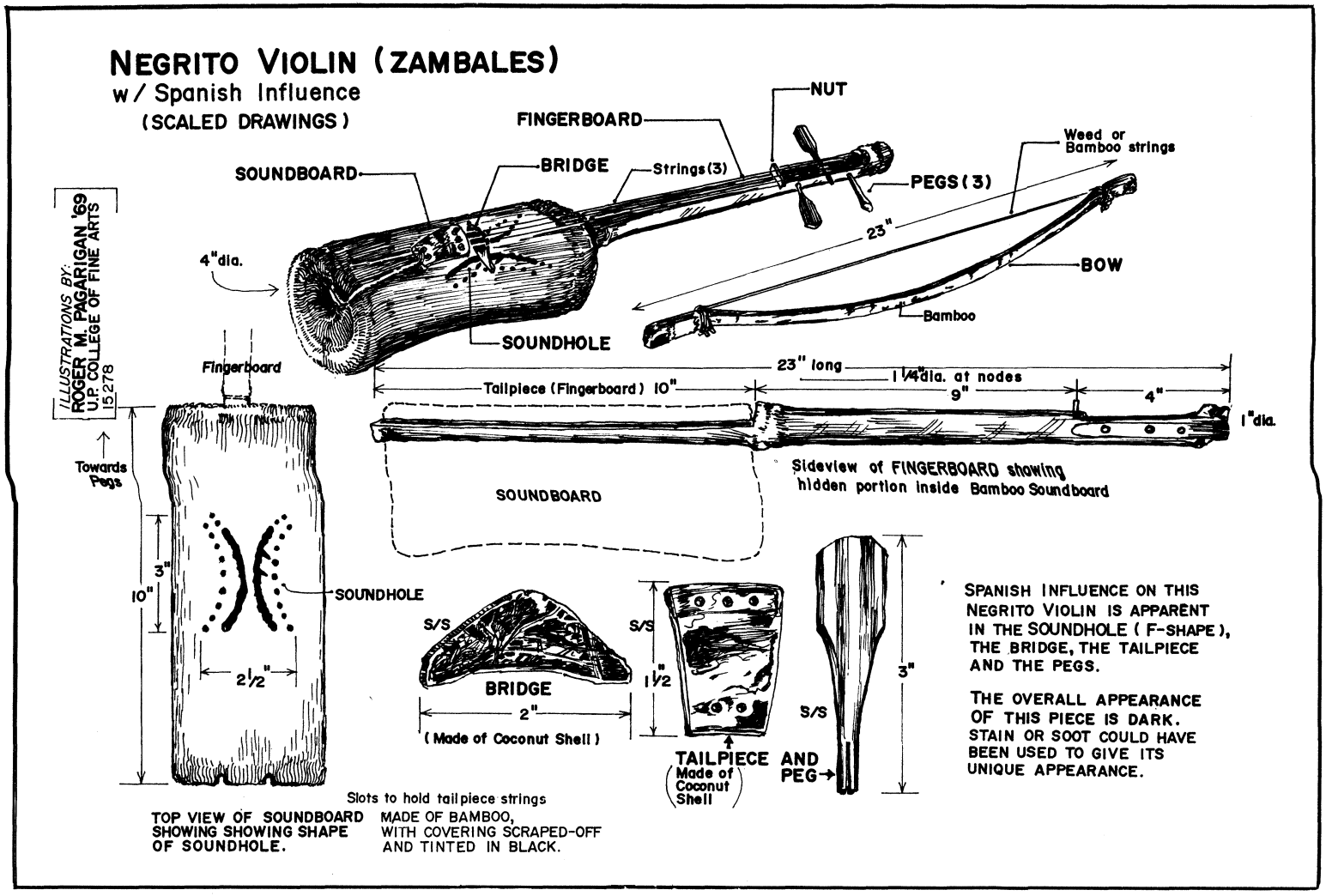
Plate I. Negrito Violin (Zambales)



TOWARD AN INVENTORY OF PHILIPPINE MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS[1]

by

E. Arsenio Manuel

The obscurity into which many museum collections lapse as if it were their natural lot to be forgotten may perhaps be ascribed mainly to the lack of financial support, indifference or neglect which museum administrators are heir to in making catalogues of their collections available in print. A sizable assemblage of musical instruments collected in the course of years from different ethnic groups in the Philippines and stored in the Field Museum of Natural History (FMNH) appears to be so fated. This FMNH material, which will be presented in this paper, is practically unknown even to anthropologists, oceanists, orientalists and Filipinists. Otherwise, Walter Kaudern could have made use of the collection for comparative purposes in his *Musical Instruments in Celebes* (1972), where he cited only three sources for Philippine musical instruments in his bibliography; or Norberto Romualdez could have made reference to this comparatively rich assemblage in a review of the literature and material in his *Filipino Musical Instruments and Airs of Long Ago* (1932), the only work of its kind on the subject.[2] Perhaps it was excusable for these two authorities not to be aware of the existence of the FMNH collection of Philippine musical instruments due to its distance; and Harold C. Conklin did not perhaps have a need for it in his background study of Hanunoo music,[3] but it is surprising that the staff members of the Philippine Studies Pro-

gram in the University of Chicago did not avail themselves of this treasure house in preparing the article on "Music" in the *Area Handbook of the Philippines* (1955)[4] when the FMNH is literally just a stone's throw from the university grounds. With the exception of Fay-Cooper Cole, who did a great deal of legwork collecting and writing, there is practically no indication of the presence of any collection of Philippine musical instruments in the FMNH; and even in this instance, no direct reference is made that the specimens reproduced as illustrations in his monographs (1913, 1922, 1956) are to be found there. There is no student, therefore, before or after World War II known to have made use of this rich collection, either fully or partially.

There is, therefore, a need at present to make known the existence of the FMNH collection by itemizing the types of musical instruments and identifying the ethnic groups represented. Through this, an assessment will be attempted for two purposes: one, to classify the types of musical instruments according to its ethnolinguistic groupings and, two, to discover the typological completeness of the collection. It should be stated at the outset that this assessment could only be achieved in a limited way, under the present circumstances, by research into the scattered and available printed literature. Field and museum work is postponed for the time being until a project like this could receive adequate financial support. It is, of course, needless to stress the urgency and importance of undertaking such a study soon, for, as in other aspects of Filipino culture, the efficient acculturative forces at work in the country today will soon leave a telling blow to all efforts of students and museum officials in making complete or exhaustive collections.

This paper, therefore, is mainly distributional and typographical. It does not intend to go into such matters as the manufacture of the instruments, the manner of playing them, the myths and customs related to them or the place and function of music in the various cultures having the instruments. In the first place, the FMNH catalogues do not describe such matters and, even if there are stray bits of information, these are too superficial and meager to warrant a review since those details could have been recorded by the original collectors themselves at the time and place of collecting a long time ago. As it is now, these musical instruments are like fish out of water, out of their cultural context. It would take other field workers to cover the same areas, unavoidedly under different or changed cultural environments; hence, it would be quite a demanding task to reconstruct the sociocultural milieu of 1906-1909 for each ethnic group, a more ideal period than what otherwise obtains at the present time for studies of this nature. It is superfluous to point out that the nature of the work demands fieldwork rather than a vicarious research in libraries, but until such assistance is forthcoming not much can be done.

Before going into the subject any farther, the areas or ethnolinguistic groups from which collecting work was made, the names of the collectors and the period or year of collecting as noted down in the FMNH records are presented below. In the following table, except for the first, the Negrito group, the listing of ethnic groups has been arranged in a north-south axis. In the discussion to follow, the same arrangement will be observed.

	Area or Ethnolinguistic Group	Collector	Date
1.	Negrito, Bataan	trade, no date	no date
2.	Apayaw	trade	no date
3.	Tinguian	F.C. Cole	1907-1908
4.	Balbalasang Tinguian	S.C. Simms	1906
5.	Kalinga	F.C. Cole	1907-1908
6.	Bontoc	S.C. Simms	1906
7.	Bauko (Lepanto-Bontoc)	F.C. Cole	1907-1908
8.	Sagada (Lepanto-Bontoc)	S.C. Simms	1906
9.	Amburayan (Bakun-Kayapa)	S.C. Simms	1906, 1909
10.	Ifugao	S.C. Simms	1909
11.	Benguet Igorot	S.C. Simms	1906
12.	Ilongot	William Jones	1908-1909
13.	Mangyan	Fletcher Gardner	no date
14.	Batak, Palawan	F.C. Cole	1907-1908
15.	Tagbanwa	"	"
16.	Bukidnon	"	"
17.	Kulaman Manobo	"	"
18.	Bilaan	"	"
19.	Bagobo	"	"
20.	Mandaya	"	"
21.	Divavaoan	"	"
22.	Moro (Lanao)	David Hamm	1956
23.	Moro (Zamboanga)	P.S. Porter	no date

There are remarkable patterns of collecting revealed by this summary of the areas covered, the activities of the individual collectors and the period in which the legwork was done. The above data reveal the orientation of museum policies, such as (1) the confinement of collecting activities to Pagan and Muslim groups; (2) the main dependence upon official collectors for the gathering of materials, for example on the R.F. Cummings Expedition, in which S.C. Simms and F.C. Cole served; and (3) the shortness and discontinuity of the collecting period, 1906-09 (David Hamm's contribution was an accidental donation of one instrument). Hereafter, the FMNH showed no more interest in collecting musical instruments in the Philippines.

It is not the purpose of this paper to go into the basic motives for this inferred orientation except to confirm the obvious – the common charge that museums appear to be usually interested only in the unique or the bizarre which the collector ordinarily finds among wild or primitive peoples, a tendency that is not-

able among antiquarians and colonial museum officials of the 19th and 20th centuries. The neglect made of the materials available among the Christian groups seems without justification in view of the widely held holistic concept in anthropology of covering or studying entire cultures. The trust or distrust which museum authorities place on private collecting is also implicit from the above summary in view of the stray bits of specimen that have filtered in from private donors, which may reveal a reasonable museum policy. But the discontinuity of collecting activity after the first decade of the American regime in the Philippines is rather difficult to understand. The impression this gives rise to is that there was nothing more to be done in this field or that the culture areas had already been so thoroughly combed so as not to need another rummage. If there had been a continuity in collecting activity, there is no doubt that the assemblage of Philippine musical instruments in the FMNH would have been the richest in the world.[5] Nevertheless, even at this date, the collection is already a unique one and would clearly be indispensable in any serious study on the subject.

An Assessment of the FMNH Collection of Philippine Musical Instruments

A brief explanation is in order with respect to the method used in making this checklist and study possible. In this section, an inventory of the musical instruments is made first for each ethnolinguistic group represented in the collection. There are two records in the FMNH available for this purpose, one being on typewritten cards filed in cabinet trays and the other, in manuscript catalogues in the form of bound books. As the card catalogue consolidates the Philippine holdings more conveniently than the scattered registers in the book catalogues, the former was depended upon as a general rule. After the Negrito group, the arrangement in this paper is geographically oriented from northern to southern Philippines, that is from northern Luzon down to Zamboanga in Mindanao. That done, evaluation is made by checking on printed sources to discover what instruments are not represented in the FMNH collection. This approach has certain limitations, among which is the dependability that one must put on such sources where thoroughness of treatment is usually lacking.

In order to render the work more useful, pertinent descriptive material whenever available has been added whenever sources for such may be consulted. References to attested photographic reproduction of the collected instruments and other illustrations, whenever found, are also pointed out. The present work, in a way, have rendered unnecessary for the time being the task of making sketches of the instruments which are otherwise invaluable in this kind of work.

I. Negrito

Negrito culture is poorly represented at the FMNH. The only musical instru-

ment in its collection is a "long reed mouth flute" called *bangsi* (Sp.No.128705) obtained from Bataan by trade.

There is fortunately some good literature bearing peripherally and directly on Bataan Negrito musical instruments. Reed's work (1904) on the Zambal Negrito can be used as an indirect reference since one group may be regarded as an extension of the other. Reed (1904:50-51) recorded the four-holed *bansic,* undoubtedly a cognate of *bangsi,* the jew's harp, the gong, bamboo violin with three abaca strings, guitar made of two pieces of wood with six strings and two types of bamboo zither (one with strings raised from the rind and the other with stretched fibers). A group photograph of actual specimens of the bamboo zither, gong, bamboo violin and flute may be seen in Plate XLVI and Fox (1952:391) reproduced two pictures of the Spanish-type of guitar made of wood by the Pinatubu Negrito in Plate 17. With exception to the flute, Reed did not give the vernacular names of these instruments. Romualdez (1932), on the other hand, had identified the bamboo zither as *kabungbung,* a term confirmed elsewhere (Philippine National Museum specimens 2884-2887, in its catalogue, *Ethnographic Collections,* 1953, although without provenience but identified by the same name, *kabungbung*). The Philippine National Museum (PNM) gives the name *bulung-udyong* (Sp. Nos. 111 114) for flute, which, however, is not described.

Densmore (1906), who made a study of Negrito music from Negritos brought from the Philippines to the exposition grounds at St. Louis in 1904[6] wrote, "The Negritos have three musical instruments: the copper gong, the *bansi* or flute, and the *barimbo* or jew's harp. In addition to these, I found a violin in the museum, which was of Negrito manufacture and made entirely of bamboo. It was interesting, but plainly a copy to be of significance in this connection."[7]

Densmore's comments are worth reproducing here in view of the meagerness of pertinent literature:

> The Negrito gongs used at St. Louis were of Chinese manufacture, those beaten from the native copper being considered too valuable to be taken from the Islands, though a few excellent specimens were shown in the museum. The gongs used in the village were flat, about ten inches in diameter, with straight sides of about two inches. The players were always seated, holding the gong in the lap and striking it with the palms of the hands, used alternately. The *bansi,* or flute, consists of a section of bamboo about two and a half feet long, which is held upright, the performer blowing across the opening at the top, the lower end being closed; there are four finger holes on the upper side and one for thumb on the lower side. Only one man played this curious instrument – Ybag, one of the oldest men in the village. He bent lovingly over his instrument, resting the pointed end on the ground and holding it firmly between his toes.
>
> The *barimbo,* or jew's harp, consists of a strip of bamboo about ten inches long, with two slits out in one end forming a "tongue", the strip being trimmed as the instrument is held before the lips. The best player was a woman, who readily consented to play for me, and from her work, I noted the following rhythms.[8]

In addition to the musical instruments described by Reed and Densmore,

Fox noted a long bamboo drum used specifically during ceremonial occasions:

> The *talibung,* a meter-long drum used only in the ceremonies for the spirits, is made of this large, introduced bamboo. All of the nodes are knocked out and one end is covered with a piece of tanned deer skin. This drum, as well as the flat brass gong, the *palay,* are purely ceremonial in use and are never played, even tapped, at any other time.[9]

Based mainly from these sources, it appears that the Negritos of the Bataan-Zambales range have two types of gongs: one flat as described by Densmore and Fox above, and the other with a knob as can be seen from Plate XLVI in Reed's work (1904). Perhaps three types of bamboo zither are present: two can be inferred from Reed's description and photograph (one with strings lifted from the rind surface of the bamboo tube itself, and the other consisting of a bamboo tube provided with strings of fiber); and the third noted by Fox, a two-stringed bamboo zither called *tabungbung* (a non-too-clear photograph is reproduced in Plate 4 and a clearer one in Plate 15). It appears that Romualdez's *kabungbung* and Fox's *tabungbung* refer to the same instrument judging from the photographs and illustrations; however, this opinion is tentative for the sources do not assure us how these instruments are played. At this juncture, it is propitious to discuss an aspect of instrumental nomenclature, for Romualdez said in part:

> Among the Negritos of Bataan there is a guitar called *kabungbung,* similar to the *pas-ing* of the Igorots. This *kabungbung* must be the same guitar found by Mr. Allan Reed among the Negritos of Zambales and reported by him in his work mentioned before. . . . .[10]

And with reference to the *pas-ing,* Romualdez described it as follows:

> The *pas-ing* among the Apayaws, Igorots, is a guitar made of bamboo. The bamboo is cut before one node and after the next. Two cords are slit loose side by side from the outer skin fibers of the bamboo itself and these are given tension by means of bridges. A hole (sometimes two) is then bored or cut into the bamboo just under the two cords, to serve as resounding holes. The strings are picked with the fingers or beaten with a stick.[11]

For purposes of classification, the last sentence in the second quotation is important. The *pas-ing* is classified by Romualdez as a string instrument inspite of the fact that it is either plucked or beaten by the players. If the *pas-ing* is plucked only, then it can be grouped among the string instruments; and if beaten only, among the percussion group of instruments. The dual methods of playing the *pas-ing* makes classification rather difficult. For the present study, the *pas-ing* is entered both as a percussion and string instrument.

With regard to the wind instruments, there is also some confusion in the available literature. There appears to be several types of *bansi* (variants: *banhi, bangsi, bansic* or *bansik*), the common term for the flute. The FMNH specimen is a long reed mouth flute, the same type that Densmore previously described and which appears to be the same type photographed by Reed. All these types belong to the lip-valley flute class,[12] a term coined by Dr. Jose Maceda, to distinguish this

type from other types which have a separate mouth piece and classed as mouth flutes. The lip-valley flute does not also have a ring, which could be made of a leaf wound around the grooved blowing end and properly fastened. In some classification schemes, this latter type is also called a mouth flute. The *bulung-udyong* listed in the PNM catalogue is so provided with a mouth piece. A third kind of flute which does not seem to have any mouth piece or ring is illustrated in Romualdez's work and known by the name *bansik*.

In summary, from direct and inferred printed evidence, the Negritos of the Bataan-Zambales range appear to have the following musical instruments:

idiophones:

jew's harp made of bamboo
gong, small flat type
gong, small with a knob
bamboo zither, beaten

membranophone:

drum, small ; provided with a drumhead

chordophones:

bamboo zither, plucked
guitar, Spanish type, made of wood
violin, Spanish type, made of bamboo

aerophones:

flute, lip-valley type
flute, mouth type
flute, not properly identified

2. Apayaw

This ethnic group is represented by just one type of musical instrument, the jew's harp (FMNH Sp. Nos. 109579, 109580), collected from Burayutan village. The native name given is *oribau,* and it is reported to be used by both sexes.

Romualdez (1932) stated that the Apayaw have a drum called *ludag,* which is about 120 cms. long and closed at one end. The other end is provided with a drumhead of skin, and played on the lap of the performer (see page 9, for illustration). Other instruments played by the Apayaws are the *gansa* or gong (two types: one the other big, but both flat, (see page 11); the *balinging* or *baliing* or the nose flute (page 17); and the *pas-ing,* or bamboo zither (page 22). Wilson confirmed

the use of the nose flute (1947a:16) called *baling;* the jew's harp or *oribao (id.);* and the *ludag* (page 178). There appears to be another string instrument which he called a bamboo bow provided with a resonator (page 25). However, he did not give its Apayaw name. According to this source, the instrument is very similar to the *gurimbaw* of the Tayabas Negrito.[13]

In summary, the following types of musical instruments are the only ones identified in the printed sources about the Apayaws:

idiophones:

jew's harp, of bamboo
gong, big type without knob
gong, small type without knob
bamboo guitar, beaten

membranophone:

drum, a long type with a drumhead

chordophones:

bamboo zither, plucked
bamboo bow, with a resonator

aerophone:

nose flute, made of bamboo

3. Tinguian

An inventory of Tinguian musical instruments in the FMNH collection is as follows:

idiophones:

bunkaka, woman's instrument made of bamboo, partly cutaway at one end leaving two sections on opposite sides. The instrument is held in the right hand and is struck against the palm of the left. The note is changed by fingering hole near hand hold. Sometimes known in other places as *balingbing* or Pfeiffer's "musical wand," (1975:187). (8 Sp. Nos. 109030-109037).

gong, called *gansa,* round copper gong, beaten to furnish music when dancing (6 Sp. Nos. 109047-109052).

tong-a-tong, a ceremonial musical instrument consisting of six bamboo tubes of different lengths, open at one end. Three players hold the tubes with their hands and strike the closed end on a flat stone. The strokes are rapid but in unison. Used only in ceremonials (Sp. No. 109057). Pfeiffer's "stamping tubes" (1975: 107).

galong, a small metal bell, held in the hand while the woman is dancing; not common (Sp. No. 109062).

jew's harp, called *agiweng,* a short section of bamboo with a cord attached to one end. At the other end is a piece of brass with a tongue cut in it. This is placed against the lips like a jew's harp and the hand holding the tube is pulled sharply away causing the tongue to vibrate. Notes are changed in the same manner as the jew's harp. A man's instrument (2 Sp. Nos. 109038 and 109056, which is provided with a tube).

jew's harp, called *kolibau* or *libau,* made of bamboo; put against the lips; pointed end is struck with fingers as tongue of instrument vibrates, giving note (Sp. Nos. 109039, 109040).

bamboo musical instrument, made of a large section of bamboo. Two strings have been cut from a side of the section and, in the center, a rectangular piece of bamboo is attached. Beneath it is a rectangular sounding hole. Beaten with two sticks. (2 Sp. Nos. 109041, 109042).

kuliteng, bamboo musical instrument. Two strings on the left are beaten, with a stick while other strings are played with the index finger and thumb of the right hand. A second player may help beat time with his knuckles on the end of instrument. (Sp. No. 109043).

membranophones:

tambor, a drum shaped like an inverted truncated cane; made of log; top covered with pig skin. To repair, a new piece is sewed on with rattan. The small end is open, with rattan lashings. Used in ceremonies and other functions. (Sp. No. 108147).

tambor, drum, with wooden sides, ends of cowhide (Sp. Nos. 109053 and 109055), or of pig skin (Sp. No. 109054). Played with drumstick called *batit.*

tambor, a long drum from hollowed-out trunk of small tree; head of deer skin; lower end carved and inlaid with human teeth; drum was property of village for many years; beaten with hands; note can be changed by pressure of leg against barrel. (Sp. No. 1091255).

chordophone:

nabil, bamboo violin, usually used by children but sometimes by elders (Sp. Nos. 109045-109046).

aerophones:

kalaleng, nose flute; one nostril of player is plugged up and air is forced through the other into the end of the instrument. Notes are made by fingering as with ordinary flute. Usually a man's instrument and is often held by the toes (4 Sp. Nos. 109019, 109021-109023). Sometimes called *kipano* in other places of Abra, (Specimen No. 109023 being so labeled, and so also Specimen No. 109024).

tulali, bamboo mouth flute (Sp. No. 109020).

dewdew-as, panpipe, made of reeds of different lengths; player holds lips a few inches from reeds and blows into ends, meantime moving the instrument to and fro; a woman's instrument (5 Sp. Nos. 109025-109029, No. 109025 having 5 reeds and No. 109027, 7 reeds).

pabilbil, bull roarer, used to drive or frighten horses; bamboo pole has thin strip of bamboo attached by red cord; usually a boy's plaything (Sp. No. 109123).

Cole, who was an indefatigable collector of Philippine musical instruments, did not describe all the above named instruments in his 1922 work on the subject. However, the two kinds of jew's harp described above are based on his work (page 442). The *bunkaka* has a third name, *bilbil,* recorded by Romualdez (1932:6-7), or *belbel,* by Terrenal (1964). Terrenal described another similar bamboo instrument with one tine, the

patangop, a bamboo section tapering thinly towards the end, halfway from the lower node. A hole in the lower rind is used to vary the tone. When struck against the wrist, a two-toned rhythm can be produced.

Though this idiophone is sketched rather poorly in that work, this item can be added to the above inventory.

Terrenal's identification in two other cases are suspect. While *culaling,* may be accepted as a variant of *kalaleng,* or nose flute, the terms *palaleng* and *paldong* for mouth flute are not registered elsewhere. In the same way, she appears to have committed an error in classifying the bamboo zither (identified in the field by Cole as *kullteng*) as bamboo violin at least by name for she called the latter *kuriteng* or *culit-tong* which appear to be cognates. Romualdez identified the *kipano* as *kapinaw* (1932:17) and agreed with Cole that the pan pipes may have from five or more reeds (1932:20).

Illustrations found include: a Tinguian playing the nose flute, in Worcester (1911:247); the jew's harp, in Cole (1922:441); the *bunkaka,* in Cole (1922:441) and in Romualdez (1932:7); and the panpipes, in Cole (1932:441) and Romualdez (1932:20), besides illustrating a woman playing it (1932:21). A photograph of men "beating the copper gongs" may be seen in Plate LXXXI, the nose flute being played by a man in Plate LXXXII and the bamboo guitar played by men in Plate LXXXIII (Cole 1922). Terrenal's sketches, on the other hand, are poor and misleading.

Tinguian music has been studied by Albert Gale and is found incorporated as Chapter XII in Cole's work (1922:443-485).

4. Balbalasang Tinguian

The types of Balbalasang Tinguian instruments found in the FMNH collection are as follows:

chordophone:

bamboo zither, with five string, (Sp. No. 90377 being 50.5 cm. long and 9.5 cm. in diameter).

aerophones:

tulali, mouth flute, of bamboo, with etched ornamentation; three finger holes on one side, and a fourth on the opposite side (Sp. No. 90376 being 66.5 cm. long (Sp. No. 90374, with etched designs, 3 finger holes on one side, one on opposite side and about 60 cm. long).

kalaleng, or nose flute, of bamboo, ornamented with etched designs; three finger holes on one side, one hole on the other side (Sp. no. 90375 being 58 cm. long).

panpipe, consisting of 7 slender bamboo tubes of which 5 show etched

designs; longest tube being 46.5 cm. long, shortest being 23 cm. (Sp. No. 90369).

Worcester (1906: 856, 857, 858) described the musical instruments of this group as follows:

> The Tinguians of Apayao make musical instruments of bamboo which, for the lack of a better name, may be called "jew's harps." A single joint of *caña bojo* is taken, one end is cut off, and more than half of one side is cut away so as to leave a projecting tongue. Near the septum at the end of the joint, a round hole is pierced, over which the thumb of the operator may be placed. The projecting tongue is then struck upon the head of a battle-axe and the musical tone produced by the resulting vibration can be varied by thumbing the hole pierced near the septum. The men often play these instruments when on the march.
>
> . . . . The dance music is furnished by gansas alone and is of a decidedly lively character, as are the dances themselves.
>
> I was fortunate in failing to see dances among the Tingians of Apayao, but was told that they were similar to those of the people of Abra. However, I did not see gansas and nose flutes among them, and was surprised to run across a long, wooden drum similar in shape to those used by the Benguet-Lepanto Igorots.

Adding up the musical instruments of this group, the following types have been identified:

idiophones:

bunkaka, sometimes called "tuning fork" in musical literature; otherwise the *rere* of Celebes (Kaudern, 1927). This is not the jew's harp Worcester described in the first paragraph of the quotation above. It is the same instrument described by Cole among the Tinguian of Abra, the only difference being that Worcester observed it being struck against a head-axe by the men, while Cole saw it struck against the palm of the left hand by the women.

gong, flat type

membranophone:

drum, a long wooden type similar to that used by the Benguet-Lepanto Igorot.

chordophone:

bamboo zither with five strings

aerophones:

tulali, mouth flute

kalaleng, nose flute

panpipe, consisting of 7 slender bamboo tubes

5. Kalinga

The following types of Kalinga instruments are found in the FMNH collection:

idiophone:

ulibiao, or jew's harp (Sp. Nos. 1343 and 3030, the second with case).

chordophones:

kulibet, or bamboo zither (Sp. No. 1133).

bamboo violin, made out of a section of thin bamboo; neckpiece made of wood; string made of human hair; bow made of bamboo with hair (Sp. No. 108334).

aerophones:

mouth flute, short (4 5/8" long), five finger holes on the upper portion of the lower side (Sp. No. 108334).

nose flute, of bamboo, designs incised for decoration (Sp. No. 108334) 30 1/2" long.

In one of his works, Worcester (1906:824) made mention of the gong as the primary instrument in producing Kalinga dance-music:

> . . . Although nose-flutes are occasionally met with, dance-music is ordinarily furnished by a battery of four or more *gansas* played with great energy and skill by men who beat them with their hands.

In another work, Worcester (1912:574, 875) reproduced two pictures of men performing a war dance with other men beating the gongs to furnish the music. From the pictures, the gongs appeared to have no knobs. Worcester added that a "human lower jaw is used for the handle" (1912:877).

Although Barton, another authority on Kalinga culture, did not describe the gong, his knowledge of it is evident from a photograph reproduced in Plates XVIII and XX of his book (1949), which show how this instrument is handled to furnish the beat and music in a Kalinga dance.

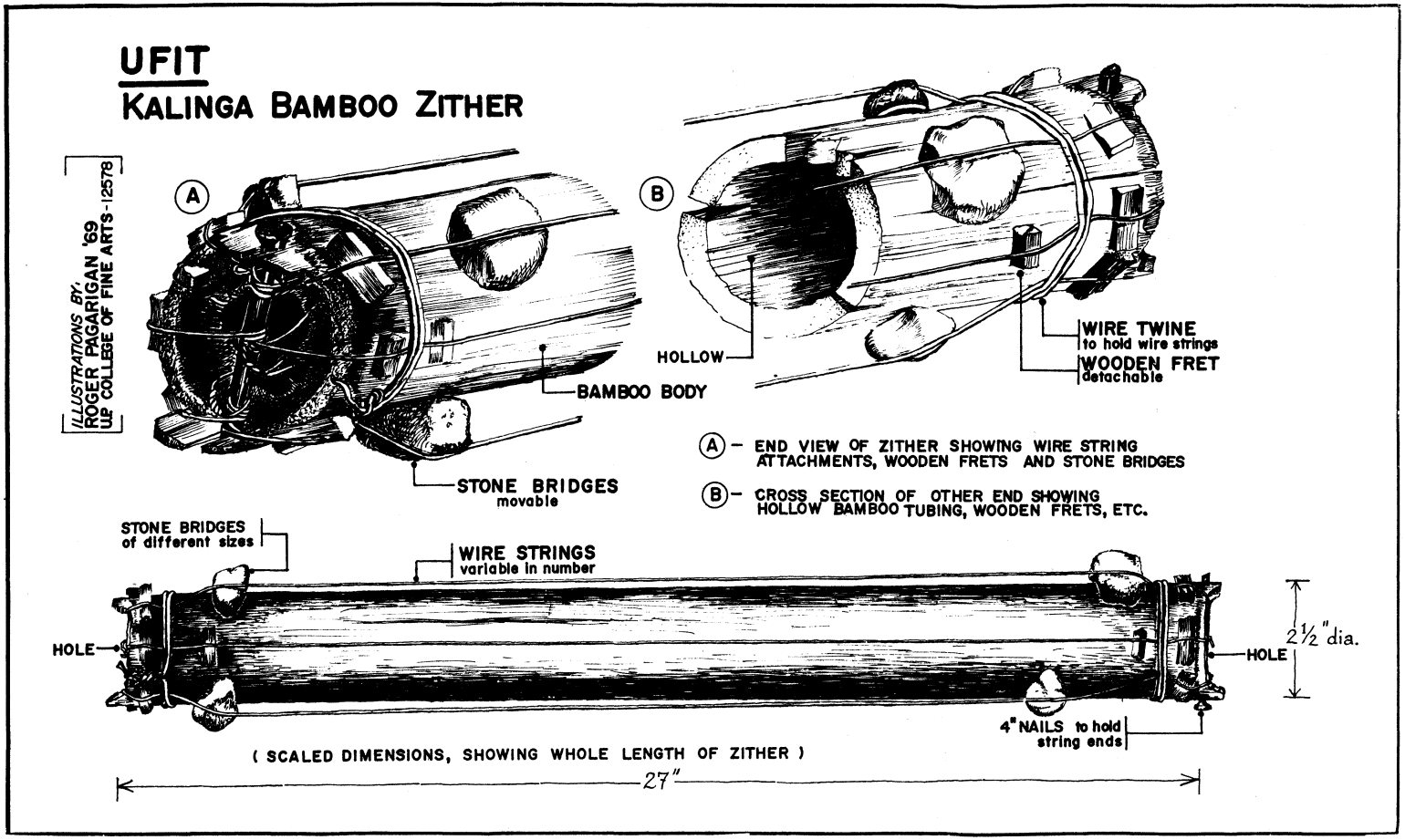
In a recent contribution, Jose Maceda, foremost among Filipino ethnomusicologists, gave a vivid description of gong playing among the Kalinga (1972:29) as follows:

> . . . Among the Kalinga six *gongs* of graduated size, each shaped like a frying pan without a handle are laid on the laps of six half-kneeling male musicians with the flat or rimless side up. The largest in circumference which has the lowest tone of diffused pitch starts a rhythm sounded by the two hands of the performer. The left hand taps while the right hand strikes and slides forward on the *gansa*. The second performer with a smaller instrument plays the same rhythm starting on the second beat of the first performer. The third and fourth players with correspondingly smaller instruments follow with the same rhythmic pattern, each starting on the second beat of the preceding player. As soon as the rhythmic flow of these four players is established, (it sometimes takes a few trials before this is achieved), the fifth player plays a new *ostinato* pattern - regular sonorous slaps of the right hand each quickly followed by a dampening left hand – which acts as a stabilizer of a "melody" produced by the first four *gangsa*. The sixth instrument bangs, dampens and varies its rhythms (still using the hands) in a more free pattern than the rest of the players. The final musical product may be divided into three musical layers. . . *(The author reproduced a passage of this musical piece in musical transcription.)*

Barton (1949:27-28) described other Kalinga musical instruments which are given as follows:

> (The *patanggok* which consists of) pieces of bamboo varying from 30 to about 40 centimeters in length are tapered on one side from about their middle, and a little hole is made through the rind of the other end. The tapered end is beaten on a bamboo or head ax, and, by closing and unclosing the hole, the tone is varied. *(For an illustration of this instrument, see Barton (1949:180).*
>
> The *balingbing* is a bamboo about 60 centimeters long, split into halves from one end almost to the node, the extremities of the halves being whittled down thin. The holes is made through the rind of the other end near the node. The instrument is beaten on the other hand, the tone is varied by closing the hole.
>
> The *tongali* is a nose flute similar to that found elsewhere in these mountains having four holes toward the lower end. To play it, one nostril is closed with a wad of leaves or cotton.
>
> The *diudiuas* is a bamboo harp. Either five or seven strings are raised from the body of a four- or five-inch piece of bamboo. The strings are of the same

Plate II. Ufit (Kalinga)

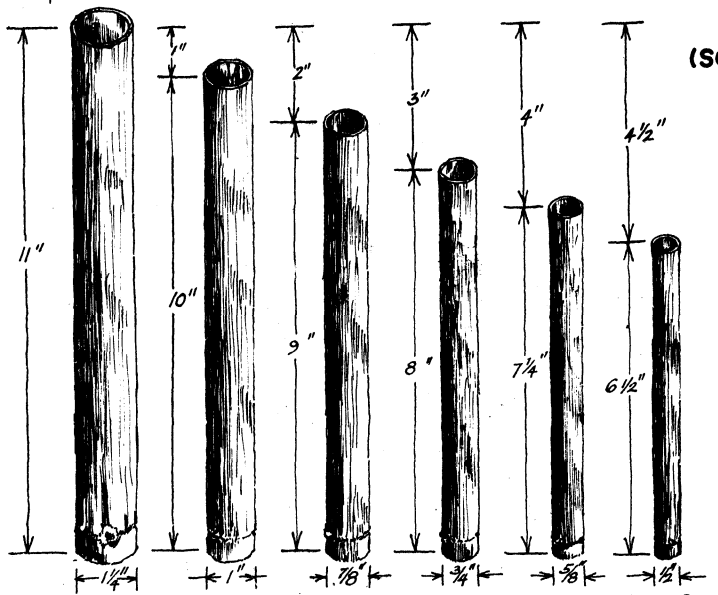


SAGGAYPÔ (MOUTH INSTRUMENT) SOUTHERN KALINGA

HOLLOW BAMBOO, MUSICAL WIND INSTRUMENT

(DETAIL OF BAMBOO STEM, SIX (6) TUBES OF VARIOUS LENGTHS, SHOWING THE 2 ENDS)

Longest Tube, 11" LONG, 1 1/4" in DIA.



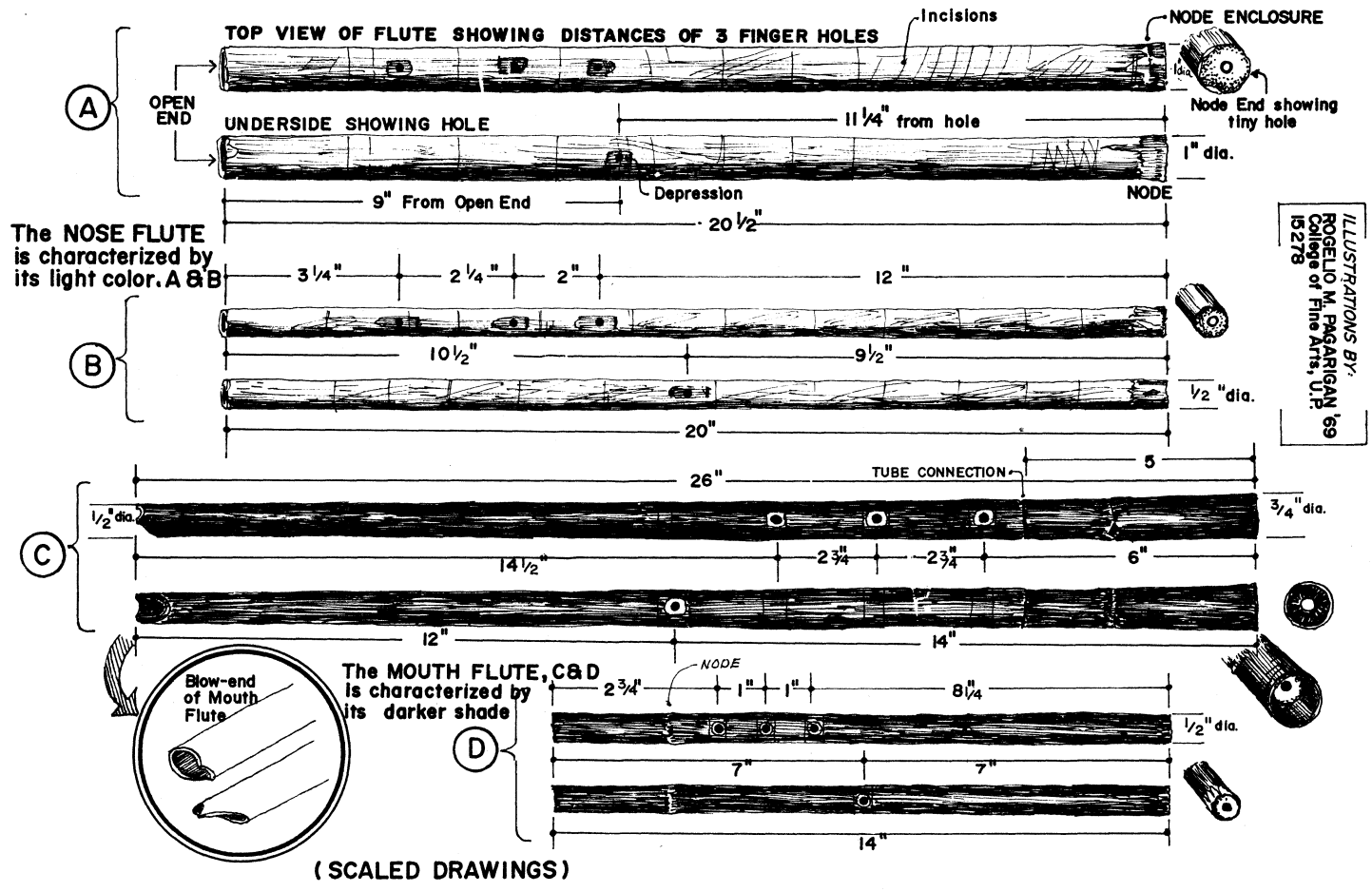
BAMBOO HOLLOW TUBING OF VARIOUS DIMENSIONS.
THESE SCALED DRAWINGS SHOW THE GRADUATIONS OF THE 6 TUBES. (The bamboo is called BUHÔ in Tagalog vernacular.)

(SCALED DRWGS.)

ILLUSTRATION SHOWING HOW THE SAGGAYPO IS BLOWN TO EMIT MUSICAL NOTES.

SOUNDS EMITTED BY THESE WIND INSTRUMENTS VARY FROM LOW PITCH FOR THE BIGGER TUBES HIGH FOR THE SHORT.

ILLUSTRATION BY:
ROGELIO M. PAGARIGAN '69
U.P. COLLEGE OF FINE ARTS
7832


TONGALÍ (KALINGA) NOSE & MOUTH FLUTE (BAMBOO)
TOP VIEW OF FLUTE SHOWING DISTANCES OF 3 FINGER HOLES
Incisions
NODE ENCLOSURE
A
OPEN END
UNDERSIDE SHOWING HOLE
11 1/4" from hole
1" dia.
Node End showing tiny hole
9" From Open End
Depression
NODE
20 1/2"
The NOSE FLUTE is characterized by its light color. A & B
3 1/4"
2 1/4"
2"
12"
B
10 1/2"
9 1/2"
1/2" dia.
20"
ILLUSTRATIONS BY: ROGELIO M. PAGARIGAN '69 College of Fine Arts, U.P. 15278
5
26"
TUBE CONNECTION
C
1/2" dia.
3/4" dia.
14 1/2"
2 3/4"
2 3/4"
6"
12"
14"
Blow-end of Mouth Flute
The MOUTH FLUTE, C & D is characterized by its darker shade
NODE
2 3/4"
1"
1"
8 1/4"
D
1/2" dia.
7"
7"
14"
(SCALED DRAWINGS)

size, but some are lifted by higher bridges than others, so that there is a difference in tension.

Early in the present century, Governor Gonzaga reported to Dr. David Barrows (Census, 1903, I:544-545) three musical instruments, one of which, the bamboo trumpet, has not been previously mentioned. He mentioned this instrument in passing in the following statement:

> . . They (that is, the Kalinga) celebrate feasts with dancing and singing to the sound of their instruments, consisting of a ganza, which has the form of a copper plate which is beaten with a hand like a timbrel, and a flute of slender bamboo, besides a bamboo trumpet: the dancers consist of the men and women dancing **alone and never** in pairs or together. . .

In reference to the musical ensemble he previously described, Maceda also mentioned other musical instruments:

> **The above musical form is similarly applied to other Kalinga ensembles: six bamboo zithers (*Kolitong*), with five to nine strings, six buzzers (*balingbing*), six half-tubes (*patangguk*), six zylophone blades (*patatag*), and six pipes (*saggeypo*) of a panpipe.**

From these various sources, the following types of Kalinga musical instruments are attested:

idiophones:

ulibiao, or jew's harp.

patanggok, which "faintly suggests certain bamboo instruments (*anklung*) of the Javanese orchestra" (Barton, 1949:180) and which looks like the Balbalasang Tinguian *bunkaka* (which see *ante*).

balingbing, which is the Balbalasang Tinguian *bunkaka;* see illus. in Romualdez, (1932;7).

gong, flat type (variants: *ganza* in Sp. printed literature, *gangza*).

patatag, zylophone

chordophones:

kulibet, bamboo zither, erroneously called *diudiuas* by Barton, above, for the latter term refers to panpipes; the *koliteng* of Maceda.

bamboo violin, described above.

aerophones:

bamboo trumpet, as reported by Gonzaga.

mouth flute, the type not known exactly.

tongali, nose flute.

diwdiw-as, panpipe: Maceda's *saggeypo,* consisting of six pipes.

6. Bontok

The FMNH collection has but one instrument coming from this ethnic group. This is a jew's harp made of a slender thin strip of brass with a long longitudinal tongue fastened with a string to its cylindrical bamboo case (Sp. No. 90511).

However, Worcester (1906:482) saw other instruments among the Bontok Igorot, giving special emphasis to the *gansa:*

> The Bontok Igorots have a number of musical instruments including "jew's harps" made of bamboo or brass, bamboo flutes and gansas. Of these, the gansa, which is in such general use among the non-Christian tribes of northern Luzon, is by far the most important. It is made of copper or brass, and is suspended from a handle which theoretically should be and practically often is, the lower jawbone of enemy killed in battle.
>
> The Bontok Igorot does not beat his gansa with his hands as does the Kalinga, Tingian, and Ifugao, nor with a bit of wood as does the Benguet Lepanto Igorot, but uses a well-fashioned, skin-covered drumstick.

Wilson (1953:119) reproduced a picture of a Bontok playing a sacred drum in a *cañao.* On the other hand, the PNM has two specimens of the nose flute or *kalaleng* (Sp. Nos. 1081 and 1136) and one drum or *solibao* (Sp. No. 3155).

Jenk (1905:189-192) devoted about three pages of his work to Bontok instrumental music. Excerpts from these are as follows:

> The Bontoc Igorot has few musical instruments, and all are very simple. The most common is a gong, a flat metal drum about 1 foot in diameter and 2 inches deep. This drum is commonly said to be "brass" but analyses show it to be bronze.
>
> In the Bontok area there are two classes of gang-sa; one is called ka'-los, and the other co-ong'-an. The co-ong'-an is frequently larger than the other, seems to be always of thicker metal, and has a more bell-like and usually higher-pitched tone.
>
> Gan'-sa music consists of two things – rhythm and crude harmony. Its rhythm is perfect, but though there is an appreciation of harmony as is seen in the recognition of, we may say, the "tenor" and "bass" tones of co-ong'-an and ka'-los, respectively, yet in the actual music the harmony is lost sight of by the American.
>
> In Bontoc the gang'-sa is held vertically in the hand by a cord passing through two holes in the rim, and the cord usually has a human lower jaw at-

tached to facilitate the grip. As the instrument thus hangs free in front of the player (always a man or boy) it is beaten on the outer surface with a short padded stick like a miniature bass-drum stick. There is no gang'-sa music without the accompanying dance, and there is no dance unaccompanied by music. A gang'-sa or a tin can put in the hands of an Igorot boy is always at once productive of music and dance. . . .

The lover's "jew's harp" made both of bamboo and of brass, is found throughout the Bontoc area. It is played near to and in the *olag* wherein the sweetheart of the young man is at the time. The instrument, called in Bontoc *"ab'-a'-fu"* is apparently primitive Malayan, and is found widespread in the south seas and Pacific ocean. . .

I have seen a few crude bamboo flutes in the hands of young men, but none were able to play them. I believe they are of Ilokano introduction.

A long wooden drum, hollow and cannon-shaped, and often 3 feet and more long and about 8 inches in diameter, is common in Benguet, and is found in Lepanto, but is not found or known in Bontoc. A skin stretched over the large end of the drum is beaten with the flat of the hands to accompany the music of the metal drums or gang'-sa, also played with the flat of the hands, as described, in pueblos near the western border of Bontoc area.

Cawed mentioned only two musical instruments in her maiden work (1965; 21) and she agreed with Jenks in the classification of the gongs into two kinds:

The Bontocs have two musical instruments – the *gangsa* (the gongs made of copper or bronze) and *kaleleng* (the nose flute made of tiny and slender bamboo). There are two types of *gangsa:* the *kalos,* which are small and have a tenor pitch and the *ko-ongans,* which are bigger and produce a bass sound. The value of the latter is twice that of the former type. When the two types of *gangsa* are played simultaneously, a music of crude harmony, but perfect in time and rhythm, results. The *kaleleng* is the favorite instrument among the young. In the quiet of the evenings, you can hear a swain or a maiden play a haunting primitive tune on this bamboo instrument.

Jenks has pictures of how the gong is held with a human jawbone in Plate CL and how the gong functions during a dance in Plates CXXXI, CLI and CLII; Worcester (1911:223) has a good photograph of two Bontok Igorots holding *gangsas* with human lower jaw handles and two other pictures (1911:224, 225) showing how men dance beating their gongs; Wilson (1953:119) reproduced a picture of a Bontok playing a sacred drum in a *cañao;* and Cawed (1965-65) of the *gangsa* with a human jaw and a man standing playing a nose flute. The PNM in Manila has two specimens of the nose flute or *kalaleng* (Sp. Nos. 1081 and 1136) and one drum or *solibao* (Sp. No. 3155).

From both the ethnographic literature and ethnological evidence, the following enumeration of Bontok musical instruments can be made:

idiophones:

gong, small type called *kalos*

gong, large type called *ko-ongan*

jew's harp, made of bamboo

jew's harp, made of brass

membranophones:

drum, a long type like a cocoon provided with a drumhead of skin (seen by Jenks in the periphery of the Bontok area, although Wilson is more certain of its presence; and PNM has a specimen).

sulibaw, a long type of drum

aerophone:

nose flute made of bamboo; variously named *kalaleng, kaleleng,* or *klaleng*

7. Bauko (Lepanto-Bontok)

The only musical instrument in the FMNH representing this group is a *tambor,* a long cylindrical drum made from a hollowed-out log. It has head of deer skin fastened with rattan lashings to the bigger end, an open, small end and a carrying cord of bark bast fastened to the barrel. The *tambor* is beaten with the hand and the player changes note by pressing a leg against the barrel (Sp. No. 108122).

In Vanoverbergh's *Dictionary* (1933), other Bauko musical instruments are recorded and defined. They are as follows:

diw-as, mouth organ; pandean pipes; syrinx. An instrument made of bamboo and consisting of five pipes fixed together side by side in graduated sizes.

gangsa, timbrel, gong, made of copper and extensively used in dances and sacrifices.

kalaleng, nose flute

kulalleng, variant of nose flute.

solibaw, drum. It is oblong, and beaten at one of the ends.

tebeb, drum

tongali, flute

A summary classification of Bauko instruments is as follows:

idiophone:

gong, flat type but not differentiated in the literature.

membranophones:

solibaw, a long, oblong type of drum with a drumhead.

tebeb, another type perhaps but not described sufficiently.

aerophones:

kalalleng, or *kulalleng,* nose flute

tongali, mouth flute, though not defined well enough.

diw-as, panpipe

8. Sagada (Lepanto-Bontok)

The jew's harp is the only representative musical instrument found in the FMNH collection. From their make, two types are distinguishable: type A is made of rattan with longitudinal splint, all four specimens (Nos. 90687-90690) are provided with bamboo cases, one of which (Sp. No. 90689) has etched ornamentation; and type B is made of a slender thin strip of brass with longitudinal tongue, fastened with a string to its cylindrical bamboo case (Sp. No. 90511).

Going over Scott's *A Vocabulary of the Sagada Igorot Dialect* (1957), the following entries for musical instruments are found: *abiw,* a bamboo noise-maker to scare away rice-birds; *awiden,* jew's harp; *bawengweng,* a wooden toy on the end of a string swung around to make a noise, a bull-roarer; *bolinsi,* a kind of gong; *dew-as,* a five-tube pipes-of-Pan; *gangsa,* brass gong, of Chinese origin; *genggeng,* a kind of stone which makes a musical sound when struck; *kalaleng,* noseflute; *kolisteng,* bamboo lyre or lute, made by raising thin strips of bamboo off the body of the piece and stretching them over bridges; *pingsan,* small gong; *salibaw* or *solibaw,* a long, wooden drum with hide head; *sonob,* large *gangsa;* and *tongali,* a flute made of rice stalk, a leaf for whistling.

Jose Maceda made a musical study of Sagada chants (1958) but not of its instrumental music.

Available literature shows that the Sagada Lepanto-Igorot have or play the following musical instruments:

idiophones:

abiw, a bamboo noise-maker for scaring away rice-birds.

bawengweng, bull-roarer

genggeng, a musical stone

awiden, jew's harp made of rattan (most likely bamboo).

awiden, jew's harp made of brass

pingsan, a small type of flat gong

sonob, a large type of flat gong

membranophone:

salibaw or *solibaw,* a long type of wooden drum with a drumhead.

chordophone:

kolisteng, bamboo zither

aerophones:

tongali, rice stalk flute

tongali, another type made of leaf for whistling

kalaleng, nose flute

dew-as, panpipe

9. Amburayan (Bakun-Kayapa)

Collecting work was done in the Amburayan region including the Kayapa-Bakun area. Since the two areas are contiguous and have been identified by Moss as inhabited by the same people, the Kankanay,[14] it is best to put them together under one heading. Since Moss did not touch on musical instruments in his study, a classification of the FMNH Amburana (Bakun-Kayapa) instruments can be done right away.

idiophones:

tolloc, one long piece of hard wood, with one end thicker than the other and one short round stick for striking. The long stick is held loosely at the thick end and is made to swing to and fro while hit upon with a short stick. Played during *cañao* feasts (Sp. No. 114056-114058).

pewpew, of bamboo, one end closed in two sections; at one end is a roundish hole; usually played by men when on trail, by striking double end near left hand. Four fingers of right hand upon hole to control tone (Sp. No. 114051).

Also played by women who hit instrument upon left hand, producing vibrating sound; forefinger off and on upon tone hole (Sp. No. 114262, 57 cm. long).

gansa, gong of brass, shallow circular type, with handle made of a short piece of rope attached to woodcarving representing two chicken heads. (Sp. No. 114054 is 36 cm. in diameter).

membranophones:

sulibao, drum made of piece of wood, either cylindrical or cannon-shape with one end open; the other end is covered with tanned deer hide held securely with rattan lashing; cover for drumhead of basketry. Player can change tones by pressing leg against barrel. (Sp. Nos. 114259 is 108 cm. high; 108119, 4 feet high; 114110, 112 cm. high).

culibebbeb, drum type A, body hollowed out of a piece of hard wood; cartridge-shaped; one end open, other end covered with hide; hide held with rattan lashings passing through perforations in ridged encircling band (Sp. No. 114261).

culibebbeb, type B, body of drum a powder can; heads of drum with hide secured with rattan lashing; one stick short with globular end (Sp. No. 114053 is 28.5 cm. long).

aerophones:

dulili, nose flute of bamboo, with one end completely open and the other end with slight hole for nose; four finger holes, two on one side, two others on opposite side. (Sp. No. 114053 is 49.5 cm. long).

bawweek, or *baw-weet,* whistling top, egg-shaped piece of hard wood with deep hole on one side of the top body; long slender shaft runs through body; top part of shaft used for spinning twine and for a piece of reed to hold top while pulling the cord. (Two Sp. Nos. 114058, 114060).

The "cartridge–shaped" *culibebbeb* drum above described is photographed by D.C. Worcester (1911:221) and described in connection with the "bird dance" (page 222). The description is worth reproducing in order to show how the other instruments are played.

> Other dances of several kinds are soon in full swing. The commonest of these is the Benguet-Lepanto bird dance, the music for which is furnished by two long-barreled wooden drums with skin heads, two *gansas* or bronze timbrels, a stone, and a bit of iron and steel. Each drummer squats on the ground with the barrel of his drum held under his left arm. He beats its head with his open hands and gives considerable range to its really musical notes by fingering its head and by pressing on its barrel. The remaining musicians dance while they play. The *gansa* men beat their instruments with sticks, while the man with the steel and stone clicks them together.

While Scott (1957) did not show how the musical stone *genggeng* was played among the Sagada people, the neighboring Amburayan group appears to have it too and, in the above passage, Worcester described how it is played.

10. Ifugao

The Ifugao collection of musical instruments in the FMNH consists of forty-four pieces which could be classified as follows:

idiophones:

paktong, round stick of hard wood; midway is a vertical hand grasp of rattan. This stick is struck upon with another stick. Used in "canyao" dances. (Sp. Nos. 113076, 1103077, 103620, 113621, 113622-113624, 113630).

haklik, tubular section of bamboo, split lengthwise from end to near end. Used as an accompaniment in dancing. (Sp. 113079 is 60.5 cm. long).

ta-ita, bamboo tube with longitudinal slit for more than half its length. Used as an accompaniment when singing at death (Sp. 113618 is 29.5 cm. long).

sangal, bamboo tube with longitudinal slit for more than half its length. Used to accompany singing at deaths (cañao). (Sp. 113619, 27 cm. long).

jew's harp, or *akpio,* narrow strip of thin brass with a very thin slit and with a vibrating tongue in the middle longitudinal section. String attached for playing (Sp. Nos. 113078, 113671, 113672).

jew's harp, or *pit-ong,* of thin flat narrow bamboo with narrow longitudinal tongue (Sp. Nos. 113610-113617).

bamboo zither, *patting,* semi-tubular body of bamboo. Two strings cut out of same piece as body. (Sp. Nos. 113596, 37.5 cm. long; 113597, etched designs with striking stick attached, 38 cm. long: 113598, ornamented with burned and etched designs, with two strings cut from body piece, and striking stick attached; 113599, ornamented, two strings, 34.5 cm. long; 113600, ornamented, two strings, 38 cm. long; 113601, unornamented, 37 cm. long; 113602, unornamented, 38.5 cm. long; 113603, unornamented, 35 cm. long; 113604, unornamented, 31.5 cm. long and; 113605, ornamented with blackened design, 39.3 cm. long).

membranophone:

drum, or *li-pit,* inverted, truncated cone body of hard wood. Single head of hide held by hoops and lacings of rattan. Hoops tightened with wooden wedges. Used in rice planting *cañao* to call people. Width of top, 28 cm. and at bottom, 15 cm., height 34 cm. (Sp. Nos. 113631, 113632).

chordophone:

bamboo zither, or *tadeang,* of tubular section of bamboo. Two strips are lifted from the surface of the bamboo, whittled into right diameters to serve as strings (Sp. No. 113080, 147 cm. long).

aerophones:

uppiyup, flute, of slender reed. One end closed, other end open; three holes (Sp. Nos. 113606, 20.5 cm. long; 113608, of slender reed, one end whittled and closed, other end open, three holes, 16.5 cm. long; 113609, short slender reed to which is fastened a string, 4.6 cm. long).

ung-ngay-yong, flute, of bamboo tube; ornamented with incised desings; with mouth hole and 3 finger holes. (Sp. No. 113607 is 17 cm. long.)

ungi-yung, flute, with tip of carabao horn; with mouth and 2 finger holes; 11.5 cm. long. (Sp. No. 113671).

However impressive the FMNH collection of Ifugao musical instruments, there were many more which were missed. Other instruments not included but mentioned by other authorities are the gong (Worcester, 1906:832); the *palipal* or bamboo clapper used during the harvest feast (Barton, 1911:84); the *unguing,* a flute, possibly the same instrument as the *ungi-yung* already described above; the *pantig,* bamboo zither (Romualdez, 1932:16, 22) which looks like the *tadeang* previously defined; the *bangibang,* used as a religious rite instrument but not described further in the PNM catalogue (Sp. No. 1224); and the *tongali,* or nose flute (von Tacacs, 1934).

According to Worcester, the most popular instrument among the Ifugaos is the gong. He describes its use as follows:

> The only musical instrument in common use among the Ifugaos is the *gansa,* which is played with a drumstick. In the typical Ifugao dance both men and women take part. They form a line, the dancers in front and the musicians behind, and march back and forth with many rhythmical sidewise motions of the hands and arms and much flexing of the upper part of the body. This dance, which is common throughout the Ifugao country, is radically different from that of any other northern Luzon tribe.[15]

At this point, it should be added that the Ifugao gong players do not only play with the drumstick but also with their bare hands.[16]

The *bangibang* is described by Beyer and Barton as follows (1911:232):

> The *bangibang* is a musical instrument of very hard and resonant wood which is beaten with a short stick also of hard wood. On a still day the sharp, clicking beat of this instrument can be heard miles away. It is used only in death ceremonies and in the ceremonies for the cure of very serious illness.

The Ifugaos are known to play with their pestles while pounding rice, either striking the rim or side of the rice mortar with their pestles or hitting each other's pestle. The first, they call *muntikuk* or *tikkuk,* a sort of mortar-rim or mortar-side-play, and the second, *pakkuk,* pestle-play. It can be inferred that they do this just like Ilukano rice pounders: for entertainment or display of energy.[17] In this sense, the mortar and pestle could be added to the percussion group of instruments.

The *li-pit,* also known as *libbit* in Banawe, already described above, looks like a waste basket; the U.P. Anthropology Museum has a specimen photographed in the *Fifth National Festival* brochure (1970).

An inventory of Ifugao musical instruments can now be summarized and classified as follows:

idiophones:

paktong, two beating sticks used in *cañao* dances.

haklik, bamboo clapper used in dancing.

ta-ita, bamboo clapper used as an accompaniment when singing at death.

sangal, bamboo clapper used for accompaniment at deaths (*cañao*).

akpio, jew's harp made of thin brass.

pit-ong, jew's harp made of bamboo.

palipal, another bamboo clapper but used during harvest feast.

bangibang, two beating sticks used in death ceremonies and in rituals for the cure of very serious illness.

patting, a bamboo zither in construction; the two strings are beaten with a stick.

binuhlot, first class gong, so regarded because of the quality of its sound.

kalo, middle class gong.

galamat, low kind of gong made of poor metal which produces poor sound.

patting, type B of bamboo zither, with halved bamboo as body.

mortar and pestle, when pounding rice.

membranophone:

li-pit, an inverted, truncated cone; drum used in rice planting *cañao* to call people.

chordophone:

tadeang, type A of bamboo zither, made of a whole section or internode of bamboo.

aerophones:

tongali, nose flute.

uppiyup, a kind of transverse flute(?)

ung-ngay-yong, a kind of mouth flute.

ungi-yung, another kind of transverse flute.(?)

11. Benguet Igorot or Ibaloy

Ibaloy musical instruments are, quantitatively, poorly represented in the FMNH store rooms by two drums; one described to be a male drum, of hollowed log, 105 cm. long, one end open with worn ridge encircling the opposite end which is covered with tanned hide held in place with rattan lashings (Sp. No. 90055); and the other, said to be a female drum, made of hollowed log, 89 cm. long, one end open with carved-like ornamentation near the opening, and deer-skin head secured with rattan (Sp. No. 90056). Both specimens appeared to be owned by the village, but collector S.C. Simms, who paid five pesos for each, was unable to obtain any explanation why one was male and the other female.

However, in spite of the poor representation, there is good literature available. Moss, the American teacher who lived for many years among the people and married a native Ibaloy, enumerated the musical instruments known to him: the *sulibau, kimbal, kalsa, pinsak, kolas, pakang, kambatong, taladi,* and the *kading.* Of these, the first five are the ones used at rituals. Moss is quoted here *in extenso* because he fully described the instruments and how they were used during his time:

> The *sulibau* and *kimbal* are drums made of round pieces of wood about eight inches in diameter and three and a half or four feet in length. Sometimes a hollow tree is used, but more often a solid tree is hollowed out by burning. A deer skin is soaked in water, and while wet is stretched over the top of the *sulibao* or *kimbal.* The *sulibau* has a higher note than the *kimbal.* It is played with both hands while the *kimbal* is played with one hand only. It is struck twice while the *kimbal* is struck once. Those playing the *sulibau* and *kimbal* sit. The one playing the *sulibao* leads the music.

The *kalsa* and the *pinsak* are imported gongs made of brass or bronze. The *kalsa* has a high clear sound and the *pinsak* a lower coarser sound. Both instruments are beaten with wooden sticks called *pitog*. Those playing the *kalsa* and the *pinsak* walk around in the circle with the dancers keeping time with the music. The *kalsa* generally costs about thirty pesos and the *pinsak* twenty. *(Ed. note: These prices have tremendously appreciated lately)* Some of these instruments in Kabayan are said to have been used for five or six generations.

The *kolas* consists of two pieces of iron which are struck together by a man who walks in the circle with the dancers. Generally the hand spades for digging *camotes* are used.

The swiftness with which news travels in the Nabaloi country has led some to believe that communications are transmitted by means of musical instruments. Since the *sulibau* and *kimbal* may be heard at a distance of four or five miles, this could easily be done, but the people say that no musical instruments have ever been used for this purpose.

All the instruments which have been described are used at rituals and are necessary for dancing; but there are others with which the Igorot amuse themselves during their intervals of leisure.

The *pakang* is made from a piece of bamboo by cutting loose a triangle at one end. The *pakang* is held in the right hand and struck on the palm of the left, which causes the triangle to vibrate. Only the women used this instrument – generally on their way to and from the *camote* fields.

The *kambatong* is made by cutting away one side of a point of bamboo, and stretching a cord made from the hair of a horse's tail horizontally over the opening. It is held on top of a coconut shell placed on the stomach, and played with the fingers.

The *taladi* is a flute made from a joint of bamboo by boring holes in it. The performer moves his fingers over the holes while blowing in the end.

The *kading* is made by cutting a tongue in a thin piece of brass. It is placed between the lips or teeth, and the tongue made to vibrate with the fingers. Among some of the northern Igorot a sign language, especially of courtship, can be expressed on this instrument, but this is not true in Kabayan, nor, so far as I know, among any of the Nabaloi.[18]

Otto Scheerer, the German linguist, who lived among this group for several years, gave more details which clarify some of Moss's identification with respect to five instruments. This description is as follows:

The chief ones are the *sulibau* and the *kimbal*, two cannon-shaped wooden drums of about equal size but beaten differently, each by one man; the first, a little sharper in tone, receives with the inner side of the outstretched united four fingers of both hands a continuous, quick succession of double slaps, both slaps being short but sounding ones, to be represented approximately thus: right-left, right-left, right-left, right-left. The *kimbal* is struck in the same manner but with

> the difference that only the right-hand slap, simultaneous with the right-hand slap of the *sulibau* player, resounds, while the left-hand stroke is applied so as to cut short at once and stifle the vibration. The bass accompaniment furnished by the *kimbal* to the *sulibau* has therefore the following monotonous sound: right, right, right, right.
>
> The hollow "tub-tub, tub-tub" produced by both deep-mouthed instruments can be heard for a distance of 8, 10, or more miles along the valley. Together with them are played two gongs, one called *kalsa*, the other *pinsak*. They closely resemble brass pans, and are held up with the left hand and struck with a wooden peg in the right. The clacking of two iron batons, called *palas*, struck one against the other, completes the tattoo.[19]

Frances Densmore, a leading American ethnomusicologist who visited the Philippine exposition ground during the Louisiana Purchase Centennial celebration at St. Louis in 1904, studied Filipino pagan music and noted some of the instruments used by the Benguet Igorot. Her observation is worth quoting:

> The museum contained several Igorot flutes (of which I saw none in use) and also several bamboo instruments used by the Igorot to mark the time in their singing as they go to and from the rice fields. These resemble tuning forks and vary from eight to fourteen inches in length. They are played by holding the closed end in the right hand and striking the prongs against the left palm. The second is said to be rather pleasant as the singers come home through the twilight.
>
> Another crude attempt at instrumental music deserves mention – the *boy's museek*. It was perhaps the most primitive stringed instrument ever made, for it had the earth for its body. Its one string was a fiber of bamboo about 45 inches long, the ends wrapped around stones and firmly imbedded in the ground. Under this string, near the middle, the boy had a hole dug in the ground about the size of a quart cup, lining it neatly with stones. Over the top of this hole he had placed a round piece of tin, on which rested the little stick which formed the "bridge" and supported the string at such an interval that the two ends gave tones a major third apart. A little boy twanged this most happilly, and sang a little Igorot song. In answer to my question he said it was *boy's museek*.[20]

Worcester also noted some of the Ibaloy musical instruments, some details of which add considerably to complete the picture of what others have already patiently described.

> The music of the Benguet-Lepanto Igorots is highly characteristic, and several instruments are used in producing it. Of these the most peculiar is a pair of long, slender-barreled wooden drums, open at one end and having the other covered with pigskin or lizard skin. These drums are played by pressing his hands. The operator can change the pitch of the tones produced by pressing his arm or leg, or both, against the wooden barrel. The *gansa*, which is always used when music is wanted, is played with a short stick or slat of bamboo. Usually there is also one musician who beats together a stone and a bit of steel or iron. During certain months of the year a Benguet Igorot woman will not go on the trail without carrying and constantly playing the bamboo musical instrument shown in Plate LIX, fig. 1, b and c. This instrument is carried in the left hand and is made

> to vibrate by striking one of its prongs against the right wrist. The character of the sound thus produced is changed by thumbing the hole near the septum at the undivided end. The Benguet Igorots are also fond of vocal music. They sing frequently at their feasts and occasionally when on the trail or resting beside it.[21]

In *Kapangduan a Dibshu* (1957) two musical instruments are noted and illustrated: the *kuding* or jew's harp and the *kalsńang* or bamboo zither. The first is most likely a variant of *kading.*

The musical analysis of Ibaloy songs was made by A.L. Kroeber,[22] the American giant in anthropology, and compared with Negrito songs as studied by Densmore.[23] On instrumental music and *sulibao* ensemble playing, Jose Maceda (1972:29) wrote:

> Among the Ibaloi also of the north the most important instrumental ensemble is the *sulibao* which consists of three pairs of instruments played by five people. These instruments are the *kimbal,* a lower sounding conical drum and the *sulibao,* a tenor conical drum together making one pair. The *pinsak,* a flat gong playing alternately scattered and muffled sounds and the *kalsa,* another flat gong with ringing as well as muffled sounds played in a freer rhythm make up the second pair. The last pair is the *palas* which are two short iron bars handled by one player to produce more sounds per unit time than any of the other instruments. Together, the ensemble brings forth a harmony of subtle transparent colors in which the *kalsa* provides a sort of an improvisation against a network of *ostinati* patterns sounded by the four other instruments. . . *(The author included in his work a partial musical notation of Ibaloy music).*

Available illustrations of Ibaloy instruments are as follows: *sulibaw* and *kimbal,* "hollow wooden drums with skin head over large end", 1 and 2 of Plate LXXXV (Scheerer, 1905); *kalsa* and *pinsak,* bronze gongs, 3 and 4 of same plate (id.); *pakkang* (pakang in Densmore, 1906:621) and photograph of an Ibaloy woman selling a basket of potatoes and holding her *pakkang (Excelsior,* v. 17, no. 509, June 10, 1920, p. 11); drum, gong, and stick, fig. 1, Plate LVI (Worcester, 1906); and *pakkang,* fig. 1, b and c, Plate LIX (id.).

Romualdez (1932) identified the *pakkang* and *bunkaka,* which may be a variant, among the Benguet Igorots (pages 6-7) and which was drawn on page 7; he also described the *sulibaw* (pages 7-8). Among the Philippine instruments exhibited in the Exposition General de Filipinas in Madrid, 1887, was the *sulibaw* which was described as "tambor religioso. . . usado por los indigenas de Benguet."[24] and elsewhere as "tambor de madera que se toca con los dedos."[25] The other instrument was the *pakkang,* described as "caña partida en los lenguetas, que golpeada con la mano produce un sonido particular."[26]

In summary, the attested Ibaloy musical instruments include the following:

idiophones:

pakkang, or *bunkaka,* the "tuning fork" of Densmore, or the *rere* identified by Kaudern in Celebes.

kolas, two pieces of iron struck together; also called *palas.*

kalsa, a high pitched gong

pinsak, a low-pitched gong

kading, jew's harp made of brass; var. *kuding*

membranophones:

sulibaw, a high-toned long drum with a skin head, perhaps the female drum named by collector, S.C. Simms; var. *solibao.*

kimbal, a low-toned long drum with a skin head, perhaps the male drum identified by S.C. Simms.

chordophones:

kambatong, one-stringed instrument.

"boy's museek", unnamed by Densmore, but likely the same as the *kambatong* above.

kalshang, bamboo zither.

aerophone:

taladi, a kind of flute which could not be classified; perhaps the same instrument as the *tulali* of the Pangasinan people (not fully described by Romualdez, 1932:16).

12. Ilongot

That music is enjoyed by even the fiercest of known groups in the country is shown in this section, although the FMNH collection is limited to the following instruments:

idiophones:

Jew's harp (Sp. No. 115202), made of a thin piece of brass with middle

longitudinal opening and teeth; shredded fibre attached to each end; short piece of reed serving as case for instrument.

jew's harp (Sp. No. 115219), made of slender piece of bamboo with a longitudinal opening and sounding tube.

chordophone:

bamboo zither (2 Sp. Nos. 114632, 114633), with strings cut from the outside of bamboo tube and stretched along the length all around; strings made taut with small wooden bridges and are picked with a stick.

Worcester (1906:816), while recording the Ilongot musical instruments which he saw during a brief visit, wrote:

> Their most common musical instrument is made of a joint of bamboo, from the outer layer of which strings have been cut, and raised by means of wooden bridges. A man holds the instrument, while a woman plays it by striking these strings with two slender, curved strips of bamboo. In addition to this peculiar instrument the Ilongot make and use the nose-flute and the bamboo mouth-organ.
>
> The only dance I have seen was to the accompaniment of the bamboo instrument just described. There was but one dancer, a man, who gave a grotesque and exaggerated imitation of the movements of ambushing and slaying an enemy and taking his head.

Similarly Landor, after breezing through the edge of Ilongot country, enumerated but three musical instruments (1904:472):

> The *culibao* (jew's harp), the *culassin* (cylindrical bamboo harp), and the *ghinogor* (a kind of bamboo violin) are the musical instruments of the Ilongots, upon which they play rather sentimental, wailing music, with a slow rhythm and monotonous variations upon a resonant note. After killing a victim, they rejoice with much chanting, the men and women singing alternately in chorus. They dance, flourishing their spears, not unlike the head-hunting Igorots, whom we shall visit presently.

Wilson, who confirmed the bamboo guitar and was rather vague with the flute, added the presence of brass gongs and details with respect to the bamboo violin (1947: 23-24):

> The youths are also fond of playing musical instruments for the benefit of their girl friends. This is the principal way of courting one's sweetheart. The musi-

cal instruments are: the flute, violin, guitar, and brass gongs. The flute is formed from a length of small bamboo, while the violin is fashioned of bark and skin with women's hair for strings. In making a guitar, one takes a length of bamboo about three inches in diameter, cuts long slits in it and raises up several surface fibres with a bridge, thus forming the strings. The gongs, ganzas, are only used to beat time while dancing.

Illustrations showing the use of the bamboo zither may be found in the following works: (1) Worcester (1096), Plate LIX, fig. 1, a; (2) photograph of an Ilongot man holding a bamboo zither and a woman playing on the strings with two sticks taken at Delapping, Nueva Vizcaya, Worcester (1906), Plate LIII, fig. 1, which is also reproduced in Worcester (1912:857); and (3) photograph of an Ilongot executing a war dance to the tune of the bamboo zither also taken at Delapping, Worcester (1906), Plate LIII, fig. 2, which is again reproduced in Worcester (1912:855).

The picture showing how the bamboo zither is played by two or three persons is intriguing in view of the fact that among other ethnic groups the bamboo guitar is played only by one person. Moreso, while the FMNH specimen show that the bridges are inserted under the strings at both ends, the Worcester photographs demonstrate that a higher middle bridge is used. In other cultures, the strings are plucked with the fingers (for example, among the Manuvu and Matigsalug of Central Mindanao). Among the Ilongot these are tapped or struck with two sticks. Therefore, among the Manuvu and Matigsalug, the bamboo zither belongs to the chordophone group; whereas, among the Ilongot, it is one of the idiophones.

In another picture by Worcester (1912:856), three men appear to be playing on this instrument, one in the middle who appears to be striking it with two sticks, (one long tapping stick clearly visible, the other appears to be hidden) and the other two holding the instrument (one at each end). It is not too clear, however, whether one of them is plucking the strings or not. The museum's descriptive note on the instrument, however, states that the strings are picked with a stick, similar to plucking, but not with the finger. This is confirmed by the photographs which show two sticks being used.

If we rely mainly on Worcester, this bamboo zither-like instrument would belong to the general group of percussion instruments. In this sense, it is different from the Manuvu and Talaandig bamboo zither, *takumbo.*

A resume of Ilongot musical instruments indicates that the following types may be found among these people:

idiophones:

gong, or gansa, of brass, but undifferentiated.

jew's harp, made of bamboo

jew's harp, made of brass

bamboo guitar, percussion type

chordophones:

bamboo zither, plucked type (William Jones, an American anthropologist described it as "picked with a stick")

violin, made of bamboo (Landor's *ghinogor*).

violin, made of bark and skin (Wilson's description).

aerophone:

nose flute, inferred.

From the "English-Ilongot Word List" which Wilson appended to his work (1947), *coladseng* is entered as the name of the bamboo zither (the *culassin* in Landor, 1904:472) and *titlit* for the violin (*ghinogor* in Landor, *id.*). PNM gives the name *tolali* (Sp. No. 1147) for the flute, without further distinction.

13. Mangyan

The FMNH store room has six specimens (Nos. 130330-130335) of a kind of "bamboo flute" with a red thread holding a small section of bamboo over the mouth piece, five wooden guitars (Nos. 130336-130340) and one jew's harp (No. 130344), all collected by Fletcher Gardner. The collector thought that the wooden guitar is "an imitation of the Spanish instrument". It is unfortunate, however, that no native names were supplied for the different instruments in the book and card cataiogues.

The best work done among the Mangyan of Mindoro, especially among the Hanunoo, is by Conklin (1955), who summarized the inventory of musical instruments as consisting of fourteen items (5 idiophones, 4 chordophones and 5 aerophones, but no membranophone). For the purposes of this checklist, two more instruments, otherwise not included in the Conklin inventory were added. To date, a listing of Mangyan instruments are as follows:

idiophones:

kinaban, bamboo jew's harp, ranging from 4 ½" to 9" long and 3/8" to 1/2" wide.

subing, jew's harp, with tongue and weighted with a spot of beeswax for greater vibration.

kalūtang, two striking sticks used by hikers, one held firmly and is struck against the other which is held loosely.

'agūng, 2" deep and 12" across, obtained probably from Moro traders, according to Conklin.

būray-dīpay, dried pods of the sword bean used as rattle.

gurungguruna, spherical brass cascabels of probable Chinese origin worn around the waists of women or are tied in shoulder-slung betel baskets worn by either sex.

barimbaw, bamboo slit gong used for summoning relatives from distant settlements.

chordophones:

gitgit, 3-stringed fiddle played with a tiny bamboo bow strung with human hair.

kudyapi', 6-string guitar or *gitāra* ranging from 15" to 30" in length.

kudlung, bamboo zither or guitar, with two strings; also known as *kabungbung.*

batiwtiw, buzzer with one string raised in the middle of the bamboo internode by a notched stick set at right angles to the axis of the instrument and set in vibration by a bamboo plectrum.

aerophones:

ring flute, made of bamboo

lantuy, nose flute, 5-stopped, the closed end of the bamboo tube is placed so that it blocks the passage of air coming from one nostril.

lantuy, as *palawta,* as a mouth-blown transverse flute.

bangsi', 3-stopped endblown flute also known as *pawili'*.

tangkup, bamboo whistle

pitu, bamboo whistle

budyung, bugle made from bamboo internode for signaling and in case of emergency.

Conklin classified the *lantuy*, functionally, into a nose and mouth flute, and he identified the *barimbaw* as an idiophone and the *subing* as another kind of jew's harp. His accounts sum up to eighteen musical and sound instruments. It is of some ethnological interest to note that the *kalutang* survives with the same name but with a different function and used for a different occasion among the Tagalog of Marinduque, an island east of Mindoro, a fact attested by Romualdez (1932:6, with illus.).[27] The PNM has specimens of the *bŭray-dĭpay* (Nos. 373-374), *gitgit* (Nos. 445-450), *kudyapi'* (No. 379), and the flutes (6-holed. No. 375; 5-holed, No. 477).

14. Batak

The FMNH has the following instrumental types collected by Cole:

idiophones:

lamping, a woman's musical instrument, made of small belaneg tree stripped of its bark and suspended by rattan cords. Women beat time with short sticks called *sabag*, and men dance to the music. (Sp. No. 109830).

arroden, jew's-harp made of bamboo; bees wax added to regulate note; with carved end (3 Sps.: 109806-109808).

membranophone:

gimbal, drum made from hollowed out section of a small tree; pigskin head at one end, other end open; beaten with drumstick called *sabag*. (Sp. No. 109809).

chordophone:

kodlong, a wooden guitar cut from a single piece of wood, bark re-

moved; frets waxed; top is carved and is known as "head", end is "tail". (Sp. No. 109810, 144.8 cm. long).

aerophone:

lantoy, bamboo nose flute; one nostril stopped up, while the air from the other is forced into the end of the tube. Notes are produced by fingering the side openings. (Sp. No. 109804).

Venturillo (1908) recorded the *kodlong* (above, described as *kodiape*), which he said could have a length of six or more feet; confirmed the presence of the nose flute; and added the *budlong* (which may be a cognate of *kodlong*), a bamboo zither with two strings lifted from the bamboo body itself. Venturillo (1907) also confirmed the drum and the *lamping,* although he gave another name for the latter, *agun.* "The *agun,*" he wrote, "is a piece of soft wood with the bark taken off. It is ten feet in length, more or less, and twenty-five or thirty centimeters in circumference. . . and hangs in any part of the house, being held by cords fastened at both ends. The instrument is played by a woman by means of pieces of wood shaped like drumsticks." Another instrument he recorded was the *babandel,* but he did not describe it. Warren (1961), however, identified the *babandil* as "a small (Indonesian) gong played by. . . men" (page 123); and added the *'agong,* as "a larger-sized Moro gong also played by . . . . men" and the *sabagan,* "a long tube of bamboo. . . beaten with sticks by. . . the women." (page 124).

Summarizing the available data from the above sources, the following checklist of Batak musical instruments is presented as follows:

idiophones:

lamping, dry small tree suspended by rattan cords and beaten with short sticks by women while men dance to the music.

arroden, jew's harp made of bamboo.

gong, small type called *babandil.*

gong, large type called *'agong.*

sabagan, a long tube of bamboo beaten with sticks by the women.

membranophone:

gimbal, drum with a skin head.

chordophones:

kodiape, wooden guitar (Tagalog *kudyapi*); also known by the name *kodlong* (a cognate of Central Mindanao *kudlong,* a similar instrument).

budlong, bamboo zither.

aerophone:

lantoy, or nose flute.

The PNM catalogue has three specimens of what is listed as fife (Sp. Nos. 1763-1765), or flute, but these are not described.

15. Tagbanwa

Only two Tagbanwa musical instruments are represented in the FMNH collection:

idiophone:

babandil, copper gong and wooden beater (Sp. No. 109900).

membranophone:

gimbal, a drum made from the hollowed out trunk of a tree; one end covered with hide, the other open; drumsticks of *palma brava* are called *sabag.*

The PNM has two flutes (Sp. Nos. 1575, 1599) and one bamboo zither (Sp. No. 1644) from this ethnic group; however, its catalogue does not describe these instruments. Landor (1904: 118-119), who had a traveller's penchant for observation, wrote the following paragraphs of Tagbanwa musicology.

> The Tagbanoua as a musician is eccentric, to say the least – at any rate in his instruments, which, when purely typical of the race, are only wind instruments. Now, most musicians of other nationalities play wind instruments by applying them to the mouth. The Tagbanoua plays them with his nose! The *lantui,* a reed-flute of *caña bujo,* the most characteristic of Tagbanoua instruments,

has two holes, and one nosepiece at one end of the cane, at the joint of the *caña bujo*. The *lantui* is pressed by the thumb against the left nostril, the right nostril being held tightly closed by the first finger of the hand. The Tagbanoua nose is so flattened at the base, and has such expanded nostrils, elongated at the side, that it is specially adapted for this purpose, and, really, when you come to take all things into consideration, you begin to wonder whether the Tagbanoua way is not, after all, the right way to play a flute.

Anyhow, whether right or wrong, the Tagbanoua musician can get on in this fashion some sweetly pathetic sounds – by far the most melodious sounds I have ever heard from anybody's nose – and he is even bold enough to attempt – with success, too – a trill, as well as elaborate variations upon doleful tribal airs.

The tone of this nose-flute is soft and harmonious, and the music itself quite interestingly uneven and erratic, alternating from sad, lamenting, long-held notes to hysterical frenzies – the latter doing more credit to the blowing powers of the musician than to his genius.

The *sobing*, a kind of jew's harp, is also played by the Tagbanouas, but I believe they have borrowed this instrument from neighbors. The *sobing* is most ingeniously cut out of a strip of bamboo six or seven inches long and one-third of an inch wide; it is in three sections, and possesses a vibrating rod from one end over the mouth-piece – this instrument being, of course, applied to the lips. They can play some very nice plaintive tunes on this instrument, and it seems to be a favorite pastime for young men and women when in love. I have heard them "buzz" their airs of infatuation by the house – with very little vibration in the melodies.

Other instruments can be seen in the hands of Tagbanouas, such as strings; but I do not believe this to be typical of the race, but copied.

Fox, in his doctoral dissertation (1954), increased our knowledge of Tagbanwa musical instruments. He wrote.

A variety of musical instruments were formerly used during rituals and social gatherings. Among these were the *'aruding* or "jew's harp"; the nose flute, *beberek;* the mouth flute, *tipanu;* two different forms of bamboo zithers, the *pa'gang* and the *tibuldu;* a boat lute or *kudlung* which was similar to types found in Mindanao and the Celebes; the drum or *gimbal,* the head of which is made of the skin of the monitor lizard; and the *tiring.* The latter is composed of lengths of bamboo with openings of various sizes which produce different notes when struck with a stick. Two generic types of gongs have been and are still obtained from the Moros: the large, deep bodied gong called *'agung* and the flat shallow *babandil.* The mouth flute is sometimes seen, and the drum and gongs are extensively used at present during rituals. The rest of the musical instruments have been supplanted by the Spanish guitar and the ukelele. The body of the latter is made from a half of a coconut shell and is similar to a type found among Christian Filipinos throughout the Bisayan Islands.[28]

Though Venturillo did not pay much attention to musical instruments, his description of one class of drum is more precise and worth quoting:

. . . The instruments consist of a certain number of *babandiles, sabarangs,* and one or two drums of wood, one end of which is covered with monkey skin. This class of drum known as *guimbal* differs much from ours, its barrel being irregular in form and very long, at times measuring one *vara* and the covered end being larger than the open one.[29]

Unfortunately, Venturillo did not say a word more about *sabarang,* though Warran recorded *sabagan,* a cognate, among the Batak as a "bamboo tube percussion musical instrument."[30]

Francisco has described the *pa'gang* at great length and in more detail. He concludes his article stating that it "is an instrument of very secular function rather than religious."[31]

So far as is known, the following inventory of Tagbanwa musical instruments can serve as a checklist for this group.

idiophones:

'agung, a type of large gong with a knob.

babandil, a smaller type of flat gong.

tiring, a kind of bamboo zylophone.

'aruding, or jew's harp, most likely of bamboo.

sabarang, bamboo tube, beaten

membranophone:

gimbal, a long drum with a skin head.

chordophones:

pa'gang, bamboo zither

tubuldu, another type of bamboo zither

kudlung, a kind of boat lute

aerophones:

beberek, or nose flute

tipanu, or mouth flute

16. Bukidnon

There is a fairly good assemblage of musical instruments gathered by Cole

from the people of Bukidnon. Cole also wrote a book about the Bukidnon people and their culture where he mentioned a curious idiophone which he called "dance instrument. . . . a mat on which women beat time with their hands"; reproduced two specimens of two native violins and a bamboo guitar played by a woman;[32] and described the *kutyapi* in more detail (pp. 121-122). He wrote:

> The most elaborate of Bukidnon instruments are the long "guitars", or boat lutes. These are usually carved to represent a mythical two-headed animal, a crocodile or a bird (fig. 53). Such instruments are made of thin strips of wood. The tightening rods are of wood, and the frets are of beeswax with small guides set in each. The guitar has two strings, one of which is free; the other rests on the frets. When the strings are properly tuned the player plucks them with the fingers of the right hand while those of the left put proper pressure on the strings high on the neck.

Consolidating the obtained information, the Bukidnon musical instruments can be classified as follows:

idiophones:

gong, a shallow copper gong of Chinese or Singapore make, sometimes used with the drums during dances (Sp. No. 128374).

kolong-kolong, metal rattle with hole through the center; slipped over with the end of a spear and used in dancing; of native manufacture (Sp. No. 128141).

kobing, or jew's harp made of bamboo; cut from a single piece of bamboo; played by men and women (Sp. Nos. 128363-128368).

mat, on which women beat time with their hands; identified by Cole as a dance instrument.[33]

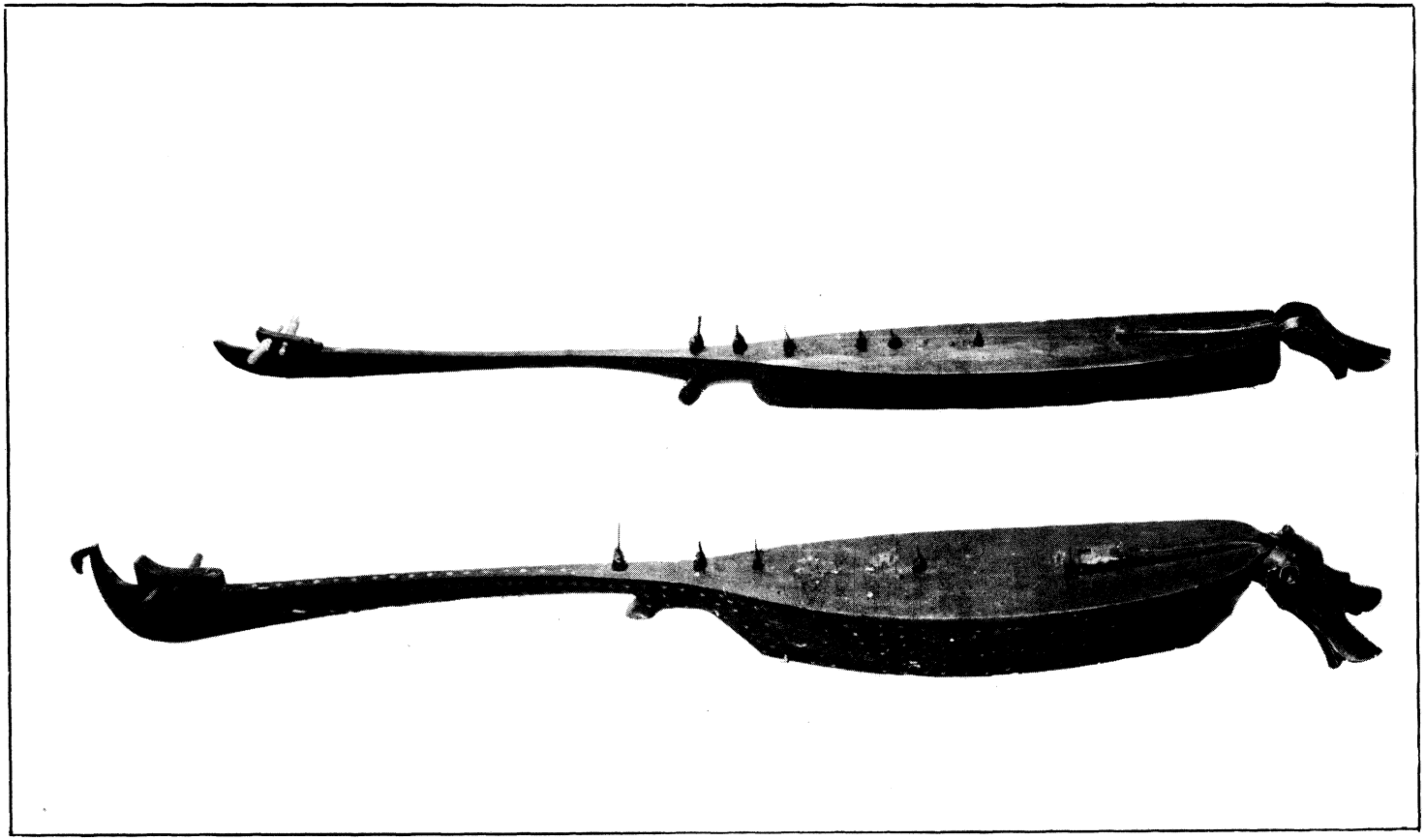
membranophone:

tambol or *tambor,* drum made from hollowed out tree with pigskin drumhead at each end (3 Sp. Nos. 128369, 128370 with two drumstricks of palma brava called *bakita;* and 128371, a small drum used by children as a plaything).

chordophones:

kutyapi, long wooden musical instrument which is played like a banjo, with carved headpiece and tailpiece, frets held in place by wax;

Plate V. Kutyapi (Bukidnon)



Photography by Division of Photography Field Museum of Natural History

Plate VI. Kuglong (Bukidnon)

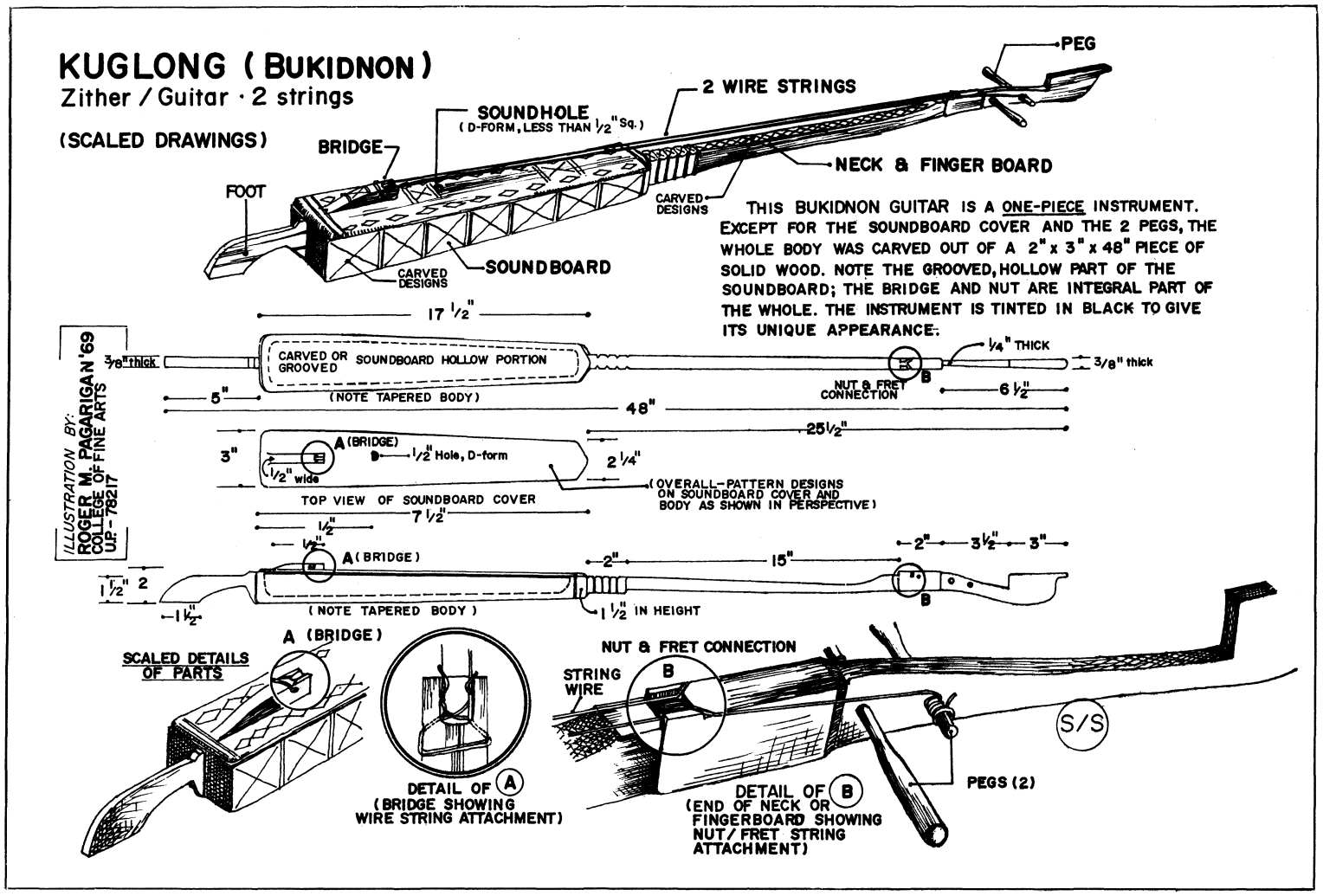
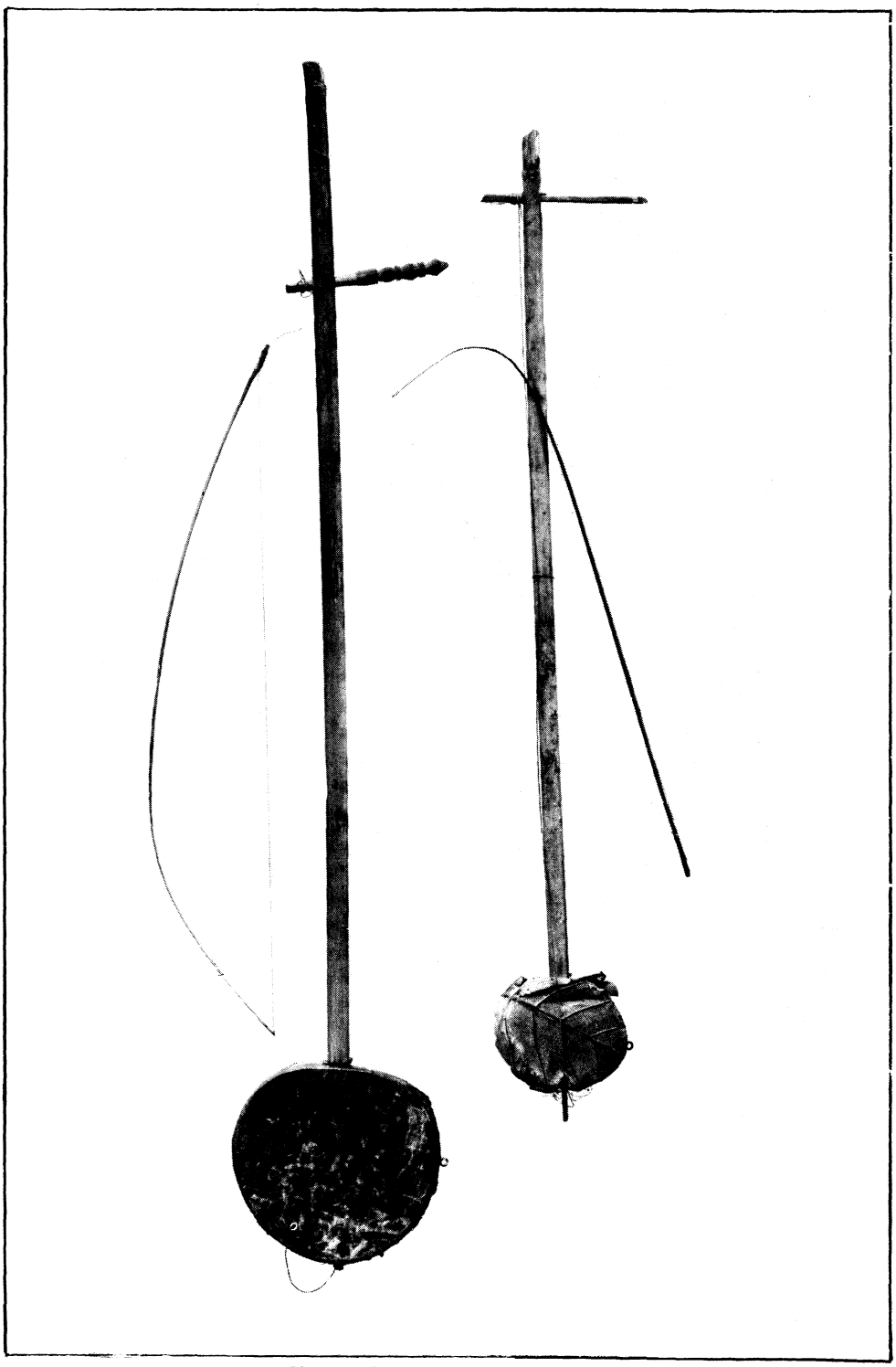


Plate VII. Dioray (Bukidnon)



Photography by Division of Photography Field Museum of Natural History

one of two strings is on frets, pricked with a bamboo plectrum fastened to the forefinger of left hand (Sp Nos. 128350-128354).

diòray, or *dayōday*, "a very primitive violin", with 7 specimens of two kinds: one with a sounding box of bamboo covered with a leaf, and the other with a sounding box of coconut shell covered with banana bark; bow made of bamboo and abaca called *golgol*; played by fingering (Sp. Nos. 128355-128361).

tangkol, bamboo zither, played with both hands by women (2 sps. 128372-128373).

aerophones:

insi, bamboo mouth flute with a rattan mouthpiece which fits over the end, played by men and boys (Sp. No. 128338).

polala, short bamboo mouth flute, played by men and boys (Sps. Nos. 128539-128543).

bogayong, shell trumpet, generally used to call people to meeting place (Sp. No. 128362).

17. Kulaman Manobo

In view of the lack of printed literature on the Kulaman Manobo group in south central Mindanao, especially on their musical instruments, only the types in the FMNH collection are classified immediately:

idiophone:

edel, a woman's instrument consisting of a board which is suspended and beaten with two sticks (Sp. No. 129756).

membranophone:

gimbal, a small drum cut out of a tree trunk, sides covered with designs, both ends covered with deer-skin. "Said to have been secured from the Bagobos, but such drums are made and used by Manobos" — Cole. (Sp. No. 129699).

chordophone:

saloday, bamboo zither played by women (Sp. No. 129754 is 66.5 cm. long with three strings on each side of the longitudinal sounding hole); another specimen with a sounding hole cut lengthwise (Sp. No. 129755).

aerophones:

saleli, bamboo mouth flute, played by men and women (Sp. No. 129698).

boyong, a shell trumpet used by fishermen while in their boats (Sp. No. 129757).

tambolang, a bamboo trumpet decorated with stuffed palm leaves; used at the festival which follows the return of the warriors, after a successful fight. After the festival, it is hung next to the roof of the house (Sp. No. 129758).

18. Bilaan

The FMNH Bilaan collection is small, consisting of the following instruments:

idiophones:

luding, bamboo jew's harp, with carrying case nicely incised and decorated (Sp. Nos. 129493, 129609-129612).

gong, inferable.[34]

membranophone:

tagonggong, a small drum made from a small tree hollowed out. Ends covered with deer skin which is held with rattan bands and wooden plugs. Beaten with left hand and a small bamboo stick to furnish music for certain dances (Sp. No. 129532).

chordophone:

diwagay, a primitive violin the body of which is a coconut shell with

hemp leaf as sounding board. The neck is of bamboo, and string is hemp. The bow - *bohol* – is of bamboo with hemp thread. (Sp. No. 129532 is 77.8 cm. long).

aerophone:

tolali, bamboo flute (Sp. No. 129614).

The *diwagay* is confirmed by Pfeiffer (1975: 142-143) who also adds the *odol,* a sonorant of hard wood which is beaten (illus. in App. I; A-27). The *tagulang,* boat lute (Sp. in U.P. Anthropology Museum; photo in *Fifth National Art Festival* brochure) should also be added to the inventory.

19. Bagobo

The Bagobo musical instruments collected by Cole for the FMNH consist of the following types:

idiophones:

agong, large copper gongs with raised center or knobs; suspended from rafters, they are beaten to furnish music for dances. Usually, there are five or more gongs of different sizes and tones and one or two operators play on them. Most of these gongs are of Chinese origin, according to Cole, but some are cast by the Moros. At present, these gongs are imported to the Islands by way of Singapore. (Sp. Nos. 129280, 129281).

bell, small ones attached to belt of man or woman. (Sp. No. 129342 is a bell tassell made of 16 native and 2 Chinese bells attached to such belt).

membranophones:

gimbar, a small drum made out of a section of a small tree hollowed out; ends covered with pigskin. These drums are played in unison with the gongs (Sp. No. 129282).

chordophones:

tawgaw, or bamboo zither; a woman's musical instrument. Narrow

strips are loosened from the sides of a bamboo tube and are raised taut by means of small wooden plugs. The instrument is fingered like a guitar. (Sp. Nos. 129291-129295).

kodlong, a wooden guitar, narrow in shape, ends are carved, with rattan strings; a man's instrument (Sp. No. 129296).

aerophones:

totali, a straight bamboo flute, the hole near the end being covered by the lower lip, pressure on this and manipulation of the finger at the open end serve to produce the music. (Sp. Nos. 129284, 129285).

lantoy, short mouth flute made of bamboo, with four finger holes, 2 above and 2 below (Sp. No. 129286).

palandag, mouth flute of bamboo, a long instrument usually played by a man (Sp. Nos. 129287-129290).

Benedict confirmed the presence and use of gongs. He also had a drawing of how these are hung (1916:147). Other illustrations supplied by Benedict are those of what she briefly described as "a small wind instrument of light bamboo that is blown from one end" (1916:163) and the *palandag* (also her orthography), "another kind of small flute, that is blown from the side (1916:163). While Benedict did not write about the smaller instruments, she gave a very adequate description of the gongs and gong playing which is reproduced here *in toto:*

> Ceremonial music is furnished by the beating of the agong – a large percussion instrument of bronze, resembling roughly a deep inverted pan with a bottom curving slightly to the convex and having a big knob-like protuberance at the central point. Agongs are of Chinese manufacture and are imported into the islands from Singapore in considerable numbers. The wild tribes gladly barter away their possessions for these instruments, one of which is worth, according to size, from twenty to thirty pesos. *(Ed. Note. These prices have appreciated considerably ever since.)* A datu or a Bagobo of wealth may own as many as twelve, twenty, or even a larger number of *agongs;* if he is to hold a festival, and owns only two or three instruments, he borrows as many as he needs for the occasion. The *agong* is the standard unit of barter in trading valuable objects, and in calculating large debts and marriage dowries.
>
> The tool for striking is the *tap-tap,* a short wooden stick, of which the head end is coated with rubber to give the proper rebound, and covered with cloth, while the handle of many a fine tap-tap is often richly carved. Unlike the Moro, who keeps his agongs in a long frame with an individual socket for each instrument, at which frame he sits down to play, the Bagobo hangs his agongs by loops of rattan from a rod of bamboo and stands facing the convex sides of the instruments during his performance. With left thumb and index finger, he lightly grasps the central knob of the *agong* or holds with his left hand the suspending

> strings of rattan, while his right hand wields the *tap-tap*. At a ceremony, some expert musician carries the melody and handles in his performance all but a few of the instruments, while his assistants on the remaining *agongs* have but to accompany their leader by making their strokes exactly with his, at set intervals. For example, if there are eleven *agongs*, the head performer plays on eight of them. and perhaps three persons – a man, a woman and child – assist him. The leader must be a skilled artist whose training is begun in early boyhood, for they all say that years of practice are required to make a good *agong* player. But a man who has a feeling for music and has received the necessary education plays with a wonderful ease, while at the same time he leaps from one *agong* to another and often executes the steps of some graceful dance in rhythm with his beat. Again, he will dance away from the *agongs*, *tap-tap* in hand, perform fancy steps, then dances back to his place and resumes the strokes without the slightest break in the measure of the music, and without a check to the even swing of his dance.
>
> When drums are present, a drum call opens each set performance, and the beating of the drums continues for a short space after the *agongs* cease playing.
>
> At every ceremony where there is general dancing, agongs furnish the music, but there are times when *t'angonggo* is given without dancing, unless it be the dance of the player; such occasions, to cite an instance, as the auspicious moment of bringing in the ceremonial bamboos, when the *agong* performance that immediately follows is manifestly a sacred rite.[35]

Illustrated by Schadenberg (1885) are the *kodlong*, bells and bamboo zither which he called "guitarre", (page facing 8), the bamboo zither (page 110), the *kodlong* (Plate XXXb), the gong (Plate XXXa), the manufacture of bells (pages 81, 82, Plate XXXIII) and how the same are attached to fighting and working knives (Plate XXXIII) and the carrying bag and basket (Plate XXXVI). Cole also reproduced the *kodlong*, bells and bamboo zither in his work (1913).

Although the FMNH does not have the jew's harp, Cole states that it is played by the men: "but the nose flute, so common in most parts of the Philippines, was not seen in use there."[36] The Ethnographischen Reichsmuseums at Leiden, Holland, has specimens of the *kodlong* and *agong*, identified as "guitarre" and "saiteninstrument", respectively in Dutch.[37] Small bell attachments on carrying bags are shown in Plates III and IV of Benedict's monograph (1916); and on the "little girls' pubic shield" (Cole, 1913:61).

In addition, the "brass anklets worn by the women", illustrated on page 58 of Cole's work are known to the author of this paper, to contain pellets which make the anklets ring and make them musical. Hence, these, too, can be included in the inventory. Although Cole did not consider these anklets as musical instruments, he, however, described these accessories. He wrote, "Leglets and brass anklets, made like tubes so as to enclose metal balls (Fig. 3) or with bells and rattles attached, are commonly worn."[38] Cole continued: "The women are fond of loading their arms with ornaments of shell or brass (Fig. 4) and one forearm is covered with separate rings of incised brass wire which increase in size from the centre towards the ends, forming an ornament in the shape of an hour-glass."[39] While such rings are functionally ornamental, they are, at the same time, musical as the arms of the wearer are moved producing a clicking-clacking sound. Lastly, Cole ob-

served: "At certain ceremonies small gongs, or the *bolang-bolang,* replace the *agongs,* . . . .,"[40] the latter being defined by Cole as an "instrument made by placing a small board on a rice mortar" and the instrument "is pounded or beaten with short sticks, or with the wooden pestles."

The following checklist of Bagobo musical instruments includes those which are musical and non-musical items, the latter being grouped under percussion instruments. These borderline types may have their place and meaning in tracing the origin and development of certain musical instruments.

idiophones:

bolang-bolang, a small board set on a mortar and beaten with sticks or pestles.

armlets, of shell

armlets, of brass

leglets, or anklets, made of brass

gong, large type

gong, small type

gong set, large

small bells, used as attachments

jew's harp, made of bamboo

membranophone:

gimbar, a small drum of hollowed wood with ends covered with skin.

chordophones:

bamboo zither, fingered

kodlong, wooden guitar with two strings

aerophones:

tolali, a kind of flute, the type being undetermined; the *tulali* of Benedict.

lantoy, a mouth flute

palandag, a lip-valley flute

20. Mandaya

The FMNH collection is represented by the following:

idiophones:

kobong, or jew's harp, made of bamboo (Sp. No. 130241).

agong, shallow copper gongs beaten with stick called *bongongay* to furnish music for dancers. (2 Sp. of Moro manufacture, according to Cole, Nos. 130113, 130114).

tongkaling, small bells attached to belts, probably of Bagobo casting according to Cole (Sp. Nos. 129956-129997, 129965, 129999-130000).

chordophone:

kodlong, small wooden lute, made of two pieces of hard wood, played mostly by men, sounding hole on back (Sp. No. 130115 being 96.1 cm. long).

aerophone:

towali, short bamboo flute (Sp. No. 130116).

Cole (1913) did not actually discuss the musical instruments of the Mandaya people in his monograph, although he devoted pages 165-199 to other features of their culture and history. However, certain ornaments like the bracelets or armlets of shell or brass and anklets (page 169) which he described become, in the strict sense, musical instruments, thus increasing the types of idiophones used by this group. Hence, an inventory of Mandaya musical instruments would be as follows:

idiophones:

kobong, or jew's harp, of bamboo

armlets, or bracelets of shell.

anklets, made of brass.

agong, copper gongs.

tongkaling, small bells, used as attachments or pendants.

chordophone:

kodlong, small wooden lute

aerophone:

towali, short bamboo flute

21. Divavaoan

The only musical instrument from this group is the following:

membranophone:

drum, small type, beaten with the hand or with narrow rattan or bamboo strips and used in dances. (Sp. Nos. 130239, 130240).

22. Lanao Moro or Maranaw

The only musical instrument from Lanao belongs to the string group, or:

chordophone:

kotiapi, 2-stringed guitar, of wood, boat-form, with movable bridges; scroll design shallowly carved on both sides; similar to specimen obtained from Bukidnon; specimen acquired from Datu Pagsara Umpar, Dansalan by Rev. David Hamm in 1956; and another collected by R.S. Porter (No. 38955). The first is 118 cm. long, 11.5 cm. wide and 18 cm. thick; the second, 187.3 cm. long, 115 cm. wide and 18 cm. thick.

Densmore (1906:630) saw a gong set in the St. Louis Exposition of 1904 which she called a xylophone:

> I inspected the xylophone in the theater, which resembled those in the Samal Moro village, but contained nine gongs instead of eight and had the highest tones at the player's right instead of at his left hand. The gongs were more nearly true to pitch and to the pentatonic scale than the others, but the second of the scale was in the upper octave. This again may have been due to a scarcity of material from which to select the set. These were the intervals of the Lanao Moro Instrument
>
> g a c e g a c d

Densmore had the Samal Moro set illustrated in Fig. 20 (1906:627), eight gongs on a frame; and Kroeber (1928:220) reproduced a gong set of seven pieces on a frame, although this source did not specify the exact place of provenience. Romualdez (1932:14) added the *kubing,* or jew's harp and B.A. Macaraya et al, *Maranao-English Dictionary* (1952), 12 more to the few instruments already noted. This brings the inventory to 15 Maranao musical instruments:

idiophones:

agong, gong

kulintang, a gong set

alotang, a small version of the preceding made of bamboo, brass, or other metal

borodiawa, smaller version of the kulintang having eight gongs

kubing, jew's harp

panda-opan, cymbals

sariao, series of bells placed around the neck of horses

singkil, anklet

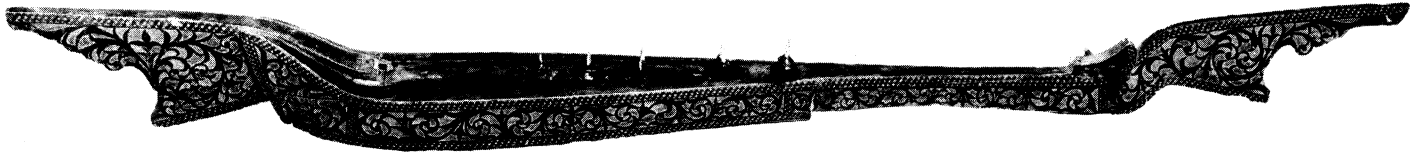
tungkaling, small bell

membranophones:

debakan, drum with one head

gandangan, double-headed drum

Plate VIII. Kutyapi (Maranaw)



Photography by Division of Photography Field Museum of Natural History

MARANAO JEWS HARP (BAMBOO) KUBLING

Vibration Musical Instrument

(SCALED DRAWINGS)

S/S

1, 2, 3 THREE ILLUSTRATIONS SHOWING DIFFERENT MARANAO DESIGNS OF THE JEWS HARP HANDLE

MADE OF CARABAO HORN, THE DESIGN SHOWS THE NAGA FORM

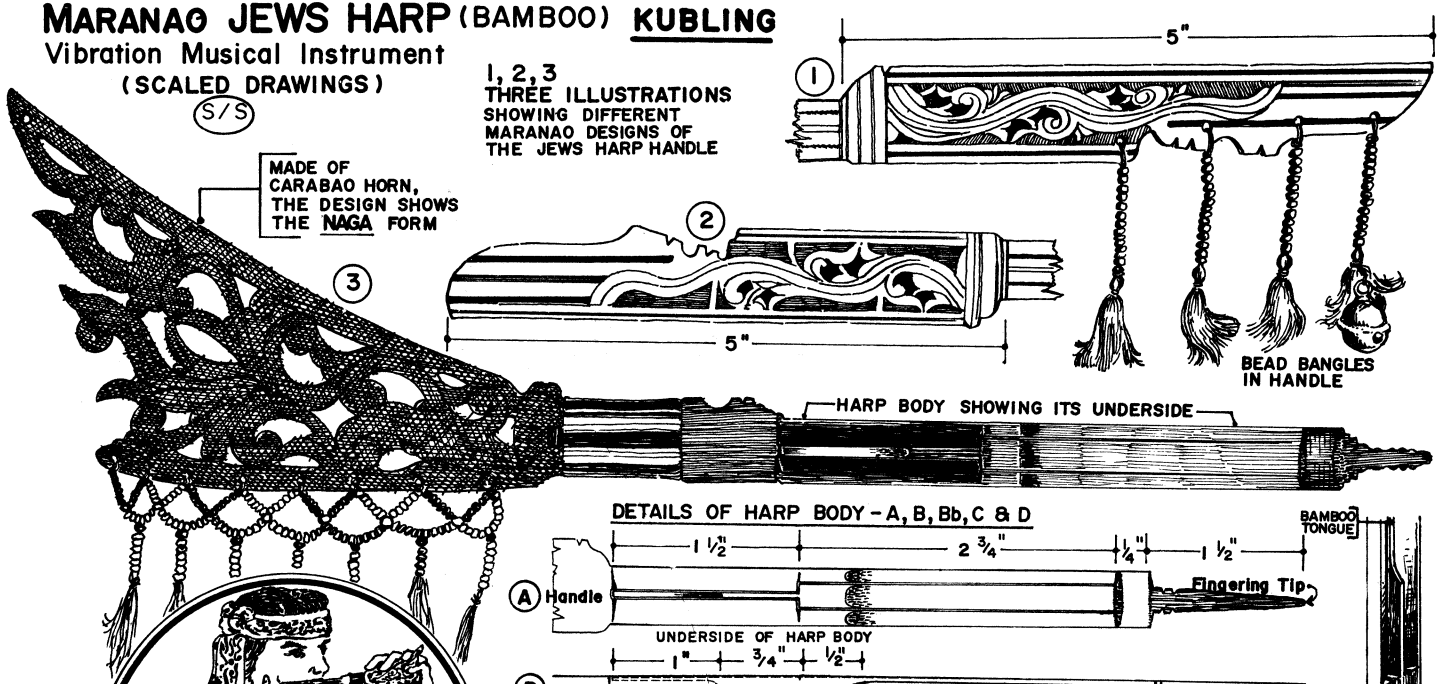
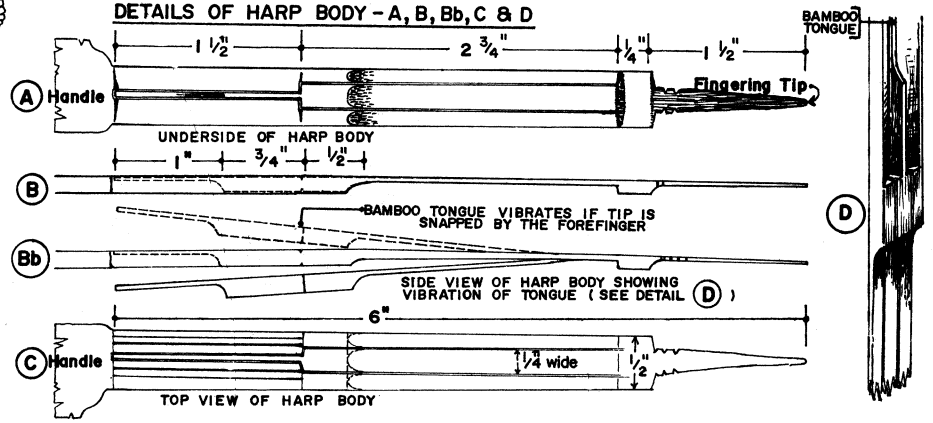
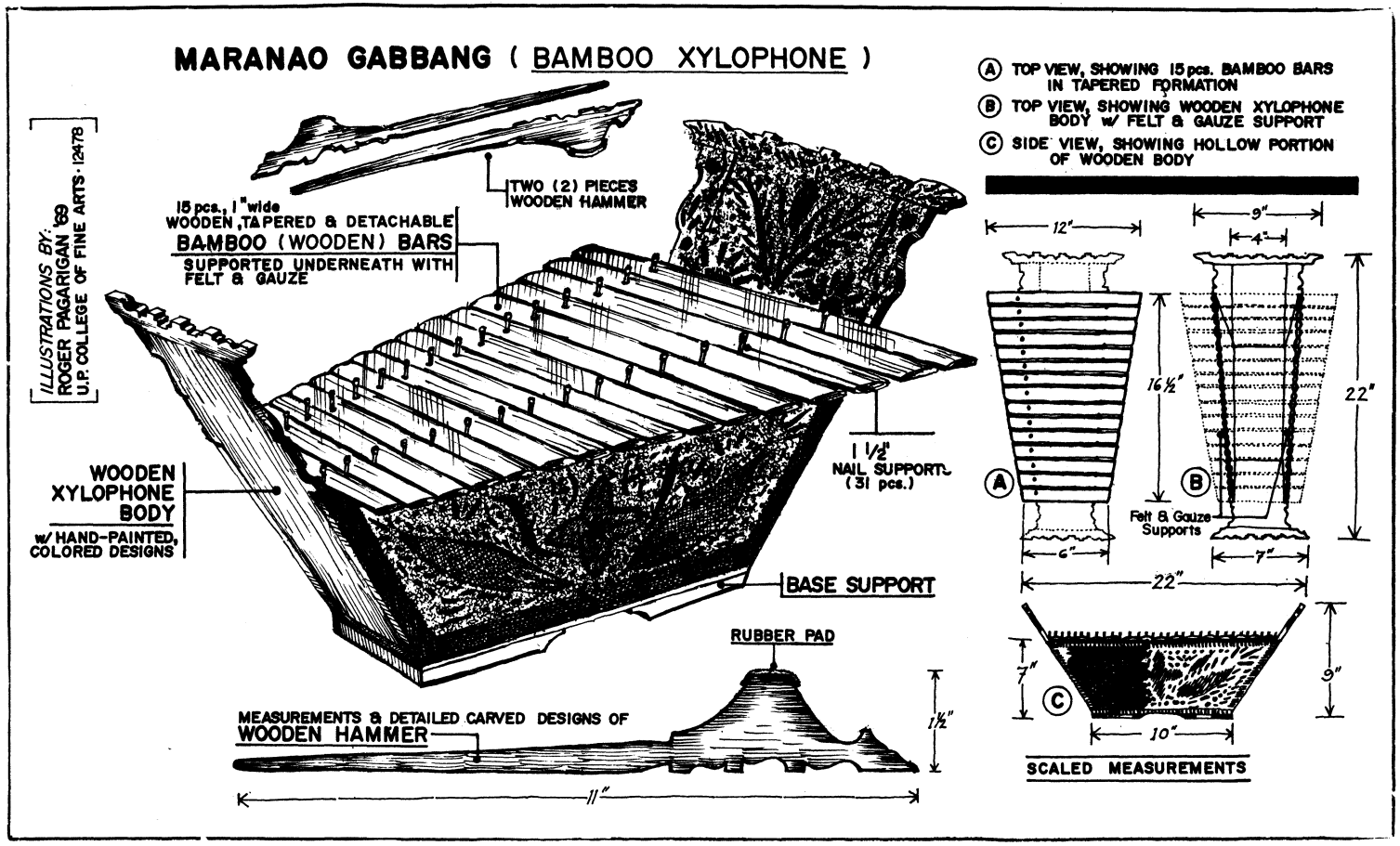


ILLUSTRATION SHOWING HOW THE JEWS HARP OR KUBLING IS USED TO EMIT AUDIBLE VIBRATING SOUNDS.



NOTE: OVERALL LENGTH IS 11". HARP BODY IS 6" LONG. DESIGNS OF HANDLE COULD ALWAYS BE CHANGED. (See details of handle. 1 2 3)

Plate X. Gabbang (Maranaw)



gandingan, large shallow drum

tambor, drum (not fully described)

aerophone:

insi, flute (not fully described)

chordophone:

kutiapi, two-stringed wooden lute

23. Zamboanga Moro

The FMNH collection of Zamboanga Moro musical instruments consists of:

idiophones:

colintangan, a set of 8 gongs with varying diameters, the largest being 8 ¾ inches and the smallest 7 inches (Sp. Nos. 38963-38970).

gandingan, a large gong having 20 ½ inches diameter (Sp. No. 38962); another specimen being 32 cm. in diameter (No. 253034) and has a beater.

chordophones:

cotiapi, wooden lute (a broken specimen: No. 38955).

violin, with bow, made of native wood (Sp. No. 34511).

From Hurley (1936), a number of musical instruments from this area are described in his appendix:

agong, a brass tom-tom, played by striking a protuberance with a padded and rounded stick.

daop-daop, cymbals made of brass similar to those used in any band.

gadang, wooden tom-tom, the most primitive of the Moro instruments being formed of the trunk of a hollow tree in the manner of the brush tribes of Africa.

gabang, piano made in two parts, one forming the sound-board and the other a keyboard; a perfect scale is formed by the bamboo keys.

kulaying, jew's harp

kulintangan, a row of brass tom-toms played in a scale.

pulawta, bamboo flute, six-toned; end is played by blowing into it.

soling, a bamboo flute, played by blowing from the side.

biola, violin, almost identical to the one Americans are familiar with; the string of the bow is of horsehair and those of the instruments are of hemp or goat intestines.

The *gabang* of Hurley is corrected by Romualdez as *gabbang,* not a piano but a xylophone; a specimen used in Sulu is illustrated (1932:13). Furthermore, Romualdez added the *sahumay,* a bamboo flute with six holes for the fingers and one for the mouth (illus. on page 18). The PNM collection has two specimens of the *gabbang* from Sulu (Sp. Nos. 3046, 3047).

Classifying the Zamboanga Moro instruments, the following are identified:

idiophones:

kulaying, or jew's harp

gabbang, bamboo xylophone

gadang, wooden tom-tom

gandingan, a large type of gong

kulintangan, a gong set (on a horizontal frame)

daop-daop, cymbals of brass

chordophones:

kutiapi, a wooden lute

biola, violin

aerophones:

pulawta, bamboo flute (not fully identified as to type).

soling, bamboo flute (not fully identified as to type).

Observations and Notes

The type of musical instruments which consist the FMNH collection may now be assessed, quantitatively, according to ethnolinguistic group. This has been done by listing the instruments which the museum actually possess and those which it does not have but are recorded in the available literature.

	ETHNOLINGUISTIC Group	Number of Types Found in the FMNH Collection	Number of Other Types Identified in Sources	Attested Total of Types
1.	Negrito	1	11	12
2.	Apayaw	1	7	8
3.	Tinguian	15	2	17
4.	Balbalasang Tinguian	4	3	7
5.	Kalinga	5	6	11
6.	Bontok	1	6	7
7.	Bauko (Lepanto-Bontok)	1	6	7
8.	Sagada (Lepanto-Bontok)	1	12	13
9.	Amburayan (Bakun-Kayapa)	8	1	9
10.	Ifugao	12	8	20
11.	Benguet Igorot or Ibaloy	2	9	11
12.	Ilongot	3	5	8
13.	Mangyan (Hanunoo)	3	14	17
14.	Batak, Palawan	5	4	9
15.	Tagbanwa	2	9	11
16.	Bukidnon	10	1	11
17.	Kulaman Manobo	6	0	6
18.	Bilaan	5	3	8
19.	Bagobo	8	7	15
20.	Mandaya	5	3	8
21.	Divavaoan	1	0	1
22.	Lanao Moro or Maranaw	1	14	15
23.	Zamboanga Moro	4	6	10

These figures do not really represent other types which number 98 and which include some duplications. It is premature to state what percentage of the totality of Philippine musical instruments is found in the FMNH since the printed literature is meagre and inadequate. However, it is obvious that the collection possesses possibly one-half of the instrumental types known in the literature consulted. On the other hand, if more field work were attempted, this estimate will diminish in the future.

A run-down of the types of musical instruments uncovered in this paper is very revealing, even in a preliminary way. There are 52 types of idiophones, namely: rattle of pod with seeds (unprocessed), musical stone, sounding long bamboo slit drum (barimbaw), sounding tree log, mortar and pestle, sounding board on mortar, sounding sticks, suspended hard stick beaten by another stick, sounding sticks (used in kanyaw dances), sounding sticks used during illness or death ceremony, bamboo clapper used during dances, bamboo clapper used at death, bamboo clapper used during harvest feast, percussion mat, *patangguk*, *bunkaka*, *tong-a-tong*, bamboo zylophone, jew's harp of bamboo, jew's harp of brass, jew's harp of brass and bamboo, jew's harp with tongue weighted (Hanunoo), small flat gong, large flat gong, Ifugao gong A, Ifugao gong B, Ifugao gong C, Ifugao female gong, Ifugao male gong, Ibaloy gong A, Ibaloy gong B, small gong with knob, large gong with knob, *kulintangan* (small gong set), *alotang* (small version of Kulintangan), *borodiana* (still another version of kulintangan), large gong set, small bell of metal, *sariao* (series of bells placed around the neck of horses), bamboo zither with 2 strings (beaten), bamboo zither with several strings (beaten and plucked), halved bamboo zither (beaten), wooden drum with no skin head, rattle of metal, armlet of shell, armlet of brass, *singkil* (anklet), leglet of brass, and cymbals of brass.

Of the membranophones, the following 16 types, one group of which could not be identified properly, are distinguishable: small drum with one skin head, small drum with two skin heads, long drum (one skin head, cartridge type), long drum (with one skin head and bulged in the middle), medium drum (Ifugao *lipit* type), medium drum (truncated), long drum (high-toned), long drum *gandanqan* (double headed drum), *tebeb* drum, *gandingan* (large shallow drum), *tambor (?)*, drum of bamboo, powder can drum, cylindrical drum and a group of unidentified types.

The chordophones or string instruments identified are 14 types, including two which are obviously Spanish type derivatives: "boy's museek", bamboo bow with resonator, kambatong, bamboo zither plucked, bamboo violin of one string, violin of back and skin, *gitgit* (Hanunoo), *batiwtiw*, *kudyapi* (boat lute), bamboo provided with strings, bamboo zither with 2 strings primitive violin with one string, Spanish type of guitar and Spanish type of violin.

The aerophones or wind instruments are represented by 14 instruments:

leaf whistle, rice stalk whistle, bamboo whistle (Mangyan A), bamboo whistle (Mangyan B), bamboo trumpet, shell trumpet, bull roarer, whistling top, mouth flute, transverse flute (Ifugao A), transverse flute (Ifugao B), nose flute, lip-valley flute, ring flute, panpipes and unidentified group of flutes.

Some comments on classification are appropriate. It is evident that, in some instances, the bases of classification in certain cultures differ from those used in others; hence, to generalize on these bases will be difficult and may introduce confusion. For example, in Ifugao alone, two bases of grouping gongs is used: one on "sex" and the other on the quality of the sound. The sources do not clarify the bases of the distinction; besides, it is not known whether the two bases can be combined to identify other types of gongs. For example, it is not certain whether there is a male and female *binuhlot* gong (a first class gong) and so on. This confusion in classification may also be attributed to the grouping of drums.

In other instances, the function of the instrument for certain occasions appears to be a factor in determining the type: for example, a clapper used in dancing has a different specific name from a clapper used during singing at death and so on. It is obvious that what was done in this paper was to be all inclusive. Whatever faults this procedure may have can, of course, be remedied in the future by field work. In other cases, the basis of classification is the material; so the jew's harp made of bamboo is differentiated from those made of brass.

From the point of view of ethnolinguistic distribution, the jew's harp made of bamboo is the most widely spread (being found among 16 groups), then comes the nose flute (used by 13 groups), followed by the small flat gong (11 groups), bamboo zither (11 groups), mouth flute (9 groups), the small gong with knob (8 groups) and the boat lute or *kudyapi* (7 groups). The rest have small distribution as can be checked in the table.

Among the percussions, perhaps, the most primitive are the musical stone, sounding sticks and the sounding bamboo tube or log.

On gongs, in general, the flat types belong to northern Luzon and the gongs with knobs are found in central and southern Philippines. Although there is some positive evidence that gongs entered Ifugao land from the outside, the matter of local native manufacture is a problem worth going into.

In the membranophone group, the checklist has also revealed that the types of drums could be complicated. The matter, for instance, of male and female drum is obscure in the literature; and so also the classification of gongs according to the quality of the sound or tone.

In the large group of chordophones, Densmore was of the opinion that the most primitive string instrument was one she called "boy's museek", which is most likely related to the *kambatong* found among the Ibaloy people.

From the literature, there is some hazy indication that some instruments are used only during certain occasions, and that these are related to the performance of religious rites or magical activities. The Ifugao *lipit* or *libbit* is, for example, described as a ceremonial drum. How and why the instrument is used on a particular occasion is not known. This is an aspect of Philippine musical heritage where Filipinists can shed more light. Field workers should focus their attention on these aspects of ethnic practice while the tradition are still fairly strong.

While this work is preliminary in nature, it has resulted in a working checklist of Philippine musical instruments, using the FMNH collection as a basis. The search into printed sources has yielded more than 100% the number of types found in that collection.

Most sources were found inadequate in the description, in the supply of names and in the manner of playing the instruments. Moreso, photographs were few. Deficiencies such as these could be remedied or improved by field work. If this could be done, a more accurate checklist and classification system could be prepared and such other relevant data as the manufacture of the instruments obtained, the age range and sex of the players, the occasion and function for playing, the relation of leisure time to musical performance and so on could also be supplied. Such other matters as which instruments are played in ensemble, which ones are used to accompany vocal or dance performance and so on could also be researched into.

In other words, the socio-cultural context of instrumental and vocal music as the latter is related to the former could become a really fascinating field for humanistic inquiry. Other technical aspects of the study might also be undertaken by more qualified students such as the matter of tuning technique, the tones or tonal range of each instrument, the transmission of musical knowledge and the learning process, ensemble playing and so on.

When a great deal of these data have been gathered, Filipinists and prehistorians might go into comparative studies, into the ethnogeographic distribution of the instruments in insular and mainland Southeast Asia, Oceania and other parts and thus, tackle diffusional problems, among others and, ultimately, go into the intriguing theoretical consideration of origins.

GLOSSARY

AB–A'–FU", Bon., jew's harp made of bamboo and brass.
ABIW, Sag., a bamboo noise-maker for scaring rice-birds away.
AGIWENG, Ting., jew's harp of bamboo and brass.
AGONG, Btk., Mar., gong.
AGŪNG, Han., gong.
AKPIO, If., jew's harp of brass.
ALOTANG, Mar., a small type of *kulintangan.*
ANKLET, Bag., Man., hollow brass provided with pellets (no vernacular name in the literature).
ARMLET, Bag., Man., bracelet of shell or brass (no vernacular name given in the literature).
ARRODEN, Btk., jew's harp of bamboo; var. ARUDING.
ARUDING, Btk., Tgb., jew's harp; var. ARRODEN.
AWIDEN, Sag., jew's harp.

BABANDEL, Btk., var. of BABANDIL.
BABANDIL, Btk., Tgb., a small gong.
BALIING, Apa., var. of BALINGING.
BALING, Apa., var. of BALINGING.
BALINGBING, Ting., Kal., another name for BUNKAKA; bamboo buzzer (Maceda 1972).
BALINGING, Apa., nose flute.
BANGIBANG, If., striking sticks made of hard wood, used in ceremonies for the cure of the sick or during death ceremonies.
BANGSI, Neg., "long reed mouth flute".
BANGSI', Han., 3-stopped endblown flute; also known as PAWĪLI.'
BANHI, Neg., var. of BANGSI.
BANSI, Neg. var. of BANGSI.
BANSIC, Neg. var. of BANGSI.
BANSIK, Neg. var. of BANGSI.
BARIMBAW, Han., bamboo slit gong.
BARIMBO, Neg., jew's harp of bamboo.
BATIT, Ting., drumstick.
BATIWTIW, Han., buzzer with a string.
BAWWEEK, Amb., whistling top; var. BAW-WEET.
BAW-WEET, Amb., var. of BAWWEEK.
BAWENGWENG, Sag., bull roarer.
BEBEREK, Tgb., nose flute.
BELBEL, Ting., syn. for BUNKAKA.
BELL, Bag., Man., small attachments on carrying bags, etc.; vernacular name not given in the literature.
BILBIL, Ting., syn. for BUNKAKA.

BINUHLOT, If., first class gong, so regarded because of the quality of its sound.
BIOLA, Zamb., violin.
BOGAYONG, Buk., shell trumpet.
BOHOL, Bil., bow used in playing of the DIWAGAY made of bamboo with hemp string.
BOLANG-BOLANG, Bag., a small board placed on a rice mortar and beaten with sticks.
BOLINSI, Sag., a kind of gong.
BORODIAWA, Mar., a small type of *Kulintang* having 8 gongs.
BOYONG, Kul., shell trumpet.
"BOY'S MUSEEK", Ib., one-string instrument over a hole dug in the ground.
BUDLONG, Btk., bamboo guitar with two strings.
BUDYUNG, Han., bamboo bugle.
BULUNG-UDYONG, Neg., flute.
BUNKAKA, Ting., Bal. Ting., a woman's instrument made of bamboo, partly cut away at one end leaving two sections on opposite sides, held in the right hand and struck against palm of the left; note is changed by fingering hole near hand hold.
BŪRAY-DĪPAY, Han., pod rattler.

COLINTANGAN, Zamb., Man., var. KULINTANGAN.
COONGAN, Bon., var. KOONGAN.
COTIAPI, Zamb., var. KUTIAPI.
CULALING, Ting., var. KULALING.
CULASSIN, Il., var. KULASSIN.
CULIABAO, Il., var. KULIBAW.
CULIBEBBEB, Amb., var. KULIBEBBEB.

DAOP DAOP, Zamb., cymbals.
DAYŌDAY, Buk., var. DĪŌRAY.
DEBAKAN, Mar., drum with one head.
DEW-AS, Sag., panpipes consisting of five tubes.
DEWDEW-AS, Ting., panpipes.
DĪŌRAY, Buk., "A very primitive violin".
DIUDIUAS, Kal., panpipes; var. DEWDEW-AS, Ting.
DIWAGAY, Bil., a primitive violin.
DIW-AS, Bau., panpipes of five tubes; mouth organ; var. DEWDEW-AS.
DULILI, Amb., nose flute.

EDEL, Kul., a suspended board beaten with sticks.

FAGULANG, Bil., boat lute.

GABANG, Zamb., var. GABBANG.

GABBANG, Zamb., bamboo xylophone; sometimes described as a piano consisting of bamboo pieces.
GADANG, Zamb., a wooden tom-tom.
GALAMAT, If., low class of gongs.
GALONG, Ting., a small metal bell held in the hand while woman is dancing.
GANDANGAN, Mar., double headed drum.
GANDINGAN, Zamb., a large gong; Mar., large shallow drum.
GANSA, Apa., Ting., Ib., gong.
GANGSA, Apa., Ting., Ib., gong; var. GANSA.
GANZA, hispanized form of GANGSA.
GENGGENG, Sag., musical stone.
GIMBAL, Btk., Tgb., Kul., small drum.
GIMBAR, Bag., small drum.
GINOGOR, Il., a kind of bamboo violin (Landor).
GHINOGOR, Il., var. of GINOGOR.
GITGIT, Han., 3-stringed fiddle.
GOLGOL, Buk., bow used in playing the DĪŌRAY.
GURUNGGURUNG, Han., spherical brass cascabels.

HAKLIK, If., bamboo clapper used in dancing.

INSI, Buk., bamboo mouth flute; Mar., flute (not fully described).

KABUNGBUNG, Neg., bamboo guitar.
KADING, Ib., jew's harp.
KALALENG, Ting., Bal. Ting., Bon., Sag., nose flute; syn. KIPANO; Bal. Ting. type has three finger holes on one side and one hole on the other side.
KALALLENG, Bau., nose flute; var. KALALENG.
KALALENG, Bon., nose flute.
KALO, If., middle class gong.
KA'-LOS, Bon., one class of gongs which has a high tone; cf. KOONGAN.
KALSA, Ib., gong of higher sound than PINSAK.
KALSHANG, Ib., bamboo guitar.
KALŪTANG, Han., 2 striking sticks used by hikers.
KAMBATONG, Ib., one-string instrument and plucked.
KAPINAW, Ting., var. of KIPANO, nose flute.
KIMBAL, Ib., long drum with a lower note than SULIBAW.
KINABAN, Han., jew's harp.
KIPANO, Ting., another name for nose flute; see KALALENG.
KITARA, Bil., a four-string plucked lute.
KOBING, Buk., jew's harp.
KOBONG, Man., jew's harp of bamboo.
KODIAPE, Btk., var. of KUDYAPI'.
KODLONG, Btk., Bag., Man., wooden guitar.
KOLADSENG, Il., bamboo guitar; perhaps the CULLASSIN of Landor.

KOLAS, Ib., two pieces of iron struck together.
KOLIBAU, Ting., jew's harp of bamboo.
KOLISTENG, Sag., bamboo lyre.
KOLITONG,Kal., bamboo zither with five to nine strings.
KOLONG-KOLONG, Buk., metal rattle.
KOONGAN, Bon., a class of gong "frequently larger than the other, seems to be always of thicker metal, and has a more bell-like and usually higher-pitched tone" (Jenks).
KOTIAPI, Mar., 2-stringed guitar of wood.
KUBING, Mar., jew's harp.
KUDING, Ib., var. of KADING.
KUDLUNG, Han., bamboo guitar or zither.
KUDLUNG, Tgb., boat lute (similar to types found in Mindanao and Celebes).
KUDYAPI', Han., 6-stringed guitar 15" to 30" in length.
KULALING, Ting., var. of KALALENG.
KULASSIN, Il., cylindrical bamboo harp (Landor).
KULAYING, Zamb., jew's harp.
KULIBAW, Il., jew's harp.
KULIBEBBEB, Amb., long cartridge type of drum, made of hard wood or powder can.
KULIBET, Kal., bamboo guitar.
KULINTANGAN, Bag., Mar., Zamb., a gong set or ensemble.
KULITENG, Ting., bamboo guitar with two strings, beaten with two sticks; Bal. Ting., bamboo guitar with five strings.
KULIT-TONG, Ting., bamboo guitar; var. KURITENG.
KURITENG, Ting., bamboo guitar.
KUTIAPI, Mar., two-stringed wooden guitar.
KUTYAPI', Buk., long wooden musical instrument (with strings).

LAMPING, Btk., sounding log.
LANTOY, Btk., Bag., nose flute.
LANTUI, Tgb., nose flute; var. LANTUY.
LANTUY, Han., nose flute of bamboo; also, as a mouth-blown transverse flute, which is called PALAWTA.
LEGLET, Bag., anklet made of brass; vernacular name not given in the literature.
LIBAU, Ting., var. of KOLIBAU, jew's harp of bamboo.
LIBBIT, If., var. of LI-PIT, which see below.
LI-PIT, If., long wooden inverted truncated drum.
LUDAG, Apa., a long wooden drum with a skin head.
LUDING, Bil., bamboo jew's harp.

MAT, PERCUSSION, Buk., beaten with hands (Cole); no vernacular name given.
MORTAR AND PESTLE, If., used in mortar-pestle play while pounding rice; no vernacular name given in the literature.
MUNTIKKUK, If., mortar-rim- or mortar-side-play with the pestle while pounding rice.

NABIL. Ting., bamboo violin.

ODOL, Bil., a sonorant plank of hard wood which is beaten by sticks.
ORIBAO, Apa., see URIBAW.
ORIBAU, Apa., see URIBAW.

PABILBIL, Ting., bull roarer.
PA'GANG, Tgb., bamboo guitar or zither.
PAKANG, Ib., a bamboo sounding piece.
PAKKANG, Ib., the PAKANG of Densmore; the BUNKAKA of Romualdez.
PAKKUK, If., pestle-play while pounding rice.
PAKTONG, If., striking sticks, used in kanyaw dances.
PALALENG, Ting., mouth flute.
PALANDAG, Bag., a long mouth flute more technically classified as lip-valley flute.
PALAS, Ib., two iron pieces struck one against the other.
PALAWTA, Han., a mouth-blown transverse flute.
PALAY, Neg., flat brass gong, ceremonial in use.
PALDONG, Ting., mouth flute; var. PALALENG.
PALIPAL, If., bamboo clapper used during harvest feast.
PANDA-OPAN, Mar., cymbals.
PANTIG, If., bamboo guitar.
PAS-ING, Apa., two-stringed instrument either plucked or beaten.
PATANGGOK, Kal., like the Ting. PATANGOP; var. PATANGGUK (Maceda, 1972), 6 half-tubes.
PATANGOP, Ting., a bamboo section with a tapering end held in one hand and struck against the wrist.
PATANGGUK, Kal., "6 half-tubes" (Maceda,1972).
PATATAG, Kal., six xylophone blades (Maceda,1972).
PATTING, If., semi-tubular bamboo with two strings which are struck with a stick.
PAWĪLĪ, Han., 3-stopped endblown flute; also known as BANGSI'.
PEWPEW, Amb., bamboo percussion similar to BUNKAKA, which see.
PINGSAN, Sag., small gong.
PINSAK, Ib., gong of lower sound than KALSA.
PITOG, Ib., wooden stick for beating a gong.
PIT-ONG, If., jew's harp of bamboo.
PITU, Han., bamboo whistle.
POLALA, Buk., short bamboo mouth flute.
PULAWTA, Zamb., bamboo flute.

SABAG, Btk., stick for beating on a log or drum; drumstick.
SABAGAN, Btk., a long bamboo tube beaten with sticks.
SABARANG, Tgb., bamboo tube beaten; see SABAGAN, Btk., above.
SAGGEYPO, Kal., panpipes of six tubes.
SAHUMAY, Zamb., bamboo flute.
SALELI, Kul., bamboo mouth flute.

SALIBAW, Sag., var. of SULIBAW.
SALODAY, Kul., bamboo guitar.
SANGAL, If., bamboo clapper used to accompany singing at death ceremonies.
SARIAO, Mar., series of bells placed around the neck of horses.
SINGKIL, Mar., anklet
SOBING, Tgb., see SUBING.
SOLIBAO, Bon. see SULIBAW.
SOLIBAW, Bau., see SULIBAW.
SOLING, Zamb., bamboo flute.
SONOB, Sag., large gong.
SUBING, Tgb., jew's harp; Han., tongue weighted with a spot of beeswax for greater vibration.
SULIBAO, Amb., Ib.; see SULIBAW.
SULIBAU, Ib., see SULIBAW.
SULIBAW, Amb., Ib., long drum with a higher sound than KIMBAL.

TABUNGBUNG, Neg., bamboo zither with two strings.
TADAENG, If., bamboo guitar with two strings.
TAGONGGONG, Bil., small drum.
TA-ITA, If., bamboo clapper used as an accompaniment when singing at death ceremonies.
TAKUMBO, Mv., Tala., a two-string instrument beaten with sticks while the proximal end is thrust against the belly of the player.
TALADI, Ib., a kind of flute; the performer moves his fingers over the holes while blowing in the end.
TALIBUNG, Neg., a meter-long bamboo drum with a skin head, used ceremonially.
TAMBOL, Buk., drum; var. TAMBOR.
TAMBOLANG, Kul., bamboo trumpet.
TAMBOR, Ting., Bau., Buk., Mar., (not fully described), a long drum made of wood, with skin head.
TANGHUP, Han., bamboo whistle.
TANGKUL, Buk., bamboo guitar.
T'ANGONGGO, Bag., a performance on the gongs.
TAPTAP, Bag., a short piece of wood or stick used for striking the gong.
TAWGAW, Bag., bamboo guitar which is plucked.
TEBEB, Bau., drum (not described fully).
TIBULDU, Tgb., bamboo zither.
TIKKUK, If., var. of MUNTIKUK.
TIPANU, Tgb., mouth flute.
TIRING, Tgb., different lengths of bamboo with openings of various sizes which produce different notes when struck with a stick.
TILIT, Il., bamboo violin; the GHINOGOR of Landor.
TOLALI, Il., Bil., Bag., bamboo flute.
TOLLOC, Amb., two striking sticks played during ceremonies.
TONGALI, Kal., If., nose flute; Bau., mouth flute; Sag., a flute made of rice stalk, a leaf for whistling.
TONG–A–TONG, Ting., a ceremonial musical instrument, consisting of six bam-

boo tubes of different lengths, open at one end; three players hold the tubes with their hands and strike the closed end on a flat stone.

TONGKALING, Man., small bells attached to belts, etc.

TOWALI, Man., a short bamboo flute.

TRUMPET, BAMBOO, Kal., no vernacular name recorded in the literature.

TULALI, Ting., Bal. Ting., Bag., bamboo mouth flute; Bal. Ting., 3 finger holes one side and a fourth on opposite side.

ULIBIAO, Kal., jew's harp; see KOLIBAU, Ting.

UNGI-YUNG, If., flute with tip of carabao horn; mouth and two finger holes.

UNG–NGAY–YONG, If., flute with 3 finger holes.

UNGUING, If., flute.

UPPIYUP, If., flute with 3 holes (with plugged blowing end?).

URIBAW, Apa., jew's harp.

VIOLIN, BAMBOO, Kal., no vernacular name recorded.

XYLOPHONE, Mar., of 9 gongs (Densmore); this is the KULINTANGAN, which see.

FOOTNOTES

[1]This paper is a revision of a report originally entitled "The Collection of Philippine Musical Instruments in the Chicago Natural History Museum" and submitted in fulfillment of a requirement in Anthro. 499 (Research in Museology), Dept. of Anthropology, University of Chicago under Dr. Rowland W. Force, then curator for Oceanic Ethnology in that museum.

[2]Reprinted in Zoilo M. Galang (ed.): *Encyclopaedia of the Philippines,* v. 44 (1935), 86-128, and in another edition, v. 7 (1953), 64-98; and in *General Education Journal,* no. 18 (2nd sem. 1969-70), 328-352, minus the illustrations.

[3]*Hanunoo Music from the Philippines: Cultural Background* (New York: Ethnic Folkways Library, 1955).

[4]The article was written by Stella Paluskas and appeared in vol 3 (1956), 1147-1157.

[5]Though this collection would perhaps remain unduplicated, the collection in the Philippine Women's University, Manila, started in 1947, and in the College of Music, University of Philippines, Quezon City, the latter under the direction of Dr. Jose Maceda, would now be leading in variety and types, though the latter was begun only in March 1964 (see his "A Report on the Collection of Philippine Musical Instruments," *U.P. Research Digest,* v. 3, no. 4, October, 1964). Unfortunately, no catalogues of either collection has been made and so it was bypassed in this preliminary inventory.

[6]Identified by Dr. Fred Eggan, Director of the Philippine Studies Program, University of Chicago, as coming from Bataan in an interview in his office on January 8, 1962.

[7]"The Music of the Filipinos," *American Anthropologist,* v. 8, no. 4 (Oct. – Dec. 1906), 611-632.

[8]*Id.*

[9]Fox, *loc. cit.*, 378.

[10]Romualdez, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

[11]*Id.*, p. 22.

[12]This type is also known simply as lip flute or notched flute "in which the breath is directed against a U- or V-shaped notch cut in the upper rim of the instrument" in the phrasing of K.P. Wachsmann in his article "The Primitive Musical Instruments" in Anthony Baines (ed.): *Musical Instruments Through the Ages* (Penguin, 1961), p. 49.

[13]It is rather unusual that Romualdez did not give the name of the Apayaw bamboo bow but instead the Tayabas Negrito name for a similar instrument, most likely from his own field notes, but once more without giving the place or area.

[14]See his "Kankanay Ceremonies," *Univ. of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, v. 15, no. 4 (Oct. 1920), 344-345.

[15]From his "The Non-Christian Tribes of Northern Luzon," *Philippine Journal of Science*, v. 1, no. 8 (Oct. 1906), p. 832.

[16]See E.A. Manuel: "The Wake and Last Rites over H. Otley Beyer," *Philippine Studies*, v. 23 (1975), p. 129.

[17]*Id.*, p. 153.

[18]"Nabaloi Law and Ritual," *Univ. of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, v. 15, no. 3 (Oct. 28, 1920), 231-232.

[19]"The Nabaloi Dialect," *Ethnological Survey Publications*, v. 2, pts. II and III (1905), 150.

[20]"The Music of the Filipinos," *American Anthropologist*, v. 8, no. 4 (Oct.-Dec. 1906).

[21]"The Non-Christian Tribes of Northern Luzon," *Philippine Journal of Science*, v. 1, no. 8 (Oct. 1906).

[22]In C.R. Moss and A.L. Kroeber: "Nabaloi Songs," *Univ. of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, v. 15, no. 2 (May 10, 1919), 195-206.

[23]"The Music of the Filipinos." *loc. cit.*

[24]*Catalogo de la Exposicion de las Islas Filipinas Celebrada en Madrid* (1887), p. 636. Later examined by Garcia Matos and Schneider (1951: 17-18) who identified three types of *sulibaw:* (a) "tambor tubular sonico" (3 sps.): (b) "tambor conoco en forma de copa" (1 sp.); and (c) "tambor cilindrico" (1 sp.). As the specimen have no specific provenance, the last two types appear not to be Ibaloy. Besides, the Ibaloy *sulibaw* and *kimbal* are over a meter long normally and types (b) and (c) are only 31 cm. and 25.8 cm. high, respectively. The 3 specimen photographed in the *Fifth National Art Festival* (1970) Brochure have longer prepuces than the 2 in Schurer's work, all of which can be regarded as typical and authentic Ibaloy *sulibaw* and *kimbal.*

[25]Jose Ma. Ruiz (ed.): *Pobladores Aborigenes, Razas Existentes y Sus Variedades, Religion, Usos y Custumbres de la Habitantes de Filipinas* (Manila: 1887), 134.

[26]Listed as *pacong, id.*

[27]Seen by the writer in 1957 and 1958 being struck together during Lent, especially in connection with the Moriones festival.

[28]*Religion and Society among the Tagbanwa of Palawan Island, Philippines* Ph. D. diss., Univ. of Chicago, 1954), pp. 60-61.

[29]"Manners and Customs of the Tagbanuas and other Tribes of Palawan," *Smithsonian Institution Miscellaneous Collection*, v. 48 (1907), p. 525.

[30]A Vocabulary of the Batak of Palawan *(Philippine Studies Program, Univ. of Chicago, 1959), p. 38; see also under Batals,* mute.

[31]"*A Note on the Pa'gang: a Tagbanwa Bamboo Musical Instrument,*" Asian Studies, *v. 5,*

. 1 (April, 1967), p. 38.

[32]*The Bukidnon of Mindanao* (Chicago: Natural History Museum, 1956), p. 121.

[33]No specimen of this percussion mat is registered in the catalogues of FMNH, nor in its Philippine collection.

[34]Cole mentioned *agongs* 1913: 145-146) as medium of payment, but otherwise does not describe Bilaan musical instruments; although he briefly alluded to their music and dancing (1913:144).

[35]"A Study of Bagobo Ceremonial Magic and Myth," *Annals of the New York Academy of Science,* v. 25 (1916), 83-85.

[36]*The Wild Tribes of Davao District, Mindanao* (Chicago, FMNH, 1913), 110-111.

[37]*Katalog des Ethnographischen Reinchmuseums: Philippinen,* v. 22 (Leinden: E.J. Brill, 1928), Tafel XII.

[38]Cole, 1913:58.

[39]Id., 58-59.

[40]*Id.*, 110.

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AN EXAMPLE OF CONFLICT AND AUTHORITY IN A PHILIPPINE COMMUNITY: A CASE STUDY

by

Raul Pertierra

The comedia is the most important example of the traditional Ilocano drama. Its plot is derived from the old hostility between Christians and Moors, and around this hostility is woven a complicated tale involving characters from diverse historical periods, with little attempt to observe historic or geographic boundaries. These characters from the kingdoms of Aragon, Turkey and Babylon may all engage in heated disputes with one another, but with such dispute always culminating in the conversion to Christianity of the Moors. The gestures are highly formalized and the dialogue is carried out in verse form, employing archaic words and expressions. The drama is interspersed with martial-like music which is employed mostly to accompany the entrance or exit of the various characters and the stylized battles between Christians and Moors. The actors are dressed in colourful costumes reflecting their historic and geographic diversity, and the whole performance may well last for several days and nights. The length of the performance is due mainly to the fact that a prompter is used throughout the drama. The prompter has to read all the

actors' parts for them to repeat and he often has to do this several times in the case of inexperienced or inebriated actors. The plot is usually well known to all, the music familiar and the actors are drawn from the barrios.[1]

Although comedias are now seldom performed, they nevertheless still attract large audiences whenever they are held. Insofar as appeal to a mass audience is concerned, no other theatrical tradition has replaced the comedia.

In B., an interior municipality in one of the provinces of the Ilocos region, the comedia tradition has been maintained through the efforts of a small but dedicated group of actors headed by an old man, who learned the art from his uncle and who had written several comedias and many plays.

In the pre-1976 political system, at the level of the municipality, there are two main branches. These are the executive headed by the mayor, and the legislative or judiciary headed by the municipal judge. Each branch is supported by an auxiliary staff paid for by municipal funds and each branch has access to the municipal police. Aside from the municipal officials, there are also some provincial and national employees in the municipality. These officials implement or supervise provincial and national programs.

In this paper, I shall describe how the comedia became the centre of a dispute between the barrio of L., one of the barrios of B., and the municipal mayor. Although this dispute arose and can be seen as part of the traditional rivalry between the two principal factions of the municipality, in this paper, the discussion will merely be restricted to the actions and counteractions of the immediate participants in the dispute. My purpose is to show how persons in authority, in this case, the mayor, may use their office to prevent a group of people from carrying out an action that the person in authority sees as prejudicial to his interests.

The dispute, although arising out of a series of incidental and relatively unimportant events, is, nevertheless, typical of a method of social control often resorted to by people in authority in Philippine municipalities. The technique is sometimes practised unconsciously, but, at other times, the conscious component attains a high degree of sophistication, depending upon the seriousness of the issue and the sociological and political awareness of the disputants. Briefly, the technique involves the use and consolidation by a person in authority of powers and privileges that do not normally belong to him. Such a consolidation is justified through the employment of several devices, the most common being the threat of chaos or disorder. It is argued in this paper that all authority makes use of some process of mystification to justify the use of its powers, and that a description of a power structure is incomplete until the process of mystification is described and analyzed.[2]

B. celebrates the feast of its parish patron saint on January 15, the feast day of the Santo Niño de Praga. Although this day is religiously meaningful only to the

Catholics, who constitute the majority of the population, its celebration is also participated in and enjoyed by non-Catholics. L. is the seat of the parish and it is this barrio that takes the special responsibility for the success of the fiesta. On the other hand, the municipal center is in P. and this latter barrio has traditionally led a faction that has opposed the social, political and religious importance of the faction headed by L. It is within this traditional rivalry that the dispute involving the holding of a comedia first arose.

Apo Kolas, an octogenarian, is the man mainly responsible for preserving the comedia tradition in B. He learned the art from his uncle. Since then, he has given much of his time and interest to the performance of comedias. B. staged comedias regularly in the past, but, during the 1960's, the tradition weakened. The last comedia performed was sometime in the late sixties, and, because of this and his advancing years, Apo Kolas has for the past few years been pressing for the revival of the comedia. Little interest was shown by the influential and wealthy members of the community, who consider the comedia rather old fashioned and tedious. However, because of the expenses involved, their support must be obtained. Alternatively, funds can also be obtained from the community at large.

In October, the Parish Pastoral Assembly, the Catholic body responsible for running the parish in association with the local priest, discussed preparations for the approaching fiesta. At this meeting, Apo Kolas suggested that in place of the usual musical variety show, the parish should present a comedia. He informed the other members of the assembly that he had already written a special comedia for the occasion, and that only their approval and support was needed to commence preparations. For reasons not altogether clear, the mayor at once opposed the suggestion and, by referring to an arbitrarily quoted high cost of the presentation, he dissuaded the rest of the assembly from approving the idea of the comedia.[3]

The mayor is the president of the Parish Pastoral Assembly and his opinions generally prevail — or one can safely assume that any plan opposed by the mayor would have little hope of approval. The mayor's disapproval has an immediate effect on the other members of the assembly, many of whom are indebted to or dependent upon him for various reasons. Despite some support from the priest who, however, does not relate well with the mayor, Apo Kolas' suggestion was overruled and instead the Assembly decided to present the usual musical variety evening show. It became evident, at this stage, that the mayor was not interested in emphasizing the status of the fiesta. The traditional opposition between L. and P. is probably one of the main factors responsible for the mayor's reluctance to support an activity that would bring undue credit to L — the mayor himself belonging to the P. faction. In support of the mayor, the people in P., although not unsympathetic to the idea of a comedia, maintained that the cost would be prohibitive and that they would not be willing to help defray the expenses.

Apo Kolas was extremely disappointed when the Assembly finally rejected

his proposal. However, having expressed his great disappointment to several leading members of L., including the resident anthropologist, Apo Kolas was persuaded to renew his efforts in a different manner. One of Apo Kolas' supporters in L. is the mayor's main political enemy, and obviously his interest in the matter can be seen as a case of supporting any activity or event opposed by his rival, the mayor, particularly if this support brings credit to L. Apo Kolas decided to see the mayor to ask if the comedia could be included within the fiesta activities, as long as the expenses were not obtained from the parish funds. The mayor was reported to have given his grudging consent to this suggestion and, as a result, Apo Kolas begun recruiting financial support from the people in L.

It soon became evident that not only was there considerable excitement at the prospect of holding a comedia, but that people in L., aware of the mayor's disapproval, saw the issue as one involving the status of the community. Throughout these activities, the priest supported Apo Kolas. The mayor's dominant behaviour in the Parish Pastoral Assembly has earned him the priest's disfavour, and their frequent differences of opinion is widely known among the people. This, along with a genuine interest in encouraging Ilocano music, could be responsible for the priest's support of Apo Kolas.

Apo Kolas quickly canvassed L. and obtained promises for financial support from a representative range of its people. Satisfied, he then proceeded to organize the performers who belonged mostly to the barrios traditionally aligned with P. In fact, many of the comedia actors are closely related to the mayor (he himself used to take part in comedias in his youth); but, despite this fact, they were all eager to participate. Apo Kolas is widely known and respected throughout B. and other municipalities for his undisputed mastery of the comedia and other Ilocano dramatic genre. Perhaps, for this reason and because participation in comedias still brings to the actors considerable popularity and status, people who might otherwise be expected not to cooperate in a venture bringing credit to L., in this case, cooperated fully. Apo Kolas started rehearsals; and, slowly, the production was brought together. As they became more organized, these rehearsals attracted increasingly large audiences, thereby showing widespread interest in the coming performance.

In the meantime, Apo Kolas begun collecting funds for the required expenses. Costumes had to be hired and some materials purchased. At this juncture, the mayor intervened. He wrote to the captain of Apo Kolas' barrio informing him that collections of money for whatever reasons had to have the approval of the Department of Social Welfare. Seeing that the date of the fiesta was barely a month away, it became obvious that obtaining such a permit would be impossible. The mayor does not normally communicate locally by letter; why he did so in this occasion is not clear. In a community where collections occur for many reasons, both private and public, the introduction by the mayor of such a technical point as obtaining a permit, although legally justified, can only be interpreted as an idiosyncratic use of authority.

Once more, Apo Kolas bewailed his position to the community, creating a pool of favorable public opinion which eventually gave him the idea of not collecting but of simply waiting for people to voluntarily give him the money. This strategy worked, and the mayor chose not to pursue the issue. By this time, the conflict was known throughout the municipality. What could have developed into a dispute between the two opposing factions in B. became a dispute between L., with the support of the comedia cast, against the mayor, a factor that could have determined why this dispute failed to develop along traditional lines.

The mayor's strategy seemed to limit itself to what some Filipinos would call a "low profile" approach. Instead of provoking a head-on confrontation, the mayor chose to concentrate his moves on discouraging Apo Kolas, who is normally fairly compliant, rather than on issuing a terse prohibition, which is the mayor's usual style. His use of the letter to Apo Kolas' barrio captain can also be interpreted as indirectly informing the public of his opposition. In this case, the effect was, perhaps, not the one intended.

At this point, Apo Kolas was expecting the mayor to act more directly, i.e. by simply forbidding his kinsmen to participate. This directive would effectively cancel the performance. Apparently, such an action was not taken by the mayor, and when one actor was asked what he would do if so requested by the mayor, he replied that he would disregard the advice. Rehearsals were temporarily suspended during the Christmas period, but resumed soon afterwards.

The next problem was to decide on the date of the performance. Comedias often take more than 24 hours to perform; but, in this case, the performance was expected to last about 12 hours. The Parish Pastoral Assembly had arranged several activities for the fiesta and these were scheduled for the night of the 14th and part of the following day. It was, therefore, decided that the comedia could start on the evening of the 15th and be continued throughout the next day. With this in mind, Apo Kolas, supported by the Priest and the mayor's political enemy, obtained a permit from the municipal police and from the provincial constabulary that would allow them to hold festivities for two consecutive nights. This permit was obtained without any difficulty. (Since President Marcos declared martial law, it has been necessary to obtain permits to hold public gatherings, particularly if these are to take place at night. These permits are issued by the provincial constabulary on the recommendation of the municipal police. Since the end of 1975, the municipal police have been placed under the authority of the provincial constabulary and are no longer under the direct control of the municipal mayor, as was previously the case.)

As the day of the fiesta approached, it became increasingly obvious that the general public was greatly in favour of presenting the comedia. Even the mayor's supporters in the faction opposed to L. could see no valid reason why the performance should not continue.

On the evening of the 13th of January, the Lunarians, a local club, held their annual program as part of the fiesta. This dance officially opened the festivities. On the evening of the 14th, the musical variety show was successfully held, but it was the following day that seemed to mark the high point in the fiesta. The crowd gathered early and many Catholics attended the concelebrated mass, led by the archbishop. While the archbishop and the local priest attended to the administration of confirmation, the parade commenced. All the schools and many of the teachers participated in the parade, which was followed by a program featuring the exhibitions of school dances and calisthenics.

One of the prominent officials taking part in the proceedings of this day was Mr. R., the mayor's political rival. He participated both in his capacity as a barrio official and as one of L.'s most prominent citizens. During the program, several guests were asked to speak, among them Mr. R. and the mayor. In his speech, Mr. R. announced to the crowd that the comedia would be held in the afternoon until evening. When the mayor spoke, he begun criticizing the behaviour of some elements of the crowd, pointing out the dangers of drunken behaviour coupled with the lack of adequate police supervision and finally announcing that the comedia would not be presented. The reason given was that a municipal permit was not obtained. He exhorted the people to go home and attend to their chores, rather than to waste any more of their time indulging in the festivities. He prohibited the continuation of fiesta activities after 5 p.m. The program ended in confusion, and having refused a luncheon invitation from the priest, the mayor left for an engagement at the provincial capital.

There was considerable consternation among the actors and the other people involved in the preparations for the comedia. All the barrio captains present and the chief of police held several meetings; and, after much deliberation, it was decided that the comedia would be performed from 2 to 5 p.m., thus, carrying out the mayor's prohibition and allowing a minor concession to the supporters of the comedia. When Apo Kolas pointed out to the chief of police that he had obtained all the necessary permits, including the municipal permit, he was informed that it would, nevertheless, be unwise to further anger the mayor.

Excerpts from the comedia were performed in the time allotted. The enjoyment of the crowd testified to the fact that, although few comedias are performed nowadays, its hold over the Ilocano audience is still considerable. As an example of indigenous Ilocano theatre, no other genre has replaced it.

The comedia dispute indicates a method of social control practised by persons in authority in B. The influential positions held by the mayor (as president of the Parish Pastoral Assembly which makes him second only to the priest in terms of control over church-related affairs and as the municipality's chief executive) is an example of the consolidation of power in the municipality. In this case, how-

ever, the opposition of the priest forced the mayor to rely upon his primary source of authority, the state. The mayor's ability to shift from one source of authority to another facilitates the process of consolidation. This process is carried out through various mystificatory devices.

Some of these devices involve analogies that **legitimize** the actions of the person in authority. Thus, the mayor often refers to himself as the father of the community, thereby acquiring *pater potestal* privileges over its members. That the analogy is false is readily perceived, unless one accepts that an elected official can treat his constituents as jural minors. Another model often used and seriously suggested by a political scientist as a paradigm for Filipino political behaviour is the organic-heirarchic paradigm. (Agpalo, R., The Organic-Heirarchical Paradigm and Politics in the Philippines, *U.P. monograph no. 1*) This model sees society as consisting of interlocking units somewhat like the human organism.[4] While this model may have some value in describing systems of power and authority, where certain groups are reduced to the level of automata, its heuristic or prescriptive appeal lies in the mystificatory analogy with the living organism.

In B., persons in power and authority tend to use the first paradigm, which is, in any case, closer to sociological reality than the organic model. Kinship terms are commonly used to indicate differences in status, and the appropriate behaviour generally accompanies the use of the corresponding kinship term. Important members of the community are called or addressed as Tang or Nang, which are the shortened forms of the words for father and mother. Although these terms and other terms of respect are in general use throughout the community whenever a younger person addresses or refers to an older person, the assumption of the corresponding privileges or signs of deference would not occur between nonkinsmen, except when these belong to different status categories.[5]

Thus, the mayor, before informing the people that he would not allow the comedia to be performed as originally planned and announced, spoke of his being chosen to be the father of the community. In this capacity, he exhorted the people to return to their work, somewhat as a benevolent father would chastise his irresponsible children for neglecting their duties. The mayor sees himself very much as the father of the community and takes the corresponding privileges of a father over his dependent minors. This attitude and behaviour is common in B. among people in authority, and is not a characteristic solely of the mayor. The appropriation and use of the kinship model is a device to mystify and legitimize relationships of power within the community. There may well be other functions for the use of this paradigm.

In the case of the dispute, certain strategies are open to such people as the mayor, whose authority spans several roles, each with its sphere of control. These roles tend to consolidate one another and the boundaries between spheres of influence

tend to disappear or become indistinct.[6] The mayor begun by effectively blocking the suggestion of the comedia when it was first raised in the meeting of the Parish Pastoral Assembly. His next move involved mild intimidation through the idiosyncratic use of his political office. When these and other indirect pressures failed, he resorted to outright prohibition, justifying it to the people as the action of a concerned father. He also pointed out that activities such as the comedia often cause or are associated with disorder and violence. (The agonistic aspects of Ilocano society support, to some extent, the observation regarding violence whenever large gatherings are held, regardless of the purpose of such gatherings). The threat of chaos or disorder is a common justification for the usurpation of extraordinary powers by a person in authority. In this case, the mayor assumed the powers normally vested in the barrio captains and the local police force. When the mayor stated that the comedia supporters had not obtained a municipal permit, his action involved, at the very least, an attempt at obfuscation. This technique represents a stage in the process of mystification.

The resolution of the dispute involved some compromise, although it can be seen that the mayor achieved his main purpose, which was to prevent the full presentation of the comedia. Had the performers persisted and continued the presentation, it seems unlikely that the mayor could have done much about it. However, although he had clearly transcended his legitimate powers, and although this fact was appreciated by all the municipal officials in attendance, no one was willing to openly oppose the mayor's public stand. This hesitance must be seen in the light of the system of patronage in which the mayor occupies the highest position.

Many municipal employees and elected officials are personally indebted to the mayor in various ways. His control of, and access to various power bases make opposition difficult and dangerous. The structure of municipal politics, coupled with the system of patronage, enables an ambitious and competent person such as the mayor to obtain effective control of the executive branch of government with its corresponding grip over most municipal matters. When this is accompanied with considerable control of other sources of power and legitimation, such as the economy and the church, the resulting structure might well resemble an authoritarian household where *pater potestas* reign supreme. Although these tendencies may exist in B., certain limitations and checks are present. The priest, for example, jealously defends his prerogatives. The judicial branch of government has always been separate and exercises certain controls on the executive. The economy is too complex for any one man, but not for any one class, to control. Finally, the inhabitants of B. are not jural or intellectual minors.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Although I argue in this paper that the comedia is one of the principal theatrical genres with grass-roots participation, there have been notable occasions when teachers and other

professionals have participated in comedia performances, particularly in the larger towns and capitals of Ilocos. However in B., the municipality with which I am concerned, the performers have come primarily from the category one would label "the ordinary or common people". Aside from the status origins of these performers (with whom the audience can easily identify) there are several inherent factors in the traditional comedia that ensures its mass-base appeal. Some of these are its familiar music and theme, the slow pace of the actions and dialogue allowing the audience to follow the performance while simultaneously participating in the various activities characteristic of fiestas. The sheer length of the performance is reminescent of festivals in pre-literate and traditional societies where a long period of relative inactivity combined with a lean diet is broken by feasts characterized by their excessive activity and their glut of meat and other luxury foods. The life in the barrios of B. is normally quiet and the diet of its inhabitants austere. This monotony is interrupted by feasting on occasions such as marriages, baptisms, deaths and other major events of which the traditional fiesta represents one of the high points. Comedias are difficult to organize and hence take place rarely. It makes good sense to extend the performance as long as possible, thereby maximizing the returns on the efforts that went into its preparation.

[2]By mystification I mean a whole range of conscious and unconscious processes and techniques employed by persons in authority whose effect is to rationalize, justify and legitimize the exercise of social control. A theoretical treatment of this concept will be given in a separate paper.

[3]The Mayor's position permits him to make estimates that are seldom questioned. The arbitrarily high cost estimate was a conscious device used to dissuade any members of the Assembly sympathetic to the idea of holding a comedia. Apo Kolas was not given the opportunity to present an alternative estimate. The actual production cost one fourth of the mayor's estimate but this was made possible because all the participants gave their services for free, requiring only minimal compensation. What concerns us here is the ability of a person in authority to convert a personal judgment into a statement of fact. The tendency to confuse statements of value and of prescription with statements of fact is not found only among people in authority, nevertheless this confusion is an element of the array involved in the process of mystification.

[4]In this paradigm the human organism is seen as a complex collection where each unit is dependent on the functioning of the rest of the system. This dependence is arranged in heirarchies of control, culminating in the brain, the seat of consciousness, from which a complex exchange of communication issues, ensuring the viability of the entire system. Although some parts of the system possess greater control and autonomy over the system than other parts, no part can long survive without the well-being and cooperation of all the others. As the Tagalogs put it, "an aching finger causes discomfort to the entire body" This paradigm, despite its modern biological terminology, can be found in early Hindu and Roman political theory justifying the roles of the different castes and orders. R. Hertz was the first anthropologist to point out the common use of the human body as an explicative and deontic paradigm of the social order. The familiarity, appeal and symmetry of the human body partly explains its frequent use as a model of social reality. Mystification occurs, however, whenever this paradigm serves both to describe and legitimize the social order, these two functions seldom being distinguished.

[5]This paradigm projects the relations between kinsmen, particularly among members of the nuclear family, onto the social order. In a society such as is found among the Ilocanos, where kinship terminology emphasizes differences in generations rather than lineal ties, the expansion of this model to encompass the social order is not altogether inappropriate. In this analogy an isomorphism is established between relations involving different generations on the one hand, and relations involving different status categories on the other. However in discussing paradigms of social reality, one should distinguish between descriptive and prescriptive models used by members of a community (often this distinction is not made by the natives

themselves, in which case the observer should infer when this distinction should have occured from the context in which it takes place). Finally one should distinguish these models from ontological reality. Mystification enters through the gap between the descriptive native model and ontological reality. In B. the native model, with its subtle notions of various status categories has both descriptive and deontic functions. In contrast the lack of a developed class model makes it possible for certain relationships of power, particularly in relation to the economy, to operate unperceived. Mystification involves both conscious and unconscious processes depending, among other things, on whether the relationships of power concerned form part of the conscious or unconscious model of social reality.

[6]The process of mystification favours the blurring of spheres of control even when clear and distinct boundaries exist. In cases where spheres of control are not specifically defined or are not structured to be mutually exclusive, mystification facilitates the process of power consolidation. Even in systems where boundaries of responsibility and authority are clearly defined, provisions are often made for extraordinary situations, such as the threat or existence of chaos or disorder. When such extraordinary situations exist, or are perceived to exist, persons in authority are presented with an ideal climate in which to make full use of the entire range of mystificatory processes and techniques.

SOME SOCIAL AND CULTURAL PROBLEMS OF THE MUSLIMS IN THE PHILIPPPINES*

by

Cesar Adib Majul

As might be expected, Muslims all over the world, both individually and communally, would have common problems. These problems are oftentimes related to the Islamic way of life with all of its prescriptions, injunctions and expectations. At the same time, different Muslim communities expectedly have problems peculiar to themselves as a function of their geographical locations, their relations with their neighbors (both Muslims and non-Muslims), their historical development and other political and social forces within and without. Consequently, to understand the problems of the Filipino Muslims, it is necessary to assume certain facts: (1) that the Muslims in the Philippines are divided into at least twelve ethnolinguistic groups with some of them separated by different islands and most of them belonging to separate politically administrative units;[1] (2) that, although they form the second largest religious community in the country, they constitute a minority amidst a population that is overwhelmingly Christian, mainly Catholic;[2] (3) that they manifest some differences in their customary laws (*'adat*) as well as in their adherence to elements of Islamic personal or family law as exemplified in the *Shari'a;* (4) that their contacts with the other Muslims in Southeast Asia, have historically speaking, varied in intensity, with the Tausug and Samals, basically maritime peoples, relatively more exposed to outside influences than others. This reason, among others, partially explains why they have had "independent" historical experiences from each other. (5) that their economic bases show marked diversities, i.e. some are maritime peoples while

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others basically agricultural. Even among the rice producing ones, some practice wet-rice planting while others indulge in upland rice farming: (6) that for more than three hundred years of Spanish presence in the Philippine archipelago, the varied Muslim groups were never part of the Spanish colony called "Filipinas" and, therefore were subject to separate historical transformations from the other Christian groups with whom they are now co-citizens in a modern state; and (7) that the state to which the Muslims now belong is, from the constitutional point of view, a secular state where religious freedom and tolerance are ideally adhered to but where the religious motive still plays a large role in the life of many of the citizens.

It is nevertheless important to note, regardless of all the above, that the Muslims in the Philippines identify themselves as such. They all recognize each other as Muslims. Muslims, pray in each others' mosques, and affirm that they all belong to a wider religious community that transcends differences in *'adat*, language, race, region and nation. They are all acutely aware of their cultural diferences from the Christians as well as other non-Muslim groups who live side by side with them. Historically, members of their ruling families have intermarried – mostly for purposes of political advantage or mutual economic benefits. All these, however, have not prevented them from fighting each other on account of dynastic rivalries or conflicts in the collection of tributes and other economic reasons.

The Advent of Islam

The arrival of Muslims in the Philippine South was a consequence of the international maritime trade which extended from North Africa to China and which gradually fell into Muslim hands around the eighth century. Although there was a decline in the Muslim trade with China near the end of the ninth century due to unstable political conditions in China, this trade started to pick up about a hundred years later. During this interim, Kalah in the Malay Peninsula became an essential entrepot of the Muslim merchants who were mainly Arabs and Persians, and who possibly included Indians. It is around this time that historians have noted the rapid rise of a local trade in Southeast Asia involving mainly the Malay Peninsula and Indonesian islands. As early as the 10th century, Borneo became known to Muslim traders. Their knowledge of Sulu and then Mindanao soon followed. Archeological findings demonstrate that there were already Muslim visitors in Sulu by the end of the thirteenth century and, if local traditions are to be relied on, visitors were already in Mindanao by the 14th and 15th centuries.

Obviously, the arrival of Muslim traders does not spell the arrival of Islam. much less its spread. A few Western Orientalists have offered various theories to explain the phenomena of Islam's expansion in Southeast Asia and, although caution must be exercised in accepting them, much can be learned from their

varied perspectives. For example, the view that the ruling families of not a few maritime principalities adopted Islam for political and economic reasons as well as to seek for a principle of legitimacy, with the subjects later on accepting the faith of their rulers, can explain some instances of conversion but does not serve as an explanation for the phenomenon in the whole of Southeast Asia. The other view that economic changes generated by the international maritime trade caused, in turn, an ideological vacuum that was readily filled up by Islam, is an attractive one but requires more evidence. Another idea that the arrival of Europeans with motives of conversion to Christianity stimulated Muslims to counteract and vigorously spread their Faith, while serving as an explanation for additional conversions to Islam in the sixteenth century, cannot, in any manner, explain the fact that Islam had already been established in some principalities in Sumatra and Sulu at least two hundred years earlier. One explanation, however, transcends all the above views.

One explanation, that transcends all the above views and appears to be the most solid and which has not yet been falsified is that Islam was introduced and spread by the teachings of Muslims who came from "above the winds". This is the explanation supported by most if not all local traditions in the region of the Malays from Sumatra to the Philippines. Whether these Muslims came with the original intention to teach or not is another matter; what the traditions emphasize is that they taught and preached. But when it is noticed that some of these traditions ingenuously reveal that these teachers were actually Sufis, then the intention to teach might have been there all the time. Admittedly, this is something that must be looked deeper into by Malaysian scholars. A Sulu tradition illustrates the advent of Islam as follows. According to legend, the first Muslim teacher in Sulu, called Makhdum Karim, besides having the power to talk by means of paper, also had the ability to walk on water. As is well known, Abdul Qadir Al-Jilani was supposed to have had this ability and he is the "patron saint" of sailors. Might not the tradition then actually say, in a folk manner, that the makhdum belonged to the Qadiriyah *tariqat?* Is not this tradition complementary to those narrating the coming of different *auliya* to Indonesia and Borneo? Obviously, the teachings of these *auliya* would not have succeeded the way they did were it not for the fact that Islam satisfied deep aspirations and spiritual needs of not so much the upper classes of the island societies but of the masses as well. It is this spread of Islam among the common people that guaranteed its entrenchment.

The assertion that Islam was originally brought mainly by Arab teachers should not allow us, however, to disregard the fact that the natives themselves, once Islamized, played a great role in further spreading the Faith. It is enough to recall the role of the native courts in patronizing missionaries and the existence of pious and inspired converts to Islam who would like to share the message with others. All this mean that a time had come when the local Muslims had come to look up at Islam not as something foreign but as something that belonged to them as a cherished value. With the internalization of this value, it would not be long when influence of the *Shari'a* would gradually increase in the conduct of social relations. Furthermore, political institutions historically associated with older Islamic nations would also be adopted.

Hence, at the beginning of the 16th century, the world of the Malays in Southeast Asia could be viewed as a constellation of Muslim principalities, maintaining political and trade relations with each other as well as with older Islamic countries. The sudden appearance of Western imperialism and its attempts at Christianization fragmented this world into different spheres of Western influence; but not without having rendered Islam as an element of identity or force to resist the above intrusive element.

The Effects of Islamization

In varying degrees, among the different Muslim groups in the Philippines, it can be maintained that Islam brought the following effects or processes which are still existing. First of all, Islam introduced a new theological and ethical view of life and the universe. In proportion to the seriousness, dedication and the number of people adhering to it, Islam drove out the old gods, spirits and idols. A concept of revelation was introduced. Principles governing the relations between the creature and the Creator as well as those among individuals themselves and their families came to progressively fall within a totality in accordance with the belief in the Oneness of Allah. The compartmentalization of the diverse activities of man gradually diminished. Intentions and deeds came to be viewed as correlated in terms of Divine prescriptions and injunctions. Second, elements of the *'adat* diametrically opposed to the Qur'an began to weaken while other elements were allowed to exist. The progressive introduction of more *Shari'a* elements was effected by the development of a relatively sophisticated *'ulama*. Third, the Arabic script was introduced and the different languages of the different ethnic groups came to be enriched by Arabic terms, especially theological, moral, legal and technical ones. To be observed at this point is the gradual spread of Malay among the Muslims in the Philippines which also served as one of the agencies for the spread of such terms. Fourth, new art forms and novel literary devices (with corresponding terms) borrowed from older Islamic countries came to further enrich an indigenous art. Certain headgears and costumes associated with Islamic tradition were also adopted. Fifth, political institutions, not necessarily Islamic, but associated with some older Muslim countries, began to be implanted or grafted on older institutions. Sixth, the Muslims began to be gradually more aware that inspite of the facts of linguistic, racial and geographical differences, they formed part of a wider community – Muhamad's people. Seventh, the Muslims began to look at Islam as an instance of Allah's Mercy and that their community, as such, as well as their history, reflected a manifestation of Allah's workings in the created order.

It must not be imagined that all the above took place all at once and at one given place. The Muslim groups adopted Islam at separate times and manifested its institutions in different degrees. Indeed, even in a particular community, Islamic consciousness among individuals also varies in accordance with their intellectual capacities, their educational opportunities, their contacts with other Muslims, the quality of their teachers, the nature of their *'adat* and other multiple factors.

As mentioned earlier, some of the effects of Islam's coming represent a process which is still going on in the Philippines.

The gradual acceptance of Islam, presumably like all forms of acculturation process, brought about some tensions or at least some mechanisms of adaptation. Conflicts between some elements of the *'adat* and the *Shari'a* were bound to ensue with the traditional chiefs defending the former as against the sultans and the *'ulama* supporting the latter. Undoubtedly, the element of power was involved in all these conflicts since more Islamization could spell the centralization of the powers of the sultans at the expense of the powers and privileges of the traditional chiefs who claimed a power link with the pre-Islamic past. To be noted, too, is that Islamic institutions were often manipulated to strengthen the vested interests of certain groups. Depending on the level of ignorance of Islam, many non-Islamic practices and institutions began to be considered Islamic or at least were sanctioned by what was conceived to constitute Islam. Moreover, Muslim attitudes toward neighboring tribes that did not adopt Islam but remained loyal to the older religion began to change. What is meant in particular is that relations between them began to be viewed as falling under Islamic principles in a manner that the slavery of non-Muslims was rationalized as justified by Islam. Of greater consequence to the lives of the Muslims is that after the Spaniards came in the last half of the sixteenth century, most of the inhabitants of the islands in the North, namely, Luzon and the Visayas, became Christians. A result of this was that the natural tendency of Islam to spread upward in a northern direction was now blocked. More than this, the Christianized natives were utilized by the Spaniards to fight and conquer the Muslims in the South in behalf of religion as well as the extension of the material domains of the Spanish Monarch. It had been often said that if the Spaniards did not arrive at the time they did, Islam would have secured a better and more secure foothold in the other islands. In Manila, at least, there was already a principality ruled by Muslims with many of their followers evincing Islamic practices, at least in their rituals and dietary laws. In any case, when the Spaniards arrived, many of the Muslim groups in Mindanao were still in the process of becoming progressively more Islamized in different intensities. Islam was spreading slowly and, generally, in a peaceful manner. But history was to take an unexpected turn with the presence of the Christian West on Philippine shores.

The Spaniards vs. the Muslims

When the Spaniards came to the Philippines in 1565, they brought with them the dual aim of Christianizing the inhabitants while extending the imperial domains of the Spanish Monarch. By means of different techniques – force, persuasion, threats or gifts – they were able to accomplish these aims in Luzon, the Visayas and parts of Mindanao. But they met bitter resistance in the Western part of Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago where at least three sultanates were already well established – those of Sulu, Maguindanao and Buayan. Whereas the other

inhabitants of the country were mainly at the *barangay* level, that is, living in independent settlements consisting of a dozen to a hundred families, the sultanates represented political entities consisting of dozens of settlements, some of these found in different islands. Thus the fall of one Muslim settlement to the Spaniards did not spell the destruction of a sultanate.

The long series of wars between the Spaniards and the Muslims, extending for a period of more than three hundred years, had been called the "Moro Wars" by historians. The effects of these wars had left deep scars on the Muslims up to the present and constitute part of their problems. A major effect of the wars was that the slow but progressive movement of Islam to the north of the Archipelago was definitely checked and thus Islam became confined to parts of the South. On the economic sphere, many Muslim islands were depopulated with scores of settlements totally destroyed as part of a deliberate Spanish policy. The time-honored commercial activities of the Muslims were disrupted with hundreds of their seacrafts destroyed as part of the same policy. All these were to cause the economic backwardness of the Muslims *vis a vis* the other inhabitants of the islands who came to benefit from the introduction of Western techniques to better agriculture and increase production.

Adding to the economic problems of the Muslims was the fact that their trade with the Indonesian islands was later on restricted by the commercial policy of the Dutch. The imperialistic policies of the Spaniards, the Dutch and, later on, the British, helped bring about a gradual isolation of the Muslims. An ensuing provincialism started to creep in among them due to the weakening of contacts with other Muslim peoples – slightly moderated by the return of a few hadjis and occasional itinerant Muslim traders from the Asian mainland. Some pre-Islamic institutions begun to surface with additional force – principally the datu system. Under stress of continuous wars and large scale destruction, it was to be expected that artistic expression and other cultural activities would suffer some decline or remain at a stand still. The declared policy of the Spaniards to extirpate Islam, as well as the Muslim refusal to abandon their Islamic heritage and traditional values and customs, led to Islam becoming their mark of identity. So much so, that even some pre-Islamic values were defended on the principle of Islam. Many customs and institutions became identified with Islam, at least in the minds of many Muslims. The defense of the family and land as well as loyalty to the chiefs became part of their Islamic duties. As it were, Islam began to provide the elements of an elementary form of nationalism.

The Spaniards looked at their wars against the Muslims as an extension of their wars against the Moors. Significant was that they called the Moors and the Muslims in the Philippines "Moros". They taught the Christian inhabitants to hate and fight the Muslims as enemies of their Faith. Year after year, they featured certain morality plays as part of the festivals in all the major towns where the Muslims were portrayed as ugly, vicious, treacherous, etc. (These plays were played in many town festivals even up to the eve of the Japanese Occupation in 1941

– more than four decades after the end of the Spanish regime in the Philippines). In return, the Muslims looked at their Christian neighbors as mere tools of foreigners to enslave them and as a people doomed to infidelity and perdition.

The effect of these plays which had, in effect, become to some extent a part of the folk lore of the Christian population cannot be overestimated. It had generated in the past a mentality that had even penetrated into the educational programs of the past administrations in the country while placing psychological obstacles on the recruitment of Muslims into political offices, the civil service and the armed forces.

The Moro Wars have left a terrible heritage of mistrust, suspicion and even fear between two religious communities otherwise related by racial and linguistic ties and a common cultural matrix that is pre-Islamic and pre-Christian. It is a heritage which for many years had served to obstruct the integration of the Muslims into a new body politic in spite of the fact that the principle of religious freedom had become part of the fundamental laws of the land. Fortunately, this heritage does not appear to be found anymore among the young. But it had already done a great harm.

To be observed is that the major sultanates were really never successfully incorporated into the Spanish colony in the Philippines that ended in 1898. Thus the Muslims had, for all practical purposes, independent historical experiences from others in the Archipelago. Contacts between them were mainly that of war or temporary truces. It is true that in the last quarter of Spanish rule in the Philippines, the policy toward converting the Muslims was abandoned. All that the Spanish government desired was to transform them into loyal subjects of the Spanish Crown. Yet, not a few Spanish priests argued that it would be easier for the Muslims to become a Spanish subject if he was first baptized a Catholic. Nevertheless, the newly declared Spanish policy of religious toleration, inspired by republican ideas then flourishing in Western Europe, induced some Muslim chiefs to accept Spanish sovereignty when resistance had appeared hopeless or suicidal. There is no doubt that the defense of Islam had provided a major reason for resistance to Spanish domination. But it cannot be denied, too, that the independence of the Muslims also signified the perpetuation of the powers and prerogatives of the traditional chiefs and their families whose preservation of Islam while appearing to them as having an intrinsic value also served as a guarantee for the preservation of their dynasties.

The Muslims During the American Occupation

The American occupation of Muslim lands which commenced at the turn of the century was met by a fierce resistance on the part of the Muslims who were led, in most cases, by traditional chiefs who were afraid that they would lose their former positions of power as well as their time-honored rights to collect tribute.

Undoubtedly, part of the resistance was caused by fear of the loss of independence and a traditional way of life greatly influenced by Islam on the part of other leaders and followers. American superior fire power and their guarantees that Islam was to be left untouched as well as a policy of attraction eventually enabled them to occupy all Muslim traditional lands – but not without a great loss of Muslim lives and properties. The American occupation did not do much to erase the old prejudices that the Christians had of the Muslims although it brought the benefits of better sanitation, more educational opportunities and job openings for Muslims in the constabulary and police force. Originally, American Indian fighters were actually sent to pacify the Muslims. In time, American attitudes changed when they came to see a people with a different culture, a more sophisticated political system and who had been influenced by one of the greatest cultures the world had ever produced. In any case, the Americans did not do much to dislodge the traditional leaders; neither was there an attempt to create another leadership based on a criteria.

Although the Americans generally followed their principle of religious freedom and toleration, they did not object to the coming of Christian missionaries to traditional Muslim areas while they made it hard for foreign Muslims, especially Arabs, to come and visit or live among the Muslims. The Americans, too, declared most of the Muslim ancestral lands as public land, since the Muslims did not have titles to their lands, and started to introduce Christian settlers from other provinces. A premise of the Americans was that with more Christian settlers among the Muslims, the latter would, in time, acquire some of the habits and attitudes toward government of the settlers, thereby facilitating the process of integration of the Muslims into the colonial body politic. They hoped, too, that the Muslims would eventually acquire some of the skills of the settlers, who, strictly speaking, were only slightly more advanced technologically than the Muslims.

The Muslims Under the Philippine Commonwealth

The Philippine Commonwealth, established in 1935, following the American colonial policy of bringing more settlers to traditional Muslim lands, completely showed a disregard of Muslim aspirations and expectations on the matter. It ignored the traditional leaders without making any effort to create a new leadership. It could not do otherwise since the political leaders of the Commonwealth themselves belonged to the traditional elite in the Christian areas. The Muslims, too, were confused on the issue of independence. Some of their leaders desired it while others preferred to remain under an American protectorate, a desire encouraged by some American military officers but vehemently objected to by Filipino national leaders. In any case, Muslim problems on the political, economic and cultural levels were left the way they were. The fact was that the fear of war with Japan, the agrarian problem in the central provinces which were quite close to the capital, the anticipation of independence and the jockying for political positions on the part of the national leaders as well as their unawareness or misunderstanding of the problems of the Muslims, led the national leaders to disregard the Muslims. Thus, when

independence was declared in 1946, the Muslim people, with social institutions and a culture different from the majority of the Filipinos, found themselves bound with the latter in a new political entity with a direction which they had practically no hand in formulating.

The colonial heritage was too obvious. There was a general fear among Muslims about the loss of their traditional values and customs and they tended to look at the government as a mere successor of the colonial governments. Alongside the coming of additional settlers, there was an unevenness between the economic development of the Muslims as a whole and that of the Christians. Nevertheless, the traditional leaders utilized the democratic processes to have themselves elected in office. In this, they had to compete with non-Muslim candidates. Muslim leaders joined the different national parties and ended competing with one another in their own regions. This was a pure contest for political power although the candidates did not hesitate to use the issue of Islam to gain more votes. But the election of Muslim officials did not necessarily imply the enhancement of Islam or additional benefits to the bulk of the Muslim population. It only signified the further strengthening of the power, prestige and economic status of those Muslim officials and their families, especially if they were associated with the political party in power, as against those of their followers.

In the meantime, more opportunities for education, more communication and the opening of the professions to Muslims, however limited these might have been, gave rise to a group of young professionals who were generally coopted to the powers that be. Eventually there came about another emerging group of young Muslims who aspired to greater opportunities for education, more access to the professions and increased participation in political processes that signified some participation in decisions that would determine the destiny of the Muslims. They desired more involvement in the process of modernization, and in eliminating any obstacle that would prevent Islam from becoming more operative in their religious and social life.

The Muslims and Martial Law

The degeneration of the system of political parties, the abuses of politicians, widespread graft and corruption, the existence of private armies, student activism, ideological conflicts, threats of secession from the South, fear of subversion from other quarters and a slow but gradual breakdown in law and order coupled with the emergence of an atmosphere of general disregard for the duly constituted authority led the President of the Republic to declare Martial Law in September 1972. The government order for the disbandment of all private armies and the giving up of all arms by unauthorized citizens was bitterly resisted by those Muslims who had private armies as well as by those who did not want to give up their arms. In general, Muslims feared that if they were left unarmed, they might fall prey to non-Muslims who coveted their lands. Due to their historical experience, they feared

that the government might not do enough to protect them from their antagonists. This fear, added to past grievances, led to a coalition of Muslim forces to raise their arms against the new government.

In its aim to create a New Society, the government finally came to realize that it was time to study more deeply the problems of the Muslims and to muster whatever resources it had to allay Muslim fears as well as to give way to many of their social aspirations. The President refused to accept the principle that the Muslim problem could be solved only by force. He boldly and unequivocally admitted the errors of past administrations and revealed that the country had "never really bridged the cultural gap between the Filipinos and our Muslim brothers, and it is for us now really to bridge it . . ." On another occasion he emphasized that the nation could not be a strong one if one of its segments remained neglected and weak. What was needed was to strengthen all the segments to produce a cumulative result that would help and benefit the whole. As he put it:

> We can begin to work our way toward this ideal national community only after we breach the barrier – a tragic legacy of our colonial period – that has tended to divide the Filipino nation between Christian and Muslim. In the revolutionary reconstructing of Filipino society that we are embarked on, we recognize the tremendous source of social energy that lies in the Muslim Filipino Community, which has by its courage and cohesiveness already made an invaluable contribution to our struggle for political independence.

The President then assured the people that the government was to serve the Muslims with the same vigor and zeal as other Filipinos while giving them all opportunities to serve the nation in a manner which would make "their cultural heritage and their religion, which is Islam, . . . forever be part of the Filipino contribution to world culture and civilization."

There is no doubt that for the first time in the history of the Filipino people, there is now a determined effort to rectify old ills while reconstructing Filipino society in such a manner that the Muslims will feel, and like to be, part of it. But this will involve a process that will take many years. Actually what is called the Muslim Problem depends on who defines the problem. And even from the point of view of Muslims, such a problem is not one but actually a conglomeration of various problems.

An Attempt to Define the Muslim Problem

In the last few years, much has been written on what these problems are, what the government expects of the Muslims and what the Muslims want for themselves. In the past, what the government defined as the problem did not necessarily coincide with what the Muslims considered the problems to be. Furthermore, even among the Muslims themselves, their definition of the problem or problems was often colored by their educational background, their social status, their profession,

their level of religiosity, their immediate needs, their Islamic sophistication, etc. A real problem is that there is no single person or institution among them all that can truly claim to speak authoritatively for them all. As is well known, the Muslims do not have a hierarchy or a monolithic institution that can speak for all of them. Nevertheless, it is possible to discover the varied aspirations of Muslims and recognize certain common factors among them.

Articulate Muslims have pointed out that a main problem of Muslims in the Philippines is how to preserve Islam in a country where they are a minority but where, nevertheless, the fundamental law of the land provides for a secular form of government. Clearly, this is a problem of most religious minorities. It can also be a problem for a majority religion if the state is purely secular. A few conservative Muslims insist that if Islam is to be preserved in any country, not only must the majority be Muslims but that political power must be in their control. This view is open to question. In the first place, there are countries where the majority of the population is Muslim but where Islamic law does not hold sway. On the other hand, there are countries where a Muslim minority is allowed to be governed by the personal and family laws of the *Shari'a.*

Even among Muslims, one must make a distinction between "a Muslim leader" and "a leader of Muslims". The first represents one who exerts efforts for Islam while the latter has, statistically speaking, Muslims for followers on issues representing power or politics which may have nothing to do with Islam. Hence, at most , political leaders can speak only for their regions.

The main problem of Filipino Muslims is initially not so much the preservation of Islam but a need to know more about Islam and then practice it. For what is the meaning of preserving something that one does not fully understand? Often the term "Muslim " has been used to identify oneself not so much in the positive sense but as a technique to differentiate one from others. While it can be truly asserted that in the Philippines there are numerous Muslims who are really knowledgeable in the Faith and other less sophisticated ones but truly pious, there is also a large number among the young who do not even practice the basic ritual requirements of the Faith or who do not know much about Islam except the name. It is also true that, historically speaking, many Muslims have fought for a Faith they understood; but it is equally true that others have died fighting for the protection of their ethnic group or in defense of their leaders and what all these signify without realizing that they were not really fighting for Islam but for a system which they had come to believe represented Islam. Needless to say, however, this situation had never been a monopoly of a society of Muslims.

Another phenomena observed in the big urban areas in the Philippines is the existence of some Muslim youth who in their chronic fear of being different from a non-Muslim population begin to abandon Islamic rituals in their process of adjustment. In their fear of being different from the others, they forget the Qur'anic statement that Allah had created different communities and that, therefore, Muslims, in so far as they are Muslims, cannot but be different from non-Muslims.

Other young Muslims become so blinded by Western institutions and are so impressed by the technology associated with the West that they begin to agree with the detractors of Islam that Islam signifies backwardness and fosters an anti-scientific spirit. They then begin to blame Islam for all the economic ills they left behind in their poor communities. Again they forget that Islam requires as a religious prescription the extension of the frontiers of knowledge while extolling the virtues of work. Others wish to keep their Islamic identity but easily fall prey to many of the temptations that form part and parcel of life in a big city and end up confused with terrible pangs of conscience. They forget that Islam fosters discipline, decency and propriety.

Toward the Preservation of Islam

It is the deeper understanding of Islam and its ensuing practice that will determine its preservation. But the creation of such an undertanding can only come about by many factors which are all interrelated. First of all, the teaching of Islam must begin with childhood. Parental discipline and proper example are imperatives. Muslim teachers, too, must help set the example. As the saintly Shaikh Muhammad ibn al Habib said in one of his Ramadan discourses:

> A man should ask his son, "Have you done the prayer or not?" When he comes in, say to him, "Have you come from school, did you say the prayer there?" If he replies, "No, I haven't" tell him, "You know that on the Day of Rising you will be asked about the prayer." If he finds his father insisting day after day about the prayer, it's inevitable that he will do it. But if he comes in and no one asks him he will never say the prayer. Now in our time there's great laxity. We need teachers who command and fathers who are firm with their children. If the man who teaches commands, and the father says to his son who comes home, "Have you prayed or not," he will undoubtedly be aware of his Din and he will undoubtedly say the prayer. However, if, for instance, the teacher prays but doesn't tell his pupils to and similarly a father doesn't ask his son, he will grow up without a scrap of the Din and will never say the prayer.[3]

And when the child grows up into an adult, he must make efforts to refine his knowledge of Islam, its institutions and history, while going into a deeper study of the life of the Prophet. He should by this time be disciplined enough to often read the Qur'an even in translation if there is no other alternative.

Needed, too, is the upgrading of the qualifications of the teachers in the madrasahs and the improvement of the curricula as an unending process. The *'ulama* must always try to improve themselves while exemplifying the virtues of humility and love of learning. They must always foster a deepened consciousness of the community or *ummah* as against personal or family interests.

Attempts at a Solution

But, as is well known, Islam is not confined to the performance of individual

duties to Allah; it involves the regulation of social relations. In brief, it demands the existence of a community. Yet, needless to say, such a community cannot truly exist unless certain basic elements of the *Shari'a* govern it. This is an aspect in the lives of the Muslims in the Philippines where the element of government, on the principle of religious freedom and tolerance, enters. On August 1, 1973, the President of the Republic issued Memorandum 370 creating a research staff to help codify Philippine Muslim laws. After this work was terminated, the President issued Executive Order 442 on December 23, 1974 creating a Presidential Commission to review the work and come up with a better product. The Commission terminated its work after consulting Muslim lawyers and members of the *'ulama* and the code it prepared is presently awaiting the President's signature.

This Code is confined to Muslim personal laws and does not involve criminal law. It also provides for a system of Muslim courts as part of the national system of courts. Actually, a great deal of Muslim personal law, especially on matters of marriage, divorce and inheritance, is now operative among Filipino Muslims. But the work of the Commission and the President's signature will signify the formal recognition of Islamic Family Law as part of the national laws of the land although applicable only to Muslims. The formal recognition of such laws coupled with the gradual evolution of a system of Islamic jurisprudence in the Philippines will go a long way in the Islamic education of the Muslim masses. Hopefully, also, the application of more *Shari'a* elements will reduce the influence of some old customs which tend to strengthen kinship relations in such a manner that makes nepotism possible. It might also create more consciousness of the community such that one will emancipate himself from purely personal or family interests and be able to conceive of a greater good – that of the *ummah*.

In accordance with its declaration that the Islamic heritage is to be considered as part of the patrimony of the Filipino people, a Presidential Decree in October 1973 as well as a Proclamation on October 26, 1973 recognized Muslim holidays while allowing the adjustment of the working schedules of Muslims to enable them to fast on the month of Ramadan. Thus it can be said that for the first time in the history of the Filipino people, many obstacles to the practice of Islam have been dramatically eliminated while positive measures to enhance it had been provided. Of great importance is the Letter of Instruction dated April 28, 1973, authorizing the use of Arabic as a medium of instruction in schools and areas that so need or desire it.

In the last so many decades, the Muslims, as a group, have lagged behind most of the other Filipinos in their educational and economic progress. Their provinces have the lowest rates in literacy. Of the Muslims who enter primary schools, not more than 2% finish their secondary education to enter college. To rectify this situation, the Mindanao State University has opened feeder schools to increase this percentage. It also enables Muslims to study in the University on a big number of scholarships. The government has also dramatically increased the number of scholarships to enable Muslims to get into other universities and work for the professions.

But the problem of madrasahs must, in the long run, be in the hands of Muslims. They inevitably require the public support of Muslims since the government is bound by certain laws preventing it from supporting religious institutions. If the madrasahs are well run and keep up with the required standards, there is no reason why their graduates cannot easily transfer to public secondary schools and easily compete with other students. Presently, there is the King Faisal Institute of Arabic and Islamic Studies at the Mindanao State University which counts among its faculty a few dozen Filipino graduates from Al Azhar and other Muslim universities. It has a few hundred enrolees. At the Philippine Center for Advanced Studies in the University of the Philippines, there is the new Institute of Islamic Studies which offers courses in Arabic and Islamics for Muslim students in Manila who desire to acquire more sophistication in their knowledge of Islam as well as non-Muslims interested in Islamic culture and institutions. A few scholarships for needy but qualified Muslim students are offered. These two above-mentioned universities are state universities.

A comparison between Muslim areas and Christian areas adjoining them generally shows that the latter have better roads, better schools, better irrigation systems and better marketing facilities. Reasons for these are numerous among which are the relatively higher level of education and technology among the Christian settlers, easier communication between them and national leaders, poor leadership among the Muslims coupled with a lack of bold imagination and past Muslim indifference to if not mistrust of the government. There are very few industries in Muslim areas and even these have non-Muslims as a majority of the employees. But this situation is now slowly changing. Many Muslims have seen the differences in economic levels between Christians and themselves and have the desire and will to lessen these differences. Many are trying to develop those skills necessary to compete with others. But not much can be accomplished unless the government first takes the initiative. The President, very much aware of the economic roots of the trouble in the last few years, has said: "We must build with haste in the Muslim areas the conditions that will accelerate the development of these areas, for as in other parts of the country, the peace in our Muslim South will endure only on the basis of social justice." The idea of the government, too, is that a strong Muslim South can eventually serve as a pillar of strength for the entire national community.

As much as possible, the Muslims have held fast to their traditional lands. This is not only on account of historical emotion but more so because land represents to them the last economic asset for survival. To assure them that they will not be displaced, Presidential Decree 410 dated March 11, 1974, declared that all ancestral lands occupied and cultivated by the national cultural minorities were to be inalienable and not disposable. However, details about the extent of these lands still have to be spelled out. Other proclamations have to do with the resettlement of Muslim refugees, relief and welfare projects and liberal trade policies for Muslims. The Philippine Amanah Bank, created on August 2, 1973, aims to create a class of Muslim entrepreneurs and help in the rehabilitation and development of Muslim areas while serving as an institution to train Muslims in banking or to acquire

economic skills. With more opportunities in the professions and more employment in industries, the present emphasis on land, among Muslims, might be reduced.

In a very important sense, the problems of the Muslims are part of the national problems. What is meant in particular is that there are also many non-Muslims in the country who are way behind others in educational and economic development. There are some Christian provinces that have poor roads and means of communication, that need more and better schools and have low literacy rates. The problem of the Muslims along such lines will thus have to be solved within the context of the whole country. That some priority had been given to Muslim areas had been due, it must be admitted, to the blood that had been shed there in the last few years, to the government's will to rectify past discrimination and injustices and to the concern shown by other countries.

The Need for a New Muslim Leadership

The economic uplift of the Muslim masses will have to be intimately connected with the rise of a new leadership among them. At present, the prestige of many Muslim traditional leaders especially the politicians among them have suffered. Rightly or wrongly, many of the young Muslims blame them for many of the social ills. They are often charged with having concentrated on their dynastic interests or the increase of their political power rather than the general welfare of the people, as having been unable to stop previous massacres in the old society, as having wasted their energies on too much "politics" and as having used Islam often for personal political purposes. Added to these is the charge that their chronic political rivalries and squabbles had served to divide their followers rather than to enable them to pool all their efforts for communal betterment. In brief, they have been charged as having acted more as leaders with Muslim followers rather than Muslim leaders.

Nevertheless, it must be admitted that the traditional leaders in the past had served a valuable function in the resistance against foreign invaders, principally the Spaniards. Even at present, in remote areas, where the influence of national political and administrative processes are not yet universalized, they still are needed to give some modicum of order among the people. However, with more links with the national government, the gradual granting of autonomy to various Muslim areas with younger leaders chosen from the professional or technical group, and a progressive modernization accompanied by the destruction of the old political parties will lead to the further decline of the power of the old traditional families and politicians. Some scions of the old families will no doubt maintain some form of leadership in the future; but this will come because of their skills or expertise and function in a new order and not by virtue of origin. If the political and social tendencies in the Muslims areas follow its present course and the govern-

ment pursues its long-range plans, the future leadership among the Muslims will be with a new group of professionals, managers and technocrats, who, while loyal to a larger entity which is that of the nation, will also be nourished by their Islamic roots. It is hoped, too, that then the national situation will be one where all segments participate equally in its benefits and where there is mutual accommodation of all religious differences in an atmosphere of understanding and tolerance. It is then that peace will fully reign in a land that has witnessed so much poverty, discrimination, pain and blood.

For many reasons, some possibly traceable to the dim pre-Islamic past, power or authority had been a value among Muslims in the Philippines. What results these values were intended to achieve is another matter. But they explain, to a large measure, why Muslims had always agitated for more offices at the national level and in the civil service and armed forces while aspiring to become ambassadors and heads of offices. True enough, if Muslims were to hold positions in the upper levels in the government, they would be in a better position to bring to the attention of the government and explain existing or emerging problems involving their respective communities. But holding positions as such is no guarantee that they would work for their communities rather than their personal or family interests – unless they were first of all imbued with the Islamic spirit and had developed a high degree of social consciousness.

In this sense, the need for a new Muslim leadership reiterates the necessity for Muslims, in all levels, to know more about Islam and its fundamental principles and implications, and practice it. If all Muslims practiced the Islamic virtues of honesty, patience, steadfastness, love of knowledge, industry, bravery, decency and community consciousness, while frequently invoking the *dhikr* of Allah, then all these would constitute, in effect, the preservation of Islam in the Philippines. For all of these is equivalent to the internalization of Islam among Muslim individuals – and what is imprinted in the temple of the heart is not easily eradicated. According to a *Hadith,* Allah said: "Neither My Heavens nor My earth can contain Me, but the heart of My faithful servant contains Me." This internalization is the real Islam and not the mere wearing of a headgear associated with Islam and shouting to the whole world that one is a Muslim, while on the side making money out of religious activities like the Mecca pilgrimage and taking advantage of the religiosity of other Muslims.

Whereas it is obviously desirable that the non-Muslim majority in the Philippines erases a great deal of its ignorance about or prejudices against Islam and Muslims, it is just as imperative if not more imperative for Muslims themselves to serve as a model community exemplifying the above-mentioned virtues. Then and only then will the rest of the Filipinos realize that the Muslim community in their midst is an asset from which they can learn a great deal. The Muslim community will then serve as a witness to the Message of Islam and make operative the Qur'anic verse:

Ye are the best community that hath been raised up for mankind. Ye enjoin right conduct and forbid indecency; and ye believe in Allah. (Sura III, v. 110)

FOOTNOTES

[1]The Maguindanaos (550,000) and the Maranaos (450,000) in Mindanao Island, and the Tausug (325,000) and Samals (160,000) in the Sulu Archipelago constitute the four major groups. *Philippine Yearbook 1975,* p. 132.

[2]According to the Philippine Bureau of Census and Statistics, the Muslims, in 1970, numbered 1,584,938 or 4.32% of the total population. It is estimated, at present, that Muslims number at least 3 million out of a total population of about 42 million Filipinos.

[3]"The Ramadan Discourses of Shaykh Muhammad ibn al Habib" *Islam: A Quarterly Journal,* Vol. 1, No. 1, 1396 A.H. (England), p. 30.

CHINESE SCHOOLS AND THE ASSIMILATION PROBLEM IN THE PHILIPPINES

by

Gerald Sussman

The first Chinese school in the Philippines was opened at the turn of the century, after the close of the Spanish regime and the beginning of American administration. Since then Chinese schools proliferated rapidly as the Americans, and the Philippine Government subsequently followed a henign non-assimilation policy toward the Chinese similar to that applied to Orientals in the U.S. mainland.

Today, Chinese schools are found all over the country; and these have generally acquired a reputation for providing education above the standards of Filipino schools. At this time, too, Chinese schools are being threatened with extinction as the Philippine Government is bent on removing obstacles to the assimilation of the Chinese. The Chinese school system in the Philippine experience had proven to be one of the most important institutions which tend to perpetuate Chinese separateness from the majority of Malayan Filipinos. The controversy over the Chinese school question was taken up in 1972 by the Constitutional Convention and the now-defunct Congress, and, more recently, by the martial law government.

Assimilation In Perspective

At this point, it would be best to give a brief historical account of how the Chinese have managed to remain a largely non-assimilated group despite their long presence in the Philippines which dated back to neolithic contacts as early as the third millenium B.C.[1]

When the Spanish conquistadores arrived in the Philippine archipelago, they found a flourishing trade betweeen Chinese and Muslim merchants, and a colony of Chinese living in Luzon.[2] Bent on destroying Muslim political and religious influence in the Island, the Spanish ended the Chinese-Muslim trade and drove the Muslims out of Luzon. The Chinese remained to serve as middlemen for Spanish trade in the Islands and other Spanish colonies.

While the Chinese served an important economic function, their presence was not otherwise appreciated. For one thing, the Chinese proved resistant to the Spanish friars' efforts to Catholicize the entire archipelago.[3] Another problem was the Spaniards' embarrasing ineptness at business in comparison to the shrewdness of the Chinese.[4]

The 300-year history of Spanish rule in the Philippines is scarred with periodic genocidal attacks on the Chinese population, including several attempts to wipe out the *Parian*, the Chinese ghetto outside the walls of Intramuros. But always, some Chinese remained: those who were converted to Catholicism and the middle-level merchants whose business acumen was needed to keep the Spanish economic system intact. Several Governors-General asked Royal permission to banish the Chinese, but the Throne, recognizing the adverse effects on the economy whenever the Chinese population was badly diminished, always insisted on at least a residue group of Chinese. The Spanish had come to rely on the Chinese not only for trade and services, but even in activities formerly reserved for Filipinos, including agriculture, husbandry and other cottage industries.[5]

The Chinese did not passively accept Spanish rule. They continually objected to oppressive tributes and taxes against them as well as forced conscription into work forces, raids upon their living quarters and interference with their trade. A number of Chinese revolts broke out, but these were met by severe Spanish counter attacks which decimated the Chinese population periodically. The height of Chinese resistance during the early Spanish period occurred when the Chinese corsair, Limahong, attacked Manila in 1574 and the pirate, Koxinga, threatened to do the same a century later.

By 1898, when the Spaniards ingloriously left the Philippines, the Chinese were thriving. Although there are no reliable statistics on the Chinese population

in 1898, estimates range all the way up to 100,000.[6] By dint of their positive traits of diligence, patience, intelligence and experience, and their unfortunate negative propensity toward bribing public officials, the Chinese survived the Spanish.

Philippine historical accounts state that the Chinese were well entrenched economically; but their position as Overseas Chinese made their legal status ambiguous. However, this posed no critical problem as the incoming Americans did not rigidly enforce immigration restrictions against them.[7] The American application to the Philippines of the anti-Oriental policy similar to that in the U.S. mainland, excluding Chinese nationals from U.S. citizenship or naturalization,[8] did not also present a problem to the Chinese in the Philippines. The Chinese remained legally non-assimilated throughout the American regime, subject to restrictions on trade and agricultural land ownership.[9]

Despite the "Yellow Peril" paranoia, the twentieth century brought new and expanded opportunities in political, social, economic and educational pursuits for the Philippine Chinese. The American economic policy of *laissez-faire* opened up trade to Chinese businessmen, many of whom became nouveau-riche merchants. An expanded class of Chinese elites was emerging.

Important members of the Chinese economic elite were later identified with the Kuomintang, particularly after the 1927 split in the KMT in the Chinese mainland; but not all Chinese were rightists. An all-Chinese military combat unit in the Philippine Japanese War was leftist-oriented and eventually joined up with the Hukbalahap movement. There was also a pre-war leftist Chinese political organization, the Tien Hwa Tian (China Hall), with the Kim Kuo Press serving as its information medium.[10]

Post-war independence brought the Republic of the Philippines into new international alignments. Following American foreign policy initiatives, the Philippine Government became staunchly anti-Communist and has supported, up to the present, the Chiang Kai-Shek regime in Taiwan. The vast majority of the Chinese are quiet about their political views while most of the Chinese business elites are unmistakeably KMT members and Taiwan supporters.

The Development of Chinese Schools

In 1898, Tan Chue-Lion, the first Chinese Consul in the Philippines, established the Anglo-Chinese School. This was the first Chinese School in the Philippines as the Spanish had prohibited private Chinese education. Before 1898, very few Chinese could afford to attend the San Juan de Letran or Ateneo de Manila universities and fewer still were able to study at universities in China.[11]

Starting with only 40 students, mostly Chinese, the Anglo-Chinese School later transferred to the Chinese Community Association at Ongpin St. in Binondo, Manila. Between 1900 and 1911, there remained only between 50-100 Chinese students.[12]

Despite American exclusion laws, the Chinese population (largely illegal[13]) was rapidly expanding during the 1920's and 1930's. With an equally increasing school population, Chinese schools totalled 58 by 1935. The War brought about the closure of the schools; but rapid post-war expansion further increased its number to 159 in 1964 with 52,000 students.[14] At present, there are some 160 schools with about 70,000 students.

Changes in School Control and Curriculum

The early type of Chinese education consisted of the Four Books and the Five Classics, a system which was established during the Chou dynasty and which persisted until the end of the Manchu dynasty in 1911. Under American influence, English became part of the curriculum. Evening classes in English and Chinese were started in 1911. Separate instruction in Fukienese and Cantonese was maintained until 1926 when Mandarin was introduced as the medium of instruction. Several Chinese schools of the latter type were started by American Protestant missionaries and were opened to both Chinese and Filipino students. One such school, the St. Stephen Chinese School, founded by Anglican missionaries in 1917, is still in operation. During the Japanese Occupation, the Chinese schools were forced to close, but they reopened after the war, along with many new ones. These are all registered at the Taiwan Embassy.[15]

In 1974, a Treaty of Amity with the Philippine Government was negotiated by the Kuomintang, which was still the official government in mainland China after the war. This Treaty gave the Philippine Chinese, among other things, the right to operate schools for Overseas Chinese. The exact wording mutually gave the two countries "the liberty to establish schools for the education of their children. . ."[16] Speaking for the 800 million Chinese on the Mainland, the Taiwan military government is still recognized by the Philippine Government; thus the Treaty of Amity still stands officially.

The 1950's is widely regarded as the most neurotic period of American foreign relations. American policy makers of the period such as Senator Joseph McCarthy and the Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, supported the bi-polar world view so ardently that there arose a most infectious "Red Scare" syndrome. In Southeast Asia, the fall of the French in Indochina in 1954 precipitated the founding of a military defense pact, SEATO, to "protect" Southeast Asia from a perceived threat of Chinese communism. The Philippines was no exception from the effects of the "Red Scare" syndrome. In the Philippines, this phenomenon manifested itself in talks of closing down the Chinese schools or at least purging them.

It might be pointed out that, during this period, most of the Chinese schools were registered, financed, and controlled by the Taiwan government with the help of local Chinese businessmen. This makes it difficult to understand the fear that Communist subversives were working within these schools. Nevertheless, the Philippine Government demanded complete supervision over the Chinese schools.

Diplomatic negotiations on the matter of Chinese schools in the Philippines were carried out by the then Vice-President (and Secretary of Foreign Affairs) Garcia and Taiwan Ambassador Chen Chi-Mai. The new agreement made it a requirement for all Chinese schools to register with the Bureau of Private Schools which will issue a permit and recognition certificate prior to the schools' operation. Also, the agreement included the right of the Philippines to decide on Philippine subject requirements, a provision on Chinese subjects, and the setting up of a joint technical committee for Chinese subjects and teacher standards.[17]

In spite of this initiative, the Philippines still remained the only country in Asia which had a dual system of education merely to suit another country.[18]

Nationalization of Schools
in Other Southeast Asian Countries

Thailand

Unlike most Asian countries, Thailand has made substantial efforts to assimilate its Chinese population into Thai society and culture.[19] Starting in the 1920's, the Thai government took strict measures so that the Chinese would not continue to be a separate society within a society, having a distinctly different culture and a separate economy. Such measures included tight immigration quotas, means to make the Chinese use Thai names, the banning of Chinese-langauge broadcasts and advertising, and the phasing out of Chinese schools.

Unlike the Philippines, Thailand has provided citizenship on the *jus soli* principle. Anyone born within the kingdom is a Thai citizen. Using intermarriage as an index, assimilation is proceeding successfully. According to a *Pagkakaisa Sa Pag-unlad Report* No. 8, among Thai-Chinese, 30% of businessmen interviewed, 44% of the students and 64% of government employees had Thai members in their household. Other reports state that Chinese names and distinct physical features are disappearing.

The government has also taken strong measures in education. Since 1955, Chinese schools have been reduced from 500 to 167. No new Chinese schools can be opened and the secondary schools have been taken over by the Thais. Chinese subjects may only be taught ten hours per week in four years of elementary school while the use of Chinese langauge is officially discouraged. This has not produced

any strong reaction among the Chinese and few children of Chinese parents have opted for university education in Taiwan.

Unlike the Philippines, these restrictions on the Chinese, including education, have been carried out *despite* a similar Treaty of Amity in 1945 between Thailand and the China (KMT) government.

Indonesia

Following independence, and after promises of prosperity to the people, the Indonesia nationalist leadership embarked on a series of nationalization measures. In 1958, Dutch enterprises and estates were turned over to Indonesians. However, despite this measure, Indonesia was still faced with a serious problem of what to do with its economically well-entrenched Chinese population.[20] Hence, after 1957, Chinese entrepreneurs also became a target of the Indonesian nationalization moves.

In this connection, the Indonesian government worked out a Dual Citizenship Treaty in 1955 with the People's Republic of China turning over responsibility for determining the legal status of Overseas Chinese to the host country, Indonesia. The principle of *jus soli* was used as the basis by which the Indonesian Chinese could opt for either Chinese (People's Republic) or Indonesian citizenship.

In education, the Indonesian government was faced by a bigger problem. Since the Dutch never prevented the opening of Chinese schools (only the entrance of Chinese into Dutch schools), the Chinese provided their own facilities for education. After independence, Indonesians began constructing schools from scratch in a massive effort to raise their literacy and educational attainment. At the same time, nationalization was implemented in the school system and the Chinese schools were closed. As a result, the Indonesian-born Chinese were transferred to Indonesian-language schools. On the other hand, China-born "totoks" were allowed to attend a few strictly controlled Chinese schools. To make up for the school shortage, Chinese businessmen were constrained to finance new private schools.

Proposed Filipinzation of Schools

The ongoing controversy over foreign-run schools in the Philippines was aired in 1972 in the House of Representatives and in the Constitutional Convention. Both the House and the "Con-Con" sought to Filipinize Chinese and other foreign-run schools, to which only the Taiwan government and certain Chinese elements in the Philippines had adverse reactions. The House bill had received support from the Department of Education and the Department of Foreign Affairs.

The proposed law (House version) would Filipinize the administration, supervision, instruction (including textbook control), and service staffs of all schools run by aliens and foreign nationals. This law would not apply, however, to the *ownership* of schools, the main point of concern to the Taiwan government and local Kuomintang members. Another aspect of the bill is aimed at regulating the ratio of aliens to Filipino citizens in foreign schools. In implementing this law, the Philippine Government would give a ten-year adjustment period.[21]

Since then the martial law administration of President Marcos has gone ahead with the Filipinization of Chinese schools. The new constitution, ratified in January 1973, provides in Article XV, section 8 (7): "Educational institutions other than those established by religious orders, mission boards, and charitable organizations shall be owned solely by citizens of the Philippines, or corporations or associations sixty per centum of the capital of which is owned by such citizens." Presidential Decree No. 175 gives Chinese schools four years to phase out by establishing a 3 to 1 Filipino-to-alien student ratio and by making school governing bodies and administrations 100 percent Filipino.[22] American schools would be exempt from the Presidential Decree on the rationale that they are established for temporary residents of foreign diplomatic personnel and dependents.[23]

The Taiwan Position on the School Question

In protesting the Filipinization bill, the Taiwan government, through Ambassador Liu Chieh, has insisted that such a move by the Philippines would be a violation of the 1947 Treaty of Amity, which authorized the Chinese to operate schools for their own nationals. He argued to Education Secretary Juan Manuel that the local Chinese have the right to continue to run their own schools.[24] Another argument raised by some local Chinese is that Chinese schools have high academic standards, take care of the education of some 70,000 students and employ more than 7,000 people, including 4,000 teachers in a country which suffers from a serious classroom shortage.

The Pro-Filipinization Position

The proponents of Filipinization believe that the Chinese schools perpetuate Chinese identity which results in the separation of Filipino and Chinese youth. This measure is also supported for "national security" considerations.

In response to Taiwan's protest, Secretary of Education Manuel had stated that the 1955 agreement between the Philippines and Taiwan gave the Philippines the right to control the curricula and to require registration with the Bureau of Private Schools, and that the Treaty of Amity was not violated by the 1972 House

bill since the 1947 Treaty, unlike the present understanding, presupposed the return of Chinese residents to the Mainland.[25]

Critics of Chinese schools have pointed out that the Treaty of Amity is a "one way street." That is, while alien Chinese enjoy the privilege of having 15,000 students in Chinese schools in the Philippines, Filipinos have not pursued that privilege in Taiwan, or in China where travel has been illegal since 1949. There are no Filipino schools in Taiwan and there were only 11 Filipino college graduates from Taiwanese universities in 1971 and 12 in 1970. The critics have also claimed that Chinese schools discriminate against Filipinos in employment and encourage separateness through cultural distinction reinforced by Taiwan-published textbooks.[26] Renato Constantino, in a *Manila Chronicle* editorial, stated that the major interests behind the Chinese schools were wealthy Chinese businessmen like Antonio Roxas Chua, who, he claims, finance the schools.[27]

The Politics of Filipinization

The move to put controls on Chinese schools follows the policy in the 1950's and 1960's of the Filipinization of the national economy. Retail trade, land, public utilities, the rice and corn industries, employment, wholesale merchandizing and most professions have been affected in previous nationalization laws. Even the 1947 Treaty of Amity is of dubious validity since it was negotiated with a government that no longer represents the Chinese people except in theory for some. The Philippine Government, at present, is still among the minority which officially adheres to this theory – that is, that Chiang Kai-Shek is the spokesman for the Chinese people. The China-born in the Philippines are almost all from the Amoy and Cantonese regions of China for whom only the government is in a position to speak or make treaties of agreements – the Peking government.

Up to now, the Taiwan government has been able to utilize schools in the Philippines to promote anti-People's Republic policies and attitudes. Until Filipinization of the schools is carried out, the Kuomintang education representatives from Taipeh will continue to control the appointment of school principals and the tenure of teachers and promote textbooks which are non-Philippine in orientation.

Conclusion – The Ambiguity of the Philippine Position in Its Filipinization Policy

The most ambiguous aspect of Filipinization is the Philippine Government's attitude toward the status of the Chinese in the Philippines. If the government seriously wants to assimilate the Chinese, it cannot do so merely by making busi-

ness prospects difficult for the local Chinese businessmen or by bringing about a less exclusive method of education in Chinese schools. Assimilation involves more systematic plans than the above mentioned steps.

The Filipinization policy should provide the Philippine-Chinese an option for citizenship. In their precarious position, the Chinese have no place they can truly call home. A return to China is closed to the majority who would prefer to live in a capitalist society than in a socialist one. In a way, Filipino citizenship is also closed since the *jus sanguinis* principle of citizenship is almost impossible for the more than 80% of the Chinese born in the Philippines, except for the few who can pay the extremely high fees of naturalization. *Jus Soli* is necessary if the Philippines is seriously interested in integrating its Chinese. Naturalization should come second.

The second argument for Filipinization – that is, the maintenance of national security – also has contradictions as in the policies adopted in the 1950's. The fact is that the Taiwan government has close supervision over the Chinese schools, and if officials are afraid of 'Communist subversion," the Philippines need not Filipinize the schools for that reason. The Taiwanese can handle it.
it.

Of course, the most ambiguous aspect of all is the attitude toward the People's Republic of China.

The Chinese pay heavily for their privilege of staying in the Philippines (including the use of bribes and kickbacks to public officials). After centuries of living and struggling for survival under colonial regimes, it would seem that the Chinese have at least earned the right of citizenship and the privilege to prove that they can act as good citizens. Otherwise, if the Philippines continues to fail to realistically incorporate its minority groups into its national life (as is a problem in Taiwan), it should only expect anti-Filipino behavior from its disgruntled, oppressed and stateless Chinese. After all, the only major fault of the local Chinese, as far as most Filipino legislators are concerned, is that, in a "free enterprise" system like in the Philippines, the Chinese are particularly good at it.

Hence, the most important step toward the assimilation of the Chinese, as Indonesia and Thailand have shown, is the adoption of the *jus soli* principle on citizenship.*

*Since this paper was originally written, (1972) a new constitution, retaining the *jus sanguinis* principle, has been ratified.

FOOTNOTES

[1]H. Otley Beyer, 'Philippine Pre-Historic Contacts with Foreigners," *Chinese Participation in Philippine Culture and Economy,* Shubert S.C. Liao, editor (Manila: Bookman Inc., 1964), p. 2.

[2]Berthold Laufer, "The Relations of the Chinese to the Philippines," *Historical Bulletin* (Manila: Philippine Historical Association, 1967), pp. 11-12.

[3]Victor Purcell, *The Chinese in Southeast Asia* (second edition; London; Oxford University Press 1965), p. 515.

[4]Edgar Wickberg, *The Chinese in Philippine Life 1850-1898* (New Haven: Yale University Press 1965), p. 22 and particularly chapters 2, 3, and 4.

[5]Purcell, *loc. cit.*, and well developed in his chapters 51, 52 and 53.

[6]*Ibid.* p. 496.

[7]Khin Khin Myint Jensen. 'The Chinese in the Philippines. During the American Regime: 1898 19 ,6" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1956), p. 138-148.

[8]Adolfo Azcuna, 'The Chinese and the Law," *The Chinese in the Philippines 1770-1898* Vol. II, Alfonso Felix, Jr. editor (Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1969), p. 76.

[9]See Purcell *op. cit.*, pp. 534-551. Also a good account of laws pertaining to the Chinese in Antonio S. Tan, *The Chinese in the Philippines,* 1898-1935: A Study of Their national Awakening *(Quezon City: R.P. Garcia Publishi*
in Antonio S. Tan, *The Chinese in the Philippines, 1898-1935: A Study of Their national Awakening* (Quezon City: R.P. Garcia Publishing Co., 1972), pp. 176-202.

[10]Purcell, *op. cit.*, p. 552. Also see Jensen, *op. cit.*, pp. 276-284.

[11]Tan, *op. cit.*, p. 154. Also see Charles J. McCarthy, *Philippine-Chinese Integration* (Manila: Pagkakaisa Sa Pag-unlad, Inc., 1971), p. 147.

[12]Charles J. McCarthy "Chinese Schools in the Philippines," *Solidarity,* October, 1972, pp. 15-24.

[13]The Census of 1903 gave the total number of Chinese at 41,035. Between 1903 to 1909 the Chinese population tripled despite Exclusion. This could only be accounted for by a large degree of illicit entries. Purcell, *op. cit.*, p. 535, 538. Jensen, *op. cit.*, describens the methods of illegal entry, pp. 138-148.

[14]Tan *ibid.*, pp. 154-163. Also see Rodolfo Y. Ragodon, "The Problem of Chinese Education ' *Sunday Times Magazine* (Manila), March 15, 1964.

[15]Ragodon, *ibid.*, p. 74. See also McCarthy, *Solidarity.*

[16]Article VI.

[17]Ragodon, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-76.

[18]*Ibid.*, p. 76.

[19]The data on Thailand, unless otherwise cited, are from Tulya Siritasna, "Thailand Asssimilates Her Chinese Groups," *Manila Chronicle,* Aug. 17, 1971, p. 5. Also see the excellent Russian study of N.A. Simoniya, *Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia* (Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Program, 1961), pp. 83-88.

[20]The data on Indonesia's Chinese are from Donald E. Willmott, *The National Status of the Chinese in Indonesia, 1900-1958.* Revised edition. (Ithaca, Cornell University, 1961), pp. 73-87.

[21]*Manila Chronicle,* May 6, 1972, pp. 1, 2.

[22]*Times-Journal,* April 21, 1973, pp. 1, 2.

[23]*Bulletin Today,* May 16, 1973 pp. 1, 8.

[24]*Manila Bulletin,* May 5, 1972, p. 26.

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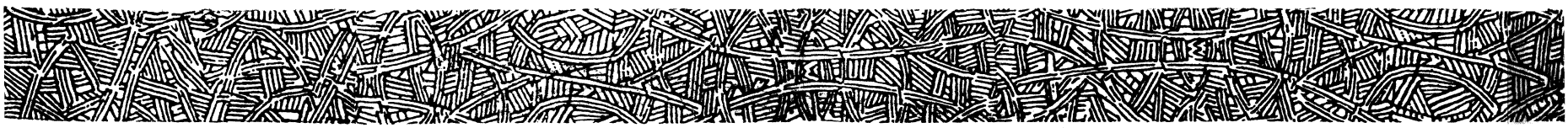

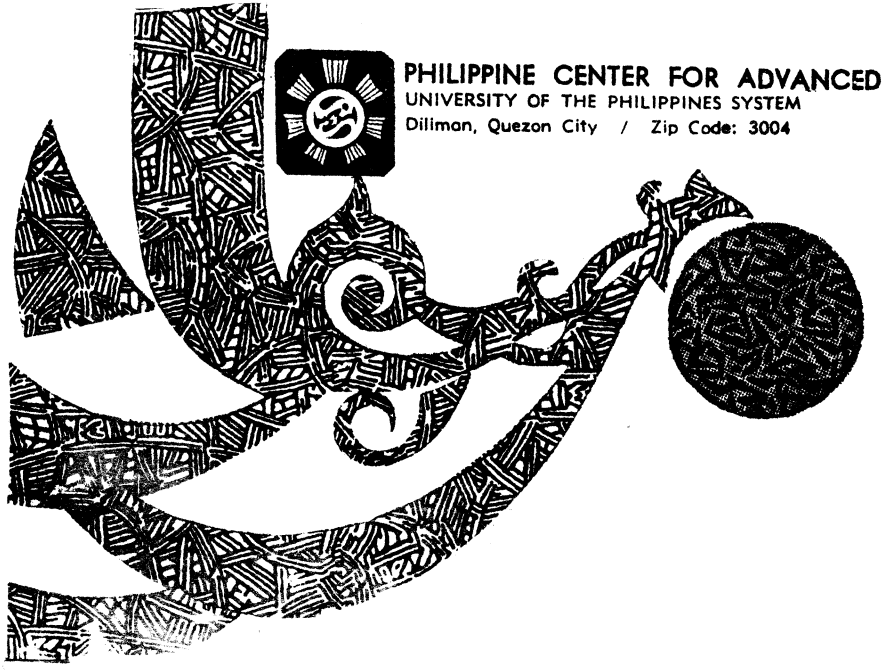

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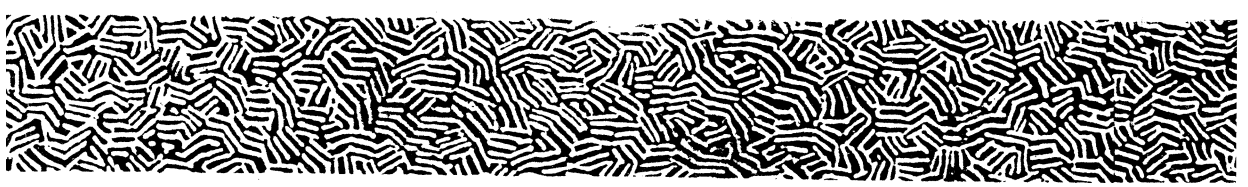

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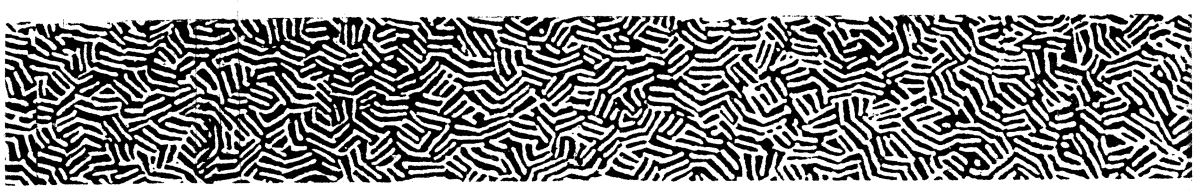

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